

# A General Theory of Emotions and Social Life

Warren D. TenHouten



Routledge  
Taylor & Francis Group

# A General Theory of Emotions and Social Life

This unique volume presents a general theory linking emotions and rational thought to social relationships. In his innovative new book TenHouten presents an encyclopaedic classification of the emotions (describing 54 in total) and offers one of the most original and multi-leveled accounts of the emotions and social life ever developed.

This neurocognitive sociology of the emotions shows primary emotions to be adaptive reactions to fundamental problems of life which have evolved into elementary social relationships and which can predict occurrences of the entire spectrum of primary, complex secondary, and tertiary emotions. The scope of this work is comprehensive and includes the development of emotions in childhood, symbolic elaboration of complex emotions, emotions management, violence, and cultural and gender differences.

This volume is essential reading for all those with an interest in the emotions across the social and behavioral sciences.

**Warren D. TenHouten**, UCLA Professor of Sociology, has pioneered the interdisciplinary perspective of neurocognitive sociology. In *Time and Society* (2005), he presented a general theory of culture and time consciousness. Here, affect-spectrum theory classifies the primary, secondary and tertiary emotions and links each to specific, elementary social relationships.

## Routledge advances in sociology

This series aims to present cutting-edge developments and debates within the field of sociology. It will provide a broad range of case studies and the latest theoretical perspectives, while covering a variety of topics, theories and issues from around the world. It is not confined to any particular school of thought.

- 1 Virtual Globalization**  
Virtual spaces / tourist spaces  
*Edited by David Holmes*
- 2 The Criminal Spectre in Law, Literature and Aesthetics**  
*Peter Hutchings*
- 3 Immigrants and National Identity in Europe**  
*Anna Triandafyllidou*
- 4 Constructing Risk and Safety in Technological Practice**  
*Edited by Jane Summerton and Boel Berner*
- 5 Europeanisation, National Identities and Migration**  
Changes in boundary constructions between Western and Eastern Europe  
*Willfried Spohn and Anna Triandafyllidou*
- 6 Language, Identity and Conflict**  
A comparative study of language in ethnic conflict in Europe and Eurasia  
*Diarmait Mac Giolla Chríost*
- 7 Immigrant Life in the U.S.**  
Multi-disciplinary perspectives  
*Edited by Donna R. Gabaccia and Colin Wayne Leach*

- 8 Rave Culture and Religion**  
*Edited by Graham St. John*
- 9 Creation and Returns of Social Capital**  
A new research program  
*Edited by Henk Flap and Beate Völker*
- 10 Self-Care**  
Embodiment, personal autonomy and the shaping of health  
consciousness  
*Christopher Ziguras*
- 11 Mechanisms of Cooperation**  
*Werner Raub and Jeroen Weesie*
- 12 After the Bell – Educational Success, Public Policy and Family  
Background**  
*Edited by Dalton Conley and Karen Albright*
- 13 Youth Crime and Youth Culture in the Inner City**  
*Bill Sanders*
- 14 Emotions and Social Movements**  
*Edited by Helena Flam and Debra King*
- 15 Globalization, Uncertainty and Youth in Society**  
*Edited by Hans-Peter Blossfeld, Erik Klijsing, Melinda Mills and  
Karin Kurz*
- 16 Love, Heterosexuality and Society**  
*Paul Johnson*
- 17 Agricultural Governance**  
Globalization and the new politics of regulation  
*Edited by Vaughan Higgins and Geoffrey Lawrence*
- 18 Challenging Hegemonic Masculinity**  
*Richard Howson*
- 19 Social Isolation in Modern Society**  
*Roelof Hortulanus, Anja Machielse and Ludwien Meeuwesen*
- 20 Weber and the Persistence of Religion**  
Social theory, capitalism and the sublime  
*Joseph W.H. Lough*

- 21 Globalization, Uncertainty and Late Careers in Society**  
*Edited by Hans-Peter Blossfeld, Sandra Buchholz and Dirk Hofäcker*
- 22 Bourdieu's Politics**  
Problems and possibilities  
*Jeremy F. Lane*
- 23 Media Bias in Reporting Social Research?**  
The case of reviewing ethnic inequalities in education  
*Martyn Hammersley*
- 24 A General Theory of Emotions and Social Life**  
*Warren D. TenHouten*
- 25 Sociology, Religion and Grace**  
*Arpad Szakolczai*

# A General Theory of Emotions and Social Life

Warren D. TenHouten

First published 2007  
by Routledge  
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

Simultaneously published in the USA and Canada  
by Routledge  
270 Madison Ave, New York, NY 10016

This edition published in the Taylor & Francis e-Library, 2006.

“To purchase your own copy of this or any of Taylor & Francis or Routledge’s collection of thousands of eBooks please go to [www.eBookstore.tandf.co.uk](http://www.eBookstore.tandf.co.uk).”

*Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business*

© 2007 Warren D. TenHouten

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilized in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

*British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data*

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

*Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data*

A catalog record for this book has been requested

ISBN10: 0-415-36310-1 (hbk)

ISBN10: 0-203-01344-1 (ebk)

ISBN13: 978-0-415-36310-5 (hbk)

ISBN13: 978-0-203-01344-1 (ebk)

**For Maria**





# Contents

<i>Preface</i>	xi
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	xiii
1 Introduction	1
2 From Darwin to psychoevolutionary theories of primary and secondary emotions	10
3 The four pairs of opposite primary emotions: acceptance and disgust, joy and sadness, anger and fear, anticipation and surprise	25
4 Secondary emotions: the four pairs of opposite primary dyads – love and misery, pride and embarrassment, aggressiveness and alarm, curiosity and cynicism	50
5 Secondary emotions, continued: the four pairs of half-opposite secondary dyads – dominance and submissiveness, optimism and pessimism, delight and disappointment, repugnance and contempt	73
6 Secondary emotions, continued: the eight tertiary dyads – resourcefulness and shock, morbidness and resignation, sullenness and guilt, anxiety and outrage	85
7 Secondary emotions, continued: the four antithetical, quaternary dyads – ambivalence, catharsis, frozenness, confusion	102

x *Contents*

8	The sociorelational approach to the emotions: four elementary forms of sociality	113
9	Affect-spectrum theory: the emotions of rationality and of intimacy	129
10	Affect-spectrum theory, continued: the emotions linking informal community and formal society; a typology of four character structures	142
11	Social identity and social control: pride and embarrassment, pridefulness and shame	172
12	Socialization and the emotions: from alexithymia to symbolic elaboration and creativity	191
13	The development of tertiary emotions: jealousy, envy, ambition, confidence, and hope	200
14	Emotions, violence, and the self: vengefulness and hatred	228
15	A partial empirical test of affect-spectrum theory	241
16	Discussion	254
	<i>Notes</i>	258
	<i>References</i>	264
	<i>Name Index</i>	295
	<i>Subject index</i>	302

# Preface

Emotion is a relatively new topic within the social sciences, particularly in the field of sociology. Since the mid 1980s, the sociology of emotions has come to be recognized as a crucial problem for social theory. Interest in the emotions has increased in every decade since the 1950s, with publications concerning emotions in many fields of inquiry increasing nearly linearly through the second half of the twentieth century and accelerating in the twenty-first. It is most certainly an exciting time for emotions research and theory.

The emotions were linked to medical symptoms by means of hypnosis in the nineteenth century and to the repressed unconscious through psychoanalysis at the dawn of the twentieth century. Then the study of emotions, which showed so much promise at that time with the work of Darwin, Freud, and James, was retarded by the advent of behaviorism in the 1920s and the rise of cognitivism in the 1950s. Neither of these perspectives lent itself easily to modeling the emotions (Evans and Cruse 2005: vi), which were seen as irrational, inaccessible, and refractory to scientific investigation. Emotions have overcome this history, to become a topic for vigorous scientific research effort by psychologists, cognitive scientists, neuroscientists, historians, anthropologists, sociologists, and through all sorts of interdisciplinary efforts.

Sociology, the most general of the social sciences, was founded on the idea of understanding not just society but mind and society, and the mind cannot be understood without considering both affect and rational thought. Clearly, human beings are not motivated entirely by rational choice and socioeconomic calculation but also by non-rational factors, including levels of emotional commitment to norms, values, and beliefs (Durkheim 1893; Hochschild 1975; Thoits 1989). It is entirely obvious that the social, behavioral, and life sciences cannot understand the relationship of people to their social world if emotions are not understood theoretically. As William Ian Miller (1997) observes, emotions “give our world its peculiarly animated quality; they make it a source of fear, joy, outrage, disgust, and delight. They also de-animate the world by making it a cause for boredom and despair. They even provide the basis for our

character and personality traits, our peculiar stance toward ourselves and the outside world” (p. 8). Thus without emotion we are not engaged fully in the world, and without an understanding of emotion we do not know what it means to be so engaged.

Advancement of the social and behavioral sciences requires an understanding of the human mind. This means the social sciences must draw on cognitive neuroscience and on the science of psychology in order to understand thought, perception, and ideas as they impact the social world. Insofar as “emotions are feelings connected to ideas, perception, and cognitions, and to the social and cultural contexts in which it makes sense to have those feelings and ideas...” (Miller 1997: 8), it follows that an understanding of emotions and social relations can only be obtained with theory that considers emotions to be “level-ubiquitous” (de Sousa 1991: 36). That is, emotions require the interaction of three distinct systems. When an emotion, such as anxiety or love, is experienced, “a complex interaction of physiological activity, cognitive activity, and overt [social] behavior takes place” (Comadena 1999: 6). Thus, emotions exist on the levels of brain and body, mind, and society. This book presents such a three-level theory, affect-spectrum theory, which makes possible prediction of the entire spectrum of the emotions – ranging from eight primary emotions, to 28 secondary emotions, to a potential 56 tertiary emotions. This theory will be developed as far as space allows, and it will, at least for its first eight propositions – in which eight primary emotions are predicted from each of the eight elementary social relations – be tested empirically using textual data in two radically different cultures, Australian Aborigines and Euro-Australians.

In studying the literature on primary emotions, I came to the realization that the problem of identifying them has been solvable for nearly half a century, ever since Plutchik (1958) first published his model of the primary and secondary emotions. While Plutchik’s work is widely respected, I know of no one who has claimed it is valid; still, I believe it provides a useful beginning point for developing a general theory of the emotions. Plutchik’s modeling of the secondary emotions (combinations of two of his eight primary emotions), it will be shown, nevertheless leaves much to be desired, and it is a major contribution of this book to have developed a comprehensive model of the secondary emotions, and to have defined 17 of the possible 56 tertiary emotions, the combinations of three primary emotions.

# Acknowledgments

Throughout my career, I have been interested in the human mind and its relationship to the social world. A few scholars have greatly influenced my work and caused me to go in new directions. My first debt of gratitude goes to Dr. Joseph E. Bogen, a brilliant neurosurgeon and neurobiologist who, beginning in 1970, encouraged me to extend my study of the mind to the organ of the mind, the human brain. This led me to develop a perspective that I called “neurosociology” (TenHouten 1997, 1999a), perhaps better termed neurocognitive sociology. Dr. Bogen died recently, and it is a pleasure to acknowledge his friendship, exemplary scholarship, and enlightening conversation, which led me to a serious study of neuroscience. Bogen introduced me to Dr. Klaus Hoppe, a psychiatrist interested in the mentality of survivors of traumatic experiences and alexithymia (no words for feelings) and interhemispheric transfer deficit theory. The resultant study of Dr. Bogen’s split-brain patients and normal controls was the beginning of my investigation of the emotions. The fourth member of our team was Donald O. Walter, a systems physiologist who did much to guide my study of the neurosciences and of neurometric methodology.

My interest in the sociology emotions was triggered by a conversation with sociologist Dave Kemper in 1991 at an annual meeting of the American Sociological Association. He suggested that my perspective on the mind was overly cognitive and should be broadened to include the emotions, and provided excellent advice on how to proceed. He convinced me that a “sociorelational” approach could eventually lead to a general theory linking involvement in social relations to the experience of specific emotions. Professor Kemper also stimulated my interest in the concept of primary, or basic emotions, and their differentiation into the spectrum of affect.

Sociologist Eddie Rose, who died in 2002 at the age of 91, led me to a keen interest in the use of words as units of culture, and in stories told in the everyday world as a basic kind of data for sociological investigation, as expressed in his ethno-ontology. Before my trip to Australia to begin collecting a corpus of life-historical interviews that are used in the data analysis presented in here, I traveled to Boulder and spent several days with

Eddie learning his philosophy of conducting and organizing interviews. For all of Eddie Rose's sage advice and friendship, I am most grateful. The subsequent field research was indirectly supported by a grant from the University of California Pacific Rim Research Program, which enabled me to spend a semester as a Visiting Professor of Sociology at the University of New South Wales. Data acquisition and data processing were facilitated by grants from the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA) Office of Academic Computing. I am grateful for the support, encouragement, facilitation and for the direct involvement in the life-history project from the New South Wales Aboriginal Family Education Centres Federation, with special thanks to Lex Grey, and to Maisie and Kevin Cavanagh and the members of their extended family, and to numerous other Aborigines who have been supportive and helpful during three years of fieldwork, especially the late Wally LeBrocq at Old Burnt Bridge, Kempsey, NSW.

Charles Kaplan, a sociologist with specialization in social psychiatry and substance use and abuse, has been of enormous help in developing many of the ideas in this book. For many months, with interruptions caused by his many travels, we have met every Thursday at UCLA to discuss ideas and the world, and he has made important contributions to many concepts in this book, especially the distinction between catharsis and abreaction and the concept of emotions as an overall adaptive reaction to a life situation. For his help and constructive criticism of several chapters of the manuscript, I am deeply appreciative.

My wife, sociologist Maria Gritsch, who specializes in economic globalization and U.S. labor history, has been an invaluable resource in developing the ideas and theories of this book. She has made important theoretical contributions throughout the work and has provided detailed constructive criticism of the entire manuscript, which she also carefully copy-edited. She read the entire manuscript more than once, offering innumerable theoretical suggestions and criticisms, and offering the encouragement, support, and companionship that made laboring on this book a daily pleasure.

Acknowledgment is made for parts of this book that have appeared elsewhere. The cover is from Sir Frank Dicksee's *La Belle Dame Sans Merci*, exhibit 1902 (detail), City of Bristol Museum and Art Gallery, used with permission. Some of the materials in Chapter 8 originally appeared as "Explorations in Neurosociological theory: from the spectrum of affect to time-consciousness," in D.D. Franks and T.S. Smith (eds), *Mind, Brain, and Society: Toward a Neurosociology of Emotion; Social Perspectives on Emotions*, vol. 5, Greenwich, CT: JAI Press Inc 1999. Some of the materials in Chapters 8 and 9 appeared as "Outline of a socioevolutionary theory of the emotions," *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy*, 16: 189–208, 1996. Much of Chapter 11 and portions of Chapter 12 are in press as "Alexithymia – born of trauma and oppression, to symbolic elaboration and the creative expression of emotion," in J. Kaufman

and J. Baer (eds), *Reason and Creativity in Cognitive Development*, Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, in press. The data presented in Chapter 15 is in press as “Primary Emotions and Social Relations: A First Report,” *Free Inquiry in Creative Sociology*.





# 1 Introduction

This book presents a general theory linking emotions and rational thought to social relationships. This introduction considers scholarly efforts to define emotions and related phenomena before moving into the book's first phase, a classification and description of the emotions. Chapter 2 considers Darwin's evolutionary approach to the emotions and Plutchik's psycho-evolutionary classification of the emotions. Chapter 3 models four pairs of opposite primary emotions – acceptance and rejection/disgust, joy and sadness, anger and fear, and anticipation and surprise. Chapters 4–7 radically revise Plutchik's classification of the secondary emotions, the pairings of primary emotions.

Chapter 8 considers the sociorelational approach to the emotions, pioneered by Kemper (1978). Chapter 8 presents a model of social relations which synthesizes formulations developed in classical sociology, primate and human ethology, and classical and contemporary social theory. Two models, of the emotions and of social relationships, are then used to develop concepts of self and social identity. Chapter 11 explores the relationship between social control and the important emotions of pride and pridefulness, and of embarrassment and shame. Chapter 12 considers the development of emotions and cognition in socialization. Four processes are shown to be involved in developing basic emotions and complex, secondary and tertiary emotions: verbalization, desomatization, symbollexia, and symbolic elaboration. It will be shown that massively traumatic events can retard and even reverse these processes, resulting in deverbilization, resomatization, asymbollexia, and a reduction of symbolic elaboration, which together constitute *alexithymia*, an inability to talk about one's feelings and emotions.

The classification of the emotions in Chapters 4–7 is adequate for a basic consideration of the primary, secondary, and tertiary emotions, but the sociorelational model makes possible a useful reclassification of the emotions, which is carried out, in three stages, in Chapters 9–10. First, the emotions of formal, “agonic” society exist as adaptive reactions to the positive and negative experiences of power-based and market-oriented social relations. These emotions are anger and fear, anticipation and

## 2 Introduction

surprise, and six secondary emotions resulting from pairing these primaries. Anger and anticipation contribute to instrumentally rational action, while the other seven come into play when situations with negative aspects are encountered on the rocky road to rationally organized goal attainment. A parallel argument is then made for the emotions of the informal, “hedonic” community – acceptance, disgust, joy, and sadness – which are reactions to the valenced experiences of exchange-based and communal social relationships. It will be shown that acceptance, joy, and love (the combination of joy and acceptance) are core *natural* emotions, with seven other emotions seen as reactions to problematic experiences of close or intimate personal relationships. Next, a typology of character structures is attained by identifying four clusters of emotions that form bridges between the individual in the informal community and in the larger, formal society. In addition to the secondary emotions of social identity, several of the 16 possible tertiary emotions that address the problem of the individual’s self in society are considered. Emphasis will be given to two pathological character types, those of hostile intentions and of impulsivity/sensation-seeking. Other tertiary emotions – jealousy, envy, ambition, confidence, and hope – are the topic of Chapter 13. Chapter 14 discusses human violence and a final tertiary emotion, that of hatred.

Results from a partial empirical test of this theory are presented in Chapter 15. The dataset used is a corpus of 658 life-historical interviews with Australian-Aborigines and Euro-Australians. Emotions and social relations are measured through lexical-level content analysis of these interviews. It will be shown that the eight independent variables formed from the positive and negative experiences of four elementary social relations are predictive of the eight primary emotions, but in order to obtain a full fit of data to theory, one social relationship – the negative experience of economic, market-based social relations – must be defined differently in the two cultures.

## Emotions and related phenomena

### *Emotions*

At the outset, it is helpful to consider what is meant by emotion and the closely related notions of feeling, mood, sentiment, and affect. As we might expect, emotions have been defined in many ways (see Plutchik 2003: 18–23) using many epistemological orientations. Frijda (1987), using a functionalist approach, defines emotions as “tendencies to establish, maintain, or disrupt a relationship with the environment . . . [so that] [e]motions might be defined as action readiness in response to emergencies or interruptions” (p. 71). This helpful definition suggests emotions are ways in which individuals deal with the people and events they encounter in the social world, as they react to complex social situations. That the

most elementary of emotions are valenced, positive or negative, has been emphasized by psychologists with a cognitive orientation (e.g., Ortony *et al.* 1988). Thus, emotions are ways of coping and adapting to the social situations that life presents. Despite the arguments of some social-constructionists that emotions are purely social (e.g., by Averill 1980 and Harré 1986), emotions also have a biological substrate. The word *emotion* comes from a Latin word, *movere*, meaning “to move” or to “stir up.” Aristotle (383–323 BC), in *De Anima*, spoke of emotions as a principle of movement in human experience. Change occurs in what we feel, Aristotle argued, because jealousy, anger, and the other emotions are the results of sensations reflected upon and thought about, a process that enables us to act in the social world. Aristotle, as we shall see, was on the mark, but his contemporaries saw emotions as visited upon humans by their gods, a view that reappeared in the Middle Ages, when human passions came to be seen as the voice of the Devil (Sennett 1980: 4–5). The psychological meaning of emotion is defined as “a mental ‘feeling’ or ‘affection’ (e.g., of surprise, hope, or fear, and so forth) as distinguished from cognitive or volitional states of consciousness” (*Oxford English Dictionary* 1971: 853; hereafter, *Oxford*) and came into use in the English language in the middle of the nineteenth century.

Strasser (1970: 302) points out that emotional behavior can easily be recognized, and has three defining characteristics: (i) emotions often occur in situations in which one’s vital needs are apt to be at stake; (ii) emotional behavior, by nature, is eruptive and expressive, which is why it stands out, is often easy to recognize, and is often not based on rational grounds after a careful weighing of motives and a search for suitable means to reach a clearly defined goal; and (iii) an emotion is a primitive form of a response to a situation, which is not evaluated in an objective manner but immediately, in light of existential needs, and by means of partial information. Thus, emotions are often described as “hot” and as demonstrating one’s lack of a “cool head.” While emotions are adaptive reactions, they are often maladaptive, as they can be acted upon without due consideration of consequences; a sequence of acts, driven by an emotion, is apt to be performed in an inappropriate, unhelpful, or destructive temporal order. It should not be inferred from this, however, that emotions necessarily undermine reason. Quite the contrary, it will be shown that even the most basic emotions can be understood as efforts to attain rationality.

Aristotle understood that emotions have a social dimension. Consistent with the idea that emotions are adaptive reactions to situations of life, he saw that the totality of a person’s emotional experience provides a framework through which the world is viewed. In his *Rhetoric*, he claimed that the emotions consist of those feelings that so change persons as to affect their judgments, and they are attended by pain or pleasure. An emotion, he also asserted, comes into consciousness together with its own justification. An emotion, for Aristotle, is a mental structure that makes a claim for its

## 4 Introduction

own reasonableness, its own rationality (see also Lear 1990: 49–50). An emotion, then, is potentially rational but it can be irrational to the extent that the framework it provides is invalid, if it is directed inappropriately to an object or person in the world, or if the emotion is in conflict with beliefs, morals, values, and states of affairs that would undermine its justification.

Many emotions are triggered by events significant for the welfare of the organism. As examples: the presence of a prey or a predator; the presence of a friend, enemy, mate, or competitor; a novel occurrence. Emotions are adaptive reactions to such stimuli in the life of an organism. This means that antecedents are related to consequences: for example, the emotion of fear has the associated behavior of flight. As a second example, anger and its associated attack behavior acts to move aside or even destroy a barrier to the satisfaction of a need or the attainment of a goal. Plutchik (1962) argues that a stimulus event results in a cognitive evaluation, a good/bad, plus/minus values judgment, which in turn determines the way we think, feel, and act, which can involve approach of the good and avoidance of the bad.

### *Feelings*

Feelings and emotions are often conflated in everyday discourse. Feelings are described as emotions, as in saying, “I feel angry/jealous/happy.” Emotions, in turn, are often defined in terms of feelings. Feelings refer to a person’s own state of mind, especially with reference to an evaluation of what is agreeable and disagreeable, pleasant or unpleasant. The English word *feeling* has a vast connotation, as it includes the experience of physical drive states, such as hunger, pain, and fatigue, as well as emotional states, so that it refers to all experiences of inner states (Arieti 1970: 136). Antonio Damasio (1999, 2003) describes recent advances in affective neuroscience which elaborate Arieti’s helpful definition and clarify the distinction between emotions and feelings: people react emotionally to objects and events, usually in social interactions, and these emotional reactions are followed up by a pattern of feelings whose necessary components include some levels of pain and pleasure. Thus, emotionally-competent social stimuli trigger emotional reactions, which in turn can contribute to our overall feeling state. Inspired by philosophical insights of Spinoza (2002; lived 1632–1677), Damasio (2003) conceptualizes the human mind as above all else the idea of the human body, such that mental processes are guided by the brain’s various mappings of the body’s parts and systems. Emotions involve actions and movements, often in public view, revealed in facial expression, posture, gesture, specific behaviors, and conversation. Feelings, which follow emotions, are in comparison private, playing out not in the body but in the mind and at a higher level. Of course, we can choose to share our private feelings and talk about them to others, to the extent that they are known to consciousness.

Damasio (2003) argues that pain and pleasure are essential ingredients of feelings. Feelings arise from a set of reactions aimed at maintenance of steady internal states (homeostasis), which include emotions, but also come from other sources of bodily condition, which together find representation in the brain's maps of parts of the body and their states. Feelings reflect emotions and their perturbing effects on the body, but they are also influenced by the brain's mappings of the state of muscles, the posture and orientation of the body, the state of the circulatory, respiratory, digestive and other systems, and brain neurochemistry, all of which are mapped in body-sensing regions of the brain. A feeling, in its essence, is a mind-state expressing an idea of the body. Thus, while the object of an emotion is apt to be external, typically another person with whom one is interacting, the object of a feeling is internal, for it is the body. Emotions, as we will see, are built up from simple adaptive reactions to prototypical life situations, which evolved in animals before the emergence of the brain power and creative intelligence necessary for feelings about our emotions emerged as a vital capability of the human mind.

Consider an example. Upon learning of the death of someone we are close to, we immediately experience the emotion sadness, which is followed up by feelings of sadness and grief. While the emotion sadness can occur well within a second following realization of such a social loss, the corresponding feelings of sadness and grief are experienced later and over a longer period of time. Feelings commonly last for a period of two to twenty seconds (Lutz *et al.* 2002; Damasio 2003: 122) and can recur systematically as the loss is thought about. Such feeling of sadness include thoughts consonant with the emotion of sadness, such as concern for one's saddened or even depressed condition, a sense of fatigue, feelings of disappointment with life, and, on the pathological level, despairing ruminations of death and putrefaction, which might recur over many years and lead to a protracted, or even permanent, state of painful sadness and depression. People are strongly motivated to seek emotional happiness and feelings of well-being, and are equally motivated to avoid negative emotions and feelings of sadness, but it should be kept in mind that life presents problematic situations as well as hopeful opportunities, and that the emotions and feelings appropriate to specific situations, both negative and positive, are adaptive responses to our body, our sense of self, and our social reality.

### *Sentiments*

Sentiments are defined by Steve Gordon (1981) as "socially constructed pattern[s] of sensations, expressive gestures and cultural meanings organized around a relationship to a social object, usually another person . . . or group such as a family" (pp. 566–7). Sentiments include romantic love, parental love, loyalty, patriotism, trust, friendship, happiness, and other relatively enduring social orientations that serve as affect elicitors.

## 6 Introduction

Sentiments typically focus on a particular person or object. Thus, a person can have a longstanding love for a mate or parent, a longstanding sorrow for someone who has died, a longstanding hostility to a rival or competitor. Such sentiments are generated, and continue to exist, as they relate to specific objects, situations, and processes.

Emotions, in contrast to sentiments, are acute, tightly tied to an eliciting situation, and episodic in nature. They are triggered by perceived changes in the environment, usually with respect to another person or a social situation, and have an intense feeling dimension. *Emotional episodes* last longer than emotions. Extended emotional episodes become sentiments. On the temporal level, “sentiments are enduring emotions which last longer than typical emotions, but are shorter than affective traits” (ibid.). Thus, sentiments are emotions with long duration. Emotions that have stable features thus become sentiments. Emotions with this potentiality would include love and hatred, envy and guilt, joy and sadness. Love, for example, can become a long-term favorable attitude toward another person, which is a sentiment, but this sort of stable love can be punctuated by short-term outbursts of passion and strong feelings. Here, the sentiment of love is no mere aggregation of short-term episodes of intense love, for it is rather stable, long lasting, and of a moderate level of intensity, in which the feeling component of the emotion is not continuously present.

### *Moods*

The term “mood” is used in many ways. In ordinary discourse, people use the term broadly to refer to all kinds of feeling states, so that we might be in a happy, cheerful, or blue mood. A narrower usage refers to an intense and pervasive form of feelings, so that we might be in a depressed, anxious, or melancholic mood, where a more general technical term would be an “affective disorder” (Ben-Ze’ev 2000: 86). Moods basically express the subject’s own situation, and in this sense are similar to feelings. But subject–object relationships, which are crucial to emotions, are of lesser importance to moods. Moods differ from emotions in that they are generally of less intensity and longer-lasting than are emotions. Moods and emotions also differ in their causes. Emotions are typically triggered by events and changes in the social environment that are sudden and urgent, but moods are less specifically tied to an eliciting situation and are ordinarily lacking in urgency.

### *Affects*

Brennan (2004) considers an affect to be a sensation of pleasure, or displeasure, or both, together with the ideas associated with this valenced sensation. Ben-Ze’ev (2000: 79–116) defines the “affect realm” very broadly, to include emotions and related phenomena such as sentiments,

moods, and feelings, and affect disorders such as depression, agoraphobia, and social anxiety, which are ultimately topics for the sociology of emotions but are beyond the scope of this book. Consistent with Brenner, Ben-Ze'ev sees affective phenomena as having an inherent positive (pleasurable) or negative (unpleasurable) evaluation, which shows the ideational intention of the affect, and a non-cognitive sensation, or feeling.

Ben-Ze'ev (2000: 83) clarifies the distinction between emotions, sentiments, and affective traits using the example of anger. A tendency to become angry, irrespective of the situation at hand, is an affective trait. Affective traits work their way into the personality, so that we might describe a person as easily irritated and short-tempered. When this person actually becomes angry, "hot under the collar," the experience is one of the emotion anger. There are important temporal differences between emotions and these related concepts. Emotions usually last between a minute and a few hours, whereas sentiments and affective traits, which are basically dispositions, last for a longer period. Moods can last for hours, days, even months. Sentiments can last for weeks, months, years, even decades. Affective traits, and affective disorders, can last a lifetime.

In the everyday world, language provides a rich vocabulary of affect that for each emotion provides for all kinds of distinctions. Consider variants of sadness: *grief* clearly can be an emotion, if it is an acute mental pain resulting from loss, misfortune, or deep disappointment. Grief is both more acute and less enduring than *sorrow*, which can be considered a sentiment. *Mourning*, also a sentiment, refers to a sorrow that is publicly expressed. *Anguish* is a painful, excruciating kind of grief, and *woe* is a deep and inconsolable sorrow. *Sadness* and *unhappiness* are generic subjective terms that apply to this whole range of emotion, and can result from a vague sense of want following the loss of a close personal relationship, from poor health, and from numerous other causes. A person with disheartened spirits can be described as *dejected* and downcast, and such a person can also be characterized as *desolate*, *forlorn*, *gloomy*, *blue*, and *forsaken*, and as having a *dreary* outlook on life (see Fernald 1914/1947: 233, 377–8). Of course, it should be added that not all adult persons are equipped with a technical vocabulary of affect and are apt to use even the most common terms incorrectly, and to conflate everyday notions such as jealousy and envy, shame and guilt, fear and anxiety, disgust and contempt. In this book, the term emotion will be given broad meaning, so that, for example, the discussion of the emotion joy is extended to include the sentiment of happiness and the affective trait of being a happy person.

The language of emotions is thus complex and apt to be ambiguous. A person who is "blue" might describe herself as "depressed" or "sad," which glosses over the fact that to be "sad" is an emotion, whereas to be "depressed" is an affective disorder. She might also, her real feeling notwithstanding, insist that she feels fine and that nothing at all is wrong. People have many and complex reasons for sharing their emotions and



feelings, and just as many for disguising or denying them. We will see that people vary in their ability to verbally express their emotions, and that a wide variety of traumatic experiences can stultify the normal development of emotions, not only in the developing child but also in the adult.

### The complexity of emotions

The emotions have long been topical in philosophy, theology, and psychology, in the social and behavioral sciences, and in biology and the neurosciences. The breadth of interest in this topic suggests that it is in a technical sense *complex*, meaning that its phenomena exist on a multiplicity of levels and as a result can be understood scientifically only by being studied in a wide variety of scientific disciplines and interdisciplinary fields of inquiry, and under the assumptions of differing epistemologies, philosophies, and metatheoretical orientations.

What is required for a general theory of the emotions is a three-level analysis encompassing (i) the biological and the evolutionary, (ii) the mental and the psychological, and (iii) the social and the cultural. Such an approach can be referred to as neurocognitive sociology of the emotions. Whenever a topic requires three-level analysis – of body, mind, and society – it is a certainty that evolution has been at work, and this is indeed true of emotions. As Friston *et al.* (1994) point out, an ability to ascribe value to events in the world, which is evident across all kinds of animal species, is a product of evolutionarily selective processes. *Value*, in this context, means simply an ability to sense the world and then to appraise events or situations in the world as desirable or undesirable, positive or negative, to determine to which problems of life these events refer, and then to develop adaptive responses. Value means significance or meaning and is by nature sociorelational. To have valuable information about something is to apprehend some social relationship in which value can be found. An adaptive reaction to a social relationship, by definition, includes an emotional component. Emotions signal that a social situation demands attention. They are adaptive reactions to the simplest and most basic problems of life and also to problems of great complexity. Emotions represent “complex psychological and physiological states that, to a greater or lesser degree, indicate occurrences of value” (Dolan 2002: 1191). The more complexity there is in an animal’s environment, the greater will be its range of emotions. Because human beings have created the most complex of environments – involving culture, language, social interactions, and social organization on an immense, global scale – it follows that humans also have developed, by far, the greatest range of emotions. As Dolan (*ibid.*) explains, “[e]motion provides the principal currency in human relationships as well as the motivational force for what is best and worst in human behavior. . . . More than any other species, we are beneficiaries and victims of a wealth of emotional experience” (p. 1191).

Emotions are absolutely necessary to rational thought, yet are apt to result in rigid and fixed belief systems. A state of emotional equilibrium is necessary for human happiness, but emotional disequilibrium contributes to unhappiness and to a whole range of mental disorders and pathologies. Understanding and control of emotions promotes adaptation to the problems of life, but emotions can go out of control, resulting in intemperate outbursts of anger, disgust, envy, jealousy, resentment, hatred, a thirst for vengeance, and a whole tangle of pathologies of mind and behavior. As Le Rochefoucauld wisely cautioned, “[t]he passions possess an unjust and selfish quality that makes them dangerous to follow. We should learn to distrust them even when they appear most reasonable.” Understanding of emotions and passions, then, is absolutely essential for an understanding of human behavior. The discipline of sociology, the most general science of human social behavior, requires, for its own progress, an explicit inclusion not only of cognition and thought, but also of emotion. The more we learn about the emotions, the more important they seem. Understanding of emotions is of course valuable on the personal level. To understand what emotions are, generally, and to be able to analyze particular emotions, including the circumstances of social life in which they are most apt to occur, is to gain understanding of self and an enhanced ability to deal effectively with immediate social situations and with long-term relationships, and to formulate realistic goals and work with confidence and effectiveness to attain these goals. Knowledge is power, and knowledge of one’s emotions contributes to knowledge of one’s mind, self, personality, character, and prospects for success and failure.

## 2 From Darwin to psychoevolutionary theories of primary and secondary emotions

### Darwin on the evolution of the emotions

When Charles Darwin published *On the Origin of Species* in 1859, the Bishop of Worcester's wife was most distressed. "Let us hope it is not true," she is said to have remarked. "But if it is, let us pray that it does not become generally known!"

(Opening of a lecture by R.D. Keynes)

Darwin was an exceptionally gifted biologist who did much to shape our conception of the nature of the human being and our place in the universe. His theory of evolution, claiming a continuity of all species, provoked a major revolution in the history of ideas (Petrinovich 1973: 223). This theory was, and continues to be, met with outrage and scorn because it placed the human being in a modest position in the universe. Suddenly, the sharp line that theology had drawn between the Human and the beasts of the animal world was dramatically obliterated. Darwin had shown that the human is but one animal species, a mammal, a primate, an ape closely related to the chimpanzee and the bonobo, which gradually evolved through natural selection (Dennett 1995: 34).

Darwin realized that evolution applied not only to anatomy and morphology but also to an animal's mind and expressive behavior. His study of emotional expression led him to conclude that behavioral patterns and mental activities are as reliably characteristic of species as are bodily structures. It follows that human intelligence, and emotions as well, have an evolutionary history. Darwin's work on the emotions was presented in a single book, *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals* (1872; hereafter, *Expression*) originally intended to be a chapter of *The Descent of Man* (1871). Darwin claimed that we cannot understand human emotional expressions without first understanding the emotional expressions of other animal species. He asserted:

With mankind some expressions, such as the bristling of hair under extreme terror, or the uncovering of the teeth under that of furious



Figure 2.1 Charles Darwin 1809–1882 (source: this figure was drawn by Steve McAfee (© 2005) and is reprinted with his permission).

## 12 *Theories of primary and secondary emotions*

rage, can hardly be understood, except on the belief that man once existed in a much lower and animal-like condition. The commonality of certain expressions in distinct though allied species, as in the movement of the same facial muscles during laughter by men and by various monkeys, is rendered somewhat more intelligible, if we believe they're descended from a common progenitor.

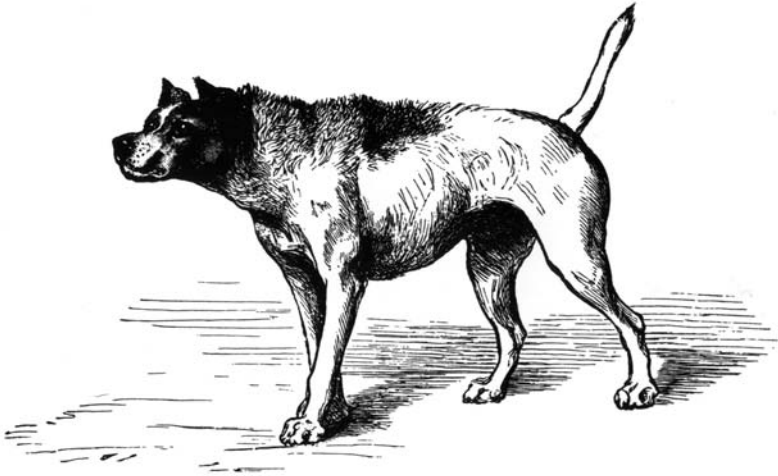
(Darwin 1872/1965: 12)

Darwin saw that communication is more highly developed in the human than in any other animal, for only humans enjoy the power of speech. His focus, nonetheless, was on facial expressions. He saw an evolutionary connection between animal and human behavior, for example, an animal baring its teeth and the snarl of a human being. Similarly, flushing of the face with anger is characteristic of monkeys and humans alike. Throughout the vertebrates Darwin found involuntary erection of body hairs, ruffling of feathers, and erection of extradermal appendages with fear and anger: this reaction creates the appearance of larger size and is frightful to enemies and rivals.

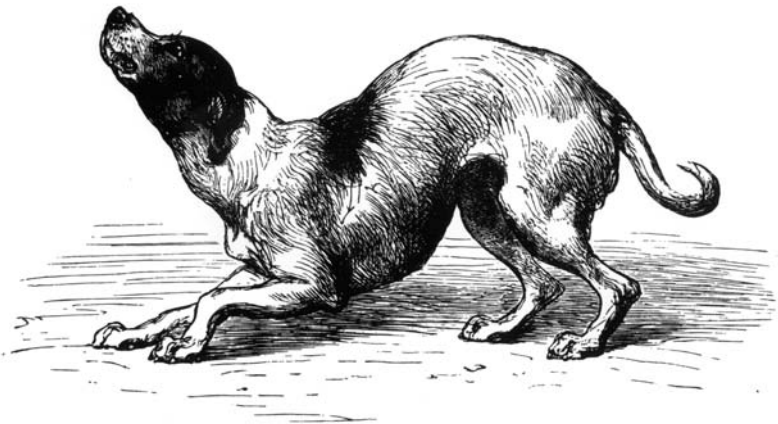
Darwin proposed three principles which, he dubiously claimed, work together to account for the involuntary expressions and gestures of human and other animals: (i) the principle of serviceable associated habits; (ii) the principle of direct actions of the nervous system that are independent of will and of habit; and (iii) the principle of antithesis. The first two principles are highly flawed and find no application in contemporary emotions theory (see Fridlund 1992); the third was articulated in a confusing and obtuse manner (Ghiselin 1969: 206). Yet, the principle of antithesis was important and will find application and elaboration in this book. The principle of antithesis holds that once a state of mind is accompanied by an associated habit, a contrary state of mind tends to evoke an opposite habit, performed involuntarily. For example, a dog threatens, is on 'point', its teeth bared, tail erect, on its toes, back hair standing on end (as in Figure 2.2A), suddenly recognizes that the man in the distance is his master and immediately switches to a cowering, submissive posture (Figure 2.2B). Anger and fear are an obvious example of opposite emotions, alike in some ways, opposite in others, whose basic behaviors are opposite: in anger, there is a moving toward opportunity; in fear, a moving away from danger. Both emotions make the hair stand on end, an effect that is maximized when these evaluations of fear and anger are combined, or when one quickly succeeds the other after a frozen moment.

Ever since Darwin, evolution-oriented theorists of emotions have understood that members of various species employ emotions as adaptive reactions to problems posed by the environment, to thereby increase their chances of survival and reproduction. Human ethologist Irenäus Eibl-Eibesfeldt (1989) postulated that a number of emotional expressions are

A



B



*Figure 2.2* A mixed-breed Shepard dog in antithetical postures. Panel A: Approaching another dog with hostile intentions; Panel B: The same dog in a humble and affectionate frame of mind. Both figures drawn by M. Riviere (source: Darwin's 1872/1965: 54–5, figures 7–8).

universal because of genetically-inherited “fixed action patterns” that vary across individuals and contexts. Similar conceptualizations emerged in the differential emotions theories of Silvan Tomkins (1962, 1963, 1991, 1992), Carroll Izard (1971, 1977, 1980) and Robert Plutchik (1958, 1962, 1980).

### Psychoevolutionary theories of primary and secondary emotions

Here, an emotion will be considered basic, more specifically, *primary*, if: (i) it also exists in other animal species; (ii) it has a specific, innately determined biological basis in brain organization (see Panksepp 1982, 1992, 1998; MacLean 1973, 1977, 1990; LeDoux 1996; Rolls 2001, 2004); (iii) it develops very early in life; (iv) it is irreducible, not composed of two or more simpler emotions; and (v) it has a distinctive neuromuscular-expressive pattern manifested in facial expression, posture, or gesture suggesting it is universal for humans (Darwin 1872; Ekman 1973, 1980, 2003). The first four criteria are necessary conditions for considering an emotion primary, and the fifth criterion is sufficient but not necessary.

Ortony and Turner (1990) reject the concept of primary emotions. They do so because different scholars have used various criteria for identifying primary emotions and have proposed very different lists. For example, some scholars include terms chosen by them alone: Only Alexander Shand (1914) includes repugnance; only Osgood *et al.* (1975) include boredom; only Plutchik (1962) includes acceptance; and only Frijda (1987: 88) includes arrogance, humility, indifference, and confidence. Selected scholars and their candidate inventories of primary emotions are shown in Table 2.1. Classical Chinese medicine identified two pairs of opposite emo-

*Table 2.1* Primary emotions proposed by various scholars: an incomplete listing

<i>Theorist</i>	<i>Proposed primary emotions</i>
Descartes (1647b)	joy, sadness, wonder, love, hatred, desire,
Tomkins (1962, 1963)	fear-terror, anger-rage, enjoyment-joy, interest-excitement, surprise-startle, distress-anguish, disgust, dissmell, shame-humiliation
Plutchik (1962, 1980)	fear, anger; joy, distress/sadness; anticipation, surprise; acceptance, disgust
Osgood <i>et al.</i> (1975)	fear, anger, joy, anxiety-sorrow, quiet pleasure, interest/expectancy, amazement, boredom, disgust
Arieti (1970)	fear, rage, satisfaction, tension, appetite
Izard (1972)	fear, anger, joy, distress, interest, surprise, shame (shyness, guilt), contempt, disgust
Ekman (1973, 1980)	fear, anger, happiness, sadness, surprise, disgust
Emde (1980)	fear, anger, joy, sadness, interest, surprise, distress, shame, shyness, guilt, disgust
Scott (1980)	fear, anger, pleasure, loneliness, anxiety, love
Panksepp (1982)	fear, rage, panic, expectancy
Epstein (1984)	fear, anger, joy, sadness, love
Trevarthen (1984)	fear, anger, happiness, sadness
Johnson-Laird and Oatley (1992)	fear, anger, happiness, sadness, disgust
Turner (2002)	aversion-fear, assertion-anger, satisfaction-happiness, disappointment-sadness

tions – anger and fear, happiness and sadness. Ekman (1980) proposes six emotions that have a shared meaning on the level of facial expression across cultures, the four of the Chinese system, along with disgust and surprise. These are the same six emotions that Darwin (1872) described as existing in facial expressions across human cultures, as shown in Figure 2.3. Many researchers similarly consider these six emotions primary. Still another scholar has added a seventh emotion, Tomkins' (1962) interest, which is similar to Plutchik's exploration/anticipation and to Descartes' wonder.

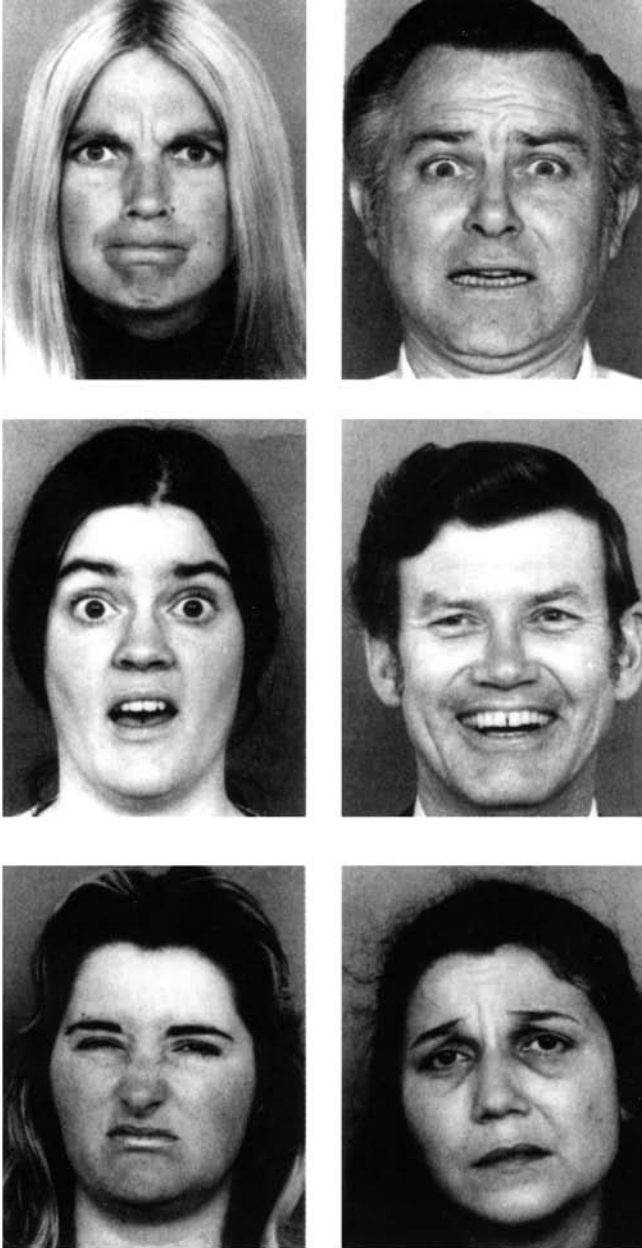
### Plutchik's model of primary emotions

Despite controversy concerning the primary emotions, one conceptual scheme stands above the rest. It is Plutchik, I contend, who has, since 1958, gotten it right. Plutchik's classification of the primary emotions comes with a straightforward rationale. Working in the nativistic, psycho-evolutionary tradition, Plutchik uses two of Darwin's key ideas about emotions. First, Plutchik defines emotions as adaptive reactions to basic problems of life and then goes beyond Darwin by *specifying* these life problems. And second, Plutchik extends Darwin's principle of antithesis by insisting that primary emotions must come in pairs of opposites. Combining these two principles together with the idea that emotions are valenced, it follows that for each elementary, irreducible problem of life, there are two primary emotions, one for adapting to a positive situation, an opportunity, and one for a negative, problematic situation, an obstacle. Plutchik proposes that there are exactly four problems of life that are shared by all species of animals – *identity*, *temporality* (reproduction), *hierarchy*, and *territoriality*. In Chapter 8, it will be more modestly argued that these four problems of life are shared by higher animals – reptiles, birds, and mammals.

*Identity* concerns membership in social groups, and is an existential problem of great interest to social psychology (Worchel *et al.* 1998), and social cognition theory (Abrams and Hogg 1999). Members of many species of animals must recognize their own kind and specific other individuals as well. Identity is a problem of two opposed primary emotions, *acceptance* (taking in, incorporating) and *rejection* (expelling). Thus, on the social level, the problem of acceptance/rejection concerns who is to be accepted as a member of the species and the group. Of course, identity also has to do with one's body as well as social group membership.

*Temporality* is the term Plutchik has chosen to describe sexual reproduction. All animals are temporal in that they are born, live, and die. Among humans, the problem of temporality has led to the development of important social institutions – the family, the kinship system, clans, tribes, communities, and so forth. Plutchik argues that happiness and distress (sadness) are adaptive reactions to the positive and negative experiences of





*Figure 2.3* Photographs of Americans expressing each of the six emotions Ekman (1980) used in his cross-cultural research. Reprinted by permission of Paul Ekman.

temporality, by which he refers to the limitation of time and to the cycle of life and death, according to which we are in our communal lives, for example, happy when the baby is born and saddened when the parent dies. Distress signals following loss and death are widespread in the animal kingdom, which trigger cries for sympathy and social support. On the functional level, the positive experience of temporality is reproduction; the negative experience, reintegration, refers to the reconstitution of the family or community following the absence or death of a group member.

*Hierarchy* is the “vertical” dimension of social life (Schwartz 1981). It is a broad concept whose meaning includes power, influence, authority, status, prestige, and rank. Hierarchy is a key topic in political sociology, political science, small group research, and comparative primate and human ethology (Barchas 1984). With social dominance comes first access to food, sex, shelter, and comfort. Some animals are stronger and more skilled than others, a hard fact that all living creatures confront in their everyday lives: the choice is to work toward upward social mobility or settle for lower status and rank. Plutchik argues that anger and fear are the adaptive reactions to the positive and negative experiences of hierarchy. The first solution requires anger and possibly attack behavior, whereas the second involves fear and withdrawal. On the functional level, anger means destruction; fear, protection.

*Territoriality* is also a universal problem of life. Each organism must establish a territory that “belongs” to it on some level, a safe place that provides for nourishment and other needs. A territory is ordinarily defined by its boundaries, which different kinds of animals mark in various ways. Human territory can be possessed or owned by an individual or a collectivity, and can comprise social spaces, including both private and public places, in which an individual feels comfortable and at home. Territory can be generalized to include not only geographical space but all that is of value, so that an individual person’s territory includes crystallized energy in the form of money, securities, commodities such as vehicles, dwelling units, clothing, and so on, and all kinds of symbolic capital – hereditary titles, job titles, grade point averages, academic degrees, trophies, medals, awards and honorable mentions, standardized test scores, and so forth. Territoriality, when given such a broad definition, is a key topic in economic sociology, human geography, and ecological psychology. On the functional level, command and control of one’s territory requires *exploration* and an ability to plan, monitor, expect, and anticipate. Opposed to the behavior of opening territory through exploration is *orientation*, with its implied surprise and loss of control, as one’s boundary is penetrated and loses its enclosure function. The most generic subjective terms for these two emotions are anticipation and surprise.

The difference between Ekman and his co-workers’ six emotions that would appear to be recognized cross culturally and Plutchik’s eight primary emotions is spanned by acceptance and anticipation. But Darwin

(1872) showed little interest in these two emotions. He did not apply his antithesis principle where it was most needed, in delineating the most basic of the emotions. While Darwin (1872/1965: 76, 84) paid great attention to the emotions surprise/astonishment as a reaction to the unexpected, he referred to anticipation only in a context of another emotion, joy, describing how the anticipation of a pleasurable and joyful experience, rather than the pleasure itself, stimulates brain, body, and voice. And while he was keenly interested in disgust, Darwin (*ibid.*: 272, 32) made scant reference to acceptance, referring to it once with respect to the ingestion of food, once contrasting the behaviors of turning away the head or nodding the head in affirmation or rejection of a proposition.

The distance between the two models can be spanned using Darwin's principle of antithesis. Anger and fear are opposites, and joy and sadness are opposites. They are common to Ekman and Plutchik. Ekman adds to these four, disgust and surprise. If disgust, which essentially means rejection (of the self or of others, and of unhealthy and foul things) is a primary emotion, then its opposite, *acceptance*, must also be primary. And if surprise, our adaptive reaction to a violation of our territory, or even to our world-view and belief system, is a primary emotion, then the opposite of surprise, our response to the misexpected, *anticipation* (functionally, exploration), must be primary. Acceptance clearly does not possess a universally-recognized facial expression. Anticipation, which is similar to interest, might, but the data supporting this view are not strong.

Plutchik (1962, 1980) describes each of the eight primary emotions as having responsibility for a general function, contributing to an individual's well-being. Each is thus a prototype<sup>1</sup> motivating a complex set of subjective, cognitive, physiological, and behavioral processes that work together to structure response to an urgent problem. He advances several propositions about the emotions: (i) the concept of emotion is applicable to all evolutionary levels and applies to all animals; (ii) emotions have an evolutionary history, having evolved various forms of expression in different species; and (iii) emotions serve an adaptive function, helping animals deal with key survival issues posed by the environment. He further proposes: (iv) there are four elementary situations universally posed by the environment, as described above; (v) beyond the eight primary emotions, all other emotions are mixed or derivative states, occurring as combinations of the primary emotions; and (vi), primary emotions are hypothetical constructs that cannot be directly observed. Plutchik (1980: 129) also advances two structural postulates: (vii) primary emotions can be viewed as pairs of polar opposites; and (viii) emotions vary in their degree of similarity to each other: this postulate is embodied in Plutchik's 1962 "wheel," in which the four dimensions, corresponding to the four problems of life, are shown as lines with a common midpoint, arranged as a circle, technically a circumplex (Plutchik and Conte 2002) with the positioning of emotions determined according to a principle of similarity.<sup>2</sup> The four positive emo-

tions (acceptance, joy, anger, and anticipation) are grouped together in Figure 2.4B, indicating that valence is an important criterion of similarity, which means the four, opposite negative emotions (disgust, distress or sadness, fear, and surprise) must also be grouped together.

Plutchik's theoretical basis for judging the similarity of primary emotions is not revealed, so an effort will be made here to explain why Plutchik's earlier 1962 version of his "wheel" (hereafter, the "1962 wheel," preserved in the 1991 edition) surpasses his later 1980 version, where he exchanged the hierarchy and territoriality axes, thereby exchanging the placement of fear and surprise, and of anger and anticipation. In both arrangements, fear and surprise are adjacent, a positioning consistent with Darwin's (1872) observation that the highest levels of surprise and fear, which he termed astonishment and terror, are similarly adaptive reactions to a possible threat in the surrounding territory: surprise is the adaptive reaction to a violation of one's space or territory; and terror, and fear in general, is an adaptive reaction whose behavioral component is a moving away from the potential threat, a retreat into a safer place or more secure territory. "Fear," Darwin (1872/1965) wrote, "is often preceded by astonishment" (p. 289). Fear, terror, and horror, Darwin pointed out, are all classified by an open mouth, raised eyebrows, widely opened eyes, and blanched skin. In these closely related emotions, a person can suffer an increased heart rate, cold sweat, a dry mouth, and hairs standing on end.

Fear and surprise thus should be adjacent. A next question we can ask is: What emotion is most similar to surprise, the prototypical negative

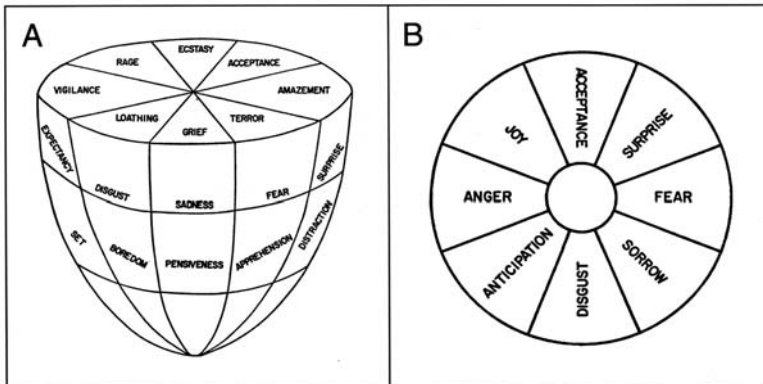


Figure 2.4 Panel A: Plutchik's model of the primary emotions, his "top," showing an arrangement of the eight primary emotions each described by terms indicating increasing levels of intensity (the vertical dimension); Panel B: Plutchik's "wheel," a circumplex for emotions based on a horizontal cross-section of the multidimensional model of emotions shown in Panel A. Sources: Panel A is from Plutchik (1962/1991: 111, figure 1). Reprinted by permission of University Press of America.

reaction to the negative experience of territoriality? Assuming that valence is a crucial criterion of similarity, the candidates are the remaining two negatively-valenced emotions, disgust and sadness. Sadness is indeed similar to fear, as fear is a sudden sense of powerlessness, and sadness involves a social loss that one has been powerless to avoid. Further, both involve the self: fear is triggered by a threat to the self; sadness, by a loss to the self (Oatley and Jenkins 1996: 101). In disgust, the defining function is rejection and the defining cause is recognition of the need to reject what is in the environment, or to recognize that one has been rejected, or treated as disgusting by others, a potential loss of social identity. But this is not disgust itself, rather a further reaction to move away from what is disgusting. Physically disgusting things are usually dealt with very naturally by averting one's gaze or turning away one's nose; by removing oneself from an unclean, contaminated, disgusting object or place. For gruesome or unpleasant sights and smells, reaction to disgust can be overruled, because there is also a natural curiosity about disgusting things that can even be enjoyed beyond the boundaries of polite society. Thus, moving away from what is disgusting might or might not happen, so that while fear has moving-away-from as its defining behavior, the same is not true of disgust.

Fear and disgust share the tendency to motivate avoidance. But their basic dissimilarity has been documented by Vernon and Berenbaum (2002), whose study of emotional reactions to spiders suggests that "an emotional reaction of disgust is very different from a reaction of fear" (p. 810), for three reasons. First, while fear and disgust are avoidant-motivated reactions to an undesirable stimulus, they are associated with different cognitive patterns (Frijda *et al.* 1989; Lazarus 1991). In fear-motivation there is an effort to take in as much information as possible, whereas in disgust-motivation, the offending stimulus is shut out (Ellsworth and Smith 1988). Second, fear and disgust have nearly opposite physical manifestations, nausea and a slowing of the heart in disgust, but a pounding heart in the case of fear (Levenson 1994). And third, the accompanying facial expressions are markedly different: in fear, there are raised eyebrows and a tense mouth (Ekman and Friesen 1975), whereas in disgust the upper lip is raised and the nose wrinkled. Thus disgust and fear are markedly different, so that sadness, not disgust, should be placed adjacent to fear.

Thus, we have established that "sadness  $\bowtie$  fear  $\bowtie$  surprise," where " $\bowtie$ " means "is adjacent to." Given that the four negative emotions should be placed together, we now need only decide if the remaining negative emotion, disgust, is most similar to sadness or surprise. There is a close connection between sadness and disgust. In sadness, we feel a sense of loss of a valued other person; in being rejected, being treated as if one were disgusting to others, we feel a sense of loss of the self. Both involve a sense of social isolation and negative feelings about the self. There would appear to be less similarity between surprise and disgust than between sadness and

disgust. Surprise results from penetration of one's territorial boundary, whereas disgust results from rejecting or being rejected in one's identity. What is disgusting is not always a surprise, as we expect that certain situations will provoke disgust, and we are taken by surprise by unexpectedly disgusting stimuli in the environment. And what is surprising is hardly always disgusting, as in the case of one's surprise birthday party or other surprising, and pleasant, events in the social world. Thus, it would appear that disgust should be placed adjacent to sadness rather than surprise. Thus, disgust is placed adjacent to sadness but two positions from anger.

This placement also makes sense in terms of the type of autonomic features that can diagnose emotions, for "disgust is associated with either minimal or a predominantly parasympathetic (de-arousing) response. Autonomically, disgust is therefore more like sadness and less like fear and anger, with its sympathetic arousal" (Rozin, Haidt *et al.* 1999: 189). Because there are only four dimensions in the wheel, the conclusion that "disgust  $\bowtie$  sadness  $\bowtie$  fear  $\bowtie$  surprise" also means that the positive emotions must be in this sequence: "acceptance  $\bowtie$  joy  $\bowtie$  anger  $\bowtie$  anticipation." This determined the entire wheel consistent with the 1962 version but not the later version, which need not be referred to again.

Plutchik's final postulate holds: (ix) each emotion can exist in varying degrees of intensity or levels of arousal. Plutchik conveys this idea with Figure 2.4A, known as his "top." This figure shows intensity as a vertical dimension referring to level of arousal, from deep sleep at the base, where emotions are not experienced at all, to maximum intensity at the top. Table 2.2 shows various terms referring to level of intensity for each of the eight primary emotions.

This discussion is summarized in Table 2.3. The leftmost column lists the four problems of life. The second column shows the functions of the

Table 2.2 Descriptive terms for each of the eight primary emotions, arrayed by increasing levels of intensity

<i>Primary emotions</i>	<i>Descriptive terms<sup>a</sup> (from lowest to highest intensity)</i>
Protection	timidity, wariness, apprehension, fear, fright, terror
Destruction	annoyance, irritation, exasperation, anger, rage, fury
Reproduction	serenity, cheerfulness, happiness, joy, elation
Reintegration	pensiveness, gloominess, dejection, sadness, grief
Incorporation	acceptance, liking, respect, adoration, worship
Rejection	dislike, disgust, revulsion, loathing
Exploration	mindfulness, inquisitiveness, anticipation, fascination
Orientation	close-attention surprise astonishment amazement

Note

a The selected terms deviate considerably from various selections by Plutchik, who includes many terms that would much better fit, and in certain cases even define, certain secondary emotions. For example, he lists delight under happiness but here delight = happiness & surprise.

eight emotions, and, in parentheses, the most common subjective terms for these emotions. For the existential problem of hierarchy, for example, the functions are destruction and protection, which are known by the terms anger and fear. The third column shows that the behavior of anger is “moving toward” and of fear “moving away from.” The valences of anger and fear are positive and negative, respectively. It might seem counterintuitive to consider anger a positive emotion, and indeed several researchers have assigned it a negative valence because it is associated with unpleasant eliciting situations (Ekman and Davidson 1994; Ekman and Friesen 1975) and occurs in situations that are incongruent with one’s goals (Lazarus 1991). But anger *is* positive in that it is an emotion that evokes behavioral tendencies of approach and is associated with attack behavior, functioning to move aside, or destroy or move aside, an obstacle standing in the way of a goal, which is an assertive course of action (Darwin 1872; Plutchik 1980). Fear is a self-protective response of moving away from a dangerous or problematic person or situation, which is clearly of negative valence insofar as it is both unpleasant and avoidant motivated.

### Limitations of Plutchik’s model

Plutchik’s model of the primary emotions is far from being universally accepted. Some scholars reject out of hand the notion that some emotions are more ‘basic’ than others. Others suggest that the list is incomplete, and that an adequate model would specify other problems of life not incorporated in Plutchik’s model. Yet another objection is that there is nothing magical or even special about the number four, although some scholars,

Table 2.3 Basic concepts of Plutchik’s model of the primary emotions

<i>Problem of life</i>	<i>Primary emotion (most generic subjective term(s))</i>	<i>Behavioral process</i>	<i>Valence</i>
Hierarchy	destruction (anger)	moving toward	positive
	protection (fear)	moving away from	negative
Territory	exploration, interest <sup>a</sup> (anticipation)	opening a boundary	positive
	orientation (surprise)	closing a boundary	negative
Identity	incorporation (acceptance)	taking in	positive
	revulsion of incorporation, rejection (disgust)	expelling	negative
Temporality	reproduction (joy, happiness)	gaining	positive
	reintegration (sadness, grief)	losing	negative

Note

- a The inclusion of interest, which is seen as synonymous with exploration, is a contribution not of Plutchik but of Tomkins (1962: Chapter 10), who sees interest-excitement as a first positive emotion expressed by a newborn human baby.

notably the great analytic psychotherapist and protégé of Freud, Carl Jung, came close to making such an argument, and did so in an important way.<sup>3</sup> Despite these reservations, the Plutchik model makes a great deal of sense and provides a beginning point for the theory to be presented in this book.

The value of Plutchik's (1962) identification of primary is that it enabled him to attempt definitions of 24 secondary emotions. In the following three chapters, the secondary emotions will be discussed at length. We will consider not 24 but 28, for Plutchik did not consider the four emotions that combine the pairs of opposite primary emotions to be secondary emotions, thereby missed an obvious opportunity to extend the principle of antithesis. Of the secondary emotions he does define, we will find that six of his definitions cannot be accepted at all, and that eight others cannot be accepted in full. While Plutchik has had over four decades to elaborate the meanings of his secondary emotions, to justify their interpretations, he has done so only in a perfunctory way.

In the subtitle of his 1962 book, Plutchik referred to his psychoevolutionary conceptualization as a *model*. Yet inside the book he paid careful attention to the logical requirements of *theory*, and referred to the general statements, including the ones discussed above, as its basic postulates. But does his work really constitute a theory, as he sometimes implies? Plutchik's work is impressive, especially his identification of four existential problems and his valid *substantive* interpretation of the positive and negative reactions to these four dimensions as eight specific primary emotions. But while his conceptualization is tantalizingly close to a theory, it falls just short. Consider an example. Plutchik sees fear as the adaptive reaction to the negative experience of hierarchy. But he leaves *implicit* the conditions under which a person will experience fear. He could have conceptualized fear and other emotions as effects of experiencing his four existential problems, but he did not. Such a causal conceptualization requires an if-then proposition: if a person is having a negative experience of hierarchy, essentially a feeling of powerlessness, then that person should adapt to this situation with fear.

For secondary emotions, Plutchik again provides definitions but not causal propositions. For example, Plutchik appropriately defines "pride = anger + joy." But he does not state the obvious proposition: if a person in a complex social situation simultaneously has a positive experience of hierarchy and a positive experience of temporality, their emotional reaction should be one of an angry joy, which he defines as pride.

The present theory includes Plutchik's model of primary emotions, radically revises his classification of secondary emotions, and includes 17 tertiary emotions. It surpasses Plutchik by providing an original formulation that enables prediction of the entire spectrum of the emotions based on knowledge of involvement in ongoing social relations. The resulting theory of the emotions, for this reason, will be termed *affect-spectrum*



*theory*. This is a *general* theory, as claimed in the title, in that the socio-relational variables – the elementary forms of sociality, and the primary emotions proposed to be the prototypical adaptive reactions to life's problems – are both culturally universal and based upon evolutionary neurobiology. The theory is then extended to include a deeper study of the relationship between rationality and the emotions. The analysis of reason and emotions presented here suggests that the cognitive structures, including the two polarities of information processing, also are humanly universal and biologically based.

### Primary and secondary emotions

Social constructionist theorists of emotions have challenged the very existence of primary emotions by describing emotional phenomena that exist in one culture but not in another. As an example, they cite the Japanese notion of *amae* (Morsbach and Tyler 1986) which can be described as a tendency to depend upon, presume, or coax another's love, kindness, and indulgence, to be treated softly and loosely with great empathy, like a dependent child, in familiar contexts where intimate communications are largely nonverbal (Doi 1973). A flaw in this argument is that *amae* is not an emotion but rather a sentiment. And while every person in every culture develops the primary emotions very early in life, sentiments emerge later. Indeed, the Japanese sentiment, *amae*, can be indulged in by mature adults with the desire and opportunity to do so but is eschewed by many in Japanese culture. Such descriptions of culturally-specific sentiments are interesting and important, but hardly undermine the notion of primary emotions.

What difference does it make which emotions are primary and which not? Some scholars maintain that the number of emotions, which they see as arbitrary cultural creations, is impossible to determine. But if there are a certain number of existential problems, and given that the bipolarity principle demands that each problem requires two primary emotions of opposite valence, then the number of *possible* emotions can indeed be determined. If Plutchik is correct that there are four fundamental problems of life, then there are exactly eight primary emotions. It is then just a matter of combinatorial logic to deduce that there are 28 secondary emotions, all of which will be considered in the next four chapters. Also, there can be as many as 56 tertiary emotions, as there are 56 distinct subsets of three elements that can be selected from a set of eight objects. Thus, if Plutchik's model of the primary emotions is correct, there can be *at most* 92 emotions, of which eight are primary, 28 secondary, and 56 tertiary.

### 3 The four pairs of opposite primary emotions

Acceptance and disgust, joy and sadness, anger and fear, anticipation and surprise

This chapter considers the eight primary emotions as four pairs of opposites. We first focus on acceptance and disgust, followed by joy and sadness, anger and fear, then anticipation and surprise. Following chapters consider the primary dyads (the emotions one position apart in Plutchik's 1962 wheel), the secondary dyads (two positions apart), the tertiary dyads (three positions apart), and the quaternary, or antithetical, dyads (four positions apart).

#### Acceptance and disgust

##### *Acceptance*

Acceptance (on the functional level, incorporation) is a primary emotion present at birth. In the best of circumstances it is initiated by a human infant, who reaches out, seeking contact and nourishment, which requires of the caregiver an active adaptation in responding to the baby's own initiative when he is capable of accepting and dealing with the mother.<sup>4</sup> Acceptance, as an emotion, means the acceptance of, or taking in of, a pleasure-producing object, especially the acceptance of another person, even of a stray dog. In the adult human, acceptance becomes much more complicated than it was in infancy, and refers not only to acceptance of other people, as parents, family members, valued colleagues, acquaintances, friends, even lovers, but of course also means acceptance *by* others. Both types of acceptance involve our sense of identity. The quest for social acceptance has as its complement fear of rejection. As Schlenker (1980) observes, those with low self-esteem and the highest needs for acceptance "are more gratified when accepted by others and more disenchanting when rejected" (p. 189).

Object-relations theorists have developed insight into early experience with incorporation, the functional level of acceptance. The ego of the infant, Fairbairn (1952: 10) argues, is above all else a mouth-ego, for the mouth is the child's organ of desire and the child's instrument of activity, medium of satisfaction and frustration, and the first means of intimate

contact. On the most primitive level, the newborn baby's impulse to survive expresses itself in terms of bodily ingestion, as if the self were one hungry mouth, directed at taking the world into itself. Holbrook explains:

The first urge to survive is felt as a voracious impulse to ingest by mouth-self. [T]he child's ego is a mouth ego and the libidinal urge to live is closely associate with intense oral feelings, this aggression is experienced like a voracious mouth within one. *This "mouth" becomes the dominant symbol in all hate* ("and appetite . . .").

(Holbrook 1972: 37, 25, emphasis in original)

The frustrated and hungry infant seeks not to destroy the breast but to possess it (Guntrip 1961: 342). If the child does not experience acceptance and love in the earliest stages of life, he or she will feel rejected, and will be filled with a fear that love itself is harmful. Such deprivation has the effect of enlarging his or her field of incorporative need (ibid.: 11–12). Thus, we might expect that pathology in nurturance of the infant and a lack of love shown to the child eventually leads to a desire to consume and empty others. On the societal level, where such pathology is widespread, ingestion, more generally, acquisitiveness, becomes a pathological basis of identity and status. There is in people who have not experienced an adequate level of acceptance in the beginning of life a sensed need to feel alive by means of an appetite to incorporate through consuming, a tendency relentlessly reinforced by mass advertising. And the corollary of this is a tendency to treat other people as partial objects rather than whole persons and to be attracted to their bodily organs in order to satisfy their own appetites rather than seeing them as having inherent value. Thus, for example, an available woman becomes an "easy piece" and a handsome man becomes a "hunk." This behavior reveals contempt for the object, which reveals overdependence and a weakness of self-identity. The result is a society in which there is a predominance of *taking* over *giving* (ibid.). Thus, early denial of the primary emotion of acceptance, and its functional substrate of identity, leads in later life to a pathological need to satisfy an unfulfilled appetite for incorporation that takes the form of consuming other persons and commodities as compensation for a weakness of social identity.

### *Disgust*

Darwin (1872/1965) provided a preliminary description of the prototypical behavior of rejection, *disgust*, by defining disgust as "something revolting, primarily in relation to the sense of taste, as actually perceived or vividly imagined; and secondarily to anything which causes a similar feeling, through the sense of smell, touch and even eyesight" (p. 253). Andras Angyal's (1941) classical psychoanalytic study of disgust led him to the conclusions that disgust "is a specific reaction toward the waste

products of the human and animal body” (p. 295) and has as its most sensitive focus intimate contact with the mouth. Tomkins (1963) more generally contends that disgust is “recruited to defend the self against psychic incorporation or any increase in intimacy with a repellent object” (p. 233). Like acceptance – which on the functional level means incorporation, and is in infants closely related to the mouth – disgust, as protection against harmful incorporation, is similarly linked to the mouth. Disgust is specifically related to a particular motivation (hunger) and to a particular system (the digestive). A strong argument can be made for the food origin of disgust. Rozin, Haidt *et al.* (1999) point out that “[t]he English word disgust means ‘bad taste’ and that facial expressions of disgust function to reject unwanted foods” (p. 189). Nausea, the distinctive physiological sign of disgust, is a food-related sensation inhibiting ingestion. Rozin and Fallon (1987), building on Angyal (1941), define disgust with a clear food focus, as “[r]evulsion at the prospect of (oral) incorporation of an offending object” (p. 23). Rozin, Haidt *et al.* (1999: 191) suggest that whatever reminds us that we are animals and that we are destined to die, stimulates disgust. Disgust involves a universal apprehension of death and decay. As animals, we eat, excrete, engage in sex, maintain our body envelopes, live communally, and die, all of which are carefully controlled by culture. Those who violate moral prescriptions regulating our animal nature are seen as inhuman, revolting, and lacking an ethics of divinity that inhibits polluting behaviors that violate the sanctity of the human soul (Miller 1997).

The most primordial form of disgust, which has animal precursors and which guards the mouth against contaminants, is termed *core* disgust by Rozin and Fallon (1987). Because this level of disgust is experienced with great intensity, the obvious facial and bodily behaviors associated with it clearly communicate an aversive attitude. Core disgust is generally accompanied by a frown and by gestures of pushing away or guarding oneself against an offensive object or person. A gesture of disgust is shown by movements around the mouth similar to preparation to vomit, as the mouth is opened wide and the upper lip is retracted, the eyelids are partially closed, and the eyes, even the whole body, is turned away. In disgust, the heart rate is diminished (Levenson 1994). Spitting is a nearly universal sign of disgust and contempt, represents the rejection of that which offends the taste. A person regarded as disgusting is apt to be described as slimy, creepy, even sickening. Core disgust is thus a powerful emotion that can not only make us stop what we are doing but make us feel ill. People the world over feel disgust for the same things – bodily fluids, excrement, creatures such as rats, lice, and cockroaches, and certain other people.

Disgust is an evolved behavioral defense. Avoidance of parasites, viruses, and bacteria enable healthy people able to perpetuate their genes. Curtis and Biran (2001; see also Curtis 2004) emphasized that disgust serves the specific purpose of keeping us from being eaten alive by little

animals – the viruses, bacteria, and parasites that seek a free meal from our bodies.<sup>5</sup> The idea of contamination in relation to disgust is acquired in children at about ages four to seven and in the adult undergoes considerable symbolic and cognitive elaboration. If parents are disgust sensitive, then their children will more readily develop their own disgust sensitivity and carry it into adulthood. Proper cognizing of disgust requires the separation of appearance and reality and at least implicit knowledge of the history of the contact. Rozin *et al.* (1994) see disgust as organized by a law of sympathetic magic, so that similarity of appearance means a deeper similarity of substance, and also by a law of contamination which holds that once in contact, always in contact. If something looks disgusting, but one knows cognitively that it is not, it will nonetheless be treated as if it were disgusting (Ben-Ze'ev 2000: 387). Thus, people will not eat chocolate that has been realistically shaped into the form of dog feces, nor will they drink a favorite beverage stirred by a brand-new comb. Contaminants that even briefly contact an acceptable food tend to render that food unacceptable (Rozin and Fallon 1987: 23). Because disgust involves the notion that anything that comes into contact with something disgusting thereby acquires the capacity to disgust, we might expect that disgust develops with the attainment of cognitive abilities.

In humans, core disgust has been elaborated into a more complex, yet still primary, emotion, reminding us that we are, in fact, animals. These human issues come to be incorporated into a moral code, so that disgust is elaborated into *sociomoral* disgust (Rozin, Lowery *et al.* 1999), which is triggered by a variety of situations in which people behave without dignity. W. Miller (1997) argues that disgust becomes a response to vices such as hypocrisy, cruelty, and betrayal, even for third-party violations not involving the self.

There are important cultural differences in what is and is not considered disgusting, and within cultures what is considered disgusting changes over time. In the fifteenth century in Europe, etiquette books advised people not to blow their noses with the hand used to hold meat, not to return tasted morsels to the general dish, not to greet people while urinating, and *not* to wash one's hands "on returning to decent society from a private place, as the reason for washing will arouse disagreeable thoughts in people" (Elias 1939/2003: 111). What was then regarded as minor breach of etiquette would today be regarded as so thoroughly disgusting that it would be taken for granted and consequently not merit mention in a contemporary book of etiquette.

Across a wide spectrum of cultures, disgust plays a crucial role in the expression and description of moral judgments. And while disgust is a negative emotion, for all of its visceralness, it is potentially also an aggressive, culture-creating passion (Miller 1997: xii). Rozin *et al.* (1994) see disgust as central to biological, psychological, and cultural aspects of human development where it acts to transmit values and culture. Disgust,

partly due to its lack of decorum, has received little attention in the study of emotions in society and culture. Yet, as W. Miller shows, civilization has sensitized us to disgust, making it a key component of our social control and psychic order, with the consequence that it has become socially and psychically very difficult for civilized people to talk about things disgusting without the excuses of childhood, adolescence, or transgressive joking. Other negative emotions, Miller (*ibid.*) adds, such as envy, jealousy, and hatred, can be talked about decorously, so that the sinful and vicious soul is easier to own up to than “the grotesque body and the sensory offences that life itself thrusts upon us” (p. 5).

The emotion of disgust repels, but repulsion can cause the loss of territory that we might wish to recover, especially if what hides behind a barrier of repression is not foul but fair, as if the disgusting itself had allure. Thus, we strain to peer at the bloody auto accident, are titillated by films depicting horror and gore. There is a thrill in overcoming the disgust that prevents desire. With violence, gore, and horror, we indulge allure via facsimile and fiction, watching rather than doing. But with sex, most people are more inclined to do rather than watch. Indirectly watching the sexual activities of others has become a widely available experience with the proliferation of pornography, considered immoral and disgusting by many. For sex, the barrier erected by disgust both obstructs and contributes to a build-up of libidinal energy that renders the object of desire rare, mysterious, and inaccessible. As Freud (1905) observed, “[t]he sexual instinct in its strength enjoys overruling this disgust” (p. 152). Thus, there can be real pleasure in the overcoming of a prohibition, so that we risk punishment by society or by ourselves in the experience of shame, guilt, and self-disgust at our moral failures. These strong emotions contribute to self-control and to maintenance of the sociomoral order, yet there remains a fascination by, and an awe of, those gods, heroes, villains, pornographers, and violent criminals, who offend the moral order and the norms of moral decency. There is a positive aspect to overcoming limits. As W. Miller (1997) puts it, “[t]he desire to press against our restraints and our limits is what makes us strive, improve, and create” (p. 155). Thus, disgust can kill our desires, putting them beyond the reach of the conscious mind, and shrink the world of its future possibilities. Disgust also stabilizes the self by restricting its range of activities to the permissible and realizable. Together with guilt and shame, disgust helps sustain the moral order of civilization.

## Joy and sadness

It is generally assumed that Sorrow is the opposite of Joy, although . . . they are in many cases complementary and not opposed; since the tendency of the most familiar variety of sorrow, that which arises from the loss of an object of joy, is to recover that state of the thing,

30 *The four pairs of opposite primary emotions*

or that relation to it ... which rendered it an object of joy. In the system of love the two emotions are therefore never opposites but complementary.

(Alexander F. Shand)

Joy and sadness are basic, self-directed emotions that assess one's own sense of fortune or misfortune (Ben-Ze'ev 2000: 449). Especially in the modern era, people are relentlessly selfish in seeking happiness. The pursuit of happiness has become perceived to be a basic human right. While most theorists of emotions accept that certain basic emotions, such as anger and fear, are opposites, there is no consensus for the position taken here, that the opposite of joy is sadness.<sup>6</sup> For example, Schumm (1999) suggests that "[j]oy does not have an immediately obvious negative. (p. 587). Even Plutchik, who is committed to Darwin's principle of antithesis, contrasts joy with distress, which includes sadness as but one form.

*Joy and happiness*

that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights; that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.

(Thomas Jefferson and colleagues, 1776)

Most people are about as happy as they make up their minds to be.

(Abraham Lincoln)

When we are unable to find tranquility within ourselves, it is useless to seek it elsewhere.

(François duc de La Rochefoucauld)

It is well known that psychologists, and sociologists, are more focused on negative states of mind than on the positive. Psychology articles examine negative states over positive states by a ratio of 17 to 1 (Myers and Diener 1995). There has been more focus on anxiety and depression than on joy and satisfaction. Thomas Szasz represents this imbalance by claiming, "[h]appiness is an imaginary condition, formerly attributed by the living to the dead, now usually attributed by adults to children, and by children to adults" (cited *ibid.*: 10). But this focus on the negative is changing, as social scientists, policymakers, and laypeople express increasing interest in conditions, traits, emotions, and attitudes related to overall quality of life.

*Joy* is defined as "an emotion, usually related to present experiences, highly pleasant and characterized by many outward signs of gratification" (Webster's New World Dictionary 1988: 379; hereafter, *Webster*). The highest levels of joy, consistent with what Maslow (1954) calls "self-

actualization,” have been associated with ecstatic states of mind, including profound religious experiences (described by saints and mystics as including visions and the hearing of powerful voices) are apt to be accompanied by sublime and ineffable feelings (Sacks 1985: 158). Among more ordinary people, Laski (1962) found that certain events trigger ecstatic experiences, such as art, nature, sexual love, religion, and beauty. Such ecstatic experiences are typically reported to occur in a moment, lasting only a “second” or an “instant.”

*Happiness*, in contrast, is “a state of well-being and contentment” (ibid.: 282). Joy refers to an acute, short-term experience of well-being and contentment, and also means a high level of happiness. Joy is a foreground acute emotion; happiness, a background baseline sentiment (Ben-Ze’ev 2000: 450). Happiness is the most general positive emotional sentiment, comprising an evaluation of significant aspects of life, and of life as a whole. The happy person evaluates his or her overall situation in life as basically both right and good (Averill and More 2004). Layard (2003) defines happiness as “feeling good – enjoying life and feeling it is wonderful. And by unhappiness I mean feeling bad and wishing things were different” (p. 4). He adds that happiness and unhappiness are not separate dimensions, but different points along a continuum. The opposite of happiness, then, is not unhappiness but misery and loneliness, just as the opposite of acceptance is not un-acceptance but disgust. There is currently a great deal of research on happiness, which psychologists and others tend to place under the broader rubric of “subjective well-being, which includes in its meaning both level of happiness and satisfaction with life ” (Diener *et al.* 1999).

Research on joy and happiness shows that people are motivated not only to avoid misery and unhappiness but also to react favorably to positive situations. Compared with unhappy and depressed people, happy people have a sense of well-being, are less self-focused, less hostile and abusive, and less vulnerable to disease and illness (Sandvik *et al.* 1993). They are also more loving, trusting, forgiving, creative, energetic, decisive, helpful, and sociable (Myers 1992), and possess a global sense of satisfaction with life. Happy people experience primarily positive emotions, largely as a result of positive appraisal of ongoing events (Myers and Diener 1995). A large amount of research shows, convincingly, that even moderate fluctuations in positive feelings, of the sort most people experience daily, improves creative problem solving, facilitates memory, and impacts strategies used in decision-making tasks (see Ashby *et al.* 1999: 529), which neuroscientists have linked to the neurotransmitter dopamine being released from several brain stem sites (e.g., Beninger 1991).

Smiling, a gesture manifesting happiness, is innate and universal, and was observed by Darwin in a variety of species of monkeys and apes. Humans are born with the ability to smile (Stern 2002). Newborn babies



begin to smile in the first hours, or first days, of life, typically in states of drowsiness or light sleep but also in response to sweet tastes and pleasant smells (Steiner 1977). At the beginning, smiling is purely biological, but elicits a similar response in the adult recipient. But as early as six weeks of age, the baby begins to use the smile “instrumentally, in order to get a response from someone” (*ibid.*: 4–5). From this point onward, the smile needs to be reinforced to persist. How the infant is treated determines the paradigm scenario that contributes to its eventual emotional repertoire. The baby, and the child, is no passive recipient of shaping by parents and other caregivers. Its treatment, in turn, partly depends on its own innate facial characteristics and behavior. Beginning in the second month of life, the human infant responds to the human face (Spitz 1965) with pleasure and joy in the process of recognitory assimilation (Stern 2002). As the baby gains interest in the world and sustains attention, in the third month of life, the human face moving toward the baby elicits a social smile, which Spitz regards as a conscious and reciprocal form of communication. Thus, the smiling baby rewards the parents, and the parents’ delighted smiles reward the infant. Four-to-six-month-old infants are able to discriminate between joyful and neutral expressions, though not between angry and neutral expressions (La Barbera *et al.* 1976). This recognition of joy by the infant stimulates the infant’s own expression of joy, an interaction which deepens bonds between the infant and its caregivers. The emergence of joy, widely agreed to be a primary emotion, sets the stage for a new level of consciousness, which advances the infant from mere interest in the environment, to social interactions with caregivers and others, the result being an accelerated development of perceptual abilities and the emergence of the social self (Izard 1980: 209). Young children, when joyful, engage in purposeless motions and antics, make meaningless sounds and utterances, laugh loudly, clap their hands, and jump up and down, jumping for joy.

Like the other primary emotions, joy and happiness have a biological infrastructure. Neuroscientific research has demonstrated that the levels of happiness people report on a moment by moment basis indicate happiness is a cardinal variable, rising and falling just like blood pressure, and that happiness levels vary from person to person. People differ in the patterns of brain activity linked to happiness even when at rest. Richard Davidson (2000; Davidson *et al.* 2000) has demonstrated that, for right-handed adults, positive feelings are accompanied by brain activation in the left side of the prefrontal cortex, above and in front of the ear. And negative feelings correspond to activation in the corresponding location in the right hemisphere. Similarly, Schmidt and Trainor (2001) studied patterns of regional EEG activity induced by musical excerpts and found greater left frontal activation for joyful and happy music, but greater right frontal activation for sad and fearful musical excerpts.

People whose left hemispheres are especially active, “left-siders,” in

comparison to “right-siders,” report more positive feelings, smile more, and are rated as happier by their own friends. Similar findings have been found using electroencephalographic measures of cortical activation in newborn babies: when given something tasteful to suck, the left forebrain is activated, but a sour taste stimulates the right hemisphere. At ten months of age, a baby’s brain activity predicts how it will react to the mother leaving for a minute: left-sider babies maintain a good mood, but right-sider babies tend to howl (Davidson *et al.* 2000; Layard 2003: 7–8).

There are substantial sex differences in happiness and sadness. Women, in comparison to men, have been found to experience greater joy in good circumstances and more intense sadness in bad circumstances (Diener, Sandvick *et al.* 1985). Women are twice more likely than men to experience disabling depression and anxiety, but men are five times more apt to suffer from alcoholism and to develop an antisocial personality disorder (Robins and Reiger 1991). Yet baseline level of happiness does not differ by sex. In a meta-analysis of 146 studies, sex accounted for less than 1 percent of people’s global well-being (Haring *et al.* 1984), and in a 16-nation study, Inglehart (1990) found 80 percent of both men and women responded that they were at least “fairly satisfied with life.”

There are remarkable individual differences in happiness, with some people basically happy regardless of their life circumstances. Neuroscientists have found linkages between reported happiness and dopamine and serotonin levels in the brain, and have demonstrated that genes play an important role in their regulation (Hamer 1996). Moreover, Lykken and Tellegen (1996), in a study of over 2,000 twins, some reared together and some apart, found that genetically identical, but not fraternal, twins reported similar levels of happiness. Forty percent of the variance in subjective well-being was stable over ten years, and this variance was estimated to be 80 percent heritable. The reported well-being of one’s identical twin, at present or ten years earlier, better predicted one’s self-rated happiness than did sociodemographic variables. Income level explained at most 4 percent of variance, and education, occupation, age, sex, and religiosity explain even less variance (Inglehart 1990; Myers and Diener 1995). These effects of sociodemographic variables were weak, and also difficult to interpret without also measuring important aspects of individual personality and taking situational-by-personal interactions into account (Diener *et al.* 1999: 276). Evidence suggests that sociodemographic variables explain little variance in happiness when interpreted by “set-point” (stable long-term level of happiness) and “aspiration-adjustment” models. These models share two assertions: (i) different persons have different set-points, so some persons have consistently higher levels of well-being and happiness than others; (ii) recent changes in fortune, such as losing a job or obtaining a pay raise, can have a major impact on well-being but as aspirations adjust to higher levels of achievement, then well-being will return, after a year or two, to its previous, normal set-point level (Costa *et al.* 1987).

These findings show that happiness must have a substantial inherited component. This conclusion is buttressed by findings that individual baselines of happiness are quite stable over time and changing fortunes (Diener and Diener 1996). If experience is above baseline, happiness will be experienced, but experience below the baseline results in unhappiness. However, set-point and aspiration-adjustment models notwithstanding, persons whose life experiences have been extremely harsh seem not only to return to their set-points but to exceed them. Those who have suffered the most are, with exceptions, happiest of all: adults who experienced the Great Depression are apt to be happier than those who did not; survivors of cancer showed greater happiness three years after treatment than matched controls (McIntosh and Martin 1992). An external threat or a personal catastrophe that has been endured, eluded, overcome, or destroyed, or an internal threat laid aside through satisfaction of a want, are apt to arouse fear and anger but can quickly lead to a state of well-being. When a person has an unfulfilling job, or loses a job, recovery to a set-point is hardly assured, for one's will and resolve can be broken. There can be a deterioration of mental health, a loss of identity and social status, deterioration in quality of life and life style, a loss of social contacts, increases in domestic violence and family breakdown, and there is a risk of depression, illness, and even suicide (Argyle 2001).

Other studies suggest happiness derives not from any absolute level of money, good looks, or good fortune, but from selection of reference groups with which one compares oneself. Good-looking people are not happier than other people because they are not apt to compare themselves to more ordinary people but to those even better-looking than they (Etcoff 1999). While it is widely believed that money, by itself, does not bring happiness, the idea that a simple life without money or possessions is a happy life has been aptly described as "romantic nonsense" by Ben-Ze'ev (2000: 453). Most people believe that more money and resources would make them happier and improve the quality of their lives (Diener, Horwitz *et al.* 1985; Veenhoven 1984) but, as studies of lottery-winners show, it is not necessarily so (e.g., Nisslé and Bschor 2002). Lottery winners, studies show, gain only a temporary jolt of joy (Argyle 2001).

Both objective and subjective circumstances of life can affect happiness. Social factors that fit under the broad sociorelational category of close, communal relationships – such as marriage, family, friendship, or the "fictive kin" one finds in a neighborhood, or in general informal communities – are more important in determining long-term happiness than are economic factors such as income and standard of living (Freedman 1978). Present theory posits that positive experiences of such communal social relationships, in which close feelings are both received and given, are the most generic cause of the experience of joy and happiness (see also Baumeister *et al.* 1993: 377). Here, the distinction between joy and happiness is important, because a warm, loving social relationship

leads to moments of great joy and to an inner joyfulness, whereas material success would seem to lead to a more diffuse sense of well-being and satisfaction with life. When psychologists ask people what is most important for happiness, “falling in love” leads the list (Argyle 2001: 130). In general, for mature adults a happy marriage contributes most to an overall level of happiness, while the quality of work is also important. A happy marriage, which is apt to include the raising of a family, is the most important source of joy and happiness, with married men the happiest of all (Lee *et al.* 1991; Argyle 2001). Argyle argued, convincingly and on the basis of thousands of questionnaires analyzed over a decade, that the key to happiness is to have one close relationship and a network of good friends. A supportive, intimate relationship is one of life’s greatest joys, but a broken marriage can be a source of great unhappiness (Glenn 1990). Three out of four married people say their spouse is their best friend, and four out of five say they would marry the same person (Greeley 1991). People can also find community to some extent at work, for work environments can add to a sense of community, offering a network of supportive relationships and a “we feeling” (Myers and Diener 1995).

The World Values Survey has studied publics on all six continents in 1981, 1990, 1995, and 1999–2000, with data gathered from 65 countries. The data reveal that among poorer countries (those with per capita incomes less than U.S.\$13,000–15,000 (1995 values), residents of countries of Asia (e.g., of India, Bangladesh, Philippines, Pakistan, China, Taiwan, South Korea), Africa (e.g., Ghana, Nigeria), and Latin America (e.g., Brazil, Colombia, Mexico, Argentina, Uruguay, Puerto Rico), with large and extended families and heavy involvement in local community life, are far happier than those who live in economically modernized Eastern European countries once subjected to membership in the Soviet empire (e.g., Czech Republic, Romania, Azerbaijan, Latvia, Russia), as shown in Figure 3.1.

This figure also shows that as one compares subsistence societies (e.g., Nigeria) to high-incomes societies, there is an apparent steep increase in subjective well-being, but the impact of income levels off at a \$13,000–15,000 per capita income threshold, with *no* relationship between income and well-being beyond that point. The ex-communist countries of the former Soviet Union were spectacularly unhappy, with all but Poland below India despite having income levels about four times higher (Inglehart 2005). People live longer, and are happiest, in countries that provide economic affluence, individual freedom, and social justice (Veenhoven 2005).

Figure 3.1 shows that virtually all historically Protestant societies have a relatively high level of subjective well-being. Weber (1905b) argued that the emergence of Protestantism stimulated an agentic personality structure that facilitated the development of conditions propitious to the emergence of modern capitalism. While economic development has now spread

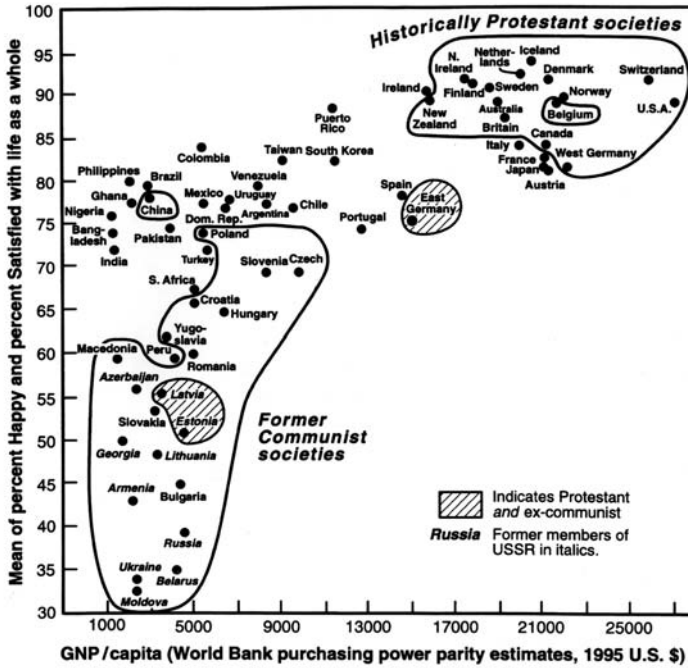


Figure 3.1 Subjective well-being by level of economic development and historical heritage. Source: Inglehart and Klingemann (2000), figure 7.2, p. 173. Reprinted by permission of The MIT Press.

beyond its European origins, Protestant societies are still the wealthiest. Societies shaped by both Protestantism and communism (e.g., Latvia, Estonia) tend to show higher levels of subjective well-being than non-Protestant former communist countries. Studies of single societies find that genetic factors explain far more variance than cultural and sociodemographic factors. Cultural and historical factors appear unimportant in single countries because they are virtually held constant, but when they can be seen in their global variation, as in the World Values Survey, happiness appears to be as much a matter of culture and history as of genetic makeup (Inglehart and Klingemann 2000).

There is substantial evidence that while people in the West, over the last half century, are richer, have longer holidays, travel more, are healthier, and live longer, they are not happier. Not only that, but measures of national well-being of advanced, Western countries since World War II suggest that clinical depression has increased (Fombonne 1995). Clinical depression does not mean the misery that all people experience in times of separation and loss, but is a psychiatric condition that renders individuals unable to perform their usual social roles for at least several

weeks. In the U.S., roughly 14 percent of people aged 35 have experienced a real depression, and about 2 percent are clinically depressed at any one time. Based on peoples' recollections of their own mental health, only 2 percent of Americans who had reached the age of 35 in the 1950s had experienced depression. The change from 2 percent to 14 percent is of course crudely measured, and might also reflect declining stigma, but it is an astounding increase. Similar increases have been found in other Western countries where data are available. Suicide, the very extreme of human misery, has increased in most advanced countries; with the significant exceptions of highly advanced countries, the United Kingdom, the U.S., Sweden, and Switzerland, suicide among youth has increased in almost every advanced country (Dickstra *et al.* 1995). In the period from 1950 to 1980, in advanced countries, excepting Japan, crime has increased by a factor of about five, an astonishing increment (Smith 1995). Given these indications of social alienation, it is not entirely surprising that overall happiness and well-being have not risen (Layard 2003: 21).

### *Sadness, grief, and loneliness*

Sadness is universally expressed in facial expression. When people see others in sadness, the emotion can become contagious, as people imagine how they would feel if the loss had been theirs. William James quoted C. Lange's description of the sentiment of grief:

The chief feature in the physiognomy of grief is perhaps its paralyzing effect on the voluntary movements. This effect is by no means as extreme at that which fright produces. . . . It is a feeling of weariness. . . . [T]he vascular muscles are more strongly contracted than usual, so that the tissues and organs of the body become anemic. The immediate consequence of this bloodlessness of the skin is a feeling of cold and shivering. A constant symptom of grief is sensitiveness to cold, and difficulty in keeping warm. In grief, the inner organs are unquestionably anemic as well as the skin.

(Lange, cited in James 1890/1981: 443)

Darwin's description of the person suffering from prolonged grief also merits citation:

[T]hey no longer wish for action, but remain motionless and passive, or may occasionally rock themselves to and fro. The circulation becomes languid, the face, pale; the muscles flaccid; the eyelids droop. The head hangs on the contracted chest; the lips, cheeks, and lower jaw all sink downward from their own weight. Hence all the features

are lengthened; and the face of a person who hears bad news is said to fall.

(Darwin 1872/1965: 176)

Just as joy and happiness are linked to the positive experience of temporality, so sadness and grief are linked to its negative, that is, to the loss, be it temporary or permanent, imagined or real, physical or psychological, of a valued informal social relationship. Separation from or loss of an object of attachment means loss of a source of joy and excitement, loss of affection, loss of security, and a reduced sense of well-being. If sadness is intense, as with the death of a valued other or family member, the active struggle to cope with loss is best described as *grief*, which in this sense is not technically an emotion but a sentiment (Lazarus 1999: 656). The loss of a person one loves the most of course creates the highest level of sadness, but there are other sources of sadness as well: sadness can result from the loss of some aspect of self-attractiveness or vigor, loss of a sensory or motor capacity, loss of intellectual power and memory, loss of money and treasure, even of one's homeland. In childhood, there are the inevitable losses of the nurturing breasts, of baby teeth, of one's status as the center of parental attention. There can be symbolic losses as well, a loss of honor, a loss of pride and self-esteem, a loss of face, a diminution of self. As the inscription on a Japanese suicide blade asserts, "It is better to die than to live without honor."

Higher primates, including humans, are group-living creatures whose well-being and survival depend upon, and can be enhanced by, social relationships. Averill (1968) holds that grief is a biological reaction, the evolutionary function of which is to enhance the chances of group survival. This is accomplished by making separation from the group, or from specific members of the groups, a stressful and painful event both psychologically and physiologically. Ernest Becker (1973) sees in religion a kind of denial embraced by most humans throughout human history, placing awareness of death, and the concomitant fear and anticipatory grief, at the center of his theory of human behavior. Darwin (1872) presented evidence of grief-like reactions in animals and in a variety of human cultures. Chimpanzees are well known to experience emotional trauma at the death of a close companion or relative and have even been reported to have died from grief following the death of the mother (Goodall 1971). Konner (1982: 328–9) describes grief in ducks, geese, and monkeys. It is well known that elephants, sensing their impending death, will travel to an elephant "graveyard" and that healthy elephants visit these sites to lovingly caress the bones of elephants they had known.

Joy is a positive emotion and sadness is a negative emotion. It does not follow, however, that happiness should always be sought and sadness avoided. Sadness is unpleasant, to be sure, but we cannot act morally if we are indifferent to the suffering and death of other people. Happiness, for

its part, should not blind us to the fact that life is temporary and that losses are inevitable part of life. There can be a proper balance of these two emotions. Sadness reminds us of the existential limitations of life, and a state of constant joy can only be found in the mind of a senile, drugged, or insane person who has lost contact with reality and can no longer act as a moral agent.

## **Anger and fear**

### *Anger*

Anger is expressed in lower animals. A fish in sole possession of a tank will react to a newcomer by erecting its median fins, intensifying its color, and engaging in tail biting, eye biting, and scale eating. A mouse will attack anything that injures it when only 12 days old and when one month old will attack a stronger mouse (Scott 1972). When a human is in a highly angry state of mind, furious and enraged, their “body is commonly held erect for instant action, but sometimes it is bent forward toward the offending person” (Darwin 1872/1965: 239). Because humans evolved from lower animals, they retain the action of displaying their teeth, which is associated with the state of mind of being angry. The forehead is apt to be furrowed, and the eyes intently directed forward. In anger the mouth might be tightly closed, or open to reveal clenched teeth, or one lip might be retracted in a sneer. In humans, the face reddens or even becomes purple, the veins on the forehead and neck are distended, the eyes bright and protruding, the pupils contracted; the fists are apt to be clenched, the blood pressure rises, body tension is high, and the posture is one of crouching (ibid.: 74; Cannon 1929). Baring one’s teeth no longer serves a practical function in the sense that humans no longer fight with their teeth but the function of social signaling is preserved.

Anger, while a basic emotion, is not present at birth. In the developing human baby, the emergence of anger provides a new stage of consciousness. The first negative affects are distress and infrequent disgust reactions. Gradually, restraining or frustrating situations and conditions motivate anger, or attempts to remove restraints and barriers. “Such responses,” Izard (1980) notes, which develop no earlier than five-to-six months of age, “are the infant’s first nonreflexive motor acts that reduce negative affect through the direct manipulation of objects” (p. 209). Actions that successfully remove restraints or circumvent barriers increase the sense of separateness of self and others and foster a conception of the self as a causal agent. Thus, the infant advances from a response of merely crying for help to taking direct action, so that the self-as-agent is experienced as being in opposition to, and different from, the one who restrains.

Plutchik conceptualizes anger as an active, positive affective reaction to a problematic situation of social hierarchy, while fear involves an effort to



move away from, or escape, a situation of powerlessness. Keltner *et al.* (2003) review evidence suggesting that elevated power increases rewards and freedom and thereby activates approach-related tendencies; reduced power, in contrast, is associated with threat, punishment, and social constraint, and thereby activates inhibition-related tendencies. While anger concerns social hierarchy, it does not follow that dominant individuals will display anger. A person secure and comfortable in a dominant position is not apt to display anger toward subordinates, and to do so is widely considered ineffective and even counter-productive. It is the insecure person who is apt to exhibit displays of anger and violent aggression. Anger, then, is crudely and automatically expressed as a disinhibited assertion of power, but can be an appropriate defense against the assertions of power by other people.

A primordial kind of anger results from physical or psychological restraints and blockages. An effort to escape bonds, and other kinds of obstacles, is consistent with the behavior of anger. Efforts to escape these restraints require an exercise of power, which is necessary to overcome a position of powerlessness. Given that virtually any kind of restraint – including the many rules and regulations that govern behavior – results in anger, we can see anger as a universal emotion everywhere linked to efforts to exercise power and to overcome impediments to free movement in spaces and places. Anger also results from being interrupted in the midst of a task, or of being held up in traffic while hurrying to a destination (James and Nahl 2000). Anger is also aroused by conspicuous slight, or by a real or supposed wrong to oneself, and is directed specifically and intensively against the person who is held blameworthy. Lazarus (1991) uses a cognitive-motivational-relational view of emotions and coping processes to interpret anger as resulting from harm, loss, or threat attributed to a specific person, especially if such provocations demean one's ego-identity. He sees adult human anger as spurred by "a demeaning offense against me and mine" (p. 221). Anger involves two levels of appraisal. In primary appraisal, there must be a relevant goal at stake, an incongruity involved in reaching that goal, and concern with preserving one's self esteem. If these conditions are met, secondary appraisals follow, blame is apportioned, and anger directed to the responsible person, which can include the self. Secondary appraisal also includes contemplation of the possible consequences of anger, including dangerous or damaging retaliation which might ensue.

Anger, on the behavioral level, is a moving toward a person, object, or goal with the intention of moving impediments to one's aims out of the way, by even injuring or destroying the blocking agent. Anger involves attention to possible rewards, and is thus a potential component of goal attainment and rational decision making. Anger is often directed toward the specific actions of another person or group of persons held responsible for some specific, unwarranted offense that is not only unjust but also

challenges one's position or status. Thus, anger is manifested in support of position or status in a social hierarchy. Ben-Ze'ev (2000) provides an obvious example: "A schoolteacher who feels angry with students when they talk while she is speaking believes that their behavior is unjust and depreciates her position in the sense that her authority is undermined" (p. 380).

Displays of anger are in many social situations unjustified, as when the volitional actions of others might violate claims to a position of authority that is not recognized or is open to fair competition. Thus, a person seeking a job might be unjustifiably angry with another person for applying for a position open to fair competition. Anger is usually an immediate, spontaneous response to the perception of unjustified harm or pain to the self or to one's family members, friends, or acquaintances. Harm done to one's social standing is apt to be taken as a personal affront, an insult, or as a specific act that constitutes unfair or bad treatment on the part of another person. Anger is apt to be reciprocal, with an angry outburst met by counter-anger, creating a situation in which an argument is apt to ensue wherein claims of rights and statuses are refuted, challenged, and renegotiated, and blame is assigned. Anger, in humans, is almost always socially induced and concerns depreciation of worth and status in a context of a social group, be it a dyad, a family, a peer group, or a work group.

Anger, in light of the above description, can be considered a positive emotion insofar as it can have a functional value. Anger mobilizes our energy and resources in service of goal attainment. Anger is essential to energize and organize our behavior, for it can serve to readjust and strengthen a relationship. Two people who argue and express anger at each other are apt to experience angry outbursts as distressing and unpleasant in the short run but potentially beneficial to their relationship in the long run. Anger can provide the basis for reconciliation on new terms (LaFollette 1996: 199). As Ben-Ze'ev (2000) has summed this up, "[l]ike other emotions, anger is functional when it is in the right proportion, for example, when it is expressed in a socially constructive way without becoming highly aroused" (p. 386).

Crawford *et al.* (1992) emphasize that anger involves moral judgments about righteousness and justice, and that its expression is sometimes socially acceptable and sometimes not. They see anger as a response to something or someone to be feared as potentially dangerous. Women are expected to show restraint in the face of power assertions, lest they be seen as "emotional" and "hysterical." Whereas men express anger violently, women are more apt to burst into tears when angry, which is often mistaken for depression. From the woman's standpoint, their argument continues, crying indicates strong anger rather than being a substitute for anger. Women, they add, often are ridiculed and teased for expressing anger, so that they end up being condemned both for expressing anger too strongly and for suppressing it too much. But the powerless also express

anger, which (as in the case of women) is apt to be seen as out of control, passionate, and ineffectual. Kemp and Strongman (1995), in this connection, note that anger “is accompanied by feelings of unjust victimization and is directed against those in power (men), and often provokes the powerful and empowering type of anger in return” (p. 410).

These gender differences in anger have historical roots extending deep into the ancient world. In Victorian times (Stearns 1992), it was considered unfeminine for women to display anger, but anger was seen as giving men a useful edge in the world of business and politics. These gender differences impacted childhood socialization, with girls taught to be calm and placid, and boys to channel their anger. Gradually, anger came to be seen as an inappropriate tool of power in organizations, and child-rearing manuals began to encourage parents to help children acknowledge and discuss their anger. More recently, in Western societies, the emphasis has been on the management of anger and other emotions as well, so that both men and women are now encouraged to “be in touch” with their own anger.

### *Fear*

Fear facilitates the development of perceptual and cognitive processes necessary to assess danger and protect the self from harm. Beginning around seven-to-nine months of age, infants respond with fear and avoidance to situations that earlier elicited only sadness or no negative reaction at all (Izard 1980). For example, the infant develops this ability to avoid, with minimal learning, a drop-off as opposed to a safely flat surface (Gibson 1969). Emde *et al.* (1976) found that the fear of strangers, which develops from six-to-nine months of age, is a function more of maturation than of learning. Bowlby (1980) has described several “natural clues” for fears that develop in infancy and childhood. Fear becomes highly adaptive, as motivation for avoidance and escape, as the child learns to move about and then walk. Fear motivates flight, as Darwin and Plutchik argue, but early in life the flight is apt to be to the caregiver, which of course strengthens the infant’s caregiver attachments (Eibl-Eibesfeldt 1972; Izard 1980: 211).

Fear, and its close companion anxiety (fear and anticipation), contribute greatly to human suffering. Fear, and associated anxiety disorders, include panic disorders such as social anxiety, posttraumatic stress disorder, social phobia, agoraphobia (literally, fear of the *agora*, the Greek marketplace), and obsessive-compulsive disorders. These disorders include fears of public places, bridges and tunnels, snakes and spiders. Together, these related disorders, which are often accompanied by depression, affect an estimated 10–15 percent of adult Americans and comparable percentages of the adult populations in other advanced nation-states.

Fear is an important, troubling emotion, and there is an intense effort

underway to understand the functional neuroanatomy of fear. Yet, it cannot be assumed that fear itself has gained in importance during the modern era of human history. William James (1890/1981) speculated that “[t]he progress from brute to man is characterized by nothing so much as by the decrease in frequency of proper occasions for fear. In civilized life, in particular, it has at last become possible for large numbers of people to pass from the cradle to the grave without ever having had a pang of genuine fear” (pp. 1033–4). Civilized life has become safe, James believed, and the human mind is so highly developed that it should be possible to protect human beings against the instinctual, feral fears that quicken the pulse of the other species of animals in their roles of predator or prey. Yet there *is* much to fear in the modern world: epidemics and pandemics from new and virulent diseases, the possibility of warfare and terrorism, the intractable prospect of murderous violence, accidents, financial ruin, and much more.

Fear associated with predation was seen by Darwin as precipitated by danger and resulting in flight. He studied animals in an effort to classify actions and expressions associated with fear. He found that a dog experiencing “extreme terror will throw himself down, howl, and void his excretions; but the hair . . . does not become erect unless some anger is felt” (Darwin 1872/1965: 127). When monkeys are terrified they often scream, expose their teeth, and their hair stands on end. In humans, Darwin described the diversified expressions of fear in “gradations from mere attention, to a start of surprise, into extreme terror and horror” (ibid.: 306) because each of these emotions has similar expressions and actions. Plutchik sees the behavior of fear as movement away from a threat in the environment, and as reaction to the negative experience of hierarchy, in a word, to powerlessness. Fear is not just an individual phenomenon, but can be experienced inter-subjectively. On the social level, fear can lead not only to flight but also to fight. According to Kemper (1978), it is the “structural conditions of insufficient power . . . or . . . the excess of the other’s power” which causes fear (pp. 55–6). Kemper makes the important point that a lack of power can result in a feeling of helplessness. He states that while an introjected fear can be experienced as subjugation, an extrojected fear might be experienced as rebellion (ibid.: 57–8).

Classical sociological theorist Max Weber (1921b/1970: 79) argued that action in a political community is “determined by highly robust motives of fear and hope.” Fear can be functional insofar as one’s vulnerability motivates consideration of options and courses of possible action and change, which might not occur in those satisfied with the status quo. Hobbes (1651) in his *Leviathan* saw that fear was prominent in a life that was all too often nasty, brutish, and short.

There is a temporal dimension to fear. Fear is thus an emotional apprehension of a negative prospect, and has an anticipatory character; to this extent, and by definition, it can shade into anxiety. Albert North Whitehead (cited in Whitrow 1961: 83) wrote that “what we perceive as present is the

vivid fringe of memory tinged with anticipation” (p. 83). Emotion is implicated in both memory (Bolles 1988: 29–41) and in anticipation. Our sense of the duration of the present seems to be *stretched* by fear. Fear, in its simplest form, develops early in life, but social fear develops only slowly with the attainment of social experience. Thus, the adult might experience a fear of unemployment (Blackburn and Mann 1979), of illness and the lack of medical insurance, of an old age spent alone and in pain and poverty, or of crime. Freud observed that when a fear seems out of proportion to an objective threat, it might well have been bloated by a wish. When we fear an evil influence, we are admitting its seductive appeal. A fear of political radicals, for example, might reveal secret doubts of a citizenry about the viability of the social system under criticism. There might be an unconscious hope that tinges the old maid’s search for a ravager under her bed (Slater 1970: 2–5).

Richard Sennett (1980) has contributed greatly to an understanding of the relationship between fear, powerlessness, and social authority. Government officials, in their exercise of real power, occasionally exceed their legal authority. A Latin word for authority, *auctor*, means that an authority can guarantee the lasting value of what one does, but such assurances are often not honored. Authority, in general, is based on supposed superior judgment, ability to discipline and punish, and the capability of instilling fear (ibid.: 17–18). Weber (1921a) identified three major types of authority: (i) traditional, including hereditary privilege; (ii) legal-rational, requiring ability to fulfill the duties of an office and thus to legitimately exert authority and issue commands; and (iii) charismatic, held by a leader perceived to possess extraordinary, magnetic, even sacred, powers. If authority is legitimate, Weber maintained, it is apt to be followed without the necessity of coercion. Yet, people on occasion become attracted to strong figures that they do not regard as legitimate, so that authorities “can draw others within their orbit, like unwilling moths to a flame. In modern society, Sennett (1980) argues, people are all too adept at building bonds with strong authority, becoming dependent on those they fear. These people develop a “disobedient dependence” on an authority figure (e.g., a domineering father) in which there is rebellious behavior, always directed to triggering a reaction in the authority figure. A related psychological strategy is to cultivate a positive idealization of authority figures, taking promises, however farfetched, at face value. And a third adaptation to a feared authority figure is to fantasize that the authority figure will die or somehow disappear.

In totalitarian dictatorships the fear of authority is palpable, a fear of “disappearance,” of being imprisoned and tortured. A psychological strategy of survival in such societies is one of seeking invisibility, because to be unnoticed is to survive. Whereas in free societies people can overtly express affection, here there is an effort to conceal all facial expression, lest it be taken for dissidence. Sennett (ibid.: 95–6) relates the story of a Czechoslovak colleague living under the rule of Stalin’s Soviet Union:

When smoking a pipe the face does not reveal so much. See, this we learned during the Soviet period. Before the revolutions we used to say: “The eyes are the mirror of the soul.” The eyes can lie – and how. You can express with your eyes a devoted attention which in reality you are not feeling. You can express serenity or surprise. It is much more difficult to govern the expression of your mouth. I often watch my face in the mirror before going to meetings and demonstrations and I saw – I was suddenly aware that even with a memory of a disappointment my lips became closed. This is why smoking a heavy pipe you are more sure of yourself. Though the heaviness of the pipe the lips are deformed and cannot react spontaneously.

The politics of fear is an important topic in political sociology and political science (Massumi 1993). Sociologist Frank Furedi (2002) argues that people in contemporary, advanced societies increasingly believe that they are living in frightening times, in large measure because mongers of fear, both in and out of government, have an objective interest in manipulating their fear. Life, Furedi contends, has come to be dominated by fear mongers – politicians, corporate enterprises, environmentalists, public health officials, and all sorts of advocacy groups – who sell their products, stake their claims, and promote their agendas using mass media to instill fear. In this way, generalized fears and anxieties about life are articulated as more specific threats and potential events that would have fearful consequences. The objective of this politics of fear is to gain support for positions on issues, thereby enforcing the idea that because we are vulnerable to threats and cannot risk the consequences of not acting, proposed actions have no alternatives. Thus, the rise of Islamic fundamentalism is portrayed as leaving no alternative to elective warfare. The threat of corporate bankruptcy in negotiations leaves workers no alternative to accepting lower wages and reduced benefits. The need for economic competitiveness, others argue, leaves no alternative to relaxing control over environmental degradation and the dismantling of social safety nets. Yet, individuals in modernity must make all sorts of risk assessments, so that risk becomes almost definitive of modernity itself, and risk assessment is rendered less rational by efforts to cloud issues and choices through the deliberate manipulation of public fears.

## **Anticipation and surprise**

### *Anticipation, exploration, and interest*

In early infancy, consciousness is primarily a function of drive signals, indicating distress in response to inner events and processes, or interest in the external world. Izard (1980) notes that “in early infancy ... the emotion of interest is present, and it serves to focus and maintain attention to sources of external stimulation. Interest-sustaining attention ... is

essential in obtaining percepts and in learning to discriminate objects and persons” (p. 203). The emotion of interest/exploration is present at birth and plays an important role in selective attention and in building a foundation for perceptual development. For example, in a study of bottle-fed infants observed for 30 hours a week, Wolfe (1965) defined attention states as “a general disposition to respond adaptively to selected elements in a consistent changing environment” and as the “time when the infant can be intermittently ‘interested’ in a task like visual pursuit” (p. 815). This and other studies (Lewis 1969; Bower 1971; Izard 1980) suggest strongly that interest is a potent emotion in maintaining focal awareness. Wolfe (1965) moved a pencil back and forth across the infant’s visual field just as he or she was about to fall asleep, thereby delaying the onset of sleep. In the first week of life, wakefulness was prolonged about 19 minutes on average, which increased to 34 minutes in the fourth week. Intense interest, or excitement, in the adult can cause insomnia (Tomkins 1962).

Exploration has long been considered a basic human drive, and was regarded as an instinct when instinct theory was taken more seriously. In his studies of conditioned reflexes, Pavlov (see Dykman *et al.* 1959) referred to a “What is it?” reflex in experimental animals which orients receptor organs toward stimulus changes in the environment. This suggests that inquisitiveness in humans might be an elaboration of that basic reaction. William McDougall, in the *Wittenberg Symposium of 1928*, wrote, “[t]he emotional-quality wonder accompanies always, in some degree, the impulse or desire to explore and to become better acquainted with some object. . . . The process of exploration leads to the better comprehension of the nature of the object” (cited in Plutchik 1962/1991: 102). Exploratory behavior is most developed in animal species with the most elaborated central nervous systems and brains (Berlyne 1960), finding its highest expression in the human. The human neonate explores the world, taking interest in his or her surroundings. Izard (1980) notes that for infants “[i]nterest is indicated by an alert, attentive face with increased muscle tonus” (p. 200). In adult humans, the dimension of exploration occurs through investigatory behavior in science, technology, engineering, the arts, and other fields of human inquiry. Exploration of the environment leads to the development of anticipation, which was observed by Pavlov in his description of a “signalizing” reflex as anticipatory or preparatory to motor attitudes (see Bull 1951).

### *Surprise, astonishment*

*Surprise* is the subjective term describing an orienting response: it begins with sudden attention, and then graduates into astonishment and stupefied amazement. At the first, attention or interest, stage, the eyebrows are slightly raised; as this state intensifies, the eyes open wide and appear

to be staring, and the mouth gapes. These, Darwin (1872) claimed, are universal expressions of surprise. Also indicative of surprise, but not universal, is the raising of both arms or forearms, palms up, fingers separated, making the person appear larger and signaling the command, "Halt!" Events which trigger this response vary from penetration of an animal's territorial boundary, to a sudden sound, to exposure to startling news. Shakespeare says, "I saw a smith stand with open mouth swallowing a tailor's news" (*King John*, Act 4, Scene 2). Because surprise is triggered by the unexpected or the unknown, it can be considered an adaptive behavior geared to rapidly identifying the cause. Thus, wide-open eyes can scan effectively in any direction, and in some cultures the head is moved from side to side, thereby informing both left and right hemispheres of the brain. The functionality of opening the mouth in surprise has not been settled, but Darwin's subtle analysis suggests that with an open mouth we can breathe more quietly and thus hear sounds more distinctly.

While surprise often qualifies as a primary emotion (Campos *et al.* 1983; Izard 1971, 1977; Plutchik 1962, 1980), others do not consider it to be an emotion at all (Mandler 1984; Ortony and Partridge 1987). Ortony and Turner state:

When a person is surprised by something, nothing is entailed about the affective state of the person. From this perspective, surprise is better viewed as an (intrinsically unvalenced) cognitive state . . . [that] focuses on aspects of knowledge and belief rather than on affect per se. Surprise is not itself an emotion.

(Ortony and Turner 1990: 317, emphasis deleted)

Ortony and Turner provide examples to buttress their argument: a person, they note, would be pleasantly surprised to learn that she has won a lottery, neutrally surprised to learn that an acquaintance has the same birthday, and negatively surprised when a new car does not start.

Tomkins (1962, 1963) identified "surprise-startle" as one of his nine primary emotions. He saw it as a brief but intense amplification of a triggering stimulus, an affect of instant readiness of so brief a period that it cannot be said to have either a pleasant or an unpleasant quality, and is thus neutral in valence. Plutchik has no such problem with the valence of surprise, seeing it as the prototypical negative reaction to violation of one's territory, which can be conceptualized broadly to include one's model of the world. Surprise concerns the function of *orientation* to one's territory, to one's space and place. Plutchik regards a happy surprise as a secondary emotion, which he calls *delight*, and an unhappy surprise, a combination of sadness and surprise, is a *disappointment*. Thus a person would be best described as *delighted* to win a lottery, *disappointed* that a new car will not start. Delight is a positive experience to be sure, but its component



happiness is positive and its component surprise is negative. Disappointment is a negative experience, yet the valence of its components differ. These statements certainly undermine the Ortony and Turner argument that surprise is an unvalenced cognitive state and not an emotion.

Anticipation, like surprise, has a substantial cognitive component, and like surprise, is dismissed by Ortony and Turner (1990) as unvalenced so that there is “no reason to consider it an emotion.” They explain: “[t]o be interested in something is to have one’s attention captured by it, or to be curious about it” (p. 318). But Plutchik, and the present classification, define curiosity as a combination of surprise and acceptance, which suggests that curiosity and interest are indeed different. Moreover, to take an interest in something is not a passive act in which one allows one’s attention to be “captured.” Far from it, to take an interest in the world is a positive act in which territory and objects of interest are explored. Many important scholars define interest as a primary emotion (Frijda 1987; Izard 1977; Tomkins 1984; Plutchik 1962, 1980; see also Panksepp’s 1982 psychobiological expectancy system). One argument for the inclusion of anticipation (on the functional level exploration or interest) among the primary emotions comes from Plutchik, who recognizes that, just as surprise – an encounter with the unexpected – is the adaptive reaction to the negative experience of territory, so also anticipation is the positive act of exploring territory with the intention of gaining valued resources. This constitutes an adaptive behavior necessary to secure the necessities of life and thus to insure survival.

Evidence from studies of human neonates suggests that surprise has been somewhat misconstrued by Plutchik, and that it involves not just the *unexpected* but also the *misexpected*. Izard accordingly sees surprise as arising not at the initial, sensory-affective stage of mind development, but rather at a second stage, of affective-perceptual discrimination of objects through differential responses to object-specific features. This is facilitated by the emergence of a capacity for surprise in response to misanticipation, and to the emergence of anger. Charlesworth (1969) relatedly shows that disruption of ongoing activities produces heightened awareness and an effort to restructure existing cognitive models. Surprise, he accordingly argues, is a result of *misexpected* events, whereas the orienting response (of interest) results from *unexpected* events. Thus, surprise requires a level of cognitive development in which the infant has formed anticipations and assumptions about the world. Neuroscientists G.A. Miller *et al.* (1960; see also Singer 1974) argue that a mismatch between incoming and stored information results in emotional responses that trigger processes which can restructure one’s model of the world. Similarly, Izard (1980: 209) has argued that the emergence of surprise reflects changes in the structure of consciousness as it develops in infants. The infant’s ongoing consciousness, directed at first primarily by interest, develops a new alternative in the capacity for surprise. The main function of surprise, he argued, is to “clear

the information-processing channels of the nervous system for the possibility of a different affective experience and for different affective-perceptual processes. . . . [S]urprise resets consciousness, and the resulting affect gives directness to subsequent perceptual activity” (p. 209).

While surprise involves individuals in their everyday lives, it is also important on the macrosocial, geopolitical level, in a way that links historical and personal experience. It has been said that the history of the human race is largely the history of human aggression and warfare. All aggression, as defined here, involves both anger (attack behavior) and anticipation, and the social institutions that societies as a whole employ include military organizations. The most effective aggressions are those containing an element of surprise, the surprise attack. Such events can change not only the lives of affected individuals, but the ideological, political, and economic consequences of surprise attacks can have global consequences. Every now and then, historical and personal trajectories intersect, caused by an event so dramatic and sweeping in its implications, and – most of all – sufficiently unexpected and surprising, that we drop whatever we are doing and seek information. For Americans, some events have commanded attention for a few days or weeks – the space-shuttle disasters of 1986 and 2003, the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989. Other events are of such moment that they create a discontinuity in orderliness of the world and its boundaries, such that we never forget the exact date or what we were doing when we first learned of the event. Examples are President John F. Kennedy’s assassination on November 22, 1963; the attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941; the attack on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon on September 11, 2001, referred to simply as “9/11.” These events dramatically reduce the citizenry’s sense of security and uncertainty about the world, as the majority of Americans (63 percent) reported that their personal sense of safety and security was shaken by the attacks (Saad 2001). Nothing is more traumatic for a society, for a nation, than being attacked or having a beloved leader assassinated. In recent American history, the above events stand out as breaches of our territory that instill a sense of vulnerability, of insecurity, even of dread. Such events tear at the insularity of domestic life from a violent and unstable external world. Surprise is the adaptive reaction to the penetration of a boundary, and with 9/11, as Gaddis (2004) put it, “the boundaries between everyday existence and a dangerous world had been shattered, as had the assumption of safety that had long since become . . . part of what it meant to be an American” (p. 10). Such events have the strongest effects on people who believe they live in a just world, for they are more distressed by such events and, especially for men, are in turn most apt to endorse dominance-related behaviors such as revenge seeking (Sidanius *et al.* 1994).

## 4 Secondary emotions

The four pairs of opposite primary dyads – love and misery, pride and embarrassment, aggressiveness and alarm, curiosity and cynicism

### Differentiation of complex emotions out of primary emotions

Emotions are complex, and mixed, if they have as their constituent elements two or three primary emotions: if two primary emotions are joined, the result is a secondary emotion; if three, a tertiary emotion. Primary emotions have biological infrastructures in the limbic system, below the neocortex, which cognitively represents and elaborates these emotions in the first years of life. There are two stages in the acquisition of complex emotions, which are – according to the *differential emotions theory* of Tomkins (1962, 1963), Izard (1977, 1980), and TenHouten (1996, 1999a, 1999d, 2005a, 2006) – built up from primary emotions. In the first stage of differentiation of complex emotions out of primary emotions, the eight primary emotions pair together, in all possible ways, to form 28 secondary emotions. Then, in a second stage of differentiation, tertiary emotions can be formed in four ways: the three primary emotions can be joined, or any one of these three primary emotions can be joined to the secondary emotion (consisting of the other two primaries). Tertiary emotions will be defined and discussed in Chapters 10–14.

The facial characteristics of newborn infants are spontaneous and purely physiological. But initiative primarily belongs to the infant. In the socialization process, the child will gradually learn, as language is acquired, to *name* these responses and to learn that it is experiencing a particular emotion. Learning to feel the right emotion is a central part of moral education, as Aristotle (1984: II.2) proposed in his *Nicomachean Ethics*. In the learning of emotions, initial feedback loops (as elegantly described by Thomas Smith *et al.* 1999) give way to complex social interactions. Thus, when the child feels accepted and happy in the home, it learns love, a secondary emotion whose components are joy and acceptance, and learns to respond to love with tactile initiatives and to say “I love you.”

At about nine months, the child is not only receiving guidance in the learning of emotions, but is actively seeking this guidance, copying the

caregivers' words, expression, and actions. By age two, the child knows well that different social participants feel differently. She learns that her angry outburst makes her parents sad, and that the parents' reprimands likewise sadden her. The child learns emotions from stories, and can "pretend" emotions not actually felt: "My dolly is sad." At about three-to-six, the child learns what kinds of stories lead to simple emotions and to more complex emotions as well – such as pride, love, and embarrassment. The understanding of guilt and remorse, along with feelings of responsibility, emerge at ages five to nine. Guilt develops more slowly than shame (Walter 2002), and guilt is often regarded as an adult emotion, whereas shame is apt to be regarded as a childish regression (Babcock and Sabini 1990). Just as mastery of language gradually expands, so also does our *repertoire* of emotions. This process continues into adolescence and adulthood and is in fact a lifelong process. Just as cognitive complexity can be increased by cognitively and emotionally demanding situations even into old age, so also emotional complexity develops with mature, complex, differentiated social experiences and situations.

### The eight primary dyads

Associated with the eight primary emotions, as arranged in Plutchik's 1962 wheel, are eight secondary emotions, which Plutchik terms "primary dyads:" these secondary emotions result from mixing *adjacent* primary emotions. We can extend Darwin's principle of antithesis here by noting that these eight emotions form pairs whose primary components are opposite, which means that the primary dyads can be represented, as follows, as four pairs of opposites, and that they can be given roughly opposite interpretations.

*love = acceptance & joy;*  
*misery, forlornness, loneliness = disgust & sadness;*

*pride = anger & joy;*  
*embarrassment, mild shame = fear & sadness;*

*aggression = anger & anticipation;*  
*alarm, awe = fear & surprise;*

*curiosity = surprise & acceptance; and*  
*cynicism = anticipation & disgust.*

The symbol "=" used above means "results from" and "&" means "and" or "joined with." Using a different process, Plutchik would, for example, assert that "pride = anger + joy," where "+" implicitly implies an additive model, whereas here an exponential model is preferred (TenHouten 1996).

It is useful to introduce a distinction between a *basic* emotion and a *primary* emotion. A basic emotion is one that has developed, at least in part, before high-level learning, perception, and cognition have developed. Basic emotions include the eight primary emotions but also include emotions such as pride, and shame, dominance, and submissiveness (Weisfeld 1997). It will be shown in this section that while these eight secondary emotions, the primary dyads, are not primary, they are indeed basic, and it is possible to specify, within the limits of what is known, their biological infrastructure. When we get beyond this second set of eight emotions, this claim cannot so far be made, with the exception of one pair of half-opposite secondary dyads, *dominance* and *submission*, which can also be considered basic. Darwin (1872) proposed that the emotions of pride and shame in humans evolved from dominance and subordination behavior in lower animal species.

## Love and misery, loneliness and forlornness

### *Love*

Love consists in overestimating the difference between one woman and another.

(George Bernard Shaw)

Love, delightful as it is, pleases even more by the way in which it reveals itself.

(La Rochefoucauld)

Love is the joyful acceptance of another. The inclusion of acceptance in love can be understood by noting that acceptance is the positive experience of identity, more generally of equality. David Holbrook (1972) clarifies this idea in his observation that “[l]ove . . . is capable of growth by the discovery of the reality of self and the object of our love, of the problems of give-and-take. . . . It leads towards the capacity to give and meet in relation. It leads toward equality. . . . Indifference would manifest our lack of need for the object” (p. 36). The capacity for love requires an adequate infancy, it has been found, and the primary need of the infant is for incorporation, for taking in, in a world of experience consisting largely of hunger and satisfaction. Thus, in the beginning, acceptance is an experience of identity in terms of bodily ingestion, as if the infant was a hungry mouth “directed at taking the world into oneself. . . . The component of equality need not be a constant, as it can take the form of taking turns being up or down, so that, for example, one party can refer to the other as a subordinate and unthreatening ‘cute’ and ‘adorable’ object, as long as this practice does not run only in one direction” (Miller 1997: 32).

In order to understand love, as it is fully developed in the adult person,

it is necessary to examine the process of falling in love. According to Alberoni (1983), falling in love is the nascent state of a collective social movement involving two individuals. There is a close relationship between the great collective movements of history and falling in love, for the forces they harness are of the same type. They both entail a high level of social solidarity, joy in life, and renewal. The difference is in the number of people involved, for falling in love is a process restricted to two people, whereas social movements can involve millions and are always open to more. Durkheim could have been writing of falling in love in the following passage but was instead referring to the French Revolution and other great movements such as the rise of Christianity and Islam and the Protestant Revolution, when he wrote of collective effervescence:

A man who experiences such sentiments feels himself dominated by outside forces that lead him and pervade his milieu. He feels himself in a world quite distinct from that of his own private existence. This is a world not only more intense but also qualitatively different. Following the collectivity, the individual forgets himself for the common end and his conduct is oriented in terms of a standard outside himself. . . . These forces need to overflow for the sake of overflowing. . . . At such moments, the higher form of life is lived with such intensity and exclusiveness that it monopolizes all mind to the more or less complete exclusion of egoism and the commonplace.

(Durkheim 1953: 91–2)

For countless animal species, sexual behavior and sexual desire is cyclical, but for humans it is nearly always a present possibility, which means that sexual activity can be recurrent, short, and of moderate intensity. But there are periods in life in which sexual activity is frequent, intense, extraordinary, exalting, inexhaustible, and completely satisfying, such that we wish it could always be thus. This is especially the case when we are in the process of falling in love. During these periods of life we are sensitive to sights, colors, sounds, and our intellect is keen and replete with symbolization and fantasy, so that our thoughts are filled with poetry, religion, and myth, all in the service of a mystical transfiguration of the loved other person. This Alberoni (1983) calls “the ‘mark of grace,’ Eros – that is, extraordinary sexuality – [which] is monogamous” (p. 13). This sexuality is tied to the intellect and to passion, and its true nature is to subvert and rupture previous ties, so that Eros becomes a truly revolutionary force. There is also an insecurity in this process that instills fear of losing the other and sinking into a state of “sexual misery” (ibid.: 14), which is consistent with Plutchik (1962/1991), who defines “misery, remorse, [and] forlornness” (p 118) rather than hatred as the opposite of love.

There is a temporal dimension to this experience, captured in Japanese culture, in which the word *nin* refers to the world of peace and daily

tranquility, and the word *ten* to the extraordinary moment of love. “Thus *nin* is already joy, and a day of *nin* corresponds to a year in a world without tranquility. But a day of *ten* corresponds to a thousand or ten thousand years of time” (ibid.: 15). Thus love creates the mental experience of an *eternalization of the present*, and when we lose our love, the *misery* of that moment is an eternity that will always be with us. It should also be noted that these concepts clearly link joy to love, which is consistent with the definition of love as the joyful acceptance of another. All love involves happiness but in the process of falling in love the happiness is elevated to an *intense* joyfulness and to a *total* acceptance of the other.

The emergence of romantic love in the history of the West, and in much of the Rest, presented itself as a laceration, a separation, a violation of the rules and customs of tribal, agricultural, and feudal societies that had been founded on kinship rules according to which marriage was an exchange relationship between families or clans. Here, the term “romantic” refers not to the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Romantic Movement but to “that individual, exalted, impassioned state which is characteristic of falling in love” (Sullivan 1999: xi). For centuries, falling in love was apt to be a rupture of the conjugal couple brought together not by love but by the arrangement of others, as it typically involved adultery. Even today, without community-level and societal constraints on lovers bonding in marriage, there is still discontinuity as an *internal* experience as when, for example, the newly-adult boy breaks free of his father. But without an obstacle of some kind, be it the family, social class, present spouse, ethnic or linguistic group membership, without some bond being tested or severed, there will be no falling in love. While a person who falls in love might love the members of his family, and love his family as a whole, there is always some level of disappointment, tension, frustration, and ambivalence toward family members, which is usually a slow process of deterioration and a clearing of the mind with respect to family members that earlier in life had been idealized. The result of this process of distancing oneself from childhood times is most apt to result not in outward aggressiveness but rather in inward guilt. There is, Alberoni (1983) argues, an “*excessive depression* that precedes all collective movements” (p. 23, emphasis in original). Falling in love frees strong emotional forces, as *Eros* is violently embraced and transforms one’s love into an ideal, and as there are jolting breaks with enduring and accepted restraints. The result “is one of liberation, fullness of life, happiness. Possibilities open before us and the pure object of *Eros* appears, the unambivalent object, in which duty and pleasure coincide, in which all alienation is extinguished” (ibid.). The pure object of *Eros* appears in an instant, the instant universally described as a revelation, as a “falling,” but falling in love is in reality not, as it is sometimes portrayed and misremembered, instantaneous, taking place at “first sight.” It is rather a process taking some time to unfold, for it is no less than the creation of a new community. This whole process is fascinating,

and as Lionel Tiger (1999) remarks, “[l]overs are engaged in nature’s core construction work and spectators enjoy the show” (p. 616).

Thoits (1990) sees (i) love, as a cultural label, emerging when a person sees another as (ii) attractive – a situational cue which leads (iii) to physiological changes, such as an increased heart rate, followed by (iv) expressive gestures such as gazing and smiling at the other. The four aspects of a developing emotion are interrelated, and a change in one changes the others, for they are in a delicate balance. For example, if on second glance the other is seen as less attractive, or unattractive, the second factor, the situation cue, can be reversed, and the beginnings of acceptance can quickly turn into its own opposite, into disgust, which can be easily communicated by negative facial gestures, such as curling the upper lip, wrinkling the nose, or lowering the eyes (Ekman and Friesen 1975).

Once the magical process of revelation has unfolded, we must return to everyday life, but to our amazement the feeling of being in love persists, coming repeatedly to mind, creating a desire, a torment of waiting, that subsides only when we are again with the loved one. If this drive recurs over and over again, and impresses itself on us, then we know that what we have experienced is no mere infatuation but rather a radical restructuring of our social world, one that compels us to change every other relationship, to rethink and reconstruct our past. Indeed, as G. H. Mead (1932: 31) has argued, the past is just as open to reconstruction as is the future. Thus we are able to reconstruct our life, seeing all that has happened before as a preparation for the fated moment of realization that we have fallen in love. Freud’s view, embraced by Alberoni (1983: 25), is that the unconscious mind is immortal. The past is not hidden nor is it denied; the past is rather treated as a mythic prehistory, for true history can now begin.

Reflecting on the past, any and all feelings of resentment, remorse, betrayal, and desire for revenge can be let loose, for what no longer has value cannot be hated, as hard feelings about past relationships gradually come to be recalled with a detached tenderness and understanding. The joy of a new love can also contribute to an illusion, that the people left behind will accept this new reality with equanimity, serenity, and peacefulness, which can lead to jarring confrontations with reality, for, as one example, it has been said that Hell hath no fury like a woman scorned. The effect of one member of a committed couple falling in love with someone else can provoke a terrible desire in the abandoned partner, as this person’s loss has devalued self-image, self-esteem and there will be no forgiving and forgetting, and no relenting of opposition. The jilted one might try desperately to win back the errant partner, perhaps coming to grudgingly assert, “[a]ll right, leave, but you can’t take the children” (ibid.: 28). Thus, for the one abandoned, the newfound joy of their departing mate is matched by a feeling of rejection and of sadness, which combine to form a state of misery, forlornness, and loneliness.



*Misery, forlornness, and loneliness*

If “love = joy & acceptance,” then the opposite of love should be comprised of sadness and disgust, because sadness is the opposite of joy and disgust/rejection is the opposite of acceptance. Historically, there has been much debate concerning the opposite of love. Some philosophers and theologians have seen *hatred* as the opposite of love, but psychoanalytic theories, and Alberoni, disagree. The ancient Greeks opposed to *Eros*, the creative force of life and love, *Thanatos*, the force of destruction and death, an idea that was to be embraced by Freud (1920). For Plutchik, however, it is *misery* and *forlornness* that are the opposite of love, as the person who has lost the love of another person is apt to feel rejected, abandoned, and lonely. Consistent with this view, Holbrook (1972) states that hatred is a “strategy of survival. It is not the opposite of love, which would be indifference” (p. 36). Given that indifference closely approximates apathy, it is also helpful to refer to Rollo May (1969), who proclaims, “Hate is not the opposite of love – apathy is” (p. 29). People do not fall in love with the purpose of making others suffer, and are surprised when it happens, but this result, as we have seen, cannot be avoided, and will reach its maximum intensity if the person who falls in love was at the time already in a committed relationship.

It is the possibility of becoming forlorn and lonely that makes the process of falling in love so risky. When one takes the plunge, announces that he or she is in love with another, the response might be negative, or it might be sincere but not true and total. At this stage, both parties are in a state of uncertainty, unsure of their true feelings. There can be moments of desperation in this process. But when this process is completed, and two become one, love can die, and one person can withdraw from the relationship, and this moment too will seem an eternity, a source of a profound unhappiness that makes everything else seem like nothing in comparison. We are always on the defensive against falling in love, always ready to say “No” because of this potential risk of saying “Yes” and then, eventually, ending up alone and lonesome, being left with an empty feeling that only the discovery of a new love, and a new opportunity to reconstruct one’s past and throw oneself into a new social movement, will heal. Thus, when we fall in love we make time stop but in doing so we have sacrificed every certainty, every pride, as every power to control our lives is renounced (Alberoni 1983: 32–3).

Loneliness is an inevitable result of the loss of love, or the absence of love, and has as its primary components sadness and a sense of not being accepted, or of being rejected. It always involves a high level of sadness, to the point that it is often seen as a variant of sadness, as it is “a sadness that stems from the absence of desired social relationships” (Ben Ze’ev 2000: 470). It emerges if there exists a discrepancy between the social life a person might desire and that which they have been able to attain. It is a hunger for intimacy, not so much to have others a part of one’s life but

rather to be a part of others' lives, to be not so much an emotional subject as an emotional object. Loneliness, to some extent, can be self-imposed, as a systematically lonely person develops defense mechanisms including the sending of messages of disinterest, which above all else are apt to be based on apprehension that overtures of friendship would be met by rejection. Loneliness cannot be equated with solitude, which can be valuable experience in which inner speech can enable highly productive and enjoyable conversations with oneself. Because loneliness comes about as a result of an involuntary separation from potential, or established, social relationships, it can be said that loneliness results, at least in part, from the negative experience of communal social relationships, as specified in present theory. The prominence of rejection in loneliness is clarified by Sullivan's (1999) observation that love which has been enjoyed, but then rejected, "creates pain less final than death, but often just as cruel" (pp. 270–1).

There is a difference between the rejected lover who has enjoyed a time of love, and therefore knows what mutual love is like, and "the unrequited lover has had no taste of it at all" (ibid.: 270). Thus, there is a clear connection between loneliness and misery, for "those eventually rejected know the misery of the child expelled from paradise; the unrequited know the desolation of the child not allowed into it" (ibid.: 271). Sullivan also links loneliness to sadness and grief, as he observes: "Grieving has an approximate sequence, whatever the loss. First, the bereft person will not believe or accept; then comes anger, then overwhelming tears, depression and despair; then usually some manner of recovery" (ibid.). But when the sequence does not follow through to recovery, the result can be disastrous to the abandoned person. Rejection of this sort can provoke despair, hate, rage, and a thirst for vengeance. As example, Ophelia, the once beloved of Hamlet, loses her mind and drowns herself, Goethe's Werther shoots himself, and Anna Kerenina throws herself under a train. To be forced to become one person again, after having been fused with one's lover, "is among the bleakest tasks of life, and sometimes it cannot be completed" (ibid.: 272). The one who has withdrawn his or her love also suffers, but this suffering takes the form not of loneliness and despair but by a haunting guilt, which can be held onto as a form of self-punishment; yet not all lovers feel guilt, for, as Sullivan (ibid.) puts it, "love is an unscrupulous solvent of conscious. . . . Lovers will invent all manner of excuses why they should let down those who trust them, and easily persuade themselves that those whose trust they betray will soon recover and not mind too much" (p. 273).

### **Pride and embarrassment**

Pride, to Plutchik, is an angry joy, and I agree. Thus,

*pride = anger & joy.*

Pride, and its natural extension, pridefulness, will be discussed in Chapter 11. Here, the focus is on the opposite of pride, comprised of fear and sadness, which Plutchik problematically defines as *guilt*. This definition does not seem reasonable for two reasons. On the levels of intuition and common sense, the opposite of pride is not guilt but embarrassment (and perhaps mild shame), which can be defined as follows:

*embarrassment, mild shame = fear & sadness.*

Pride and embarrassment are opposites along two of the four existential dimensions, hierarchy and temporality, more generally communal and authority-based social relations. If we are having positive experiences of both kinds of social relations, we experience an angry joy, a sense of pride. If we are having a negative experience of both, we experience embarrassment, a fearful sadness, feeling that we would like to escape the situation (the behavior of fear, moving away from) and that we have violated the norms of our group, a loss of status-accord in Kemper's sense as marked by others' disapproval.

Embarrassment can be unintentional or strategic (Petronio 1999). Unintentional embarrassment occurs when a person, in the presence of others, makes a mistake or is involved in an accidental mishap. *Strategic* embarrassment results from events provoked by others who seek one's sudden loss of social comfort and can be motivated by a desire for personal gain, either by making themselves look good or to exert social control in a larger social setting. Such strategic embarrassment, which reduces one's social status, can be a powerful tool for curbing unwanted or threatening behavior. The social anxiety of being embarrassed, whether by accident or design, has two consequences: first, there is always a loss of face in being discredited or shown to be, at least momentarily, socially incompetent, which is a variant of the emotion, sadness; second, there is a public judgment that the person is not in control of their words or behavior in a specific social situation, a state of momentary powerlessness that triggers the adaptive reaction of fear and its behavioral concomitant consisting of correcting the behavior, offering an excuse, or escaping or withdrawing from the situation.

There are at least three competing theories of embarrassment. Modigliani (1971; see also Edelman 1985) has propounded the *esteem-in-the-eyes-of-another account*, according to which embarrassment is a feeling of inadequacy that ensues when one believes that their presented self appears deficient. Several studies suggest that embarrassment, or the prospect of embarrassment, inhibits social behavior. The threat of embarrassment in some cases inhibits individuals from attempting to satisfy their immediate interest. The embarrassed person, in this view, experiences a short-lived but acute sadness at the *loss* of self-esteem, accompanied by the *fear* that one's ineptitude will be discovered. This account satisfies the

present definition of embarrassment, as a combination of sadness and fear, since loss is a basis of sadness and there is also a fear of discovery.

Second, Goffman's (1956; see also Silver *et al.* 1987) *interactional account* of embarrassment is based on two analogies: a linguistic analogy which holds that social interaction is governed by shared but implicit rules, and a dramaturgical analogy that views social interaction as a series of performances in which the social actors carry out well-defined roles appropriate or necessary to attaining a desired definition of the situation. Embarrassment ensues when an individual is unable to play *any* role that is acceptable given the demands of developing and maintaining a working consensus. Goffman saw embarrassment as a *mild shame* at being unable to successfully present a desired self, perhaps failing to abide by a script by making inappropriate remarks, misusing stage props, incorrectly violating the norms of social rituals, or violating *expression rules* by displaying rather than masking inappropriate emotions or by evincing emotions not actually felt,<sup>7</sup> all of which momentarily destabilizes the interaction.

Third, Babcock's (1988) *personal account* of embarrassment assumes that individuals define themselves in terms of a specific *persona* – including a set of personal standards of conduct important to the person, consisting of underlying beliefs, values, attitudes, concerns, and abilities that the individual deems crucial to his or her self-image. For example, a person might see herself as intelligent, open to new ideas, independent, and as having an attitude of “cool disinterest.” Embarrassment is an unpleasant emotional response to the realization that one has acted inconsistently with one's *persona*, that is, one has violated one's personal standards. Embarrassment is “a reaction to perceived discrepancy between one's actions and one's own personal standards” (*ibid.*: 460). Thus, although both embarrassment and shame can feel like reactions to a fear of negative evaluations by others, they are in reality responses to a perceived failure to live up to internalized personal standards of behavior. In shame the person has not lived up to the standard of being a worthwhile person; but the lower standard for embarrassment is the individual's *persona*, an idiosyncratic conception of the self that provides a standard for action.

How does Babcock's definitions reconcile with the present definition of embarrassment as a combination of fear and sadness? First, embarrassment is an effective mechanism of social control, for it inhibits behavior that carries with it the *fear* of discovering that one's real self is not in accord with one's *persona* or ideal self. And second, in embarrassment the person has, perhaps for a moment, *lost* something, namely the sense of having a particular character, a current conceptualization of the social self. This social self is open to modification and reevaluation, for if a person is embarrassed, it might not be possible to maintain an image of oneself as a particular type of person, yet this does not compel judgment of oneself as globally undeserving or unacceptable. To have lost something, even a possibly unrealistic conceptualization of the self, is the condition for sadness.

Thus, the personal account model of embarrassment does imply both fear and sadness. It would appear that Babcock has provided an account of embarrassment that makes a great deal of sense. The difference between embarrassment and shame hinges on whether or not one's identity is at stake. In embarrassment, one's identity is slightly bruised but not permanently damaged, so we can include mild shame under this definitional title.

## **Aggressiveness and alarm/awe**

### *Aggressiveness*

Plutchik (1962/1991) defines "expectancy + anger = aggression, revenge, stubbornness" (p. 118), a problematic definition in that expectancy must be distinguished from anticipation, which Plutchik did not do. Panksepp (1982) insightfully and correctly defines expectancy as "joyful anticipation" (p. 410), which would make it a secondary emotion, a definition of expectancy that will be carefully followed throughout this book: the first meaning of "joyful anticipation" will be *optimism*, and the second meaning will be *expectancy*. To be aggressive also differs from being stubborn. Thus, in the present classification,

$$\textit{aggression} = \textit{anger} \ \& \ \textit{anticipation}.$$

Is aggressiveness a positive emotion? We have discussed the valence of anger, which is unpleasant but defined as positive in that it is approach motivated. Anticipation is also approach motivated but one can have an unpleasant anticipation, for example, of impending disaster. Consistent with the idea that there exists no rule by which the valence of a secondary emotion can be inferred from the valences of its primary components, aggressiveness can be either unpleasurable or pleasurable but is generally an approach-motivated emotion, and in this sense is a positive emotion. In Chapter 9 it will be shown that anger, anticipation, and aggression are the key emotions underlying cognitive-affective mental states geared to rational goal attainment. Like most complex emotions, aggressiveness can be either creative or destructive and can play either a positive or negative role in human affairs.

### *Micro-level sublimated aggressiveness*

*Passive-aggressiveness* characterizes a manipulative person who avoids taking responsibility for his and others' lives while avoiding anger and confrontation. This is the "nice guy" or "nice boss" who is well-liked because of a preoccupation with cultivating an image of being friendly, likeable, and popular. But this "niceness" is a defensive and manipulative way of maintaining "minimal emotional involvement and interpersonal

commitment” (Bach and Goldberg 1974: 18). This person’s aggression is always present and powerful but is at the same time disguised and indirect, and does not appear to be aggressive at all. Yet underneath the calm and friendly demeanor there can be a smoldering resentment at never having had the opportunity to develop one’s own potential, which can on occasion erupt in rage, or can somatize, as in the case of the “nice mommy” systematically experiencing illnesses, aches, and pains to garner attention and sympathy. The “nice mommy” and the “nice daddy” are always accommodating other people, making them feel in debt, in a way that is emotionally destructive.

How do people get this way? Bach and Goldberg (*ibid.*) write about the “good mommy:” that “[s]he gives off contradictory, indirect messages of ‘I love you’ together with ‘I hate you.’ When her children show signs of independence, she makes them feel selfish and guilty. . . . She is a skillful tyrant who skillfully utilizes indirect aggression” (p. 20). As a child she was apt to have experienced a strict moral background, was expected to be seen and not heard, and “when she became openly angry she was immediately punished for being disrespectful” (*ibid.*: 19). Her parents became upset over any manifestations of aggressiveness. She would have been discouraged from taking the initiative and making plans for the future. This is reproduced in the adult socialization practices of adult passive-aggressives, who discourage their own children from developing minds of their own and from becoming independent, individuated social beings.

Then there is the “nice daddy,” who expresses his aggression by not getting involved, starving his wife emotionally. This man married and had children because it has been expected of him and only goes through the motions of participation in family life. His own upbringing was repressive: he was not allowed to raise his voice or talk back; he learned not to show independence and aggressiveness by withdrawal; he provides no adequate role model for his children to copy, showing no initiative of his own, and holding his children to no performance standards. We have seen that when primary emotions are suppressed in childhood, the secondary emotions that develop out of these primary emotions will also be underdeveloped and suppressed, and that is exactly what happens here.

Bach and Goldberg (1974) also describe “nice children,” who are liked by adults because they are obedient and eager to please, often being the “teacher’s pet” at school. They are adult-oriented and disliked by their peers, who recognize that they act “superior” and are untrustworthy allies of the adults because they are prone, for example, to snitching. Such passive-aggressive children are manipulators preoccupied with being loved and accepted by adults. Their parents have been status seekers, making them feel rejected at home insofar as they were treated as objects rather than as autonomous beings. Underneath their “nice” exteriors, they are, as adults, apt to be filled with feelings of resentment at not having being allowed to enjoy their childhood. Lacking empathy for others, they are

headed for an adulthood in which they can use and discard others easily, and are apt to become alienated and lonely, prone to assuming the roles of “good mommy” and “good daddy” in their own turn.

As two additional examples, Bach and Goldberg (1974: 29–30) describe the “nice student” and the “nice teacher.” The “nice student” sits in front of the class, takes copious notes, asks sincere questions, nods affirmatively in the direction of the teacher, and continues asking the teacher questions after class. This student is adult- rather than peer-oriented, is extremely competitive, and will succeed in obtaining high grades and excellent letters of recommendation. They are essentially treating their teachers as objects, and reveal hostility in their manipulation of authority figures in general. As for the “nice teacher,” underneath a false exterior, there is a resentment of authority and a reluctant to play role that require the exercise of authority. Yet, hidden authoritarian tendencies might pop up in the face of a student challenge. While these teachers are rewarded with good ratings and compliments, it is the students who pay the real price, for they have been presented an unrealistic model of the competitive world of education and work and they have been challenged to meet rigorous standards of performance, all of which devalues their “A+” grades and flowery letters of recommendation.

Thus, passive-aggressives try to be nicer than nice, to win the acceptance of everyone they encounter. They have a fear of being angry, assertive, and aggressive. Yet they harbor resentments and hostility, and possess a usually well-disguised aggressiveness that is apt to symbolize itself in explosive action. The “nice” person is, on close examination, a manipulator skilled at inducing guilt in any personal confrontation, for how could one, after all, possibly get angry at a person who is simply trying to be “nice?”

It is important in negotiating the everyday world, as a matter of self-protection, to be able to recognize the hidden reality of the “nice” person beneath phony, adoring behavior and the destructive impact he or she can have on others. There is symbolic meaning in the behavior of a person who seeks out “nice” persons for close interpersonal relationships, as it is a statement of protecting one’s own aggressive-phobic tendencies, as if to say, “I am attracted to the ‘nice’ person because he lets me get away with my hang-ups, spoiled behavior, and fear of strong involvement;” or “You don’t make any demands on me and I won’t make any demands on you;” and “You do your thing and I’ll do my thing” (ibid.: 37). Thus, if you seek out “nice” companions and teachers you belong in that category yourself. Persons who are not themselves aggressive-phobic are likely to find the “nice” person stagnant, boring, distrustful, unreliable, overcontrolled, subject to sudden rages, emotionally unreal, and emotionally intolerable (ibid.: 38–9). There is no research on this topic that I know of, but it seems reasonable that the “nice” person is also prone to a subtle form of alexithymia.

*Micro-level creative aggressiveness*

The reader might have been initially surprised that anger and aggressiveness were both defined as positive emotions. Certainly it is less than an optimal stance toward the world to persistently feel angry and to exhibit *hyper-aggressiveness*, bragging about victory and sulking after defeat in a friendly competition with a family member. Yet, it is important to understand what is most positive about aggressiveness, and why it is absolutely necessary to a successful and fulfilling life. Some degree of aggressiveness is necessary for infant development. The healthy fetus announces its existence by kicking, and will exude an aggressive yet wonderful birth cry, the symbolic expression of a “rage to live” (ibid.: 42) and will thrash about in protest if the breast or bottle is removed too quickly. Crying symbolizes discomfort and communicates clearly that a need must be met. The baby energetically bites, claws, rolls over, pulls up, and eventually sits, crawls, stands, and walks.

In the second year of life, the child’s aggressiveness is increasingly purposeful and self-assertive and there develops an awareness of sources of frustration. From 18 to 30 months, the ‘terrible twos’, the child learns to say “No,” becomes possessive of the mother, expressing anger and jealousy when her attention is elsewhere. If punished for this behavior, the child will experience a sapping of vitality and become passive and withdrawn. If the child is repressed at this stage, which is hardly uncommon, the aggression can be turned inward, as they will bite and scratch themselves and bang their heads, and as adults are apt to grind their teeth and become accident and/or illness prone.

From school age through adolescence, it is necessary for the child to have an adequate level of self-assertiveness and aggressiveness. This is necessary for peer-acceptance, to avoid being bullied and humiliated by peers, and for overcoming a wide variety of social obstacles confronting all children in the difficult and painful movement toward an individuated self that seeks appropriate life goals, develops a healthy lifestyle, and develops normal intimate relationships. If aggressiveness is stultified by overcontrolling socialization agents, there can be explosions of inappropriate aggressiveness such as cruelty to animals, the bullying and teasing of other children, drug abuse, passive-dependent entertainment, and involvement in cults and esoteric philosophies – all in an effort to overcome social isolation and a dependency on others which can ultimately result in rejection, shame, despair, and violence (Megargee 1970). James Gilligan (1996) found many of his pathologically aggressive men, and patients in mental institutions, indeed had such experiences in their childhoods. As adults they are prone to commit violent acts in part to attain, or retain, the shelter of the prison or hospital, which they are loath to admit because they are ashamed of lacking the social and vocational skills that would enable to take care of themselves, or even survive, on the mean streets that have come to circumscribe their social world.



*Macro-level destructive aggression*

The joy of killing! The joy of seeing killing  
done – these are the traits of the human race at large.  
(Mark Twain)

Students of history know that aggression, manifested in wars of conquest, mass murder, and genocide, has been around for millennia and persists today. Freud (1920) thought we had a killer within, an aggressive drive to destroy, Thanatos. According to Jane Goldberg (1999), in *The Dark Side of Love*, the behavior of infants is totally self-absorbed and not destructive only because they are weak and ineffectual. In her diary, Anne Frank wrote:

destructiveness raging in the outer world may meet the very real aggressiveness, which rages in the inside of the child. Children have to be safeguarded against the primitive horrors of war, not because the horrors and atrocities are so strange to them, but because we want them, at this decisive stage of development, to overcome and estrange themselves from the primitive and atrocious wishes of their infantile nature.

(Frank, cited in Goldberg 1999: xv)

Some argue that children needed to be shielded from the destructiveness of war not so much because they are delicate but because their games, and later their actions, would be filled with acts of violence carried out with glee, joyfully, playing on bombed sites and throwing bricks from crumbled walls, as happened with children in Britain and other countries during World War II. Children can kill, and they do. Goldberg (1999) asserts that it is only when they are helped to “estrangle themselves from their primitive and atrocious wishes that the civilizing forces of love and decency become the stronger force” (p. xv).

Wars of conquest, class struggle, religious conflict, racial and ethnic strife, rivalry for place and power in economy and polity, and more, offer ample proof that aggression has fueled human history (Gay 1993: 3). From the Neolithic Age to nineteenth century Europe’s Victorian Age, throughout the twentieth century and into the twenty-first, there can be no doubt that the human is an aggressive animal. The idea that humanity is inherently wicked, greedy, mendacious, and aggressive, came naturally to Victorian Christians. Among unbelievers, the works of Herbert Spencer and Darwin provided compelling proof for our inexpugnable combativeness. William James observed that “ancestral evolution has made us all potential warriors” (cited *ibid.*: 4). While conceding these sentiments, it must be cautioned that not all aggression is wantonly cruel and sadistic. We have seen that aggression has many productive and useful outlets,

from confident self-advertisement, to overcoming a rival in mating competition, and competing for rewards and championships in sport, politics, trade, literature, and science. And we have just reviewed evidence of creative aggression, which appears essential, on the micro level of individual development, for the attainment of an individuated, self-reliant, and productive life that makes a positive contribution to our world.

### *Alarm, awe*

The potential power of awe, combined with the mystery of its mechanism, may itself be a source of awe, giving pleasure both to those who study it and to those who cultivate it in their lives.

(Dacher Keltner and Jonathan Haidt)

### *Alarm*

Plutchik (1962/1991) regards “surprise + fear = alarm, awe” (p. 118) and the present classification agrees with this: alarm, and to a lesser extent, awe, are indeed individual or group responses to a threatening situation such as being subjected to aggression by another person or group of persons. Alarm is the opposite of aggression, a reaction to aggression. Alarm, according to its French derivation *all'arme*, means “to arms,” as it is an arousing to meet, and hopefully repel, an attack. Similarly, an *alert* is a signal to prepare for an attack. There is obviously an element of fear in being the object of a surprise attack by a foe or enemy. *Affright* and *fright* express such fear, which can at least temporally overcome courage. The terms *apprehension*, *disquietude*, *misgiving*, and *solicitude* all refer to the anticipation of danger (Fernald 1914/1947: 35). Thus,

*alarm, awe = fear & surprise.*

### *Awe*

According to *Oxford*, *awe* derives from words in Old English and Old Norse used to express fear and dread, particularly toward a divine being. English usage of this term gradually began to connote “dread mingled with veneration, reverential or respectful fear; the attitude of a mind subdued to profound reverence in the presence of supreme authority, moral greatness or sublimity, or mysterious sordidness” (p. 149, meaning 2). The hedonic tone of awe, in addition to threat, involves exceptional ability, beauty, virtue, and apprehension of the sublime, of the beautiful, and of what seems to be supernatural. Appraisals of these phenomena commonly share, according to the superlative analysis of Keltner and Haidt (2003), a perceived vastness and an inability to assimilate the experience into one’s current mental structure, so that the surprising apprehension of the

unfathomable at the boundaries of fear can profoundly alter the course of a life. The astonishing, the awe-inspiring, has much to do with territorial boundaries. We have seen that Darwin (1872) identified an intimate relationship and a profound similarity between astonishment (intense surprise) and terror (intense fear). Darwin also defined admiration, a close relative of awe, as a mixture of surprise, astonishment, pleasure, and approval. He saw it reflected in facial expressions, including raised eyebrows, brightened eyes, a gaping mouth, and in extreme cases, goosebumps and hair standing on end (which are reactions of fear).

Philosopher Edmund Burke (1757) linked awe, which he calls the experience of the sublime, to both surprise and fear. He argued that sublime experience results from obscurity, so that while objects that are anticipated do not produce this experience, objects that the mind can grasp only with great difficulty do. As examples, he referred to the despotic leader who remains hidden to the public to enhance his power, and to features of artistic production that communicate vastness, magnificence, infinity, together with certain properties of color and light that both suggest and obscure power.

When one encounters an object that seems vast and difficult to accommodate, awe follows. Keltner and Haidt (2003: 305) have made clear that the term awe should only be applied to that which involves both. They see awe as satisfying this definition for (i) social elicitors such as the feeling a low-status person feels toward a powerful leaders, and even encounters with God, or the collective effervescence of the Australian Aborigines that Durkheim (1912) saw as resulting from participation in religious rituals; (ii) physical elicitors such as tornadoes, grand vistas, great cathedrals, and awe-inspiring music, and (iii) cognitive elicitors such as grand theories (e.g., the theory of evolution, the general theory of relativity). Insofar as vastness is linked to fear, and accommodation to surprise, their conceptualization of awe is consistent with its present definition as a secondary emotion comprising two primary emotions, fear and surprise.

### Curiosity and cynicism

According to Plutchik (1962/1991), “disgust + expectancy = cynicism” (p. 118). The opposite of cynicism is curiosity, so he defines “acceptance + surprise = curiosity” (ibid.). The present classification distinguishes between expectation and anticipation, according to which:

*curiosity = surprise & acceptance, and  
cynicism = anticipation & rejection.*

### *Curiosity*

Curiosity has three meanings: (i) a desire to investigate or learn; (ii) exciting attention directed toward what is strange, novel, or unexpected; and

(iii) nosiness or inquisitiveness about others' business (*Webster*: 316). Because curiosity means taking interest in what is unexpected or strange, it includes a component of surprise, which is the prototypical reaction to a problematic boundary. Also implied is a desire to incorporate new information, referred to subjectively as acceptance. The desire to voluntarily, intentionally, and pleurably accept, or incorporate, that which is surprising or unexpected defines curiosity as "the sense that finding out about things is positive and leads to pleasure" (*Goleman* 1997: 194). Thus, curiosity is an openness to new experience; it is an aspect of emotional intelligence that is both cognitive and affective (*Taylor and Bagby* 2000: 49).

The presence of an unexpected finding, a problem to solve, is a surprise that triggers the opposite emotion of surprise, an anticipation of positive affect that will accompany solving the problem. Thus, curiosity involves a positive form of rumination in which the opportunity to resolve what is unexpected is anticipated as a challenge. For the curious person, there is an inherent excitement and pleasure in contemplating an ambiguous situation and being able to identify a problem that leads to the problem identification (*Russ* 1999: 644). Curiosity is thus a motivating system that is essential to creativity. It reflects the person's efforts to maintain an optimal level of mental arousal, which contributes to task-persistence. The highly curious person is a risk-taker "likely to gain a wide variety of experience that would add to his or her knowledge base" (*ibid.*). This individual will seek a challenging, complex problem, and then work toward a solution.

*Csikszentmihalyi* (1996) has explored the development of curiosity in individuals. He notes that while children are not yet creative, and being a prodigy is not required for later creativity, the one thing that prodigal and late-blooming creative adults have had in common, as children, was a keen curiosity about their surroundings. *Csikszentmihalyi* (*ibid.*: 156–7) provides an excellent example. One day the young Charles Darwin while walking in the forest spied a large beetle, scurrying to hide under the bark of a tree. Eager to add to his beetle collection, he peeled off the bark and found the beetle he sought and two others also not in his collection. Able to hold only one in each hand, he popped the third in his mouth and ran home, while the beetle in his mouth attempted to escape down his throat. Darwin was no child prodigy but he had a burning curiosity about the animals in his environment and developed an early commitment to exploring an aspect of his world. Such interest emerges because it often provides for the child a competitive advantage and a resource in the social world, a way to gain admiration and acceptance from adults. Even if a child does not know where their curiosity will lead them, they are always seeking to explore the unknown and the unexpected. These children tend to be blessed with parents who never talk down to them and engage them in adult conversations, and provide guidance and a supportive emotional environment (*ibid.*: 163). Above all else, a natural curiosity develops from

a positive, accepting attitude toward surprising things, so that they can discover surprising things and eventually say surprising things about what they have discovered.

While curiosity is viewed positively and is linked to creativity, it can also exist as a superficial interest. In this sense, curiosity at things unexpected can be likened to a glancing, sliding, or skimming *over* a surface. In contrast, interest is like peering *into* things in order to “grasp” them. We never glance into things, we only glance onto them, and we cannot learn much with a “sweeping glance” (Cataldi 1993: 10). Beyond mere curiosity, a person will become *fascinated*, or spellbound, with a new experience or a new person. Thus, fascination is less superficial than curiosity, for there is a depth to fascination. Even deeper than fascination is *wonder*, this is a bafflement, confusion, or bewilderment, a deep feeling of having reached epistemic limits. Thus, while a child has curiosities, in adulthood creativity involves a progression from curiosity, to a deeper fascination with a topic, to an even deeper level of wonder. Thus, curiosity can stimulate creativity, and remains important to creativity throughout one’s lifetime, but real creativity must go beyond, and deeper, than curiosity (ibid.: 10–11). Heidegger (1962), in this regard, held that for curiosity nothing is ever “closed off. . . . Curiosity has nothing to do with observing entities and marveling at them. To be amazed to the point of not understanding is something in which it has no interest” (p. 216, cited in Cataldi 1993: 178n5).

Berlyne (1960), with Plutchik, links curiosity to exploratory behavior and to the positive experience of conceptual territoriality, where information is incorporated. He distinguished two forms of curiosity, perceptual and epistemic. The motivation underlying exploratory behavior, with its subjective term “anticipation,” is above all else *learning*. In what Berlyne (1960) calls perceptual curiosity, the state of mind induced by a surprising stimulus that asks “What’s this?” and “What’s next?” can be called “perceptual curiosity,” a reaction that is essential to the structural changes that underlie learning. The more curious a person is about what is in the environment, the more that they will be able to learn and the better will be their general adaptation to the world.

Berlyne’s (1960: 296–301) epistemic curiosity is more focused on cognition than on emotion. He carried out experiments in which curiosity was intensified simply by putting questions to subjects. The following results were obtained: (i) the higher the initial level of curiosity about a question, the greater the curiosity reduction and thus the more effective the learning was likely to be; (ii) questioning about a topic intensified curiosity not only toward the specific question but elicited more general curiosity about the topic at large; (iii) questions about animals the subjects had previously heard of aroused more curiosity than questions about animals never heard of; and (iv) subjects were more curious about questions that surprised them than by questions that did not.

The curious person, both on the levels of perception and knowledge, is one who seeks out new information, takes interest in it, and tries to learn as much as possible about it. Here is the student who seeks exposure to new concepts, ideas, theories, and information (Berlyne 1960: 221–7). The opposite situation would describe perceptual cynicism, where the person responds to “What’s that?” with the reply, “I don’t care what you have to say, I don’t want to hear about it and I can assure you I will take no pleasure in learning about this topic.” The difference between the curious person and the cynic pertains to the second component of curiosity, with the identity axis, as the curious person seeks to incorporate new information and the cynical person rejects new information. Of course, curiosity can be directed toward less laudable goals, as in the case of the nosy person whose curiosity is about the lives and social situations of co-workers and neighbors, and who is able to effectively learn about everyone else’s “business,” thus violating their privacy and social territoriality, and thereby taking everyone by surprise and incorporating information about others that can be used to embarrass and belittle them.

### *Cynicism, the anticipation of disgust*

The original Cynics were led by the Greek philosopher Diogenes of Sinope in the fifth century B.C. Diogenes advocated a natural way of life, holding virtue to be the only good, stressing independence from worldly pleasures, and scoffing at the relentless pursuit of power and wealth by fellow citizens. The Cynics rejected their own society, its material interests, and above all else its vanity. They anticipated only the worst behavior in others, whom they were apt to treat as disgusting and loathsome: on occasion, they viciously attacked those who did not uphold their virtues (Dudley 1937). Having no interest in their own social world, the cynics felt no need to explore and learn about it, and were antagonistic to all cultural values beyond the self-centered notion of their own unique virtue. In critique of this philosophy, Dudley suggests that cynicism is scarcely more than a rudimentary, debased version of Socrates’ ethics, one “which exaggerates his austerity to a fanatic asceticism, hardens his irony to sardonic laughter at the follies of mankind, and affords no parallel to his genuine love of knowledge” (p. ix). And he adds: “Well might Plato have said of the first and greatest Cynic, ‘That man is Socrates gone mad’” (ibid.). In Diogenes’ time, the Cynics were likened to dogs, because they had an indifferent way of life, ate and made love in public, were immodest and shameless like dogs, guarded their philosophy like a good guard-dog, and easily distinguishing friends suited to their philosophy, while those unfitted they drove away by barking at them (Dudley 1937: 5).

In modern times, the meaning of cynicism has changed. Today’s cynics are apathetic, resigned to, rather than reveling in, their social anomie. They might or might not believe in their own virtue, but are loath to attribute virtue to others. When confronted with new information, they

reject it out of hand. As students, they are prone to protest being presented with, and held responsible for, new ideas, and they generate negative perceptions regarding all aspects of the formal educational endeavor. Cynical high-school students are predisposed to engage in problematic classroom behavior, unwilling to improve interpersonal relations, reject parental and school counseling, and do not believe in the value of learning and education (Frymier 1997). One can only anticipate being rejected and treated with disgust by a cynic, which supports Plutchik's (1962/1991: 118) and the present definition of cynicism as a combination of anticipation and disgust. This definition is consistent with research indicating that cynicism results from a generally stressful, unsupportive social network lacking strong and positive attachments (Hardy and Smith 1988) and providing little support or encouragement. The elderly living on the margins of society are particularly vulnerable to cynicism. Some of them suffer from what Hanon *et al.* (2004) call the Diogenes syndrome, a behavioral disorder whose symptoms include living in extreme squalor and neglecting one's physical condition and personal hygiene, a self-imposed isolation, refusal of external help, and a tendency to accumulate heteroclitic objects. The self-destructiveness of cynicism includes contemplation of suicide. In a study of depressed outpatients with and without suicidal ideation, Nierenberg *et al.* (1996) found that such ideation was unrelated to measures of hostility, anger, and severity of depression, but was effectively predicted by cynicism. Rosenbaum and Kuntze (2003) view cynicism as a modern-day form of anomie. In studying marketplace behavior, they found that retail customers high in cynicism were more materialistic and more likely than other customers to employ rationalization techniques in order to justify engaging in unethical retail transactions, such as obtaining refunds for items they had stolen. They saw little wrong in engaging in such fraudulent behavior. Cynics feel little guilt for harm done to other people, experience little shame for exposing inadequacies of others, and are not bothered by violations of trust (Harvey *et al.* 1998).

Today's cynics, believing that human conduct is motivated only by self-interest, are apt to bitterly and contemptuously distrust and disrespect the goodness and sincerity of other people. They have a self-centered perspective on life that is antagonistic to other people and to the world, and seek a flight into solitude and interiority. Cynicism can be a matter of degree, and can be global or specific. Bewes (1997) has analyzed the modern cynical consciousness, charting the causes of a culture of cynicism that undeniably exists within postmodernist philosophy, which is characterized by a retreat into introspection, inertia, and disengagement from the politics of objective reality.

There has been much discussion of the putative increase in cynicism in European and American political life, yet most research on cynicism has mismeasured the concept and confusing it with skepticism, dissatisfaction, disillusionment, or mistrust (Eisinger 2000). Thus, for example, the well-

documented observation of increased mistrust of government in the U.S. since the middle 1950s to the 1980s (Lipset and Schneider 1983) cannot be interpreted as a rise in public cynicism, because mistrust and cynicism are not the same. Nor can disillusionment resulting from failures of specific institutions in contemporary societies to meet the high expectations of modern-day life (cf. Kanter and Mirvis 1989). Indeed, Eisinger (2000) suggests that some level of skepticism can be a healthy component of a democratic regime, and that cynicism, however often it is pronounced as pervasive, cannot be considered ubiquitous without credible evidence. Yet, it has been estimated that 43 percent of American workers exhibited highly cynical attitudes toward work and human nature (Kanter and Mirvis 1989). And deep cynicism on the part of employees is also engendered by business practices such as mass layoffs, outsourcing, and reductions of promised benefits, all in the face of outrageously lofty salaries, benefit packages, and “golden parachutes” for corporate executives (Wilhelm 1993).

Despite problems associated with a deep and abiding cynicism, it does have a positive side, both for cognitive and emotional development and for responsible behavior in the adult world. This was true in Diogenes time and is true for both children and adults today. Diogenes seems to have developed a grotesque way of life but if one considered the context in which he lived it is not entirely irrational. His Hellenistic world was extremely dangerous. Anyone traveling by ship faced a real risk of being captured by pirates and sold into slavery. A career in politics could end in exile, prison, or the torture chamber. Efforts at economic success could lead to losing one’s wealth and property to ruthless persons. Major cities were laid to ruin by conquering armies, with citizens raped, robbed, sold into slavery, or killed. Perhaps, as Dudley (1937) suggests, it is no accident that the same form of Cynical philosophy extended through the period of Roman dominance, for the Roman world was as dangerous and terrifying as was the Hellenistic world.

Young children tend to be naïve and gullible. Some biologists have argued that such gullibility is an evolutionary necessity that enables children to learn a great deal in a hurry without doubting the contents of what is presented to them. Thus, for example, Richard Dawkins describes the situation of a six-year-old as follows:

When you are pre-programmed to absorb useful information at a high rate, it is hard to shut out pernicious or damaging information at the same time. With so many mindbytes to be downloaded, so many mental codons to be replicated, it is no wonder that child brains are gullible, open to almost any suggestion, vulnerable to subversion, easy prey to Moonies, Scientologists, and nuns. Like immune-deficient patients, children are wide open to mental infections that adults might brush off without effort.

(Dawkins 1993: 13–14)



But even young children, it has been found, are not completely naïve and trusting. They have some sense of when to doubt when others might be lying, and they must, in order to eventually function as adults capable of rejecting others' self-serving assertions at face value and of developing sufficient critical thinking to carefully evaluate the knowledge, intentions, and desires of others. Mills and Keil (2005) observe that “[c]hildren must eventually acquire some degree of cynicism as they move toward the adult practice of taking things with a grain of salt” (p. 385). Even four-year-old children understand that people speak with sarcasm and irony (Creusere 1999) and that some will deceive to get what they want (Bussey 1992).

Cynicism can also play a positive role in the contemporary adult world. There exists evidence that cynical managers in complex organizations can be an effective force for needed change in organizational culture. This is because they play a role that comprises an adaptive and resourceful response to organization repression, challenge a dysfunctional status quo, and question accepted values and outdated ideologies and policies. In this way, cynicism can provide a bridge between what we are told is reality and what we instinctively feel (Cutler 2000). Cynicism develops naturally, and in proper measure need neither be enshrined as a philosophy nor overdone as a crippling, life-denying pathology (see Dudley 1937).

## 5 Secondary emotions, continued

The four pairs of half-opposite secondary dyads – dominance and submissiveness, optimism and pessimism, delight and disappointment, repugnance and contempt

Secondary emotions formed from primary emotions two positions apart in Plutchik's 1962 wheel can be arranged as four pairs of opposites. Yet, it is more interesting to arrange them as four pairs of half-opposites. Optimism and disappointment, for example, are exact opposites, but in the emotions literatures optimism is compared to pessimism and the two are considered as belonging to the same topic. The four half-opposite pairings are shown below, with their common term italicized:

dominance = *acceptance* & anger  
submissiveness = *acceptance* & fear

optimism = *anticipation* & joy  
pessimism = *anticipation* & sadness

delight = *surprise* & joy  
disappointment = *surprise* & sadness

repugnance (abhorrence, aversiveness, antipathy) = *disgust* & fear  
contempt = *disgust* & anger

### Dominance and submissiveness

There are no two individuals of any given species which, when living together, do not know which of the two has precedence and which is subordinate.

(Dag Schjelderup-Ebbe)

Dominance, as an emotion, is defined here as in Plutchik (1962/1991), who is unnecessarily tentative in defining “anger + acceptance = dominance (?)” (p. 118). As defined here,

*dominance = anger & acceptance.*

Plutchik (ibid.) defines “acceptance + fear = submission, modesty.” But modesty is widely considered to be a mild shame and cannot be included in the present definition of submissiveness. To accept the anger of another is to defer to their wishes, to step aside rather than insist of one’s own goals and intentions; it also means to submit to the dominance of the other. Here,

*submissiveness = fear & acceptance.*

There is little focus on dominance and submission in the sociology of emotions literature, but there is much discussion of domination and submission in political science (Agger 1992; Sedanius and Pratto 2001), anthropology (Warren 1947) and primate and human ethology (Barchas 1984; Willhoite 1986; Somit and Peterson 1997). Darwin, in *Expression*, had little to say about dominance and submission, referring only to the behavior of dogs. He noted that for dogs, “a strong sense of submission . . . is akin to fear. Dogs lower their bodies and crouch as they approach their masters, but sometimes throw themselves on the ground with their bellies upward. This is a movement as completely opposite as is possible to any show of resistance” (p. 118). Darwin (1872/1965) described how his own dog, in meeting a smaller and weaker wolf-like shepherd-dog in his neighborhood, would run to meet the other dog, with his tail tucked between his legs, hair not erected, and then “would throw himself on the ground, belly upward. By this action he seemed to say, playfully and more plainly than by words, ‘Behold, I am your slave’” (p. 119). Thus, Darwin recognized both that submission involves fear and that submission and domination are opposed. Domination is a key concept in Darwin’s theory of evolution, because he saw life as a competitive struggle for survival, with those who dominate most apt to survive and reproduce and those who submit less so.

Schjelderup-Ebbe’s (1935) pioneering research on the pecking order of bird behavior conceptualizes dominance as the outcome of competitive encounters in which the winners gain the prerogative to pursue desired incentives without interference from the losers. The rewards for dominance include eating first and, for males, disproportionate access to mating with females. Among humans, dominance relations are often dyadic, existing as “crude, person-against-person competition for social status” (Allee 1943: 517). Chase (1974), in studies of chickens, and Barchas and Mendoza (1984: 81–95) in studies of rhesus macaques (*Macaca mulatta*), find that dyadic dominance relations are often constrained by larger group structure, which also pertains to human social relations. Among macaques, dominance behaviors include attack, threat, stare, mount, and displace, and submissive behaviors include fear, grimace, present for mount, and

avoid. Dominance relations are a kind of group organization, in which individual goals are secondary to social organization and group cohesiveness. It is difficult to predict dominance relations from knowledge of pairwise interactions outside of the group context. Often, a principle of transitivity does not hold, so that for individuals A, B, and C, if A dominates B ( $A > B$ ) and  $B > C$ , it does not follow that  $A > C$ . Also, the removal of a single animal can result in substantial reorganization of the dominance structure of the entire group.

## Optimism and pessimism

The following definitions are proposed:

*optimism = anticipation & joy;*  
*pessimism = anticipation & sadness.*

These definitions differ from Plutchik (1962/1991), who asserts that “expectancy + joy = optimism, courage, hopefulness, conceit” and that “sorrow + expectancy = pessimism” (p. 118). Recall that a distinction must be made between anticipation and expectation (joyful anticipation). The optimist has a positive sense of expectancy. I prefer to drop Plutchik’s courage, hopefulness, and conceit. Hope will be discussed in Chapter 13 as a tertiary emotion closely linked to both optimism and pessimism; courage and conceit are affective traits descriptive of personality. For pessimism, anticipation would seem a better fit than expectation, which has a positive connotation that hardly corresponds to pessimism.

Among the range of attitudes that influence our existence, we must include two opposite orientations, an anticipation that good things will happen (*bonum futurum*) and an anticipation that bad things will occur (*malum futurum*). Interest in these two half-opposite orientations was keen in ancient and modern philosophy, and impressive research has accumulated over the last few decades. For example, the M.F. Scheier and C.S. Carver (1985) Life Orientation Test (LOT) assesses a person’s level of optimism–pessimism. It includes positive items, for example: “In uncertain times, I usually expect the best” and negative items, such as “If something can go wrong for me, it will.” Scheier and Carver developed a measure of relative optimism by reversing the scoring on the negative items to obtain a summated rating. However, study of the correlations between pairs of LOT items show that they form two clusters and therefore possess an underlying two-dimensional structure, meaning that they are measuring two distinct concepts rather than one (Chang 2001: 6). Chang reviews analyses of other measures of optimism–pessimism that point to the same conclusion. Optimism is positive, a product of its two positively valenced components, anticipation and happiness. Pessimism is in comparison negative, a product of one positive primary emotion, anticipation, and one

negative primary emotion, sadness. Yet just as a person can be overly optimistic, so also a person can be overly pessimistic. Thus, there is a need not only to consider the valences of optimism and pessimism, but also their *balance*, so that, like the *yang* and *yin* of ancient Chinese philosophy, they are not antagonistic but complementary, such that they can harmoniously co-exist in our psyches.

There is little evidence for a connection between parental optimism/pessimism and these dispositions in children, suggesting at most a weak biological basis for these dispositions but a strong influence of early socialization and environment. Optimism, research shows, is positively related to favorable outcomes in life, to effective coping, satisfaction, and to a sense of well-being. Yet optimism is not always desirable. There are potential costs and benefits to both optimism and pessimism. Of all the concepts so far advanced, it is *dispositional* optimism and pessimism – the general tendency to hold positive or negative anticipations of the future – that match the conventional, colloquial understanding of the terms. Chang (1998) found the number of physical symptoms of illness reported by college students is related to pessimism but not to optimism, and Chang *et al.* (1997) found dysphoric symptoms such as depression related to pessimism but not optimism. Pessimists have higher blood pressure and more negative mood than optimists, but when optimists were in a negative mood their blood pressure equaled pessimist study participants (Räikkönen *et al.* 1999). This and related studies show that optimism can yield a health benefit, yet optimism does not have protective benefits as much as pessimism has significant costs.

Efforts to increase optimism run the risk of creating unrealistic expectations, which can have negative effects if people pursue, then fail, to attain unrealistic goals. Optimism studies also typically ignore the fact that radically different social realities face participants in their everyday life as they approach their goals. And perhaps persons with marginally effective personalities, below-average problem-solving abilities, and limited social capital should not take an optimistic view of their life chances and pursue lofty, illusory goals. When many bad things happen, it is the optimists who are particularly vulnerable. Extreme deviations in either direction from a balance of optimism and pessimism are apt to result in psychopathology (Zuckerman 2001: 178–81).

What the optimism–pessimism literature does not show is how sociorelational variables influence optimism and pessimism. The present theory, however, makes such predictions. Specifically, optimism should result from simultaneously being involved in positive experience of both “exchange” (Clark and Mills 1979) or “market-pricing” (Fiske 1991) and “communal” (Clark and Mills 1979) or “communal-sharing” (Fiske 1991) social relations, which contribute separately to anticipation and joy, and jointly to the sentiment of optimism. And pessimism, the anticipation of unhappiness, is proposed to result from the co-occurrence of the positive

experience of market-oriented relations and the negative experience of communal relationships.

### **Delight and disappointment**

The definitions proposed here do not differ from Plutchik's for delight, as both the present classification and Plutchik's (1962/1991: 118) see that

*delight = joy & surprise.*

There is, however, a difference for disappointment, which is here defined as

*disappointment = sadness & surprise.*

Plutchik rather defines "surprise + sorrow = embarrassment, disappointment" (p. 118). Embarrassment is here given a different definition. Delight and disappointment, it is thus proposed, are half-opposite secondary emotions sharing a common element, surprise, and their opposite elements joy and sadness, respectively.

### ***Delight***

It was argued in Chapter 2 that surprise and anticipation are both emotions, despite the Ortony and Turner (1990) objection that they are merely cognitive states. Recall that their argument was based on the idea that surprise does not have a valence, as a person can be pleasantly surprised or unpleasantly surprised. However, as we have argued, a pleasant surprise, or joy joined with surprise, is not a variant of surprise but a secondary emotion, delight, that *includes* surprise; and an unpleasant, saddening surprise, by a parallel argument, is also a secondary emotion, that of disappointment. We can say that delight is a positive experience, even though one of its primary components, surprise, is negative; and disappointment has a negative valence, with both of its components negative. This is not what we would expect if an algebraic rule governed the valences of complex emotions. Indeed, there is no such rule.

A theoretical link between delight and arousal was described by Berlyne (1960: 199), who explained that increases in drive are sought if (i) the drive is aroused to a moderate extent, and (ii) arousal is promptly followed by a relieving discharge. This process "is at work whenever a momentary rise in arousal potential, such as a pleasant surprise or a colorful spectacle, is rewarding in the absence of a previous and independently produced spell of severe super-optimal arousal" (*ibid.*). In other words, it is a moderate level of arousal potential that is maximally rewarding. This was described by Wundt (1902–1903) as a general rule governing hedonic tone as a

function of stimulus intensity. For example, a moderately sweet taste is pleasurable, but concentrated saccharine is so sweet as to be disagreeably sickening or cloying (Beebe-Center *et al.* 1948).

Delight as the joint occurrence of anticipation and joy, a “pleasant surprise,” is an emotion that is compressed in time, in a profound “moment” wherein we realize that what we have hoped for has not slipped away but has really happened, and this happening has enhanced the quality of our life. Here, the man’s proposal of marriage, which was offered amidst trepidation and fear of rejection, has been accepted. In this moment, time seems to slow down and a sense of eternity is attained, all of the efforts of the person’s life and personal history have been mobilized in the present in a way that creates an image of a future filled with all sorts of possibilities and prospects. Thus, in delight there is a temporal compression of the past and of the future into the present. The result of this exertion is the multi-channel and holistic presencing of naturalistic activity, an elementary form of thought that is of the moment, immediate, and fully involved in the sensed, natural, and social world.

Delight, however, is not to be mistaken for a moment of spiritual enlightenment. Nor should it be confused with the mental experience of a passive-dependent, relaxed, drifting immersion in the present, described by Langer (1997) as a state of “mindlessness.” According to present theory, delight comes about through conjunction of two kinds of social experience: we have gained or attained some desired social outcome or resource that was hoped for or expected (a positive experience of territory or resources) and that is also interpersonally gratifying (a positive experience of communal life, of communal social relationships). Given that pessimism is a combination of anticipation and sadness and delight a combination of surprise and joy, we see that pessimism and delight are opposites: one might have been pessimistic about receiving a scholarship, but will be delighted if it comes through.

### *Disappointment*

Research by Schimmack and Diener (1997) on the intensity and frequency of affective experience found that disappointment is the third most frequently experienced negative emotion, after anxiety and anger. And anger, as has been argued, is not a negative emotion at all, even though it might be unpleasant, which moves disappointment into second place. There are two variants of the emotion, disappointment – outcome-related disappointment (ORD: not getting a promotion; failing an exam) and person-related disappointment (PRD: being let down by a friend; having rumors about oneself spread by an acquaintance or co-worker). ORD is event-based and PRD is agent-based (van Dijk and Zeelenberg 2002). These two kinds of disappointment have important motivational and behavioral differences. ORD is characterized by a tendency to try again, and to try

harder if given a second chance; PRD, in contrast, is characterized by a tendency to ignore, avoid, and disassociate from a person who has been a source of personal disappointment. ORD is individualistic, where as PRD is more apt to be experienced in a social context.

Disappointment is felt when we feel surprised that something that we anticipated, intended, or planned on does not materialize. Expecting a gain that does not occur is experienced as a loss, with sadness the result. If what we had expected would have had a profoundly positive impact on the quality of life, the resulting sadness can be intense. For a PRD example, if a man in a state of optimism proposes marriage to a woman he has fallen in love with and is surprised to be refused, he might experience real sorrow, even grief. He would be deeply disappointed as his whole hoped-for future life slips away with a word, perhaps uttered firmly but with sympathy. It is what we desire the most, and work toward with the greatest energy, that puts us at risk of the greatest disappointment.

Darwin (1872/1965) made only passing reference to disappointment, describing a dog who, “when dejected and disappointed, [has] . . . his head, ears, body, tail, and chops drooping, and eyes dull” (p. 119). This is quite the opposite of a dog in “cheerful spirits,” who will trot before his master, head and tail aloft but not stiff as in anger, taking long, elastic strides, in some cases grinning. Frijda *et al.* (1989) examined the appraisal patterns of disappointment, and found that it is generally appraised as negative, unexpected and uncontrollable, having certain (as opposed to uncertain) consequences, and caused by agents other than the self. There is keen interest in disappointment in decision research and marketing, with a focus on consumer satisfaction. This research shows that disappointment influences dissatisfaction, and formal and word-of-mouth complaining. This class of decision theories is called Disappointment Theory (e.g., Bell 1988). Disappointment has largely been ignored in the sociology of emotions with the exception of Ian Craib’s (1994) impressive book, *The Importance of Disappointment*, which is grounded in sociology, object-relations psychotherapy, and social identity theory, and focuses on PRD. It is widely assumed, Craib argued, that with the autonomy and anonymity of modern life people can socially construct their own identity as a “real self” and possess “rights” to happiness, fulfilling relationships, parents who love unconditionally, even a trouble-free life. Yet, Craib cautions, the development of a highly individuated, autonomous, and authentically real self requires that emotions such as fear, anger, envy, jealousy, aggressiveness, and so forth be given space in the mind and in social behavior.

Craib postulates that much in the modern world increases disappointment but at the same time encourages hiding from disappointment. People act as if the good in life can be easily had without the bad, that love and reproduction can be had without sacrifice, and that personal “growth” is possible without experiencing pain and loss. Under the term disappointment, Craib lumps a broad range of phenomena, including conflict,



difficulty, work, failure, complexity, ambivalence (an emotion as defined here), morality, and more. What he really addresses, then, is the whole gamut of what can be problematic in life, that is, the normal human difficulties that delight us if they come to pass and disappoint if they do not.

Craib's point is that there is little place for disappointment in such a view. Life does give hard knocks, plans do go awry, best efforts fail, bargains are not honored, and there is a very limited extent to which one can break off, or continue, relationships in a way that insures personal growth and self-realization. Moreover, all that is known about the development of the emotions, cognition, personality, and the self points to the general conclusion that we cannot break with the past, as is made abundantly clear by Bowlby's (1969, 1973, 1980) attachment theory. We will see later that even the ability to verbally discuss feelings and emotions can be impaired, even regressed, in the face of traumatic and painful experiences, especially in childhood but also in adulthood. Craib (1994: 122) argues that if people do not depend even on satisfactory relationships, then such "pure" relationships will indeed be in trouble. This sort of satisfaction is ultimately regressive, recreating all of the pressures from which we might be seeking relief. The basis of the "pure" relationship, he adds, is that insofar as it is separated from its previous social cement, it depends for its continuation on emotional satisfaction. Because everyone has conflicting emotional needs, the satisfaction of one need can result in the dissatisfaction of another. A state in which all of our needs are satisfied can be experienced by a contented baby, but disappears early in life. The self that engages in such effort-bargaining in interpersonal relationships, Craib (1994) suggests, "is in fact a very weak self employing an illusion of power and satisfaction, protecting its fragmented state because that seems to be the source of its power" (p. 132).

The fragmented and isolated self that comes naturally to people in late modernity is apt to be masked with a vision of a nearly omnipotent, self-constructed self that finds real autonomy difficult and makes the choices that seem so freely made and unmade, difficult indeed. This self is ultimately a disappointed self denying its own disappointments. For in fact relationships fail; parents can forever be estranged from their own children; divorce means young children grow up without their mothers or their fathers, feeling rejected and bringing an angry, mean, and hateful self into adulthood that they can neither fix nor understand; the hearts of lovers really do get broken; while sometimes relationships really should and do end, in countless cases the result is apt to be a lonely realization, too late, that everyone is unique and that people cannot be replaced any more than the defective "parts" of the self that are a source of conflict and unhappiness can be "repaired" or "reconstructed" as if our closest human relationships were subject to some sort of functional rationality.

Giddens (1991, 1992) sees contemporary trends in efforts to manage emotions as positive developments insofar as they involve increasing

freedom and personal autonomy. In the modern world, he argues, the self is no longer rooted in identification with the family and community of origin, for each person is obligated to construct a true self, with relationships no longer specified by tradition but rather by rational considerations, so that behavior is justified by processes of self-construction and self-reconstruction. This requires a constant self-monitoring, even of what Rainwater (1989) calls self-therapy. It is recommended that we should not clutch at security but rather learn to be truly in the present with others, being open to all sorts of possibilities, ready always to break with the past, seeking “pure” relationships not rooted in external conditions but standing, or falling, based on how satisfying they are in a present freed of the “inertial drag” of past commitments. In this mentality, dissatisfactions and conflicts are seen not as normal but as the occasion for questioning the viability of relationships as wholes. Giddens (1991) refers to “effort bargaining” in which commitment requires a constant decision based on the quality of intimacy, which should be objectively reviewed and talked about, so that when issues arise partners should “stick to one issue until resolved and then be done with it” (p. 97). Relationships, like the self, can thus develop through a process of mutual self-construction, so that they are constantly constructed and reconstructed, all in a search for intimacy and commitment.

## Repugnance and contempt

### *Repugnance (abhorrence, aversiveness, antipathy)*

The following definition is proposed:

*repugnance (abhorrence, aversiveness, antipathy) = disgust & fear.*

This contrasts radically with Plutchik’s (1962/1991) proposal that “fear + disgust = shame, prudishness”<sup>8</sup> (p. 118). A careful study of the two secondary emotions joining disgust to fear and to anger has been carried out, in which Plutchik’s candidate terms, and other potential terms suggested by Fernald (1914/1947), are subjected to dictionary definitions to insure that both concepts (disgust and anger, or disgust and fear) are included. That so many terms are required to adequately define the emotions to which they refer does not suggest that they are unimportant. On the contrary, it suggests that they are important indeed and implies that the human being can be one ornery critter. Of the terms included here, repugnance is chosen to most generically represent the emotion combining disgust and fear, with its meaning refined and amplified by the terms abhorrence, aversiveness, antipathy, which refer to various forms of fear but also imply not sadness but rejection and disgust.

*Repugnance* conveys the meaning of extreme dislike or distaste (a form

of rejection and disgust) but also means aversion (the behavioral component of fear), opposition, and the offering of resistance (suggesting an enemy who is in a state of aggressing) (*Webster*: 1140). Thus, “repugnance applies to that . . . from which [a person] . . . instinctively draws away” (Fernald 1914/1947: 229). *Abhorrence* implies shuddering recoil, especially moral recoil, a stronger term than *detesting*, which expresses indignation and contempt. Thus we *abhor* that which makes us shudder (a source of disgust) and recoil (move away from, a reaction of fear) from what is loathsome and intensely disliked. It can be said that we *abhor* a traitor, *despise* a coward, and *detest* a liar.

*Antipathy and aversiveness*: Antipathy refers to “a state of mind which causes one to recoil instinctively from that toward which one is antipathetic” (Fernald 1914/1947: 52). While antipathy has a cognitive component, being a state of mind, it is also described, along with repugnance, as having an emotional aspect. *Aversion* literally is a turning away (moving away from and avoiding, the behavior of fear) from what one deeply and permanently dislikes (rejection, disgust). A person who is averse to spiders is not likely to frequent places where these little critters abound. *Aversiveness* is “the turning away of the mind or feelings from some person or thing or from some course of action (a moving away component), suggesting the behavior of fear, which is the subject of an intense dislike (the rejection component) (*ibid.*: 231; *Webster*: 95).

### *Contempt*

The resentment of not possessing favor is consoled and softened by showing contempt for those who do possess it, and we refuse to honor them because we cannot deprive them of what attracted everyone else.

(La Rochefoucauld)

*Contempt* is “the feeling or actions of a person toward someone or something considered low, worthless, or beneath notice” and is “scorned, considered worthless and despicable” (*Webster*: 300). The actions are directed toward what is despised and disdained, implying anger and its associated behavior of moving toward, while the object is rejected and avoided, considered worthy only of contempt and disrespect, suggesting that contempt has as its two component emotions anger and disgust. The following definition is proposed:

*contempt = anger & disgust.*

As with repugnance, this definition is very different than Plutchik’s (1962/1991), who sees contempt joined to several other affects as an interpretation of anger and disgust, as he exuberantly defines “disgust + anger = scorn, loathing, indignation, contempt, hate, resent-

ment, hostility” (p. 118). In this definition both anger and disgust are to be understood at their highest level of development, as extrojected moral emotions concerning the direct interests of the individual but with the individual’s view of what is right, or alternatively contemptible, on the levels of the autonomy and freedom for anger; and on respect for what is held honorable or even sacred, for disgust.

Rozin, Lowery *et al.* (1999) have noted that while many species of social animals respond to threats to the self, a new development in primate social cognition makes the highest primates – bonobos, chimpanzees, and humans – exquisitely sensitive to violations of the social order committed by other societal members against others (de Waal 1996). In these few species exhibiting such third-party morality, individuals react emotionally to moral violations, with long term effects on social relationships. Rozin, Lowery *et al.* (1999) ask: “Could these emotional reactions be part of the foundations of human morality?” They answer affirmatively, suggesting that if there are a specific number of emotions, then there must in turn be a specific subset of emotions forming the basis for a cluster of “universals more categories that transcend time and locality” (Kagen 1984). They suggest these third-party sociomoral emotions are anger, disgust, and the emotion they comprise together, contempt.

Contempt is a negative evaluation, either of another person’s entire personality or of a few of its aspects. Contempt is close in meaning to disgust, and includes disgust, but there is an important difference. In disgust, the other is merely displeasing but not necessarily inferior; in contempt, the person might be socially inferior or superior but possesses some feature held to be inferior and contemptible. The object of contempt is not seen as a direct threat but could nonetheless negatively impact the welfare of the person experiencing contempt.

Contempt expresses the subject’s superiority over the object of contempt, or at least of their problematic features. W. Miller (1997: 220–2) suggests that social hierarchy is involved in contempt, which introduces anger as the adaptive reaction of asserting or defending one’s own social status. While contempt is most often directed downward to those of lower status and rank, Miller also refers to an “upward contempt” of lower-status persons toward those occupying a higher social station. Thus, servants might hold their masters in contempt, as workers occasionally do for their foremen and supervisors. In this form of contempt, which we shall see can be a component of envy, one views a superior is below the level one claims for oneself; it is also observed that one feels superior, in some important respects, to those of higher rank (Ben-Ze’ev 2000: 391) and might even be pleased to see misfortune befall these social superiors. In upward contempt, anger is the dominant emotion coupled with disgust. W. Miller (1997) sees as an example of upward contempt attitudes toward lawyers and politicians, who are seen as possessing high status, perhaps holding well-paying jobs, but are simultaneously regarded as “moral

menials” who act dishonestly in their jobs and evince hypocrisy, cruelty, betrayal, and greed.

*Scorn* is an extreme and indignant contempt, or utter disdain, for someone or something, and it is the intent “to refuse or *reject* as wrong or disgraceful” (*Webster*: 1204, emphasis added). Thus scorn includes in its meaning rejection and disgust. It also involves expression in word or deed, so that one avoids, scoffs at, and keeps at bay, that which is scorned (moving away from, anger). *Hostility* is the open, active expression of enmity and ill will, and also involves acting in a negative and even destructive way toward a person or group of persons, or toward an idea. It is clear that hostility implies both anger and rejection, as hostility is the acting out of enmity toward a despised, rejected object. *Acrimony* is a form of anger likened to a corrosive acid that burns and stings and stems from a deep-rooted aversion. To speak with acrimony is to speak bitterly and harshly, which implies estrangement. In acrimony, the dominant element is a bitter anger but there is a lesser element, the rejection of the person treated so harshly and bitterly. The element of disgust was evident to F. Fuller, who in a 1711 medical text asserted that “the Blood of a Poor Consumptive Wretch . . . is loaded with Acrimony,” with such blood further described as “putrid” (*Oxford*: 22). *Antagonism* must also be included as an aspect of contempt, as it means the state of being opposed or hostile to some other person, group, or situation (the anger component) and also the making of a disliked enemy (rejection).

To recapitulate, anger and disgust, the components of contempt, have lowly origins but have developed a moral dimension reactive to violations of society’s sociomoral order, even when this violation does not involve the individual. Contempt is an emotional reaction of moral indignation over the despicable behavior of others toward others, behavior that deserves condemnation. Contempt is a negative evaluation of others as occupying a lowly, inferior position. It is a cold and harsh emotion that can take the form of righteous indignation. Contempt of a less than admirable kind can express prejudice, sexism, ethnic prejudice, and racism.

## 6 Secondary emotions, continued

The eight tertiary dyads –  
resourcefulness and shock,  
morbidness and resignation,  
sullenness and guilt, anxiety and  
outrage

The tertiary dyads, which, by definition, are composed of the eight pairs of primary emotions located three positions apart in Plutchik's 1962 wheel, are presented as four pairs of opposites:

resourcefulness/sagacity, fatalism = acceptance & anticipation (+, +)  
shock = surprise & disgust (-, -)

morbidness = joy & disgust (+, -)  
resignation = sadness & acceptance (-, +)

sullenness = anger & sadness (+, -)  
guilt = joy & fear (+, -)

anxiety = anticipation & fear (+, -)  
outrage = surprise & anger (-, +).

The rightmost column shows the valences of the primary components of these emotions. It should be noted that seven of these emotions have at least one component with negative valence, and no one would welcome being described by any of these seven terms. But one of these emotions has two positive primary components, as resourcefulness/sagacity–fatalism comprise anticipation and acceptance.

### Resourcefulness and shock

#### *Resourcefulness and fatalism*

#### *Resourcefulness*

Let us now turn to resourcefulness, and sagacity, as the first and primary interpretation of the combination of anticipation and acceptance.

According to *Oxford*, sagacity means “[e]xcitement of mental discernment; aptitude for invention or discovery; keenness and soundness of judgment in the estimation of persons or conditions and in the adaptation of means to ends; penetration, shrewdness” (p. 2620). If emotions are adaptive reactions to problems of life, then sagacity is an emotion, for it is the harnessing of one’s affective and cognitive mental resources, an abreactive resourcefulness in finding ways and means to attain goals. *Oxford* provides examples. A statement made in 1647 refers to a man “who had a wonderful sagacity in such reflections, [that] a thousand Dangers and Difficulties occurred to him.” In 1849, Macaulay referred to a person who “discerns the signs of the times with a sagacity which to the multitude appears miraculous.” Both animals, especially dogs, and humans have been described as having the ability to make sagacious observations, possessing “exceptional intelligence” and “skill in the adaptation of means to ends” (pp. 2620–1).

Resourcefulness is conceptualized as a personality trait by Grabe *et al.* (2001), who found low resourcefulness, along with interpersonal detachment, a low sense of responsibility and blaming of others, and shyness with strangers, to be predictive of alexithymia (an inability to verbally articulate emotions and feelings). This finding also means that resourcefulness contributes to an ability to express emotions verbally, which is called symbollexia (see Chapter 12). The Grabe *et al.* study sees resourcefulness as a cognitive-affective personality trait, strongly suggesting that the phenomenon is not entirely cognitive.

There is no doubt, in studying the literature, that resourcefulness is important in coping with and regulating stress. Perceived stress inhibits one’s ability to successfully adapt to the social world. In a study of 81 elderly persons, Rong (2001) found that learned resourcefulness substantially attenuated the adverse effects of perceived stress on adaptive functioning and social success. To adapt to the demands of living in an advanced, modern society is to become autonomous, individuated, and socioeconomically secure. There have been recent attempts to delineate and measure intentional behavior potentially contributing to such personal autonomy, and Rong points to a causal role of resourcefulness, along with desire, initiative, and persistence. Resourcefulness promotes healthy functioning and effective coping with disease and trauma, and is learned throughout life. It is thus an important component of a successful adaptation to society.

Resourcefulness no doubt has a genetic component but it must be developed through learning, and the learning of resourcefulness is a well-established topic in psychology and education. In a study of 141 first-year undergraduate students, Akgun and Ciarrochi (2003) found that learned resourcefulness moderates the relationship between academic stress and academic performance. The most successful student participants were found to be high in learned resourcefulness, better than others at control-

ling their negative emotions and protecting themselves from the adverse effects of stress, better at managing stressful tasks, and able to prevent stress from negatively impacting their grades. Resourcefulness has a substantial cognitive content insofar as it involves thoughtfulness in efforts to overcome obstacles to goals. Cognitive techniques have been devised to train people to be more resourceful (see Pool 2003). In addition to learned resourcefulness, other studies show that *inner* resourcefulness is not just cognitive, a mere matter of problem solving, but is important in managing both stress and anxiety.

In the above discussion, the emphasis is on the exploratory, problem-solving aspect of resourcefulness, with the proposed acceptance component given only minor consideration. The role of acceptance, however, can be gleaned from studies of resourcefulness and coping with illness. For example, Zauszniewski *et al.* (2002) studied 82 women (aged 21–60 years) with diabetes and depressive symptoms, and found that acceptance of their diabetic condition (which some describe as a “positive cognition”) mediates the effect of depressive symptoms on learned resourcefulness. Thus, acceptance of a medical condition promotes the resourcefulness of these women at risk for depression. This study has been criticized for not acknowledging the emotional nature of the phenomena being studied, such as seeing depression as a situational, contextual variable (Dobratz 2002) and, it must be added here, not recognizing that both acceptance and resourcefulness as affective as well as cognitive.

### *Fatalism*

Plutchik (1962/1991: 118) defines the combination of expectancy (which he sometimes calls anticipation) and acceptance as *fatalism*. Perhaps what he had in mind, but did not explain, is that fatalism indicates acceptance of one’s anticipated future. Fatalism, and a closely related term, destiny, refer to a belief in the nearly inevitable succession of events whose outcome can be favorable or unfavorable. Thus we might say of a person, “It was her destiny to become famous” (*Webster*: 493). Fatalism is belief that a person’s future, be it “unfortunate” or “lucky,” is brought about not by the person’s efforts, talents, and capabilities but through some external agency, so that a person might muse, “If God wants me to win the lottery, He will see to it that I do.” Here, the outcome of a lottery purchase is seen as predetermined, or predestined, “by a god or other agency beyond human control” (*ibid.*). To explain events and situations, we look to many sources – other people, situations, aspects of the environment, and of course at ourselves and our behavior. But many people, and most people on some occasions, also look to divine intervention, Lady Luck, the Wheel of Fortune, the Hand of Fate, the Will of Allah or God, the Tarot, the *I Ching*, astrology. Looking to such sources as a way to know the future is to engage in fatalistic reasoning. To blame fate, for example, for a



broken romance, is to some extent escapist thinking, for it obviates a long look into a mirror.

A striking historical example of fatalism is found in the Calvinist theology analyzed by Weber (1905b) in *The Protestant Ethic*. Physical science was deputed by the Protestants' God to uncover predestined holy orders through discovery of the laws of nature. The respect traditionally reserved for God was now, to some extent, transferred to physics. Weber pointed out that physics was the favorite science of Puritan, Baptist, and Pietist Christianity. But this veneration of science was not a worship of the scientist; instead, the personality of the scientist was submerged in the authority of data. A favorite of the Puritans was Newton, who had advanced a notion of the universe as a vast perpetual-motion machine, wound up by a Divine Clockmaker and operating thereafter by fixed laws of nature in a hard, cold, and dead world. This science was reluctant to explore consciousness and the mind, including the emotions, reluctance related to objections to speculative image-making. Hampden-Turner (1981) argues, "modern doctrines of scientism, positivism and behaviorism, so far from having escaped from religion, 'superstition', and *a priori* beliefs, are steeped in Calvinist ideology, having borrowed even its most objectionable characteristic, a devastating lack of self-awareness" (p. 36).

Fatalism has been an important concept in the development of classical social theory, not only for Weber but also for Durkheim. Durkheim (1973) juxtaposed anomie and fatalism, in which extremes of each were seen as contributing to a distinctive variant of suicide. Durkheim's anomic form of suicide results from excessive freedom of choice and a loss of faith in the rapidly changing moral guidelines of modern society, which he suggested might characterize anarchists, pessimists, aesthetes, mystics, and revolutionaries [also cynics], all sharing a hatred of the existing social order, and a craving to escape from social reality. Fatalistic suicide, in contrast, was seen as occurring when individuals experienced severe, lingering distress and a sense of hopelessness as a result of total coercion, where the horizons of the individual are so constrained that "life itself becomes a matter of indifference" (Lockwood 1992: 38) and "futures [are] pitilessly blocked and passions violently choked by oppressive discipline" (Durkheim 1893/1960: 276). Such fatalism, and the accompanying possibility of suicide, can occur in conditions of slavery (Pearce 1989: 129), imprisonment in concentration camps or maximum-security prisons (Acevedo 2005: 78), when workers are forced to perform specific functions they can neither understand nor control.

### *Shock*

Plutchik (1962/1991) apparently had no idea as to how to define the combination of surprise and disgust, as he could only enter in his table, "surprise + disgust = ?" (p. 118). But there is a rather simple answer to this definitional problem. Once I found a dead body in an empty house, a dis-

trekking experience which took me by great surprise; upon viewing its decomposed state and infestation with maggots, I immediately felt disgust. This was indeed a *shocking* discovery. In *Webster*, *shock* means “to disturb the mind or emotion of; affect with great surprise, distress, disgust, etc.” and “to be shocked, distressed, disgusted;” and shocking includes in its meaning “extremely revolting,” which corresponds to the meaning of disgust (p. 1239). Thus,

*shock = surprise & disgust.*

The emotion of shock is the opposite of resourcefulness. A person becomes resourceful, able to make their own luck, through careful planning, preparation, and the development of a strong ego. But shock can rather be a moment of bad luck, simply being in the wrong place at the wrong time, taken by surprise by a revolting or unfortunate event. One might secure a well-paying job by gaining qualifications and handling an interview skillfully, and then be shocked to find that the company offering the job has suddenly announced bankruptcy. In encountering a new culture, one might have the linguistic capability and historical appreciation to feel comfortable and at ease, or one might feel linguistic alienation and find the customs strange and somehow revolting, feeling the incompetence and distress of culture shock.

The concept shock finds minor usage in social thought, in the concepts of culture shock experienced when visiting a new culture (Oberg 1960) and upon returning home to find the taken-for-granted suddenly seeming arbitrary – the phenomenon of reverse culture shock (Gaw 2000). The term *culture shock* describes the anxiety and feelings of surprise, disorientation, awkwardness, and confusion felt by individuals coming into contact with very different environments. It often pertains to an inability to assimilate a new culture, or to difficulty in knowing what is and is not appropriate in a new cultural context. Often this is combined with strong disgust, moral or aesthetic, about certain aspects of the foreign culture. Thus, culture shock involves both surprise and disgust.

Ward *et al.* (2001) have introduced a model of culture shock that surpasses Oberg’s (1960) formulation of it as a negative reaction to a set of noxious circumstances. Ward *et al.* rather see peoples’ responses to unfamiliar cultural environments as involving three levels – behavior, cognition – and affect, describing how people behave, think, and feel when exposed to second-culture influences. The affective component of their model closely resembles Oberg’s view of culture shock as a buzzing confusion, disorientation, suspicion, bewilderment, and desire to be elsewhere, but brings in Lazarus and Folkman’s (1984) work on stress and coping, which highlights coping resources, such as self-efficacy and emotional resilience. On the behavioral level, culture shock is minimized through behavioral culture training, mentoring, and learning about the historical, sociopolitical,

and philosophical foundations of the host society. On the cognitive level, the choices of newcomers to a new culture is to staunchly maintain their culture of origin, reject their own culture and identify totally with the new culture, become marginal – having lost the old culture but unable to understand or participate in the new, or to integrate – synthesizing the best elements of both cultures and becoming truly bicultural (Ward *et al.* 2001: 272).

Another usage of the concept, shock, is the notion of “the shock of the new,” a concept popularized by Alvin Toffler (1970), in *Future Shock*. Increasingly, with the advent of computer technology, virtual libraries, and a blizzard of low-value information containing increasingly smaller quotients of meaning, citizens live without wisdom insofar as content is presented in bytes and without context, and people develop an attention deficit as they are pulled in different ways by multitudinous blogs, websites, cable channels, print media, and other forms of mass communication. While the free flow of information is in some ways a wonderful development, Shenk (1997), in *Data Smog*, argues that the increasing distraction virtually insures that the “culture of shock” will prevail. Shock, Shenk argues, leads to exhaustion, which in turn can lead to numbness and tuning out. This is why, he continues, one of the most valuable commodities will be the opposite of distraction – attention.

A problem faced by advertisers is the decline of the persuasive impact of television spots because of increased clutter in the media environment and the proliferation of ad-free audio and visual entertainment. To counter this problem, advertisers frequently feature high impact, sensually evocative appeals designed to shock the emotions, either by stimulating strong positive emotions (e.g., greeting cards dramatizing precious, nostalgic memories) or stimulating strong negative emotions (e.g., exploiting consumers’ fears of diabetes by showing a person with an amputated leg). While the public is willing to confront serious issues, the use of “shock” advertisements has the potential to induce anxiety and threaten the message recipients’ well-being, which consumers counter with avoidance responses linked to a negative attitude toward the ad itself and what is advertised (Moore and Harris 1996). It is not just advertising that shocks, for it can be said, for example, of American media – including news, movies, television shows, and popular music – that we live in a shock-driven society. Even in the world of art, shock-art has become immensely popular with collectors, galleries, and auction houses (Silberman 2001).

## **Morbidness and resignation**

### ***Morbidness***

Plutchik (1962/1991) defines “disgust + joy = morbidness?” (p. 118). Despite his uncertainty expressed by “?,” his definition is obviously correct, so certain can be added:

*morbidness = joy & disgust.*

The morbid person finds joy and pleasure in what is disgusting, and has an unhealthy interest in what is sickly, gruesome, and horrible. The morbid person has a diseased state of mind, especially having or showing an unwholesome tendency to dwell on gloomy and gruesome matters. William James (1901–1902) described the religious experiences of the healthy-minded person which he then contrasts with the experiences of the sick soul. In many persons, happiness is congenital and irreclaimable. Such people experience mostly positive emotional states and celebrate the goodness of life, perhaps seeing God as the animating Spirit of a beautiful and harmonious world. Similarly, scholars such as the early Rousseau saw Nature, and the primitive human living in a state of Nature, the Nobel Savage, as absolutely good. In the second, more pessimistic type of theology, there is apt to be a belief that their God is a strict judge who sends sinners into the eternal torments of Hell-fire, and who are very conscious of human depravity, cruelty, avarice, drunkenness, murder, cowardice, lust, and other vices and forms of Sin, lingering over the darker aspects of the universe, with its pain, illness, meanness, ugliness, and violence. There are persons with sick souls, James argued, who focus on, and are preoccupied with, evil, and who joyfully embrace the evil aspects of life as their very essence. In the Catholic Inquisition, there was a morbid interest in evil and witchcraft, along with malignant misogyny, which manifested itself in a desire to torment those who sin, engage in devilish practices, or enjoy pleasures of the flesh.

Just as in healthy-mindedness there are shallower and more profound levels of happiness, so also there are different levels of morbidness of mind. There are those for whom evil is maladjustment to one's environment and the things in it, which is potentially curable by modifying the self, or the environment, or both at once. But there are also those for whom evil is a more radical and general wrongness, or vice, of the innermost self, a sickness of the soul which no alteration of the environment can cure. Such people have a world-sickness wherein all natural good perishes, where fame is fleeting, love is a cheat, youth and health vanish, old age has the last word, and the pride of life shrivels, even to the extent that others are hated for being alive by those whose selves have died (a topic of Chapter 14). The person's consciousness is choked with feelings of evil and there develops a fascination, even identification with, evil, so that the person is attracted to, desires, and craves the dead and the undead, the satanic and the evil, and thrills at what is most horrible, unwholesome, and disgusting.

## Resignation

Plutchik (1962/1991) defines "acceptance + sorrow = resignation, sentimentality" (p. 118). Sentimentality means to be moved easily by sentiments in a general way. *Resignation* includes in its definition "passive

acceptance,” so that acceptance is clearly included in the meaning of the term. The following is proposed:

*resignation = sadness & acceptance.*

Ortony *et al.* (1988) also link resignation to acceptance, as they assert, “the focus of resignation is not on the [undesirable] event in question . . . but on beliefs about likelihood and on a corresponding reluctant acceptance of the event’s inevitability” (pp. 131–2).

But sorrow, or sadness, is only indirectly implied by the two other defining phrases, “patient submission” and “acquiescence,” in *Webster* (p. 1142). There is a sense of loss implied by these two phrases, and gain and loss are the behaviors that are associated with Plutchik’s dimension of temporality. When a person is resigned to a situation, or to the loss of a social position or situation, there is withdrawal from a social field and a consequent feeling of loss. Ben-Ze’ev (2000) defines resignation, with respect to an arbitrary event *P*, as “[a] wish that not-*P* but thinks that *P* is certain,” adding that resignation is an affective state that might be closer to a mood than to an emotion, a negative mood with the potential to “turn into a nonaffective attitude of indifference” (pp. 481–3). Moreover, “[i]n light of the profound negative evaluation of our situation it contains, sadness is typically not associated with putting up resistance but with passivity and resignation in the face of everyday affairs” (*ibid.*: 466).

Morbidness and resignation, upon reflection, can be seen as opposites, and can even be opposite reactions to the same event. Consider a gruesome automobile accident. In morbidness, one will slow down and gape at the grisly scene, hoping for a sight of damaged and bleeding bodies. The alternative, opposite reaction is a vague sense of sadness at the misfortune of others, but acceptance, at the same time, that, after all, accidents do happen and one should avoid a prurient interest in such misfortune and choose not to focus on the carnage.

While the concept “resignation” has not been introduced into the sociology of emotions, it has been used regularly in the psychology of emotions. As an important example, Lazarus (1991: 247) insightfully sees emotions as involved in cognitive appraisal of the social environment together with the adaptive behaviors involved in coping with and managing social relations. His commentary on resignation is of great value. The set of emotions that deal with the condition of loss, or threat of loss, he terms “degree of engagement.” If there is active coping to avoid loss, to restore what has been lost, or to manage the distress of loss, then “emotions of adaptational struggle” – including anger, anxiety, guilt, and shame – are apt to come into play. If such efforts fail, there will emerge a process of grieving. As Lazarus observes:

Sadness belongs at the low end of the dimension of engagement and involves *resignation* rather than struggle, and which time the person

has been moving toward *acceptance* of and disengagement from the lost commitment. . . . Therefore, *sadness* is a step toward resignation, which emerges from a difficult coping struggle in which the emotional outlook is often contradictory, fragile, and changing.

(Lazarus 1991: 247, emphasis in original expanded)

## Sullenness and guilt

### *Sullenness, balefulness*

According to Plutchik's (1962/1991) classification, "envy, sullenness = sorrow + anger" (p. 118). But in the present development of Plutchik's classificatory scheme, there is a useful and necessary distinction between sullenness and envy, so that

*sullenness, balefulness = sadness & anger,*

and envy is no longer listed as a secondary emotion but will be defined, in Chapter 13, as a tertiary emotion.

To be sullen is to be both angry and sad. *Webster* holds that *sullen* means to be "gloomy, dismal, and sad" and "morose, unsociable, and withdrawn" (p. 1340). This would fit the idea of sadness as a negative experience of temporality, or of close social relationships from which one might withdraw; the anger is a component because the sullen person is further described as "baleful, threatening," which is behaviorally consistent with anger. The term *baleful*, by itself, conveys these same two primary emotions, as *Webster* defines this as containing both sadness ("sorrowful, wretched") and anger ("harmful or threatening harm or evil; ominous; deadly") (p. 105). Sullenness, as an emotion and as a concept, has yet to become topical as an emotion in social and behavioral science.

### *Guilt*

Our misdeeds are easily forgotten when they are known only to ourselves. . . . We repent not so much out of regret for what we have done as out of fear for what might happen.

(La Rochefoucauld)

Social conformity and social deviance are associated with guilt, anger, hatred, pride, and shame, for they all concern whether or not one's behavior is in accordance with social norms and mores (Ben-Ze'ev 2000: 25). Plutchik (1962/1991) provides a nuanced account of guilt in two different ways: (i) "fear + sorrow = despair, guilt;" and (ii) "joy + fear = guilt" (p. 118). A fearful sadness, in the present classification, defines not despair (which is rather an utter lack of hope) and guilt but rather embarrassment

and mild shame; but in defining guilt as joy combined with fear, Plutchik is correct. There is in this form of guilt, he explains, “two major elements . . . , the feeling of pleasure and the feeling of fear. Thus,

*guilt = fear & joy.*

This kind of guilt is born of the interaction of pleasure and fear. It is based on forbidden joys. . . . Guilt exists when the pleasure and fear elements exist at nearly equal intensity. If there is much pleasure and little fear, or if there is much fear and little pleasure, there is no guilt” (ibid.: 161, 164). A person who has obtained forbidden and immoral pleasures has committed a sin and can expect to suffer from the fear of punishment, in this world or in the next.<sup>9</sup> If there were no temptations, based on the anticipation of pleasures, there would be no need for social sanctions and therefore no need for guilt. Guilt is connected with fear – fear that if no corrective action is taken, the other agent might be angry with us and even hurt us (ibid.: 499). Guilt thus follows the commission of a specific dastardly deed or pattern of deeds, or from a failure to carry out an expected requirement or to attain positive goals. There is in either case violation of norms, values, or morals.

It is not difficult to see that sullenness (sadness & anger) and guilt (joy & fear) are opposites, for sadness and joy are opposites and anger and fear are opposites. Consider the simple example of a person trapped in a loveless marriage. Without joy, there can be an overwhelming feeling of sadness, which is apt to be accompanied by a smoldering anger at being “trapped.” One can sullenly obey the moral rules of the society, and suffer in silence punctuated by argumentation, or one can seek joy and pleasure in an illicit relationship, while living in fear of discovery and retribution.

Guilt and shame are similar and are often confused but they are far from identical. Both can induce blushing (de Jong *et al.* 2003). Both involve fear as one primary component, and both are half-opposites because their other primary components are opposites – joy in the case of guilt and sadness in the case of shame. They arise in socially similar circumstances. If we lie to a significant other, we are apt to feel both guilt and shame. Yet there is a difference. Guilt arises from an isolated act, or series of acts, that hurt or betray another person, whereas shame arises from personal traits that are more or less permanent. Persons prone to guilt are apt to have problems controlling certain specific behaviors, whereas persons prone to shame have problems with their personal qualities and their character as a whole. The guilty person can try to repair the damage done by such voluntary actions as offering apologies, making excuses, and promising not to repeat wrong behavior, but these activities would not help with shame. A shamed identity gradually comes about as a result of a long history of events, many in early childhood, over which we have little control, progressing from mild shame, or mere embarrassment,

to a global shamefulness in which one's identity has been denigrated. Guilt follows unacceptable behaviors that we can, and should, control, as we feel guilty over behavior that we have contemplated, deliberated about, and for which we are accountable. A person committed to a significant other might not feel guilty about imagining an illicit sexual relationship, especially if these ruminations are spontaneous and uncontrollable, but possibly would feel guilty if these fantasies were a matter of self-indulgence. And of course this person would probably experience some level of guilt about a virtual affair, perhaps over the internet, though not to the extent that he or she would about a real, physical affair.

Emotions such as guilt and shame provide barriers to many kinds of immoral and illicit behavior, as they can be a source of moral stricture: "I will not do this because I would feel guilty, and ashamed of myself, if I did." Persons who are lacking in emotional sensitivity, or who are characterologically-disordered, will have fewer constraints on their behavior, and will be able to intellectualize and rationalize immorality of conduct, carrying it out in a depersonalized manner (Frijda 1987: 417–36). What is required, above all else, for normal persons, is sympathy and empathy for those who might be hurt by immoral behavior, together with efforts to repair a situation. Thus, for example, the wife having an affair might lavish extra loving attention on her husband but these rewards would feel of little value to the cuckolded husband if he knew of his wife's infidelity. If his own behavior of starving his wife for affection was, upon self-evaluation, seen as a contributing factor, then his feelings of jealousy might be overlaid with his own guilt, for having contributed to the conditions that have "wrecked" his marriage. Guilt thus involves emotional responsibility.

It has often been pointed out that Freud, especially in his early writings on psychoanalytic theory, used the terms guilt and shame almost interchangeably (Tangney and Dearing 2002: 12). In his later writings, Freud ignored shame and developed a cognitive notion of guilt, seeing it as arising when id or ego impulses clashed with the superego's moral standards (see Lewis 1971 and Tangney 1994). By developing a theory that focused almost entirely on guilt, Freud, like many contemporary analysts, mislabeled his patients' shame experiences as guilt experiences (Lewis 1971).

Tangney and Dearing (2002: 21) insist that shame is more painful than guilt, and during the experience of shame time seems to move more slowly than it does in guilt. Yet guilt can be a strong and painful emotion, and there might be exceptions to their claim. There is a broad consensus that guilt results as a condemnation of the behavior of the self. In assigning guilt to the self, there are three levels of attribution involved: first, the *locus* of guilt (and shame) is seen as internal rather than external; second, guilt is specific and shamefulness is global; and third, guilt is unstable whereas shamefulness is stable (Abramson *et al.* 1978). Consider a young woman who has cheated on her boyfriend. If she is not, in general, a promiscuous and disloyal person, she will feel guilt but not shame, for the



focus is not on who she is but on what she has done. She will focus on a *specific* indiscretion, and experience tension, regret, and remorse. She is responsible for her misdeed, and this is an *internal* attribution. Because the events that led to her infidelity are unique to a particular situation, the “causes” of her behavior are variable, so that her attribution is unstable (Tangney and Dearing 2002: 53).

What Tangney and Dearing (2002) and almost all discussions of guilt-inducing behavior omit is why she would be so tempted in the first place. The answer is that she imagined that a sexual adventure would bring her pleasure and thrilling moments of joyful excitement. This reasoning is absolutely essential for the present definition of guilt. People engage in immoral, illicit, and illegal behavior because they will be rewarded with feelings of pleasure, with satisfaction of desire, with the experience of sweetness in eating of the forbidden fruit from the tree of carnal knowledge, and the joy of engaging in intimacy, or even of the gain of possession through stealing. Fear is apt to accompany such behavior, the fear of discovery, of retribution, of ruining a trusted relationship, of being detected, of getting caught and then punished, a fear that takes the form of tension and worry. Once immoral behavior has been engaged in, trust has been broken and there will be repercussions. Should one confess to a secret love affair, or should it be, and can it be, kept secret? If one keeps a secret, will he be able to look his love in the eyes again, or will his fear of making eye contact give him away? And can the guilty person look in the mirror without painful reminders of wrongful behavior?

There are individual and group differences in the experience of guilt. Guilt, and the capacity to evaluate one's behavior, only develop in middle childhood and appear not to have a genetic basis (Zahn-Waxler and Robinson 1995). Some children are able to readily empathize with others, and experience an appropriate level of guilt when they transgress; others do not develop this sensitivity for the feelings of others and are apt not to feel guilt but rather self-destructive feelings of shame, which are apt to be accompanied by anger, denial, and blaming others. Guilt-prone children are apt to have parents who discipline through behavior-focused messages and empathy for others. Parents of shame-prone children, in contrast, are more apt to discipline through person-focused disciplinary messages, to express disgust, to tease, to communicate only conditional approval, and to use love-withholding techniques (Tangney and Dearing 2002: 155–6).

There are important sex differences in the experiences of guilt and shame. Freud (1923) argued that females have a weaker and less internalized sense of morality than males in the formation of the superego, or the sense of morality, presumably because girls experience less castration anxiety during the oedipal phase of psychosocial development. Tangney and Dearing (2002: 137–56, 181–7) studied the development of moral emotions in elementary school children, middle-class adolescents, and parents and grandparents of fifth graders. Their results consistently show

that Freud was wrong. Females in all three age levels showed greater shame and guilt than their male counterparts. This is not necessarily better for females, for shame-proneness is not a highly adaptive moral emotional style but is rather linked to a wide variety of psychological symptoms. A number of studies have shown that proneness to “shame-free” guilt was largely unrelated to psychological maladjustments (Tangney 1994) and is quite adaptive in regard to interpersonal issues.

Indeed, there is continuing controversy over whether guilt is adaptive or maladaptive. On the surface, guilt involves self-directed bad feelings, and is not a pleasing emotion. Moreover, its fear component is also unpleasant. But Tangney and Dearing (2002) impressively argue that guilt, while not pleasurable, can be adaptive. As a sense of remorse and regret about *specific* behaviors that one performed, guilt does not involve a global condemnation of the self, yet encourages reform of guilt-inducing behavior. If a person anticipates feeling badly about committing a misdeed, they are far less apt to carry out, and then repeat, such a deed. “From this perspective, guilt is a hopeful, future-oriented moral-emotional experience” (ibid.: 118–19).

But if guilt is fused with shame, the shame component can create problems. Tangney and Dearing (2002) provide a good example. A person who has acted badly might say, “Oh, what a horrible thing I have done,” and this can become highly pathological when the person adds, “And aren’t I a horrible person” (p. 122). Here, the person moves from tension and remorse over a specific act to a more global feeling of self-contempt. But behavior can be corrected and apologies can be issued, serving to somewhat repair damage stemming from immoral behavior, fused with shame. But a self that is defective at its core is difficult to transform, amend, or change. Guilt fused with shame can linger and rob a person of peace of mind. If a person follows up guilt-inducing behavior with a resolve to amend future behavior, and make reparations for damage done, then guilt can be quelled.

## **Anxiety and outrage**

### *Anxiety*

The complexity of anxiety is reflected in the long and colorful history of efforts to establish a consensual definition. Of many attempts to define anxiety as a combination of primary emotions, perhaps none are more exuberant than Izard’s (1972) claim that anxiety “includes fear and two or more of the fundamental emotions of distress, anger, shame (including shyness and guilt) and the positive emotion of interest – excitement” (p. 47). Accordingly, anxiety would, by the present classification, be a combination of at least four primary emotions and two secondary emotions. Anxiety, everyone agrees, involves fear as a response to a threat in the

external environment or a fear-provoking social situation, thereby motivating a “fight-flight” response to danger. Consequently, efforts to understand anxiety have focused on distinguishing it from fear. Certain psychologists (e.g., Carlson and Hatfield 1992: 433) see no distinction between fear and anxiety, but point out that they share a number of common experiential, behavioral, and physiological components. Both are unpleasant, future-oriented in the sense of impending threat, and involve bodily discomfort. Anxiety triggers many changes in the autonomic nervous system. It involuntarily increases heart rate, respiration, and muscle tone, and results in weakness of the limbs, a sinking feeling in the stomach, dryness of mouth and throat, pale and sweaty skin, dilated pupils, blurred vision, a feeling of faintness, and possibly a tingling sensation in the hands and feet (Leary and Kowalski 1995).

In assessing anxiety, Spielberger (1976) observes that “the appraisal of a particular situation as threatening will be determined by the objective stimulus characteristics of the situation, the individual’s experience with similar situations, and the meanings or thoughts that are . . . evoked by the situation” (p. 5). Threats can be physical, social, psychological, or material in nature (Hallam 1992). Spielberger (1976: 6) proposes that the difference between fear and anxiety has to do with the nature of the threat. If there is anticipation of harm or injury from an objective, real danger in the external environment, the emotional reaction is fear with intensity varying with degree of danger. But if the threat is based on a real and objective condition, anxiety can result. Thus, traditional views of the difference between fear and anxiety depend on the nature of the perceived threat. Reber (1995) makes the same distinction, noting that “fear is a reaction to a present danger, anxiety to an anticipated or imagined one” (p. 271).

This distinction between fear and anxiety has a certain utility, but ignores the most crucial difference between fear and anxiety, the temporal dimension. Anxiety is defined by Plutchik (1962/1991) as “fear + expectancy” (p. 118), which has the virtue of including the experience of time, yet expectancy differs from anticipation. The following definition is proposed:

*anxiety = fear & anticipation.*

This definition agrees with psychologists who define anxiety as “a sense of uncontrollability focused largely on possible future threats, danger, or other upcoming potentially negative events, in contrast to fear, where the danger is present and imminent” (Barlow 2000). Thus, fear and anxiety are close in meaning, and fear merges into anxiety as the focus of one’s concern extends into the future.

Gerzon (1997) distinguished three types of anxiety – natural or objective, toxic, and sacred. Natural, or objective, anxiety is the mind’s normal awareness that one’s well-being can be threatened in countless ways at any

moment. Freud (1926) described objective anxiety as both natural and rational. Natural anxiety is not entirely negative, for it sees both opportunities and dangers, responds to both in realistic and reasonable ways. It primarily concerns problem-solving and goal-attainment actions within one's control, and it can contribute to self-esteem, empowerment, and confidence. If goals are complex, and require protracted effort, it would be irrational *not* to worry, fret, and be concerned about potential obstacles and obstructions standing in the way of success.

Toxic anxiety results when natural anxieties are not dealt with adequately, so that past experiences are not resolved but rather hidden from consciousness, manifesting indirectly in chronic pain, tension, and illness, leading to social behaviors such as criticizing, blaming, and manipulating others, and to compulsive behaviors such as overeating, smoking, and other addictions. Toxic anxiety closely approximates Freud's (1926) notion of "neurotic" anxiety, as neurotics become anxious when they gain awareness of their own infantile, forbidden, and repressed desires.

Sacred anxiety comes from awareness of our own temporality, as one faces an unknown and uncertain future and life's ultimate question. This can involve us in philosophy, ethics, spirituality, and religion. Sacred anxiety can be divinely terrifying, as in the case of the Calvinist contemplating eternal punishment, or unconditionally calming, if anxiety is relieved by acceptance of human temporality and a view of the future as full of possibilities and potentialities.

Fear is a prospect-based emotion. Fear is less often a reaction to an event than it is the prospect of an event. To the extent that this is true, the distinction between fear and anxiety is blurred, and indeed the modern era has been described as the Age of Anxiety. More specifically, in the late 1930s and early 1940s, therapists began to report patients showing not only the ordinary anxiety resulting from repression or pathology, but a new, existential anxiety described by Rollo May (1950), who had managed to make "normal anxiety" an accepted phenomenon in psychiatric theory and practice. The problem of life that triggered this existential anxiety was that of identity, which Erik Erikson (1950) addressed in *Childhood and Society*, May in (1953) *Man's Search for Himself*, and Whellis in (1958) *The Quest for Identity*. May (1969), in *Love and Will*, argued that anxious patients were incapable of experiencing genuine feelings. These people tended to be compulsive and obsessive, and showed "restraint and evenness in living and thinking" (p. 27). They behaved like "living machines," possessing a disordered will which had as its bases, May argued, a state of feelingness or affectlessness, the despairing possibility that nothing matters, which is a sense of apathy (ibid.). May (1953) claimed that "the chief problem of people in the middle decade of the twentieth century is *emptiness*" (p. 14, emphasis in original).

What was the source of this emptiness, which May (1953: 14) referred to as a close to apathy? If *fear* is a primary emotional component of

anxiety, then fear is an adaptive reaction to the negative experience of hierarchy, more generally to the negative experience of power-based social relations, in a word, to *powerlessness*. May (1969) wrote that feelings of emptiness and vacuity come, in part, from people's feeling that they are powerless to do anything about their lives. Powerlessness creates a deep sense of despair, futility, and purposelessness. Insofar as a person's wants and feelings make no real difference, he or she is apt to respond by ceasing to want and feel, so that apathy and a lack of feeling become defenses against anxiety. People facing insurmountable dangers and threats can, as a final line of defense, avoid feeling the dangers (pp. 24–5). Barlow (2000) similarly links anxiety to a lack of control, but emphasizes that this powerlessness is a response to possible future dangers, and concludes, correctly, that all anxiety is anticipatory.

We have passed through this Age of Anxiety but the emergence of the threat of Islamic fundamentalist terrorism following "9/11" and the misplaced retaliation against Iraq, has again spiked anxiety to levels not felt since the Cold War. Now, early in the twenty-first century, with renewed threats of nuclear, chemical, and biological warfare, at a time when major religions seem focused on prophecies of a final war between good and evil, and with dangerous ecological processes such as global warming and viral pandemics accelerating, we are now living in a Second Age of Anxiety.<sup>10</sup>

Anxiety, a fearful expectation of future powerlessness, can be overcome only with intentionality and the will-power to experience personal identity. Descartes skeptically conjectured "I think, therefore I am" and was wrong in part because ontological certitude does not come out of thinking as such, certainly not out of such intellectualization. It is necessary for every person to advance from "I think" to intermediate steps of "I can" and "I will" as prerequisites for establishing an identity that makes the statement "I am" meaningful. It is the anticipation of acting on one's own powers that transcends May's normal anxiety. Without acting with intentionality, there can only be the anxiety of "nothingness." As May (1969) put it, "[w]ithout intentionality we are indeed 'nothing'" (p. 242). And he added: "Overwhelming anxiety destroys . . . intentionality. We cannot hope, plan, promise, or create in severe anxiety: we shrink back into a stockade of limited consciousness hoping only to preserve ourselves until the danger is past" (p. 242).

### *Outrage*

We are more outraged by the smallest infidelities committed against us than by the largest we commit.

(La Rochefoucauld)

Plutchik (1962/1991) has a muddled definition for our final tertiary dyad, as he proposes that "anger + surprise = outrage, resentment, hate"

(p. 118). Resentment is not analyzed here, and hatred is to be defined differently. The following definition is proposed:

*outrage = surprise & anger.*

One syllable of the word outrage is rage, and in *Webster*, outrage clearly has an anger component, as it means an “extremely vicious or violent act, . . . a deep insult or offense” (offense meaning *moving toward*, the behavior of anger) and especially, “great anger, indignation, etc.” Surprise is more indirectly included but is nonetheless present, as *outrage* also means “exceeding all *bounds* of decency or reasonableness” (p. 962). Thus, there is penetration of a normative social boundary, and we need only recall that surprise is the adaptive reaction to the penetration of a boundary of one’s territory or rightful place. As with sullenness, there is not yet any social-scientific study of this important, extrojected, sociomoral emotion.

Anxiety, a contemplation of possible future misfortune (anticipation & fear), is the opposite of outrage (surprise & anger), the reaction to an event that was not anticipated, but rather came as a complete surprise, and is of such a moral affront that it invokes a righteous anger. Such an unforeseen event is apt to stimulate both outrage and contempt, for it is outrageous behavior that stimulates the triad of extrojected moral emotions – which we have seen are anger, disgust, and contempt.

## 7 Secondary emotions, continued

### The four antithetical, quaternary dyads – ambivalence, catharsis, frozenness, confusion

Plutchik refrained from defining pairs of opposite primary emotions, such as anger/fear and acceptance/disgust, as secondary emotions. But the four pairs of opposite primaries can be given substantive interpretation, and therefore deserve inclusion. In honor of Darwin, and recognizing that the inclusion of these four emotions extends his principle of antithesis, these four secondary emotions will be referred to as the ‘antithetical’ dyads; they can, of course, all be called the quaternary dyads. They are:

ambivalence = acceptance & rejection;

catharsis = joy & sadness;

frozenness = fear & anger; and

confusion (discombobulation, upsetness, disconcertedness) = anticipation & surprise.

#### **Ambivalence**

The broadest meaning of the term, ambivalence, is “the experience of two opposing emotions at once” and “the emotional manifestation of a conflictual motivational situation in which an individual both wants and does not want the same goal” (King and Napa 1999: 38; see also Wilensky 1983). If we consider which opposite emotions are involved in any occurrence of ambivalence, then ambivalence can be given a more specific meaning, as the simultaneous experience of acceptance and rejection. It is certainly possible to have mixed feelings about another person. We can both love and hate another person, but love and hatred are not opposites, so while Bleuler (1911) would define the simultaneous experience of love and hate as “emotional ambivalence,” it is rather a case of mixed feelings.

An example of ambivalence as both accepting and rejecting another person was provided by neurosurgeon Joseph Bogen (personal communication). There is a surgery of last resort to treat persistent, severe, drug-

refractory epileptic seizures which divides the left and right hemispheres of the brain by surgically severing the corpus callosum, a massive brain structure consisting of roughly 200 million nerve fibers, the cerebral commissures connecting the two cerebral hemispheres (which also have subcortical connections). Following this surgery, the two hemispheres can act independently, each controlling the opposite side of the body. Bogen (1985) observed that after this “split-brain” surgery (technically, corpus callosotomy or cerebral commissurotomy) one of his callosotomy patients placed his right arm around his wife, while simultaneously trying to push her away with his left hand. It appeared that his left hemisphere was accepting of her, but for the right hemisphere the honeymoon was long gone. This dramatic example shows real ambivalence: while the patient’s left hemisphere held affection for his spouse, his right hemisphere entertained rejection and disgust. Insofar as Wigan’s (1844) conjecture that if a person can sustain a mind with either hemisphere, the normal person, possessing two hemispheres able to act independently of its own other, therefore possesses two minds. This patient, indeed, was of two minds.

### **Catharsis, bittersweet feelings**

There are numerous occasions in the everyday world when joy and sadness occur together. The parent at a child’s high-school or college graduation, or at a grown child’s wedding (Levinson 1992), feels joyful for the success and “coming of age” of their offspring, yet painfully aware that this dawning independence signals loss, as they contemplate a future “empty nest” and the loss of closeness that is sure to, and should, result in simultaneous feelings of sadness and joy. Sadness at a funeral is similarly apt to be tempered by a gladness that the deceased is no longer suffering pain. Such bittersweet emotional experiences are normal. Van Helmont, in 1694 (cited in Jackson 1994), argued that “weeping” was “proper to Mankind” and that troubling ideas and images could be weakened and “reduc’d to rest” through tears. “[W]hen for the Death of a Friend or other Cause, we are seized with extraordinary Sorrow, if we do weep freely, our Sorrow is by this means alleviated and . . . the Image . . . of suffer’d losses, will no longer be so strongly present with us” (pp. 474–5). La Rochefoucauld (2005) observed hidden motives in expressions of grief and sorrow, noting that “it is the affliction of certain people who aspire to the glory of a beautiful and immortal sorrow. After time . . . obliterates what sorrow they really felt, they do not cease venting their tears, their laments, and their sighs: they wear a lugubrious mask.” He adds that another type of tears “comes from a shallow font and dries up easily: people weep so as to obtain the reputation for tenderness, people weep to be pitied, people weep to be wept for in turn; and people even weep to avoid the shame of not weeping” (ibid.).

Darwin (1872/1965) devoted considerable space to the phenomena of people laughing until they cry, and laughing and crying simultaneously. He



observed that in excessive laughter, in order to protect the eyes, tears are freely shed. He remarked that, "it is scarcely possible to point out any difference between the tear-stained face of a person after a paroxysm of excessive laughter and after a bitter crying-fit" (p. 206). He noted anecdotally that this is true for the Chinese, who, when suffering from deep grief, are apt to burst into hysterical fits of laughter. The Dyaks of Borneo say, "we nearly made tears from laughter." Australian Aborigines, who are known express their emotions freely, are prone to roar with laughter with tears rolling down their cheeks. From observations of his own English infant, Darwin (*ibid.*) found that in the gradual acquisition of laughter, "we have a case in some degree analogous to that of weeping" (p. 210).

Aristotle's teacher, Plato, taught that exposure to tragic drama provided a way to have one's basic emotions purified, for to cry in a theatre is to get rid of troublesome emotions and the tensions they create. *Katharsis*, which Plato saw as analogous to purging with a laxative, freed the person from emotions and, he mistakenly believed, rendered them able to think and act rationally. Oatley and Jenkins (1996: 356–7) provide the example of an emotionally unexpressive 40-year-old man in group therapy who had separated from his wife and children, and who was tense and lonely. Stimulated by the therapy group's leader, he began crying for about 20 minutes and then became extremely angry for about 30 minutes, unable to explain the source of his anger. After that, he began laughing with strong exhilaration. A similar episode happened about six months later, and "for a year after the first *discharge* he cried almost daily" (*ibid.*: 357, emphasis added). The man described himself as fundamentally changed by this experience, becoming more emotionally open, less driven in his work, and less of an impatient person.

How are we to understand this man's experience? Early in his career, Freud had developed a view of catharsis similar to Plato's, in an effort to understand his patients' hysterical symptoms. Consider the famous example of Freud's colleague Breuer's patient, Anna O. In a summer of extreme heat, she suddenly found herself unable to drink, pushing a glass of water away as if in fear of water, experiencing a momentary absence of mind. Under hypnosis, she grumbled about her English lady-companion, who had gone into a lady's room and – "horrible creature! – had drunk out of a glass there" (Breuer and Freud 1893–1895: 34–5). After expressing the anger she had held back at this disgusting act, she immediately asked for something to drink, gulped down a great deal of water, then "woke up" from her hypnotic state with the glass at her lips. Her disturbance immediately vanished, never to return. Thus, as soon as her repressed memory was recovered, the symptom vanished. "Hysterics," as Freud famously put it, "suffer mainly from reminiscences" (*ibid.*: II: 35). On the basis of this and similar cases, Freud conceived of "catharsis" as a *discharge*, so that one could "cry oneself out" or "blow off steam" or "talk it out." In the case of Anna O., Freud appeared to surmise that an

unexpressed disgust, a foreign object, had taken up residence in her, and had become responsible for a generalized disgust of drinking, which was then externalized into the form of a conversation.

But the idea of catharsis as a discharge of pent-up emotional energy is not an explanation, but only a description of patients' fantasies. It was easy for the psychotherapist to accept as a valid explanation patients' "discharge fantasies" and related symbolic visualizations. The human mind is always striving for understanding and self-understanding, and to engage in fantasy and to employ metaphor can be an important part of this process. Thus, a person experiencing catharsis might indeed feel "drained," "spent," "empty," and as having "blown off steam," after a cathartic experience, *as if* there really had been a discharge of bottled up, repressed emotional energy.

But what catharsis really does, as shown by Lear (1990: 40) is not a literal discharge of stored-up emotional energy, by which a "foreign body" trapped in the subconscious mind is expelled. It is rather a case of "a person's coming to experience his own desires and fears consciously and with an appropriate level of emotional intensity" (ibid.: 45). Once the fantasy that catharsis is a "discharge" of "psychic energy" is abandoned, as it should be – and was in the mature thought of Freud and most clearly in Lear – then catharsis can be accurately seen as "*a conscious unification of thought and feeling*" (Lear 1990: 46, emphasis added). To be able to unify our thoughts about an object with our feelings about it can be a great relief and very satisfying, but this is only metaphorically a discharge of energy.

### Frozenness and tonic immobility

Anger and fear make significant metabolic demands on the heart, reflecting these emotions' motor program of "fight" or "flight," respectively (Levenson 2003). But if an animal, or a human animal, finds itself in a hopeless position in which great harm or death might be imminent, and in which it can neither flee nor fight, one coping strategy is a fear-potentiated response called "tonic immobility" (Gentle *et al.* 1989), also known as "feigning death" and "playing possum." In this state, there can be a catatonic-like reduced responsiveness – suppressed vocal behavior, eye closure, waxy flexibility, gross motor inhibition, muscle tremors in the extremities, insensitivity to pain, lowering of body temperature, and temporary increases in respiration and heart rate followed by gradual declines (Nash *et al.* 1976).

This "freezing" response can have survival value. A predator will occasionally release from their jaws prey that have gone limp. Among humans, both child and adult victims of rape are apt to become involuntarily rigid or limp while being assaulted. Heidt *et al.* (2004) found this tonic immobility had occurred for over half of two samples of adult women in their experiences of childhood sexual assault. Anecdotal accounts of adult

victims include statements such as, “I felt faint, trembling and cold. . . . I went limp (Burgess and Holmstrom 1976) and “My body was absolutely stiff” (Russell 1975). This can be functional because some rapists cannot complete a rape unless the victim struggles, and for some rapists, victim resistance is likely to induce anger and result in additional physical harm, which can be brutal, even fatal. In some cases of sexual assault, immobility can prematurely abort an attack, and in some cases can decrease the chances of intercourse and injury (Marshall *et al.* 1990)

In animals, freezing-like posture analogous to tonic immobility is accompanied by heart rate deceleration (fear bradycardia) and muscle stiffness has also been observed in young men in response to viewing highly threatening stimuli, such as pictures of mutilated and injured people (Azevedo *et al.* 2005). In this state of attentive immobility, there is a high state of mental alertness and watchfulness, together with an abrupt motionlessness. The body’s posture is balanced in a dynamic equilibrium, ready for motion in any direction.

Darwin (1872), in *Expression*, described a cat that had been cornered by a dog in the corner of a fenced-in yard. The cat was, quite naturally, in a state of terror: its back was raised, its hair was standing on end, its teeth were bared, and it was hissing at the dog. The cat had no way to escape, nowhere to retreat any further, so it momentarily hesitated – erected its hair, especially of the tail, arched its back, opened its mouth, hissed, growled, and spit, as portrayed in figure 7.1, then attacked the dog. In that “dialectical moment” Darwin observed that the cat’s overall display was maximized. It is logical that there must in such situations be a moment of neither forward nor backward motion, in which the cat appeared frozen. In this moment in time, the transition between fear and anger, between flight and fight, the emotional experience was of frozenness.

Frozenness can also accompany indecision or pauses during decisions making. Shakespeare’s *Hamlet*, caught in indecision, rumination, and doubt, and berating himself for his lack of action, provides an example. Should he kill his stepfather, or himself? In Act II, Scene I, after contemplating whether to be or not to be, he concludes:

Thus conscience does not make cowards of us all;  
 And thus the native hue of resolution  
 Is sicklied o’er with the pale cast of thought,  
 And enterprises of great pith and moment  
 With this regard their currents turn away  
 And lose the name of action.

On the level of human military conflict an armed force on the defensive finds a way to halt its retreat and condition of strategic defensiveness, attain stalemate (the frozen condition), then gain the strategic offensive (von Clausewitz 1962: 189–94; Sun Tzu 2001). Examples abound. In



*Figure 7.1* A cat terrified by a dog but ready to attack. Figure drawn by Mr. Wood (source: Darwin (1872/1965: 125, figure 15)).

World War II, the German offensive against the Soviet Union came to a halt at Stalingrad, with the situation frozen in a grisly stalemate, followed by the German retreat as the Soviets then went on the strategic offensive and eventual conquest of Berlin and much of Eastern Europe.

### **Confusion (discombobulation, upsetness, disconcertedness)**

Recall that Ortony and Turner (1990) do not regard surprise and interest/anticipation as emotions but unvalenced cognitive states. If

correct, combining these two would also yield a cognitive state. While the present work disagrees with their claim that surprise and anticipation are not emotions, it is certainly true that *confusion*, defined here as the unity of surprise and anticipation, has a substantial cognitive component. To experience confusion is to expect one event yet have another occur. The confused person is one whose model of the world has failed, whose anticipations are not realized, and whose anticipations are not experienced. A confused person is prone to act in a dysfunctional and distressed manner inimical to goal-attainment. Even the most rational minds can expect to experience moments of confusion as they contemplate complexities. This is a normal phase of problem solving. But if a person is persistently confused, the result is a cognitive-affective disorder.

Confusion can be placed under the broad category of conceptual conflict. Our symbolic representations are apt to embody valenced evaluations – as good or bad, pleasant or unpleasant, positive or negative – which, as we have seen, constitute an essential early stage in the formation of an emotion. If a stimulus is evaluated simultaneously as both favorable and unfavorable, innately antagonistic neurophysiological processes are aroused at once (Harmon-Jones and Sigelman 2001). Berlyne (1960: 285–8) suggests five ways that conceptual and emotional conflict can arise.

By *confusion*, Berlyne (1960: 287) refers to stimulus patterns that either are ambiguous or can be mistaken for one another, giving rise to conflicting symbolic responses. He gives the example of seeing a hybrid tigon, a cross between a tiger and a lion, which would evoke responses corresponding to both in a way that prototypical responses to either tigers or lions do not predominate. *Doubt* arises from two opposed tendencies – to simultaneously both believe and disbelieve what one has read, seen, or heard. Doubt is not intrinsically pathological. For example, an open-minded person witnessing a debate can think objectively by suspending belief in his or her prior opinions and suspending disbelief in opposite opinions, beliefs, and frames of reference. *Perplexity* results when various factors incline a person to embrace mutually incompatible beliefs, which triggers doubt when factors both support and threaten each alternative belief when considered separately. Everyone who has ever taken a multiple-choice examination knows how perplexity feels.

*Contradiction* is the simultaneous embrace of two logically incompatible ideas. The logical capacity for avoidance of contradiction is acquired only gradually but is eventually attained by almost all adults, for whom illicit deductions come to be associated with an inability to predict and control events. Lévy-Bruhl (1910/1985) observed that in many “primitive” societies, there is a high tolerance for logical contradiction, because little emphasis is placed on analytic, propositional reasoning. In modern societies, in contrast, education and the progressive rationalization of social institutions promote a logical discipline which abhors contradiction, and which is “imposed upon ... mental operations with irresistible force”

(p. 107). An example is an oral, indigenous culture that has been colonized and inculcated with an alien belief system. Australian Aborigines, for example, tended to accept Christianity and its belief in God and an after-life, yet retained their own religious beliefs and practices, which have no God-concept and which see in death not a preservation of the soul and a self but rather the return of the inner spirit being to its place in the earth.

Finally, *conceptual incongruity* comes about when an object or event possesses two properties that a person knows are incongruous and unlikely to be found together. It often takes the form of a disjunction between what is perceived by the senses and what is known to be true on the level of higher cognitive functioning.

Two well-known social-psychological theories suggest that conceptual conflict affects the central nervous system and brain in much the same way as other forms of conflict. In Festinger's (1957) theory of cognitive dissonance, dissonance is defined as logical contradiction, although his actual study is not confined to this narrow concept. Dissonance can occur between two cognitive elements (such as beliefs, perceptions, and evaluations) or between a cognitive element and a behavior that the subject is contemplating or has actually carried out. A drive to reduce dissonance can be accomplished in different ways. Festinger considers a case in which the statements "Car A is superior to car B" and "I have bought car B" are not *logically* contradictory, because they can both be true, but are conflicting nonetheless. In this case, dissonance can be reduced either by reducing the importance of the decision or by seeking out additional evidence that reinforce the decision already made, in this case to purchase car B, for example, by exposing oneself to advertisements that commend car B while avoiding advertisements commending car A.

Abelson's and Rosenberg's (1958) theory of "cognitive imbalance" focuses on discrepancies between evaluations rather than between factual beliefs. Imbalance exists when two positively or two negatively valued elements are disassociatively linked, or when a positively and a negatively valued element are associatively linked. In these cases, there is pressure to reduce cognitive imbalance by reorganizing attitudes through one or more of the following four distinct mechanisms.

In *denial*, one of the elements is changed: for example, a person who desires to be slim and craves rich food cannot attain both wishes, but can decide, and announce, that he or she never really liked rich foods anyway. In *bolstering*, one attitude, opposed to another, can be supported, shored up, and elaborated. For example, a person who finds smoking palliative and one of life's little pleasures might concede that smoking is a disgusting and costly addiction that will possibly cause a slow and painful death. In *differentiation*, two conflicting beliefs are distinguished by some criterion: for example, a person who believes both in the truth of the *Bible* and in the theory of evolution can ease cognitive dissonance by differentiating the literal truth of evolution from the figurative truth of the *Bible*. And in

*transcendence*, the conflicting elements can be fused into a larger unity that can be collectively viewed with favor or disfavor: for example, a commitment to both science and religion can be reconciled by realizing that a well-rounded life can involve cultivation of both rationality and spirituality, of knowledge and wisdom.

Durkheim (1893/1960) addressed the problem of conceptual conflict and the emotions. He argued that when an individual with a strongly held belief is confronted with an opposed idea that establishes a foothold in the mind, the result is “a turbulence of organic and psychic phenomena” (p. 97). On the emotional level, the representation of a sentiment contrary to our own can “enfeeble” the mind by dividing our psychic energy into two opposing directions. “It is,” he asserted, “as if a strange force . . . upset the free functioning of our psychic life” which “cannot manifest itself in our presence without troubling us” and causing “real disorder.” If the contrary belief is unimportant, the effect is feeble. But if an important belief is challenged, “we do not, and cannot, permit a contrary belief to rear its head with impunity. . . . Every offense directed against it calls forth an emotional reaction, more or less violent, which turns against the offender” such that “the sentiments so invoked cannot fail to translate themselves into action” (pp. 97–8). If there is a general sympathy between adversaries, bounds can be set for any antagonism and there can be mutual tolerance, as in the case of competing religious beliefs. But if the antagonism outweighs the sympathy, the historical result has all too often been warfare between or within religions.

If our personal sentiments are faced with danger, Durkheim (*ibid.*) continued, then “violent emotions . . . come to render to the attacked sentiment the energy which the contradiction extorts from it,” thereby reinforcing our original sentiment. In collectivities and in large assemblies of people, identical states of consciousness reinforce one another, which means that emotions collectively shared can acquire a violent character. For example, the sentiments which crime offends are “particularly strong states of the common conscience,” so that “it is impossible for them to tolerate contradiction” (p. 99), which leads to a passionate, violent, and repressive urge to punish the person who has thus breached the morals of a society.<sup>11</sup>

Object-relations theorists have found that persons who are apt to have ambivalent attitudes toward other persons and social issues are highly cognitive, enjoy thinking about all aspects of situations and problems, and are able to recognize that even good people have their darker side. Such open-mindedness can be a form of mental and emotional maturity leading to appreciation of human complexity, to the ability to make distinctions and recognize exceptions, and to the capacity to see various possible solutions to a problem. All of these can promote developing insight and wisdom. J.A. King and C.K. Napa (1999: 41–2) note that the various kinds of ambivalence, if they do not result in indecisiveness, are potentially

Table 7.1 A classification of the 28 secondary emotions

I. The eight primary dyads as four pairs of opposite emotions

love, friendliness	= joy & acceptance
misery, forlornness, loneliness	= sadness & disgust
pride	= anger & joy
embarrassment to mind shame	= fear & sadness
aggressiveness	= anger & anticipation
alarm, awe	= fear & surprise
curiosity	= acceptance & surprise
cynicism	= anticipation & disgust

II. The eight secondary dyads as four pairs of half-opposites

dominance	= acceptance & anger
submissiveness	= acceptance & fear
optimism, expectancy	= anticipation & joy
pessimism	= anticipation & sadness
delight	= surprise & joy
disappointment	= surprise & sadness
repugnance (abhorrence, aversiveness, antipathy)	= disgust & fear
contempt	= disgust & anger

III. The eight tertiary dyads as four pairs of opposites

resourcefulness, sagacity; fatalism	= acceptance & anticipation
shock	= disgust & surprise
morbidity	= joy & disgust
resignation	= sadness & acceptance
sullenness, balefulness	= anger & sadness
guilt	= fear & joy
anxiety	= anticipation & fear
outrage	= surprise & anger

IV. The four antithetical or quaternary dyads

ambivalence	= acceptance & rejection
catharsis	= joy & sadness
frozenness	= fear & anger
confusion (discombobulation, upsetness, disconcertedness)	= anticipation & surprise

sophisticated emotions, not seen in children under ten years of age (Sincoff 1990).

To this point, we have defined the 28 secondary emotions and linked them to the most elementary social relations. The results of this classification are summarized in Table 7.1. With this preparation, it is now possible to further develop the present conceptualization of emotions and social relations, affect-spectrum theory. The first step in this process is to



develop a model of social relations, which makes it possible to advance from a psychoevolutionary perspective to a socioevolutionary theory. After that, a theory-driven reclassification of primary, secondary, and tertiary emotions will be carried out, at which point affect-spectrum theory will be presented.

# 8 The sociorelational approach to the emotions

## Four elementary forms of sociality

Social relations are prime instigators of emotions (Kemper 1978, 1991; Lazarus and Launier 1978; Scheier 1984; de Rivera and Grinkis 1986; Thamm 1992; Turner and Stets 2005). Emotions are responses to environmental events and the human environment is above all else social (Kagen 1984, Kemper 1978). The objects of emotions are typically other persons, small groups of persons, or categories of persons. Even when the object of emotions is the self, the self is thought about in terms of social relations. When asked to describe situations in which they experience certain emotions, people almost invariably report contexts involving social relations (Lindsay-Hartz 1981). Despite the consensus on the importance of social life for the experience of specific emotions, there is little agreement on how to conceptualize social relations for this purpose. In this chapter, it will be shown that social relations have been described consistently by several classical and contemporary social and behavioral scientists (Durkheim 1893; Scheler 1926; Clark 1984; Clark and Mills 1979; Chance 1988; Fiske 1991) in a way that generalizes Plutchik's (1958, 1962, 1980) model of the four elementary problems of life.

### Critique of Kemper, Plutchik, and Chance

Kemper (1978) and Collins (1975; see also Kemper and Collins 1990) rely on a two-dimensional model<sup>12</sup> of society, the vertical dimension of power and the horizontal dimension of status-accord. Kemper shows that the power/status-accord distinction existed in the ancient world, was central to the sociology of Weber, and exists in primate ethology. Antiquity and wide usage, however, is no guarantee of adequacy. If Plutchik is correct in his contention that every animal must deal with at least four problems of life, then our social world should be organized to deal not with two dimensions, but with at least four.

Kemper's concept of "status-accord" is idiosyncratic. Here, status does not mean high and low socioeconomic status, but status *in accord*, an equality or identity of status. We find status-accord in families, neighborhoods, friendship groups, and other informal groups of people. It implies

both intimate community and a shared status, thereby containing not one but two concepts, expressing community and equality or accord. Kemper's "power" differs little from Plutchik's "hierarchy." So basically, using Plutchik as a measure of the kind of sociorelational problems that trigger emotions, we can see that Kemper has conflated two concepts and omitted one (Plutchik's territoriality). Given Plutchik's argument that at least four problems of life are necessary to predict the primary emotions, it is clear why Kemper could not have succeeded with a dualistic conceptualization of social relationships. While Kemper (1978, 1991) seeks to predict emotions on the basis of combinations of status-accord and power in face-to-face social interactions, he does so in an ad hoc rather than theory-driven manner, and no real predictions are made.

There is a galling limit to Plutchik's model. His four life-problems are characterized by a certain sociological emptiness. We live in a rich and complex social world, and what we do in this world is much more than one might infer from reading Plutchik, whose model might be effective for predicting the emotional behavior of an alligator or a horse, but not of a human. Yet the work of Plutchik and other evolution-oriented theorists of the emotions importantly remind us that emotions have evolved to serve the existential needs of ancestral humans who had to contend with predators, prey, heights, disease, fire, intergroup aggression, and a host of other task domains in which human emotions have been profoundly adaptive. The very adaptability of the emotions has made it possible for humans to construct incredibly complex cultures and civilizations. To understand human emotions as they exist is facilitated by an understanding of their long evolution to be sure, but cultures evolve as well, and the most fundamental problems of life have come to be institutionalized and embedded in a set of four elementary kinds of social relationships. These social relationships have a biological origin, but cannot be reduced to the biological, and they have a sociocultural elaboration. The task of this chapter is to develop the psychoevolutionary model of life problems in such a way that they are given sociological content.

### *Social duality theory in ethology*

One of the models of social duality cited by Kemper can be found in primate ethology. Through comparative study of the behavior of the higher primates and humans, Michael Chance (1988) distinguishes between agonistic and hedonic forms of societal organization. The agonistic-hedonic distinction has two limitations which have led to its disuse in contemporary primatology. First, Chance and his collaborators have clung to the untenable generalization that monkey society is agonistic and ape society hedonic. This oversimplifies the complexities of the social and emotional lives of both major kinds of primate species. This conceptualization is also theoretically underspecified, a limitation that can be resolved

by conceptually examining these two concepts, to reveal that each is based on two complementary social relationships.

*The agonic model of societal-level organization*

Chance proposes that the agonic mode of social organization characterizes Old World monkeys (the primate superfamily *Cercopithecoidea*) such as macaques and baboons, and that the hedonic mode appears in the *Hominoidea* (apes and humans). Agonic-type societies, as he describes them, are conflictual and hierarchically organized, with individuals arranged in a series of status-levels. Any two individuals in such a society are either of the same or of different social rank. A difference in rank between individuals manifests itself in the differential acquisition and retention of anything of social value, including attention. Higher-ranking individuals receive more than they give; lower-ranking individuals, in contrast, give more than they receive.

Social dominance is the primary dimension of agonic society. Dominance involves both hierarchy and control of resources. Those high in rank control the behavior of those lower. Control is expressed territorially, through the proximity of the lower-ranking members to the centrally dominant figure(s). Emory (1988), in a study of caged monkeys at the San Diego Zoo, found that the amount of attention paid to the individual males was directly proportional to the nearness of each individual to the leader. Also observed, in monkeys and baboons, was what Chance and Jolly (1970) have termed “reverted escape” – the return of an individual to the vicinity of the dominant male after withdrawing in the face of an intermediate-level threat from the leader(s). Thus, *hierarchy* is inseparable from, and is articulated in terms of, *territory*. Hierarchy and territoriality are the basis of agonic society, the grounds of its social cohesion.

In Rhesus macaques and Savannah baboons, individuals live in a group yet are spread out, maintaining distance from one another and from the more dominant one to whom they must constantly attend. Subdominant members are always ready to react to a threat in order to avoid punishment. Lower-ranking members execute gestures of appeasement and submission, and are poised to escape the wrath of the dominant members. Following such escape, there is an effort to re-establish their previous location, a mechanism of “reverted escape” which serves to prevent escalation of threat into agonistic conflict. Yet, tension and arousal remain at a high level (Chance 1988: 6–7).<sup>13</sup>

*The hedonic model of community organization*

Hedonic society, wherever it is found, is based on two fundamental social relations. The first is *temporality*, which is evident in ape societies in which the mother-offspring unit is central to their social organization. The

second is *conditional equality*. Itani (1984) makes a persuasive argument for an astounding claim, to wit, that “the egalitarianism seen among the hunter-gatherer and nature-dependent people of today is nothing but a product of the evolutionary elaboration of its counterpart found among the chimpanzee” (ibid.: 148). The *demand* for equality among these groups, Itani contends, “permeates every sector of life” (ibid.). Recall that in agonistic society, there is an inequality principle, with co-existence based largely on the self-restraint of both the subordinate and dominant. This state of inequality, in terms of primate social evolutionary terms, *precedes* the state of conditional equality, which is the negation or setting aside of inequality. Conditional equality can be seen, for example, in play, in which rank order is ignored and there is self-handicapping by the stronger participant (Itani 1984, 1988). Agreement is needed to render inequality non-existent (Itani 1988: 147). The fictitious world of conditional equality extends beyond play, as it also extends to social interactions involving activities such as grooming and allomothering.

Hedonic society, Chance claims, appears in apes and humans. Power (1986), for instance, argues that the chimpanzee possesses a hedonic-type society in which members do not threaten each other. This can be seen, he argues, as the group splits into twos and threes to forage for food, at which time the less confident individuals seek and receive reassurance, by contact gestures such as touching and kissing, from older, more confident leaders. After foraging in small groups, the chimps re-congregate in response to “calls” that food for all has been found. “Carnivals” ensue and focus attention on the most dominant males, who are apt to jump up and down and throw things. Such gestures reduce social tensions that might have built up, meaning, “except during moments of excitement the arousal level of the individual is low – this is the hedonic condition” (Chance 1988: 7, emphasis deleted).

Calling such social interactions hedonic ignores the fact of the demonstrations of dominant males in chimp carnivals, which suggests the presence of an agonistic mode of social organization. Moreover, this characterization of a peaceful community of, say, chimpanzees overlooks some hard facts. Aggressive behavior is typical of most apes. Gorillas, humans, and chimpanzees kill members of their own species, and have social mechanisms to reconcile aggression. Intra-species killings of course occurs in monkey species, for example in langur monkeys, Japanese and pigtailed macaques, and olive baboons (Packer 1979), and has also been observed in gorillas (Fossey 1983) and in our evolutionarily nearest neighbor, the chimpanzee (Bygott 1972; Goodall *et al.* 1979), the supposed “peace-loving hedonist” (e.g., Willhoite 1986). For example, Goodall *et al.* (1979: 608–9) describe a group of male chimpanzees who used “gang” attacks on lone members of a neighboring group and killed its five male members and one female, to acquire new territory, expanded their feeding range, and gain enhanced access to adult females. Aggression and domi-

nance striving certainly characterizes early humans, not to mention their modern successors. Several evolutionary biologists have argued that violent competition among groups was probably the most potent selective force in the tripling of hominid brain size during the past three million years (Hamilton 1975; Wilson 1975: 572–4), and historians have seen that much of human history is largely the history of human warfare (see Gay 1993; Willhoite 1986). Longstanding intergroup conflict among humans led Alexander (1987) to advance his “balance-of-power” hypothesis, which contends that, “at some early point in our history the actual function of the human group was protection from the predatory effects of other human groups . . . [which] throughout all but the earliest portions of human history were (i) war, or intergroup competition and aggression, and (ii) the maintenance of balance of power between such groups” (p. 222).

Yet, it would be a mistake to downplay the importance of the hedonic mode in human beings as they gained dominance over all other animal species. The freedom from social preoccupation provided by hedonic community creates for humans an environment in which, according to Chance (1988), “the healthy human individual has a flexibility of arousal and attention that allows time for integration of reality, inter-personal relations, and private feelings and thoughts, providing prerequisites for the operation of a systems-forming facility” (p. 8). This might be true, but the “system forming-facility” is not adequately described by Chance, and it must also be mentioned that for humans it is hunting-and-gathering societies which have the purest form of hedonic community, yet such societies hardly emphasize logical thought and systems analysis. Ethological studies of children in playgrounds carried out by Montagner *et al.* (1988) led to the observation of hedonic leader-type children who, like wild chimps, are not apt to escalate threats into aggression and who actively appease their followers, by initiating play and other cooperative activities. Yet, status-competition and bullying also take place everywhere in children’s informal social behavior. Accordingly, perhaps the most proper generalizations would be to say that: (i) monkeys are predominantly agonic, and secondarily hedonic, (ii) non-human apes are predominantly hedonic and secondarily agonic, and (iii) both modes of sociality are highly developed among humans, with hunting-and-gathering societies, such as tribal-living Australian Aborigines, with no money and no political system, primarily hedonic, and modern, advanced societies having an important agonic component (TenHouten 2005).

### **MacLean’s triune brain theory**

Plutchik’s claim that his four problems of life apply to *all* animals is dubious. There is evidence, however, for a more modest but still important claim, namely that the *higher* animals – reptiles, birds, and mammals – share these four problems. This evidence comes from Paul MacLean’s

(1964, 1973, 1977, 1990) triune brain theory, which holds that the reptilian brain (R-complex) was the infrastructure for the evolution of the paleomammalian brain of mammals, that in turn was the infrastructure for the evolution of the two neomammalian brain structures of higher primates, the left and right hemispheres of the brain. In the human, the R-complex persists, roughly, as the brainstem. MacLean also claims that the limbic “system” (including the amygdale, hippocampus, hypothalamus, and septum) is the seat of the emotions, has limitations and harsh critics (e.g., LeDoux 1996: 85–103), especially the claim that the limbic structures constitute an unitary system for processing emotions, but here interest is limited to a non-controversial component of MacLean’s (1964, 1977: 211–12) model, namely his description of the R-complex as having just four concerns – identity, reproduction, hierarchy, and territory. Thus, for example, reptiles engage in four communicative displays to other members of their own species: the signature display (a ‘this-is-me’ display performed when an animal has moved to a different position); the courtship display; the submission display; and the challenge display often made in relation to territory. Because mammals and primates retain the R-complex as their first stage of brain evolution, it follows that mammals and primates, including the human, all of whom possess an R-complex, share an objective need to address these four elementary problems of life. It is a fact that birds and mammals (including ourselves) share these behavioral patterns with reptiles. These behavioral mechanisms that have been described in reptiles are still subserved by the striatal region of higher animals, this being the largest part of the forebrain. MacLean (1990) studied a distinctive species-typical greeting in monkeys, which had elements of signature, courtship, and challenge, and which is given to a new monkey coming into sight, and also when a monkey sees itself in a mirror. After removal of part of the striatal brain area, they fail to give the mirror display, whereas removing other parts of the midbrain and forebrain left this display intact. If striatal areas are damaged in human beings, similar effects can be observed. In Huntington’s chorea, which occurs in later life, patients become unable to organize their daily activities, and will just sit and do nothing, though they will join activities that have been scheduled for them (Oatley and Jenkins 1996: 139).

Plutchik and MacLean presumably developed their biological models independently but their conceptualizations are nearly identical. Plutchik (1962) identifies as fundamental, existential problems of life – *identity*, *temporality*, *hierarchy*, and *territoriality*. The only, minor difference is that Plutchik refers to the existential problem of “temporality,” meaning the cycle of life, as performing the positive function of “reproduction” and the negative function “reintegration” of the group following a death or other loss of a community member; MacLean, ignoring valence, simply referred to the life-problem of “reproduction.”

## **Durkheim, Scheler, Clark, and Fiske: four elementary forms of sociality**

Plutchik's and MacLean's four dimensional models, now shown consistent with Chance, might be useful in human ethology, but are inadequate for understanding complex social relationships and human institutions. This limitation can be overcome, however, by expanding these models to include social content. The works of Durkheim (1893), Scheler (1926), Clark (1984), and Fiske (1991, 1992) are helpful in this regard.

### *Durkheim: mechanical and organic solidarities*

Durkheim (1893) distinguished two opposite, yet complementary forms of social solidarity, the mechanical and the organic. As societies evolve through several stages, from primitive to modern, the mechanical form of social solidarity wanes and organic solidarity waxes. These two principles, it is proposed, have opposite mappings of the individual and society.

#### *Mechanical solidarity*

In mechanical solidarity, which characterizes "primitive" and preliterate societies, society is internalized in the individual inasmuch as "what we call society is a more or less organized totality of beliefs and sentiments common to all members of the group: this is the collective type" (Durkheim 1893/1960: 129). This collective mentality "completely envelopes our whole conscience and coincides in all parts. In this solidarity, there are two principles at work. There is first an insistence on social identity, similarity, and equality. As Durkheim (ibid.) wrote, "[t]he more primitive societies are, the more resemblances there are between the individuals who comprise them" (p. 133). There is in such societies a far-ranging likemindedness. "Everybody professes and practices, without demurring, the same religion. . . . Religion and sciences are identical there – and this identity is absolute . . . [and] all individual consciences are composed of practically the same elements" (ibid.: 137–8). In this chapter we will see that identity generalizes into equality-matched social relations, the positive experience of which leads to the experience of the primary emotion acceptance. The concept acceptance played a significant role in Durkheim's research agenda, which endeavored to reconcile external, coercive society and individual volition. The solution, in his religious sociology, was to see that social order would be accepted because it was held to be sacred. The emotion of acceptance is closely linked to the ritual life. As Rappaport (1992:6) explains, in the performance of a ritual the participants accept, and indicate to themselves and to others that they accept, the liturgical order encoded in the ritual. Thus, the emotion "acceptance" expressed in ritual and ceremony is constitutive of the sacred, of the world view and cosmology.



And second, in the mechanical solidarity of primitive peoples “the daily life of the savage is regulated by a number of customs . . . [that are] complicated and very importunate, of prohibitions and interdictions . . . with which ways of acting become transformed into traditional practices . . .” (Durkheim 1893/1960: 138). Informal social relations are validated through connection to the past: this is the core meaning of tradition and is the basis of ritual. Communal social relations are linked to the traditional way of life, with religion the primary integrating factor. Religion in preliterate societies brings together the material and the spiritual levels of life, which complement and support each other. Human beings are not seen as separate from nature but rather as in harmony with it, such that mythic entities, souls, and human beings are considered part of each other. A premium is placed on *cooperation* at all levels of the social, natural and supernatural environments. Cooperation, and more generally community, means a “fellowship of relations and feelings” and the sharing of common “interests or feelings among its members” which have “common or equal rights or rank” (*Oxford*: 486). As Durkheim (*ibid.*) put it, “the parts of the aggregate, when united, only move together” (p. 151). Communal living is undoubtedly central to the social organization of hunting-and-gathering and myriad other kinds of “traditional,” “oral,” indigenous, and pre-technological societies.

The emotions that follow from the positive experience of communal social relationships, according to present theory, are joy and happiness. Compared to the “civilized” man, argued Durkheim, the “savage” is indeed happy and enjoys a degree of contentment. Durkheim devoted an entire chapter to comparing the happiness of members of primitive and modern societies. Civilization, he argued, has imposed monotonous and continuous labor, this regularity of effort being required by the division of labor and its requirement for specialized work. He argues that while modernity offers a wide range of pleasures, happiness is more than any sum of pleasures, for it is a general and constant state accompanying our organic and psychical functions. “All pleasure is a sort of crisis; it is born, lasts a moment, and dies” (*ibid.*: 243). Durkheim also observed that “the savages are quite as content with their lot as we can be with ours. This perfect contentment is even one of their distinctive traits” (*ibid.*: 244). The most objective measure of unhappiness is suicide, and Durkheim presented data indicating that suicide is rare in undisturbed primitive society but finds its highest levels in the most advanced societies of Europe, which he termed the “suicidogenous zone” (*ibid.*: 247).

Thus, the two main elements of mechanical solidarity, on the level of social organization, are equalized and communal social relations. These lead to the emotional experiences of acceptance and happiness, respectively. Because love comprises acceptance and happiness, we might expect to find Durkheim writing of love in describing these societies, and indeed he does. Durkheim adds that “we always love the company of those who

feel and think as we do . . .” (ibid.: 105, 102). He suggested that in primitive society,

there is a social cohesion whose cause lies in certain conformity of all particular consciences to a common type. . . . In these conditions, not only are all members of the group individually attracted to one another because they resemble one another, but also because they are joined . . . to the society that they form by their union. Not only do citizens love each other and seek each other out in preference to strangers, but they love their country.

(Durkheim 1893/1960: 105, 102)

### *Organic solidarity*

Whereas in mechanical solidarity the society is internalized in the individual, in organic solidarity an opposite kind of solidarity emerges, as the agentic individual moves freely *in* society, acting in his or her self-interest. Here we have a veritable cult of the individual, because the individual person, Durkheim insisted, becomes the most important element in the life of modern society. The individual attains autonomy and feels himself “less *acted upon*; he becomes more a source of spontaneous activity” (ibid.: 169).

There are two basic dimensions of organic solidarity, the economic and the political. On the economic level, organic solidarity involves a detailed division of labor. An increase in the volume and density of societies – associated with population growth, urbanization, and the development of communication and transportation – necessitates an increase in the division of labor in society and the condensation of the social mass. As societies become more complex and differentiated, they become more heterogeneous. Individuals come to occupy highly specialized occupational roles; scientific and technical work undergoes systematic and relentless specialization and new and innovative value systems emerge.

Durkheim’s organic solidarity emphasized economic life and the development of specialized occupations. As economic specialization develops, “cerebral life,” intelligence, increasingly promotes economic competition in market-based social relationships (ibid.: 273). This, according to Plutchik and present theory, requires, on the functional level, exploration of the socioeconomic environment, and on the subjective level, anticipation, which demands intelligence and a “more voluminous and more delicate brain” (ibid.). This necessary mental development is a basic reaction to the increasing economic division of labor, in which societal members struggle to find a place, an occupation. Part of exploratory behavior is an interest in the natural and social worlds, which is crystallized in scientific work, with its emphasis on the making of surprising discoveries and explanation. Economic exploration leads to the creation of new and novel

commodities, and to new discoveries that lead to further economic development, to new products, to new occupational specialization.

Organic solidarity also concerns authority-ranked social relations, more specifically, law and crime and punishment. In less developed societies, society punished crime to avenge itself for behavior that violates collective norms, the totality of beliefs and sentiments shared by all societal members. But with the development of organic solidarity, punishment to attain vengeance is less important than is restoration of the original situation. Chastisement comes to be a form of self-protection, so that “the fear of punishment will paralyze those who contemplate evil” (ibid.: 86). Either way, to be punished is to have a negative experience of social authority. Fear is indeed the emotional reaction experienced by violation of legal authority brought to justice and punished. It is implicit that the emotional reaction of those who exercise legal authority will be the opposite, and we have seen that the opposite of fear is anger.

Durkheim’s contribution to the sociology of the emotions goes beyond the well-known statement on collective effervescence set forth in his *Elementary Forms*. We have just seen that in his first major work, he constructed a model of society with two divisions, each of which comprise two distinct social relations. This model is in full conformity with Plutchik, MacLean, and Chance. In addition, he discussed the emotions associated with these social relations, and the result is a remarkable anticipation of the present theory. He associates the social relations of the mechanical society, equality and community, with the emotions acceptance and happiness, and associated the relations of organic solidarity, of economy and polity, with exploration and fear. Affect-spectrum theory also holds that the most positive expressions of informal community and formal society are love and aggression (anticipation & anger), respectively. Durkheim indeed wrote of love as a basis of mechanical solidarity. While he did not refer directly to anger and aggression, he cites Darwin to the effect that the division of labor in organic solidarity involves *competition* in the struggle for power.

### *Fiske: four elementary forms of sociality*

Fiske (1991) identifies what he claims are *the* four elementary forms of social life, which he terms equality matching (EM), communal sharing (CS), authority ranking (AR), and market pricing (MP). Fiske acknowledges Clark’s (1984) distinction between exchange and communal relationships as the basis of MP and CS respectively but does not cite Plutchik, MacLean, and Chance. He has essentially replicated Max Scheler’s (1926) earlier claim that there are four basic things we do in the social world.<sup>14</sup> Fiske follows Scheler in arguing that the full range of human activity – from participating in religious rituals, to arranging a marriage, to deciding how to fight a fire – is structured in accordance with four fundamental

kinds of social relationships. Much of Western social and economic thought has focused on rational choice, instrumentalism, and agency, according to which *homo economicus* pursues his or her raw self-interest. Fiske notes that the principles of “rational choice” and “market pricing” are important in the social world, but insists that non-economic models are also available to social actors. Because people are naturally sociable as well as competitive, as in market-oriented social relations, they often choose to share informally and cooperatively (communal-sharing) on bases of family and friendship. In addition people exercise and/or defer to authority (authority-ranking), and balance and distribute resources equally (equality-matching). Fiske (1991: 30) does not recognize that Durkheim had included *all* four of these sociorelational concepts in his model of social solidarity, but does claim, without describing how, that Durkheim (1893) conflated market-based and equality-matched social relations. Reading Durkheim, I see no evidence of such conflation.

Fiske, however, appears to conflate the meanings of equality-matching and communal-sharing, in attributing arithmetical operations to these same two social relations in a way that seems counter-intuitive, for he defines communal-sharing as “a relation of equivalence” and of “common identity,” and on this basis links CS relations to the operations “=” and “≠.” However, it would be more reasonable, at least on intuitive grounds, to define equality-matching, and not communal-sharing, as a relation of equivalence and of identity. The position taken here, in contrast to Fiske, is that the positive and negative experiences of CS social relations involve the operations “+” and “-,” and that the positive and negative experiences of EM are associated with “=” and “≠,” respectively. Plutchik’s model is helpful here because the behaviors he associates with the positive and negative experiences of temporality are “gain” and “loss.” Consistent with this, the newborn baby is apt to be called “the little *addition*” to the family, and when a family member dies the family size has been reduced by one, from  $n$  to  $n - 1$ , so that the family is in need of reintegration *minus* the one who has died.

#### *From temporality to communal social relationships*

Recall that for Plutchik the problem of temporality associates joy and distress with its positive and negative poles, respectively. The positive pole of temporality, reproduction, contains a key idea of communal relations. Communal sharing, Fiske adds, is “a relationship based on duties and sentiments generating kindness and generosity among people conceived to be of the same kind, especially kin” (ibid.). This analysis supports the view that the basis of communal relationships is human sexual reproduction, giving birth, and begetting. The human social institution that is specifically designed for reproduction is the family, more generally the kinship system. In communal relationships, people have a sense of solidarity, unity,

belonging, and social cohesion. Clark and Mills (1979) define communal relations as based on the rule that individuals must be concerned about each other's welfare. As a result, communal relations partners will do things simply to benefit each other without expecting equal or immediate benefits in return. People in communal relations will spontaneously keep track of each other's needs, even if nothing can be done immediately to satisfy them.

In communal relations, reciprocal exchange means that people freely give what they can and take what they need. This was a key notion in primitive communism (or, if you prefer, communalism): "From each according to his abilities; to each according to his needs." To attain just distribution of resources, resources are regarded as a commons without concern for how much any single person uses or owns. Everyone contributes what he or she has, without keeping track: "What's mine is yours." Work is treated as a collective responsibility, and people, in general, are not divided by specialized tasks. In CS, natal lands received from the ancestors are held in trust for posterity. Land is used corporately, as a commons. Decision-making is based on consensus, unity, and a sense of the group. There is a positive value placed on conformity, and there is a desire for similarity in thought, posture, and action. Learning takes place by observation and imitation.

#### *From identity to equality matching*

"Identity" in Plutchik's sense can be generalized into what Fiske calls his social relationship of "equality-matching." The EM principle is a cultural universal. Malinowski (1921) found Trobriand Islanders' social behavior to be based on qualitatively assessed give-and-take, always mentally "ticked off" and in appropriate time frames balanced. For example, a coastal village delivers fish to an inland village, receiving vegetables in return, after the harvest. Such exchanges occur even between villages at war with each other. EM can exist on the level of turn taking, in which each person in a group performs the same act in a temporal sequence consistent with latent social norms. EM exists as reciprocity, in which each person gives and gets back what they view as roughly the same. EM as distributive justice means an even distribution of valuable objects and things so that each person receives roughly an equal share: to each the same, regardless of needs or usefulness. A person shopping for herself and her two roommates might buy nine apples and six oranges, assuming each will consume three and two, respectively.

#### *From hierarchy to authority ranking*

Plutchik recognizes that hierarchy is a fundamental problem of social life. There is virtually no conceptual distance between Plutchik's "hierarchy"

and Fiske's "authority ranking." AR is an asymmetrical relationship of inequality. Those who have high rank are regarded as more important than those with low rank. High-ranking people control resources – the labor power of other people, things, capital, land, and so forth. A basic form of authority ranking was slavery and bondage, where the superior appropriates the will of subordinates, who do not control the objective conditions of their own labor. An authoritarian political system is apt to be based on hereditary monarchy, warlordism, authoritarian dictatorship, or some other totalitarian form of governance (Somit and Peterson 1997). Distributive justice, under authority ranking, means that the higher a person's rank, the more choices and resources he or she receives. Groups have a clear leadership structure and are hierarchically organized. Social identities are defined in terms of superior rank and corresponding prerogatives, or of inferiority and servitude.

*From territoriality to market-based exchange pricing*

Territoriality is an organizing concept in ethology describing natural behavior oriented to the control, possession, use, and defense of a claimed space deemed necessary for survival. It affords opportunity for idiosyncratic behavior directed to boundary creation (Plutchik's "exploration") and boundary defense (Plutchik's "surprise"). Much of human history is in large measure an account of efforts to wrest territory from others and to defend territory from the claims of predatory outsiders (Hall 1959/1973: 45). The complex, multi-level spaces and places that people occupy are closely linked to social relations having to do with resources and valued objects and situations. Territories are valuable resources, necessary for life itself and for its secure enjoyment. Human territory always extends beyond the body to encompass what Goffman (1971) calls a territorial preserve, a space which, if intruded upon, engenders righteous indignation. The notion of human territoriality must, for purposes at hand, be further broadened to include: all forms of possessions, physical and symbolic capital; crystallized energy in the form of money; commodities that can be displayed as a demonstration of wealth; status, rank, prestige, and privilege. In modern societies, economic resources include education and technical expertise, including the ability to coordinate and manage the work of other skilled experts, capability for innovative information processing, and accumulation of goods and commodities that provide economic security and serve as markers of social status and prestige. Generally, the higher a person's status, the larger the space within which offences against this person can take place. In contrast, the territory granted the lowest status people – such as slaves, prostitutes, prisoners, and infants – do not even reach to the boundary of their own bodies.

In market relationships people denominate value by a single universal metric, typically price, but also by linear, clock- and calendar-based time

(de Grazia 1962; Postone 1993). People value actions, service, and products according to the rates per unit of time at which they can be exchanged for other commodities or for money. MP concerns how people buy and sell commodities. Participation in a market economy requires quantification. Prices, wages, rents, and interest all have a comparable metric value so that commodities can be bought, sold, and exchanged. Based on calculation, people will do things to benefit each other with an expectation of greater benefits in return (Clark and Mills 1979).

### A social quaternio

A *quaternio*, as defined by Marie Louise von Franz (1974: 127), is a dynamically-related double polarity. Here, a quaternio is further defined to require four elements that can be conceptualized both as two pairs of *opposites* and as two pairs of *complements*. This exactly corresponds to the social relationship model developed in this chapter. The pairs of opposites are CS●MP and EM●AR, where “●” means “is the opposite of.” The pairs of complements are the logical intersections  $EM \cap CS$ , which defines hedonic society, and  $AR \cap MP$ , which defines agonistic society, where “ $\cap$ ” means “and.”<sup>15</sup>

Communal-sharing and market-pricing are *opposites* in the following sense: in CS relationships, the world-view of the collectivity is internalized in the mind of the individual; in market-based relations, in contrast, the individual acts in his or her own self-interest in the society. Thus CS and MP represent *opposite mappings of the individual and society*. CS and MP are also opposite in emphasizing *communion* and *agency*, respectively. Bakan (1966) describes agency as “the existence of an organism as an individual, and communion for the participation of the individual in some larger organism” (p. 15). Agency, so defined, is manifested in self-protection and self-expansion, communion in being at-one with others. Agency is competitive, communion cooperative. Agency stresses aloneness, isolation, and separation; communion stresses openness, interdependence, and union.

Equality-matching and authority-ranking are also opposites. This is true even on the level of logic. Recall that identity, Fiske notwithstanding, involves the algebraic operations “=” and “≠” and that hierarchy involves “>” and “<”. According to Itani (1984, 1988), the *conditional* equality of hedonic society comes about as the negation, or setting aside, of hierarchy; accordingly, if it is not the case that  $A > B$  or  $A < B$ , then  $A = B$ . EM and AR represent opposite human tendencies, to make things unequal and hierarchical, or to set hierarchy aside and attain a conditional equality between people.

It can be claimed here that hedonic community and agonistic society are not merely qualitatively different but are *real opposites* on the further ground that their elements are opposites: more specifically, the elements of

hedonic society, EM and CS, and the elements of agonistic society, AR and MP, are opposites because EM and AR are opposites and CS and MP are opposites.

A quaternion also requires two complementarities. We have seen that equality-matching, or conditional equality, together with communal-sharing, form the basis of informal community, which defines hedonic society. We also saw that hierarchy and territoriality, which generalize into authority-ranking and market-pricing, form the basis of formal society. Thus, the logical requirements for a social quaternion are satisfied. These relationships are displayed visually in Figure 8.1. In panel A, the CS line-segment has the positive experience of CS (CS+) at one end and the negative experience of CS (CS-) at the other. The MP+/MP- line-segment is shown perpendicular to CS+/CS- because MP and CS are opposites. Panel B shows the same relationship for the EM+/EM- and AR+/AR- line-segments. In panel C, the first two panels are superimposed, the resulting figure, a mandala (representing four dimensions in two dimensions), represents a *social quaternion* (TenHouten 1999d: 263–6, 2004b). The two oppositions are a matter of theoretical reasoning. The validity of the two complementarities, which result in hedonic and agonistic society, in contrast, is an empirical question, which can now be dealt with by examples from Aboriginal and Euro-Australian social behavior and also with empirical data.

To recapitulate, in this chapter we have presented a conceptual continuity in the work of Chance and his co-workers, Plutchik, MacLean, Scheler, Durkheim, Clark, Mills, and Fiske. The mere fact that a small group of scholars have arrived at the same general conclusion is, of course, no guarantee of its validity, for the social-scientific literature is replete with

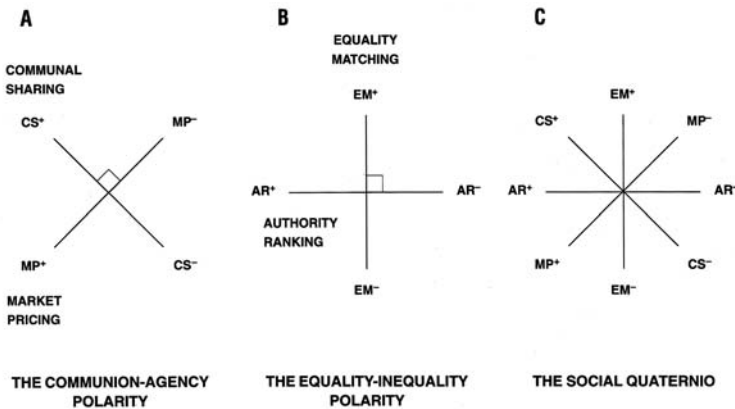


Figure 8.1 (A) The communion-agency polarity; (B) The equality-inequality polarity; (C) The dynamic double polarity of opposite elementary forms of sociality, the social quaternion.



instances of consensus concerning theories of the social world which appear, in retrospect, either mistaken or too vague to be investigated empirically, or both. One example is the Parsonian functionalist theory with its model of “pattern variables” that enjoyed a few decades in the sun as the dominant theoretical paradigm in North American sociology, before being relegated to the dust-heap of science past.

## 9 Affect-spectrum theory

### The emotions of rationality and of intimacy

In Chapters 3–7 the primary and secondary emotions were discussed at length. The order of presentation of the secondary emotions was based on the Plutchik’s 1962 wheel. Primary dyads (pairs of emotions adjacent in this wheel) were discussed first, followed by the secondary dyads (two positions apart), tertiary dyads (three positions apart), and quaternary dyads (four positions apart). In this chapter, we make use of the concepts of formal, agonic, organic society and informal, hedonic, mechanical community to re-classify all of the primary and secondary emotions and 16 of the tertiary emotions. The result is a reorganization of emotions into three groups: (i) the four primary and six secondary emotions associated with the two components of agonic society (AR and MP) are grouped as the *emotions of rationality* and *troublesome rationality* or *irrationality*; (ii) the four primary and six secondary emotions associated with the two components of hedonic community (EM and CS) are grouped as the emotions of *intimacy* and of *troublesome intimacy*; and (iii) the two pairs of agonic and hedonic social relations are grouped by the valence of their associated social relations and then cross-classified. This cross-classification, the topic of the next chapter, makes it possible to identify four kinds of character structure.

#### The emotions of rationality and problematic rationality

Joseph Raz (2001) asserts that because we are rational animals, possessing the power of reason, we “are able to conduct ourselves in the light of those reasons. Being rational is being capable of acting intentionally, that is, for reasons, and in light of one’s appreciation of one’s situation in the world” (p. 1). Rationality, by definition, means having or exercising the ability to reason. Reason, in turn, is mental activity connected to a course of action intended to accomplish an end or goal. Rationality involves thinking that is coherent, logical, systematic, and organized, with the intention of making inferences, decisions, and carrying out plans of action. Rationality, then, is thinking, together with affect, that links means and ends. The affirmation of the sovereignty of reason over emotion defines the ideology of rationalism.

The modern era, beginning with the Enlightenment, has been referred to as the Age of Reason (Paine 1794; Hampshire 1956; Hope 1985). In the history of Western social thought, reason and emotion have been portrayed as incompatible. Descartes (1647a) saw reason as the defining feature of human existence, as he declared, "*Cogito ergo sum.*" Emotions, he believed, belong not to the mind but to the body and the passions subvert the mind, as they are what the body, with its desires of the flesh, *does to* the mind. We are, he argued, not responsible for our passions and urges, which are stimulated by the machinery of the body, but we have a moral responsibility to control the disruptive effects of the emotions and not give in to our base passions. As Barbalet (1998) elaborates Descartes' dualistic position, "If I am because I think, then I am undone if I feel. The best thing to do with the emotion which subverts reason is to suppress it" (p. 34). There are, it is proposed, three necessary components of rationality: (i) a mode of information processing that is logical and analytic; (ii) a mode of information processing that is futural and episodic, conceptualizing a set of ideas leading to a sequence of steps intended to bring about an envisioned end, goal, or social situation; and (iii) an emotional commitment to the end, so that it will be pursued despite obstacles, discouragement, obstructions, and competition with other persons possibly seeing the same outcome.

### *The infrastructure of rationality: information processing of the brain*

Before theoretically elaborating the relationship between rationality and emotions, a brief discussion of the biological foundations of the logicoanalytic and episodic forms of information will be presented to clarify and add criterion validity to the first two definitional components of rationality. According to Luria (1973: 43–101), three principal functional units of the brain are involved in mental activity: (i) the reticular activating system regulates tone and wakefulness (Magoun 1963); (ii) a unit for obtaining, processing, and storing information from the outside world, located in the posterior regions of the neocortex on the convex surfaces of the three posterior hemispheres, the occipital (vision), temporal (auditory), and parietal (general sensory) lobes. The primary cortical areas are not lateralized, but lateralization of function is found in the secondary projection-association areas, responsible for coding primary projections into functional organization, and especially in the tertiary zones, responsible for the production of supramodal, symbolic schemes, the basis for complex forms of gnostic activity. These culminate in the two complementary yet opposite modes of information processing the gestalt-synthetic and the logicoanalytic, the specialization of function usually found in the right and left sides of the brain of the right handed adult; and (iii) a unit for programming, regulating, and verifying mental activity: the basis of this unit is the frontal lobes,

the anterior portion of the brain in front of the precentral gyrus. The frontal lobes are the command-and-control center of the brain, responsible for developing intentions, forming plans and programs of action, and evaluating and modifying performances directed to these plans, and comparing actual effects of actions with their original intentions.

Two main ingredients of rationality are the logicoanalytic information processing of the left hemisphere (Benson and Zaidel 1985) and the episodic mode of information processing intended to realize intentions, plans, and ends (Pribram 1981). The left hemisphere is specialized for analysis, propositional logic, quantitative and numerical processing, systems analysis, and the grammar and syntax of language. The frontal lobes are involved in conducting episodic information processing and conation. The frontal lobes abstract certain features from perceptual images and recombine these abstractions into models, forming the basis of decision-making and action. Sensory inputs not screened out by habituation and gating mechanisms are fitted into these images or used as indexical summaries in episodic processing. These abstract mental images, or category prototypes of prospective conduct, enable the rehearsal, and the actual carrying out, of goal-directed activities.

Evidence for the complementarity of logicoanalytic and episodic information processing can be found on the level of brain function. The frontal cortex gives the human species great conceptual powers that depend on language. The frontal lobes are responsible for initiating motivation to produce speech (and writing) and for guiding and controlling search activities associated with purposive reasoning and formulating prelinguistic "semantic graphs" of ideas. Patients with severe frontal-lobe damage might be able to talk in grammatically correct sentences but lack strong motivation to do so. They have difficulty sustaining interest in projects and problems whose solution requires the use of language. If the prefrontal lobes are disconnected from subcortical limbic structures involved in emotion, the individual will have difficulty making decisions of any kind, or might make irrational decisions or be rendered incapable of acting with sustained intentionality (Damasio 1994). Luria (1982) associated the posterior area of the frontal cortex, especially the *pars opercularis*, with the function of organizing into inner speech from less organized ideas. While ideas are organized non-sequentially, the structure of inner speech is syntactically and sequentially organized.

The language of inner speech structures the content of thought. There is interdependence between the episodic information processing of the frontal lobes and the logicoanalytic, linguistic processing of the left hemisphere's language functions. J. Brown (1982) found that cortical areas posterior to the prefrontal cortex can dominate mental dialogue. He found that the greater the level of electroencephalographic activity in the motor cortex, the greater the subjects' feeling of intentional control over their thought processes.

That rationality involves both cognition and emotion also finds support in contemporary neuroscience. The field of affective neuroscience sees emotion and cognition, the two major aspects of human mental life, as distinct but interacting (Ekman and Davidson 1994; Dalgleish and Power 1999; Martin and Clore 2001). The typical view of emotion–cognition interaction is of a rather nonspecific form, as in the assertion that pleasant emotions are beneficial and unpleasant emotions are detrimental. We will see in this chapter, however, that several unpleasant emotions can contribute to rationality in goal-seeking when goal-attainment has become problematic: these emotions include fear, surprise, and alarm; it will also be shown that several other unpleasant emotions can contribute to the repair of intimate relations that have become problematic, including disgust, sadness, and ambivalence. Moreover, sadness and depression can render people more realistic about their goals in that it reduces positive illusion, a phenomenon termed “depressive realism” (Alloy and Abramson 1979).

To understand the interaction of emotion and cognition a bit of background information is helpful. It is known that approach- and withdrawal-motivated states are associated with different models of information processing. Considerable research has shown that the prefrontal regions of the brain are differentially involved in the experience and expression of emotion. The left prefrontal region has been implicated in positive affective and approach-related processes, and the corresponding right-sided region is implicated in negative affective and withdrawal-related processes (Heller 1990; Davidson 1995). However, certain emotions are negative in the sense of being unpleasant but positive in being approach-related. Trait anger is such an emotion. Harmon-Jones and Sigelman (2000) have demonstrated that trait anger is associated with increased left-prefrontal and decreased right-prefrontal activation, suggesting that prefrontal asymmetrical activity depends more on motivational direction than on emotional valence. It seems reasonable to assume that Plutchik intuited this priority in assigning anger a positive valence, for he saw emotions as adaptive reactions to problems and as a moving forward toward a goal. Emotional states flexibly, rapidly, and reversibly enhance or inhibit some cognitive functions but not others. In this way, emotions bias the overall control of thought and behavior in order to more effectively deal with situational demands (Gray 2001; Carver *et al.* 2000). The functions of emotion and cognition can be merged, or integrated, into a single more general function, which when applied to problem-solving or goal-attainment, it is proposed, can reasonably be called the *rational* function. More specifically, withdrawal-related goals are prioritized during threat-related withdrawal-motivated states but are de-emphasized during reward-expectant or approach-related states; the opposite obtains for approach-related goals (Gray 2001; Tomarken and Keener 1998). This implies that there can exist a functional *integration* of emotion and cognition, allowing

goal-directed control of behavior to depend on emotional context. Goal-directed behavior, a complex control function, is believed to be based on the work of the lateral prefrontal cortex (LPC; Gray 2001) and involves the highest cognitive processes.

Recent experimental evidence in affective neuroscience has expanded our understanding of emotion–cognition interactions, and isolated the brain areas involved in a highly constrained form of emotion–cognition interaction during a demanding memory task. In a remarkable neuroimaging study using functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI), Gray *et al.* (2002) had subjects watch nine-to-ten minute comedy and horror videos to induce approach-related or withdrawal-related emotions (which they did), and then carried out a memory task in which they were instructed to press a target button if the stimulus currently presented was the same as the one seen three trials earlier, and a non-target button if it was not. The stimuli were a mixture of English nouns of one to three syllables and unfamiliar males and female faces. The entire brain was scanned and statistical analysis was used to identify any integration-sensitive areas. For a region to be rated integration-sensitive, all voxels in the region had to survive tests requiring: (i) greater activation during the stimulus, the memory task, than during a fixation control condition, indicating the region's involvement in the task; and (ii) cortical activation was predicted by an emotion-by-stimulus interaction but the separate, main effects of both emotion and stimulus were not predictive. It was found that the only area of the brain that met both criteria was the lateral prefrontal cortex (LPC) on both sides of the brain. This remarkable pattern of results directly supported the primary hypothesis that LPC integrates emotion and cognition into a single and more general function. These results demonstrate that emotional and cognitive influences in such goal-directed decision-making are inseparable. What they do when addressing a challenging mental problem, they do together. Emotions and cognitions thus not only interact but are *integrated* as they are both involved in goal-directed problem-solving.

### *Emotion and formal, agonic society: an elaboration of affect-spectrum theory*

Rationality, as means-ends reasoning, requires affect as well as ratiocination. To succeed in competitive situations, there must be an emotional commitment to one's ends and goals. Rationality includes emotionality, but not just any emotions will do, for what is required is an anticipation of what can be done in the exploration of a territory or in the carrying out of an enterprise, together with what is, behaviorally, anger, the effort to sweep away, circumvent, or overcome, obstacles and hindrances. Anger is an approach-motivated emotion. For anger, emotions management is important. For example, the behavior of another person who has suddenly blocked one's path toward a goal and in the process violated norms of

social conduct, is apt to trigger a nonproductive angry response of a socially inappropriate nature.

Agency has been associated with self-interested exchange behavior, with what Fiske calls market-pricing social relationships. In the author's (1999a–b, 2004a–c, 2005) theory of time consciousness and social organization, each of the four kinds of *positive* social relations have been seen as contributing to one of four kinds of time-consciousness. Since an understanding of emotion and rationality requires both a theoretical model of rational thought and a model of social relations, this theory provides a useful beginning point. The theory to be drawn upon has been presented elsewhere not in its most general way but rather with a focus on time-consciousness (TenHouten 2005). It proposes that positive involvements in authority-ranked social relationships contribute to an episodic-futural time consciousness. Positive involvement in exchange relations contribute to an ordinary-linear time-consciousness based on clock, schedules, calendars, and timetables. Positive social experiences of an *agonic* nature are based both on market-based and authority-ranked social relations, and are proposed to contribute to a form of time consciousness that integrates the linear and the futural, which is called *rational* time experience. Positive involvements in equality-matching social relationships contribute to a time-consciousness that is participatory, mindful, and present-oriented; involvement in positively-valenced communal social relationships is seen as contributing to time-consciousness that is patterned and cyclical. Relationships that are both equal and communal, that are hedonic, contributes to an emergent and more general kind of temporal experience that integrates present-orientation cyclicity, which is termed *natural* time.

These kinds of time-conscious were seen as expressions of the four most modal kinds of information processing associated with the human brain. Ordinary-linear and patterned-cyclical time are aspects of the logicoanalytic and gestalt-synthetic modes of information processing that are known to be lateralized to the posterior portions of the left and right cerebral hemispheres, respectively. This has been established in dual brain theory and its principle of hemispheric specialization. The immediate-participatory and episodic-futural kinds of time consciousness, in contrast, are seen as aspects of the more general modes of information processing, participatory and episodic, that Pribram (1981) has linked to the functioning of posterior cortex and the frontal lobes, respectively. Thus the four elementary kinds of time-consciousness are not due to any special brain *mechanisms*, to any “clock” in the brain, but are rather expressions of the two most general polarities of information processing in the human brain and mind. And just as time-consciousness in particular is linked to our four elementary social relations and two emergent kinds of sociality – hedonic and agonic – so are the kinds of information processing in general, as an expression of the author's more general theory of mind and society (TenHouten 1999a–b, 2005).

Table 9.1 Conceptual and causal relationships between social relations, cognition processing, and emotion

<i>Social relations</i>		<i>Model of cognition processing</i>		<i>Emotion</i>
Positive market pricing & Authority ranking	→	Logicoanalytic information processing & Episodic-futural information processing	&	Anticipation exploration & Anger (moving toward goal)
↓ Agonic sociality	→	↓ Rationality, conation	←	↓ Aggressiveness

This theory holds that the two most general kinds of temporal experience, in a more general sense, the most modal kinds of thinking, are the rational and the natural. Rational thought is a functional unity of the logical, analytic processing of the left hemisphere and the episodic processing of the frontal lobes. Thought can be considered rational only insofar as it is positive and directed to the attainment of a goal of desired state. It is the positive experiences of MP and AR that are hypothesized to result in rational thought, in rationality, in the attainment of reason. These theoretical relationships are displayed in Table 9.1.

Rational behavior requires positive experiences in authority-ranked and market-oriented social relations because these two kinds of social relations involve the working together of the two modes of information processing they draw upon, namely logicoanalytic and episodic, intentional processing. Positive experiences of these two social relations, AR+ and MP+, stimulate the primary emotions of anger and anticipation, respectively, which interactionally comprise aggression. These, then, are the core emotions of rationality:

- anger (an adaptive reaction to the positive experience of authority ranking (AR+));
- anticipation (reaction to the positive experience of market pricing (MP+)); and
- aggression (reaction to the joint occurrence of MP+ and AR+).

Anticipation, together with anger, is constitutive of aggression (planned advance), which in optimal quantity and when of appropriate quality is necessary for one's future success in formal society. There is evidence that left-prefrontal activation is associated with experienced anger and aggression (Harmon-Jones and Sigelman 2001), and that frontal activation in general is associated with anticipatory conation involving planning,



intending, and all that has to do with attaining future goals. Thus, the episodic conation of the frontal lobes is very much involved with the three emotions that are most clearly linked to goal-attainment and the overcoming of obstacles.

Attaining a goal, especially a long-term socioeconomic goal (such as finding an occupational niche or acquiring advanced education) might require a long, discontinuous, arduous, and uncertain struggle. The maintenance of a rational orientation toward such goals requires resolving troubles and problems that occur along the way. In acting rationally to carry out a plan to attain an important life goal, perhaps in competition with others, it can be expected that all will not go smoothly. Minor and even serious problems might arise either from objective conditions, due to the intentional behavior of competitors who are rationally pursuing the same goals, or because of spite and envy of others who might resent one's success and accomplishments. To persevere despite such situational or interpersonal problems, it becomes rational to experience one or more of the following emotions:

- surprise (from MP-);
- fear (from AR-);
- frozensness (from AR+ and AR-);
- confusion/discombobulation (from MP+ and MP-);
- awe/alarm (from MP- and AR-);
- anxiety (from MP+ and AR-); and
- outrage (from MP- and AR+).

*Surprise* is the adaptive reaction to a negative experience of territoriality, more generally of market-oriented social relations. Whenever one's acquired territory and resources are challenged, breached, or encroached upon, the adaptive reaction of surprise can be expected. Of course, if one's loss of territory and more generally of resources is devastating, leaving one without sufficient resources to push ahead, then it might be rational to abandon participation in the goal-oriented behavior and seek other goals and develop other intentions.

*Fear*. The exertion of command and control is always an effort to control, and be in command of, the future. This requires the primary emotion of anger, not in the sense of rage, but rather in the sense of moving toward an objective and being committed to overcoming obstacles to its realization. But if one's mistakes or the actions of others present overwhelming impediments, and thereby renders one situationally powerless, then it is necessary to back off and to retreat. On the behavioral level this is a reaction of fear. Retreat might mean the abandonment of a laudable goal, or it might only be tactical, in preparation for a later strategic advance or for another goal-directed episode of life. Of course, a person can simply be intimidated by the power of others, or the challenge of

opposition, and meekly abandon a field of competition. This can be rational or not depending on the level of powerlessness, one's objective capacity to change the situation, or whether one possesses the character and resourcefulness necessary for viable competition in the socioeconomic sphere of formal society.

The presence of fear in goal-seeking behavior also has its pathological side. Personal fear of inadequacy has been linked to heightened feelings of ambivalence and a concern that one might not be making correct decisions, resulting in hesitant decision-making and eroded confidence in one's decisions. Thompson and Zanna (1995) suggest that individuals with personal fear of inadequacy have difficulty prioritizing contradictory information and vacillate between opposing views. This can make problem-solving and goal-attainment seem impossible (King and Napa 1999: 40).

Besides these two negatively-valenced primary emotions, there are five more situations involving both MP and AR social relations that have one or more negative components, all of which can be tactically adaptive in pursuing goals that have, as most goals do, become problematic.

*Frozensness*, the combination of anger and fear, is hypothesized to result from the co-occurrence of the positive and negative experiences of hierarchy, of authority-ranking relations. In a frozen state, we are neither approaching our goal nor tactically retreating. Just as tactical retreat can be rational, so also it can be rational to pause while deciding whether to continue forward or move backward. We have seen frozensness, and tonic immunity, can be adaptive responses helpful in reaching immediate goals, such as escaping the jaws of a hungry predator or the grasp of a rapist.

*Confusion* combines surprise and anticipation; it results from the co-occurrence of positive and negative experiences of territorial (market-based) relationships. If we cannot construct a revised model of the world that takes new information into account, rationality fades and irrational behavior can result. But confusion can also be productive and helpful, as it forces us to revamp strategy and tactics; it can therefore also contribute to rationality in goal seeking behavior.

*Alarm* combines fear and surprise and is stimulated by joint negative experiences of hierarchy and territoriality (authority ranking and market pricing). It is the exact opposite of the level of aggressiveness appropriate for rational, goal-oriented social action. Alarm is typically triggered by the aggressive, self-assertive behavior of someone pursuing goals which might conflict with, and supercede, one's own. Thus, it is necessary to respond to the aggression of others who might seek to block one's success, so that alarm can contribute to rationality. In competitive situations, in which goals and their rewards are contested, the successful actor is able to show aggression when needed and to respond quickly and effectively with alarm to the aggressive behavior of others.

*Anxiety* is a fearful anticipation, literally a fear of the future. By present

theory, anxiety results from simultaneous positive and negative experiences of social hierarchy (authority-ranked social relations). Rational behavior, the struggle to create a desired future, involves efforts to reduce uncertainty, but this effort never fully succeeds, with the result that some level of apprehension of the future, a normal anxiety, is to be expected. When one has done everything possible to attain a goal, there is often a time of waiting to see if one's efforts have been successful and in this situation it would be abnormal not to experience some level of worry and anxiety. The pathologically anxious person, however, is in no position to pursue goals in a calm and rational way.

Finally, *outrage*, defined as a surprise that triggers anger, is hypothesized to arise in response to AR+ and MP-. The anger component, on the behavioral level, has been shown to be intrinsic to rationality, but surprise indicates a violation of one's territory and the potential seizure of one's needed resources. Outrage often has a moral or ethical dimension, as a person would be outraged if a competitor used deceit, cheating, dishonesty, or violence to attain a goal one is seeking, just as one's competitors would be similarly outraged if we engaged in the same kinds of behavior.

### **The natural emotions of intimacy and troubled intimacy**

We have just examined the ten emotions most closely associated with formal, agonistic social organization and its four valenced social relationships of authority ranking and market pricing. A parallel analysis can now be conducted linking informal, hedonic community's two basic social relationships – equality-matched and communal – to a second set of ten emotions, to be referred to collectively as the natural emotions, also the emotions of intimacy and troubled intimacy.

We begin with the three emotions that are reactive to the positive expression of these two kinds of social relationships:

acceptance (from the positive experience of equality matching (EM+));  
 joy, happiness (from the positive experience of communal sharing (CS+)); and  
 love (from the joint occurrence of both of these social relations (EM+ and CS+)).

In addition, we consider seven emotions less favorable to the successful conducting of informal, hedonic social relations. These emotions occur when efforts to establish or maintain intimate social relations become problematic or begin to unravel. These are the emotions of troubled intimacy:

disgust (from the negative experience of equality matching (EM-));  
 sadness, grief (from the negative experience of communal sharing (CS-));

ambivalence (from the joint occurrence of EM+ and EM-);  
catharsis, bitter-sweetness (from the joint occurrence of CS+ and CS-);  
resignation (from the joint occurrence of EM+ and CS-);  
morbidness (from the joint occurrence of EM- and CS+); and  
misery, forlornness, loneliness (from the joint occurrence of EM- and CS-).

Just as the essence of agonistic society is aggression, so the essence of hedonic community is love. While aggression and love are not primary emotions, they are the most positive expressions of formal society and informal community, respectively, and they are accordingly the two most important of all the emotions. They are not opposites but rather complements, as a full life requires participation in both agonistic society and hedonic community. The opposite of aggression is alarm, and the opposite of love is misery and loneliness.

We have seen that there is the dark side of love, for close relationships can be fragile, unstable, threatened, and unsuccessful. When loved ones turn against each other, acceptance begins to turn into its own opposite, which at first leads to the antithetical dyad ambivalence, then to disgust as the acceptance component turns into its own opposite; similarly, happiness can turn into the contradictory position of a bitter-sweet relationship, and if the sweetness/happiness components wane, the result can be sadness and even grief and sorrow as the significant other is lost and the relationship ruined or terminated. As one party, or both, loses their mate or significant other, the result can be a general acceptance that all is lost, which is expressed as resignation. Love itself can turn into its own opposite, from a joyful acceptance to the sadness of mutual rejection, the result being misery and loneliness. Thus, if the primary emotional foundations of love – joy and acceptance – are weakened substantially or even turn into their opposites, there is a whole range of pathology that can infect, damage, and even destroy a love relationship.

There is continuing consternation about high divorce rates, but recent research by Fisher (1994) suggests that in animal species with monogamous mating patterns, coupling lasted only as long as necessary for the progeny to become independent. In about half of monogamous bird species, males and females paired only for a mating season, which is consistent with the behavior of foxes and other wild dogs. For humans, the highest rates for divorce, cross-culturally, is the fourth year of marriage, about the length of human infancy and early childhood, so that even among humans there is a tendency for pair-bonding to last only long enough to raise a single dependent child. The chemistry of “being in love,” Goldberg concludes, has a half-life of about four years, so that serial monogamy is closer than life-long monogamy to the behaviors predisposed by our genetic makeup. Yet many marriages do last a long time, if not a

lifetime, which Fisher (*ibid.*) attributes not to intense love but rather companionship, community place, friendship, and financial interdependence.

But what can be said about love and rationality? Robert Frank (1988) argues that if we assume a rational being acting in self interest without consideration of others, social order and a commitment to collective goals are solved by the emergence of emotions such as love, which help to regulate self-interest and self-centeredness by creating a spirit of community oriented to common goals. For romantically involved couples, married persons, family members, in some cases for members of close-knit peer groups and other small groups of persons who live together or have close relationships, love – the joyful acceptance of each other – is the basis of human commitment, trust, and loyalty.

There is no doubt that the impulses of love, bonding, and mating are much motivated by emotional impulses of the limbic system that occur below the level of conscious awareness, just as is the case with fear, anger, and aggression. Because of this, love is only partially, and indirectly, linked to rationality. While love is not rational it is nonetheless necessary for well-being and health. Spitz and Wolf (1946) have carried out important research with infants, and have focused on a disease – marasmus, which is a withering away of the spirit and the body resulting from a deprivation of maternal love. Spitz (1965) studied infants in an orphanage that had received inadequate mothering. They were rarely fondled, caressed, played with, or exposed to other kinds of nourishing attention that adequate mothers naturally bestow on their children. The result was that, within three months, the babies had difficulty sleeping, had shrunk in size, and were whimpering and trembling. Within a year, 27 of the 34 infants had died.

Essentially the same phenomenon – a withering away of the life spirit – leads to physical debilitation and even death in adults. People who report that as children their parents were “cold” and “distant” are more prone to cancer as adults, as if their immune systems had been systematically weakened. Thus while the most basic of emotions are hard-wired in the brain, it is experience that provides the organizing framework for the emotional tonality and emotional development of the child. “Experience,” Goldberg (1999) states, “leads a child to anticipate love and acceptance, or not” (p. xix). If the child’s environment is supportive, the emotions will develop in a positive way. But if the environment is unsupportive and positive attachments are not formed, there will be an elevation of stress hormones, especially cortisol, which if high during the first three years of life will lead to increased activity, for example, in the locus ceruleus of the brain, leading to a lifetime of vigilance and high arousal, which will be activated whenever, in adulthood, some experience triggers memory of traumatic events. And as a result of these same unfortunate experiences in infancy and young childhood, the regions of the cortex and limbic system responsible for attachment and love will not be adequately stimulated, and are apt to

be 20 to 30 percent smaller than in more fortunate adult controls. The hippocampus, the brain's primary memory center, will also be smaller for adults who were traumatized by abuse in early childhood (*ibid.*: xv). It should be mentioned that a supportive environment for an infant requires more than the mother, for the father is also essential. Research indicates that children who receive care from their fathers as well as their mothers are less likely to engage in violence, have higher intelligence, better impulse control, and better overall social adaptation as adults (*ibid.*: xxi).

## 10 Affect-spectrum theory, continued

### The emotions linking informal community and formal society; a typology of four character structures

In the last chapter we examined the ten emotions most closely related to our experiences in formal, agonic society, and the ten emotions associated with informal, hedonic society. Of these 20 emotions, eight are primary and 12 secondary. This leaves the 16 secondary emotions, it will be argued, that by present theory are the adaptive reactions to complex social situations involving one agonic variable (AR+, AR-, MP+, or MP-) and one hedonic variable (EM+, EM-, CS+, or CS-). It is helpful to view these emotions as organized in four subsets of four each, derived from: (A) positive agonic and positive hedonic relations; (B) positive hedonic, negative agonic; (C) negative agonic, positive hedonic; and (D) negative agonic, negative hedonic. Because these variables link the individual informal social experience to his or her formal social experience, it is proposed that they have much to do with a person's character structure. Equally informative of character are the tertiary variables in which there is one primary component linked to informal community and two components linked to formal society, or vice versa. This augments the classification by doubling the number of variables considered indicative of the four character types. The results of this cross-classification are shown in Table 10.1. The four character types will be interpreted as (A) autonomy and social competence; (B) hostile intentions; (C) impulsivity and sensation-seeking; and (D) limited autonomy and social incompetence.

#### The character structure of autonomy and social competence

The first character type, as shown in Table 10.1A, has had positive sociorelational experiences in both informal and in formal society, which promote four closely-related and mutually supportive emotions. This can be shown as a cartesian product:

$$\begin{aligned} & \{(\text{anger, anticipation}) \times (\text{acceptance, joy})\} = \\ & \{(\text{anger, acceptance}), (\text{anger, joy}), (\text{anticipation, acceptance}), (\text{anticipation, joy})\} = \\ & \{\text{dominant, proud, resourceful, optimistic}\}. \end{aligned}$$

Table 10.1 Sixteen combinations of social relationships, four social identity constellations (A–D), the 16 pairs of primary components of the secondary emotions belonging to the constellations, and 16 tertiary emotions which elaborate these identity characteristics

<i>Character attributes social relationships</i>	<i>Social identity constellations</i>	<i>Primary components of the identity characteristics</i>
<b>A. Social autonomy and social competence</b>		
AR+ and EM+	dominant	anger, acceptance
AR+ and CS+	proud	anger, joy
MP+ and EM+	resourceful, sagacious	anticipation, acceptance
MP+ and CS+	optimistic	anticipation, joy
AR+, MP+, CS+	ambitious	anger, anticipation, joy
AR+, MP+, EM+	confident	anger, anticipation, acceptance
AR+, CS+, EM+	prideful	anger, joy, acceptance
MP+, CS+, EM+	sanguine	anticipation, joy, acceptance
<b>B. Hostile intentions</b>		
AR+ and EM–	hateful, scornful	anger, disgust
AR+ and CS–	sullen	anger, sadness
MP+ and EM–	cynical	anticipation, disgust
MP+ and CS–	pessimistic	anticipation, sadness
AR+, MP+, CS–	revenge-seeking	anger, anticipation, sadness
AR+, MP+, EM–	sadistic	anger, anticipation, disgust
AR+, CS–, EM–		anger, sadness, disgust
MP+, CS–, EM–	misanthropic	anticipation, sadness, disgust
<b>C. Impulsiveness and sensation-seeking behavior</b>		
AR– and EM+	submission-inducing	fear, acceptance
AR– and CS+	guilt-indifferent	fear, joy
MP– and EM+	restlessly curious	surprise, acceptance
MP– and CS+	delight-seeking	surprise, joy
MP–, EM+, CS+	seductive	surprise, acceptance, joy
AR–, MP–, EM+	bullying	fear, surprise, acceptance
AR–, MP–, CS+	intimidating	fear, surprise, joy
AR–, EM+, CS+	domineering	fear, acceptance, joy
<b>D. Limited autonomy and marginal social competence</b>		
AR– and EM–	repugnant, abhorrent	fear, disgust
AR– and CS–	embarrassing	fear, sadness
MP– and EM–	shocking	surprise, disgust
MP– and CS–	disappointing	surprise, sadness
MP–, AR–, CS–	jealous	surprise, fear, sadness
MP–, AR–, EM–	revolting	surprise, fear, disgust
AR–, CS–, EM–	shameful	fear, sadness, disgust
MP–, CS–, EM–	repulsive	anticipation, sadness, disgust



But because we are looking at the salient social relationships that have contributed to a character type, it can rather be said that this is a person who is dominant, proud, resourceful/sagacious, and optimistic. This description is augmented by the inclusion of four tertiary emotions predicted by present theory to result either from one positive informal social relation and two positive formal relations, or vice versa. The result is four tertiary emotions, which on the level of character structure result in a person who is ambitious, confident, prideful, and sanguine.<sup>16</sup>

An individual whose personal experience in the early environment – in family and informal community – was highly positive is well-equipped to face the larger world. His or her socialization experiences have promoted the healthy development of brain and body, impressive social skills, highly developed cognitive abilities, and effective emotional development. This has been matched by experience in the outside world, where he or she competes effectively for academic success, social status, money, economic security, and for power, influence, and prestige.

A person with this character set is predisposed to occupy a position of social dominance, to becoming a proud person, optimistic about the future, and possessive of a resourcefulness that enables effective use of social capital. These secondary emotional characteristics are augmented by the systematic experiences of the four tertiary emotions that can be formed from this set of four primaries as explained above, so that such a person can be further characterized as ambitious, confident, prideful, and sanguine. Ambition and confidence will be discussed further in Chapter 13; pridefulness, as contrasted to pride, will be considered in Chapter 11. These eight social identity characteristics, it is proposed, add up to an autonomous, socially-competent self with enhanced chances of social success.

Of course a person with this social identity of social competence will not necessarily experience success in all endeavors, for life promises disappointments, letdown, illnesses, tragedy, loss, mistakes, errors in judgment, and, for many on occasion, immoral choices of behavior, belief, and goal. Moreover, a person who sets high goals is always at risk of not attaining complete success. Plutchik (1962) argues that emotions systematically experienced over a long period of time work their way into the personality, but these eight variables do not describe personality types as much as they do character structures.

### **The character structure of hostile intentions**

A character structure of hostile intentions (Table 10.1B), it is proposed, results from negative social relations in childhood, together with the development of an assertive, aggressive stance to the outer world. A positive, aggressive stance to the outer society means positive experiences of power and resources, and the emotional adaptations of anger and anticipation,

respectively, the unity of which defines aggression. What we are considering here are pairs of primary emotions in which one is from the informal community of origin and the other from the formal society of destination. The resulting pairs of secondary emotional characteristics result in a person whose character is hateful, sullen, cynical, and pessimistic. Of the four tertiary emotions that fit the B portion of Table 10.1, only three have been given interpretations. On this basis, we can augment the above description to suggest that a person with a character structure of hostile intentions is also apt to be revenge-seeking, sadistic, and misanthropic.

It is well known, from attachment theory (Bowlby 1969, 1973, 1980), that the quality of attachments to socialization agents in childhood and adolescence profoundly impact the development of critical self-regulatory functions, such as having clearly differentiated emotions (emotional definition), emotional control, cognitive self-definition, and interpersonal expectations. If attachments are weak, pathological, and disorganized, the result will be an insecure identity, emotional confusion, lack of emotional control, and an inability to form healthy and normal attachments to other people (Burk and Burkhart 2003). The family environment in which this disorganization is maximized is one characterized by violence, substance abuse, interpersonal turmoil, and disrupted or terminated relationships (see, e.g., Becker 1998), in which the child is apt to be the victim of verbal, physical, and sexual abuse (Johnson-Reid and Way 2001). The result is apt to be a hostile and aggressive orientation to people in general. If one's identity is nurtured (positive equality matching) and close relationships are rewarding (positive communal sharing), the child learns to be loved and to love. But if these necessary ingredients of a healthy character are not positive, there will be an absence of love and the void will be filled with hateful, sullen, cynical, and pessimistic ruminations, along with a propensity for seeking revenge and a potential for developing an evil, sadistic mind intent on harming others who are seen as uncaring, unhelpful, and untrustworthy.

Burk and Burkhart (2003) review evidence indicating that individuals whose early attachment experiences have been largely negative and disorganized are not apt to adequately develop and internalize self-regulatory skills. In particular, they will fail to develop the moral emotions necessary for self-regulation and self-control. A crucial, sociomoral emotion of self-control is guilt, which is necessary for an internal basis of behavioral control. If guilt is underdeveloped, the child or adolescent will rely on external bases of intrapersonal and interpersonal control. As adolescence looms, the child is, even in the best of circumstances, subjected to severe pressures. If one's childhood and adolescence has been replete with frightening, painful, and humiliating experiences, poor interpersonal relationships, and childhood experiences with adult sexuality, it will be difficult to cope effectively with the biological and social push of puberty and develop a healthy, individuated self as an adult. While there are a vast

range of factors that can contribute to a hostile orientation to the world, the emphasis here is on the quality of social relationships. Poor child/parent bonds and poor-quality relationships with other family members, teachers, and peers create enormous stress. Problematic relationships with those who should be positive role models lead in two directions: (i) on a general level, they lead to a character structure of hostile intentions, such that the child will learn to hate, to be sullen and baleful, to cynically expect only the worst treatment from others, to be pessimistic about finding rewarding friendships and close attachments with peers, to seek revenge for even the slightest disrespect shown by others, with sadism and misanthropy also possibly developing; (ii) more specifically, these socio-relational problems are apt to lead to a primary reliance on sexualized coping, including early and frequent masturbation and engagement in sexual acts with others (Burk and Burkhart 2003: 488). This sexualization of coping inheres in family dynamics and provides escape from difficult issues (Marshall and Marshall 2000). Of particular importance is the very early onset of masturbation (Cortoni and Marshall 2001), especially if it involves fantasies of violence and control, a phenomenon that is often found in the backgrounds of persistent sexual offenders (Butz and Spaccarelli 1999). The frequent combining of sexual arousal through masturbation with malicious rumination (affect-laden cognition that is intrusive and automatic), is predictive of later sexual predation (Johnson and Knight 2000). This conditioning process, together with disinhibiting influences including frontal lobe brain injury (common with children repeatedly hit in the head), alcohol, drugs, and access to a victim, contributes to sexual offenses (Burk and Burkhart 2003: 488). Such unhealthy fantasies are a form of anticipatory rumination, so both of the proposed primary emotions of agonistic society – anger and anticipation – are predictive of a sexualization of hostility, with a potential, as we shall see, to develop a sadistic orientation to a world that is seen as cold, unloving, and filled with cynical, uncaring people.

Tertiary emotions make possible an elaboration of this character type, which can also be seen as revenge-seeking, prone to sadistically humiliate others, and as generally misanthropic (see Table 10.1B). What we might expect in an encounter with a person of this character type is trouble and the results could be harmful. This is a highly negative attitude to carry into the outer world. Such a person is unpleasant, to say the least, and, being filled with hostile intentions that might or might not have well-defined objects, is potentially dangerous. The following discussion considers vengefulness, sadism, and misanthropy.

### *Vengefulness*

Harm returned for harm received is a venerable moral precept providing social approbation for revenge, a retaliatory act which serves the societal

objective of discouraging mistreatment. This principle of retaliation was stated some 3,000 years ago in the Hammarabian code. Aristotle realized that a conspicuous slight without justification produces anger and an impulse toward revenge, whose fulfillment involves pleasure. Revenge for moral transgression was also expressed in the Biblical injunction, “a life for a life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, bruise for bruise” (*Exodus* 21: 23–25). *Retribution* emphasizes the return of unfavorable treatment by another person or collectivity in response to a misdeed. The term *revenge* and *vengeance* recognize the anger that generally accompanies the return of unfavorable treatment (Eisenberger *et al.* 2004: 787). Durkheim (1893/1960) saw vengeance, especially in a primitive society, as a kind of punishment that above all else is “an expiation of the past” (p. 88, emphasis deleted). *Forgiveness*, in contrast, is the disposition to forgive interpersonal transgressions over time and across social situations. Those unable to forgive are prone to engage in vengeful rumination, and to carry out physical acts of revenge and other forms of aggression. If rumination is angry, a state of unforgiveness and a thirst to “get even” will ensue, which is apt in turn to lead to revenge-seeking behavior, especially if the person is impulsive and low on emotional control (Berry *et al.* 2005).

The injury inflicted by the power of others is the first stage in the formation of vengefulness (Barbalet 1998: 136). Injury can take many forms. It can be incidental, as when one is inconsiderately “cut off” while driving; it can be to one’s dignity or sense of entitlement; most seriously, it can be killing of a family or tribal member. Vengefulness can be a third-person moral emotion experienced by unrelated onlookers to a moral transgression who become motivated to seek revenge even in the face of personal costs. Vengefulness is thus a two-stage process: in the first stage, injuries and related inflictions of loss immediately stimulate an emotional reaction of *sadness* or *grief*; in the second stage, there is vengeful rumination possibly followed by an effort to get even, to inflict injury on those who have wrongly wielded power or privilege through aggression.

For every tertiary emotion  $T$  and its primary components  $a$ ,  $b$ , and  $c$ , there are four distinct definitions:  $T_1 = a \text{ \& } b \text{ \& } c$ ;  $T_2 = (a \text{ \& } b) \text{ \& } c$ ;  $T_3 = (a \text{ \& } c) \text{ \& } b$ ; and  $T_4 = (b \text{ \& } c) \text{ \& } a$ . An important use of this multiple representation of tertiary emotions is that it provides a basis for conceptual elaboration, a way to see different pathways to the attainment of the varieties of the emotion in question, or, as in the case of sadism, to see different levels of the development of the same emotion. Moreover, if all four representations make substantive sense, then the construct validity of the initial definition is enhanced. We will carry out this procedure for 15 emotions in this chapter, elaborating many of them in this section and others later. With this in mind, and based on the above discussion, we can now introduce two definitions of vengefulness. First of all, the following is proposed:

*vengefulness*<sub>1</sub> = *sadness & anticipation & anger.*

Because “anger & anticipation = aggressiveness,” substitution leads to a second definition:

*vengefulness*<sub>2</sub> = *sadness & aggression.*

While victims of a transgression that is *hurtful* will experience fear (Worthington and Wade 1999), a transgression that is *offensive* triggers anger (Thoresen *et al.* 1998). It is the offense–anger connection that contributes first to sadness at the inflicted loss, followed to vengeful rumination and thoughts of retaliation, and finally acts of vengeance. Vengefulness is seen by those who seek it as an assertion of basic rights and the attainment of justice. In shame-based societies, the act that provokes vengefulness, more than any other, is the public insult, which lowers one in the eyes of others. Anger is directed toward the infliction of reciprocal injury in order to reassert the subject’s own social status or power and therefore restore self-regard and eliminate shame. An act of aggression thus consists of planned, anticipated anger, an exercise of power, which is consistent with present theory, according to which anger is the positive reaction to a negative experience of social hierarchy. As Barbalet (1998) explains, “[v]engefulness is an emotion of power relations. It functions to correct imbalances or disjointed power relations,” that restore victims of aggression and insult to their proper and rightful place . . . [and] punishes transgressions of power” (pp. 136, 138).

A person engaging in vengeful rumination is in a sullen state of mind as he or she fantasizes about possible action to restore lost honor. Given that “sadness & anger = sullenness,” we find:

*vengefulness*<sub>3</sub> = *sullenness & anticipation.*

This form of vengefulness involves a morose, sullen, and baleful rumination of how a wrong can be set right. Here, vengefulness, as a trait, consists of taking a dim, pessimistic view of what one can expect, and has received, from others, together with assessment of other people as untrustworthy, cruel, spiteful, malevolent, and threatening. Recalling that “anticipation & sadness = pessimism,” we arrive at a fourth definition:

*vengefulness*<sub>4</sub> = *pessimism & anger.*

In *vengefulness*<sub>4</sub>, an angry pessimism, there is an angry contemplation of a future disappointment or an unhappy outcome. In both anticipative sullen and angry pessimism there is an experienced edginess and a propensity to take offense at the slightest sign of disrespect or aggressive challenge to one’s status on the part of another.

The crucial role of anticipation in vengefulness follows from its pleasurable, its sweetness, and its rewards, as indicated by recent neuroimaging research. In a study using positron-emission technology (PET-scanning) to measure the distribution of oxygen flow in the brain, de Quervain *et al.* (2004) had subjects play a game with real money in which they could give money to any of their several partners, who would quickly find this money quadrupled in value. Partners receiving this money had the choice of fully reciprocating or defecting by only paying back half. When partners defected, subjects had an opportunity to contemplate administering punishment to their transgressing partners, essentially taking revenge, during which time their brains were scanned. What was found was activation (indicated by increased oxygen flow) in two areas of the brain, one known to be involved in cost-benefit analysis, the medial prefrontal cortex (MPFC), and the other the area known to be related to feeling good, the striatum: James Olds and Milner (1954) discovered that rats will work tirelessly to electrically stimulate the striatum, which has also been found, in humans, to be stimulated by the *anticipation* of nonsocial rewards such as monetary gains (Knutson *et al.* 2001) and the anticipation of pleasurable tastes (O'Doherty *et al.* 2002). Thus, the old saying, "There is nothing sweeter than revenge" must be modified to the claim, "There is nothing sweeter than the *anticipation of revenge.*" Thus, there is a neurophysiological basis for vengeful rumination, for the contemplation of punishing a transgressor activates brain regions that produce pleasurable feelings. Further experimental manipulation in the de Quervain *et al.* experiment showed that striatal activation occurred even if punishment was administered at a personal cost. It was clearly demonstrated that this striatal activation indexed subjects' anticipation of satisfaction, rather than the satisfaction itself. Thus, the primary emotion anticipation clearly emerges as an essential component of vengefulness. Remarkably, punishment of defectors in this study activated the same regions (striatum and MPFC) that have been found to be activated when people rewarded cooperators in a recent neuroimaging (fMRI) study (Rilling *et al.* 2002). Thus, two seemingly diametrically opposite social behaviors are united by a common psychological experience, with a common neurophysiological substrate, as both involve the anticipation of a satisfying social outcome in which costs are assessed (Knutson 2004).

### *Sadistic*

Sadism involves deriving a perverse and evil pleasure from the infliction of harm and suffering on others. The existence of shockingly cruel and evil acts poses a question: How can people bring themselves to overcome barriers and inhibitions in order to carry out such heinous deeds? The question is misconstrued, because perpetrators who are truly evil are not apt to regard their actions as shocking and heinous at all, but rather as

unimportant, even trivial, for their behavior has been guided by positive attractions (Baumeister and Campbell 1999). There is what Baumeister and Campbell call a “magnitude gap,” such that the victim loses far more than the perpetrator gains. For example, rape victims are apt to suffer nightmares, acute anxiety, and impaired sexual function for years or even decades, while the rapist’s pleasure is fleeting and feeble; the sadistic burglar who fatally shoots a prone clerk in the back and escapes punishment has taken a whole life away, and deeply traumatized a family, while his newfound \$100 or so might be squandered the same day on a recreational drug high (*ibid.*; see also Baumeister 1997). This magnitude gap is one reason that feuds, vendettas, and genocidal massacres are so difficult to resolve. Sadists dismiss their evil deeds as “ancient history” unrelated to the present. But for victims, accounts of such deeds will have a longer, inclusive time span, with elaborate stories of such events passed down from generation to generation. Perpetrators of evil deeds might acknowledge some wrongdoing but will point to extenuating circumstances and to gray areas of moral judgment; victims dismiss all excuses and see stark moral issues in black and white.

Sadism is an elusive concept because it cannot be assumed that perpetrators of harmful acts are sadists. Few perpetrators state that their deeds were a source of pleasure (e.g., Arlacchi 1993); instead, they are apt to report that they felt uncertain, awkward, even guilty, and that they have suffered emotional distress. Soldiers ordered to kill civilians have been known to shoot themselves to avoid the work of killing (Kelman and Hamilton 1989). About 30 percent of U.S. Vietnam veterans suffering from posttraumatic stress disorder were suffering from problems caused by their own violent actions (Gibson and Haritos-Fatouros 1986). Early in World War II, German soldiers ordered to shoot civilians experienced psychiatric problems and physical complaints (Lifton 1986), experiencing disgust at the horrific sound of screaming victims and at being splattered with blood and brains; they were known to “fire past” their assigned victims at point-blank range. Professional torturers suffer nightmares, depression, and severe irritability (Gibson and Haritos-Fatouros 1986). In Milgram’s (1963) infamous obedience studies, subjects suffered distress over pressing a button to deliver what they were told was an electric shock to other subjects not visible to them, and in their great discomfort some laughed uncontrollably or had seizures (p. 375).

What these studies show is that most persons who hurt others take no pleasure in it, and are not genuinely evil sadists. Yet, there is a small fraction of perpetrators of harm, an estimated 5 or 6 percent, who do take pleasure in hurting others and go far out of their way to be unfair, unmerciful, and violent (Toch 1969). The capacity to enjoy cruel activity, it would appear, is a process that emerges only gradually. Groth and Birnbam (1979), in their authoritative study of rapists, conclude that rapists only slowly develop the habit of inflicting harm, which they are apt to

liken to an addiction (Scully 1990: 158). Among torturers, novices are hesitant and tentative, but the “old hands” are apt to commit excessive acts that result in the undesired states of unconsciousness or death (Stover and Nightingale 1985). These examples are provided by Baumeister and Campbell (1999), who offer an explanation. At first, hurting others is aversive and distressing at a visceral level, but this distress subsides over time. Gradually, pleasure in harming emerges and becomes comparable to an addiction. By a gradual process episodes of hurting become less depressing and come to induce a pleasurable state, even one of euphoria. In order to explain this process, Baumeister and Campbell utilize the opponent-process theory of Solomon and Corbit (1974), which is based on the notion of physiological homeostasis. Each act of intimidation, or bullying, or raping, takes the body away from its stable, resting state (the A process), with homeostasis restored by a second, B process. Over time and incidents of intimidation or other violence, the A process is systematically weakened, while the B process increases in efficiency, gradually becoming dominant.

It is the presence of guilt, which is strongly based on empathy, which, acting as a moderator variable, prevents this process from taking place in most perpetrators of interpersonal violence.

It is proposed that sadism can be defined as a tertiary emotion, as follows:

$$\textit{sadism}_1 = \textit{anger} \ \& \ \textit{disgust} \ \& \ \textit{anticipation}.$$

From the above discussion, we see that the truly evil sadist is one who finds pleasure in attacking other people, even to the point of raping, torturing, and killing them. This, on the behavioral level, demands the inclusion of anger. Second, it proposes that sadism involves disgust. Baumeister and Campbell (1999) show that in the process of becoming a sadist, there will be an initial disgust with the screaming and gore involved in hurting or killing another person, but this is gradually transcended, so that the victim comes to be seen as of little value and importance, so they are rejected as worthwhile human beings, and are seen as disgusting. And third, it is hypothesized here that, like the revenge seeker, the true sadist contemplating a potential victim will engage in negative rumination in which pleasure is found in the *anticipation* of inflicting harm. This was shown, experimentally, in the revenge-seeker, in the stimulation of the striatal pleasure center of the brain, and it is hypothesized that a sadistic serial killer contemplating his next victim would experience similar pleasures as blood rushes to his striatum. Of course, revenge can involve sadism, as the harm contemplated to be dealt out as revenge is likely to be out of all proportion to the magnitude of the putative affront. One who transgresses against a sadist has made a horrible mistake. Sadism, in contrast to revenge, is not a moral emotion, as sadists treatment of another need not



be in response to any behavior of the victim, who might be unknown to an assailant.

If the above definition of sadism is correct, then there must be three additional definitions consisting in one primary emotion and two secondary emotions. First, because anger and anticipation comprise aggression, we have:

$$\textit{sadism}_2 = \textit{aggressiveness} \ \& \ \textit{disgust}.$$

This point about sadism has been made in other words, that inflicting cruel harm on another is an aggressive act that is predicated on the assumption that the victim is of no value as a person and can be treated as if their identity was of no value whatever (the functional level of disgust).

The rejection of others, and the society to which they belong, can be seen as a pathological extension of cynicism (anticipation & disgust), so that:

$$\textit{sadism}_3 = \textit{anger} \ \& \ \textit{cynicism}.$$

In our earlier discussion of cynicism, it was mentioned that cynics anticipate only the worst behavior in other people, and on occasion viciously attacking those who did not uphold cynical virtues (Dudley 1937). This behavior, an angry cynicism, can also be seen as constitutive of sadism.

Our fourth definition of sadism is based on the equation, “anger & disgust = contempt,” so that

$$\textit{sadism}_4 = \textit{anticipation} \ \& \ \textit{contempt}.$$

The sadist will engage in fantasy and negative ruminations of future acts, and find pleasure in doing so. This is anticipation of an opportunity to treat another being with utter contempt, as a mere object of torment. Recall that contempt is “the feeling or actions of a person toward someone or something considered low, worthless, or beneath notice” and is “scorned, considered worthless and despicable” (*Webster*: 300). The sadist, in his evil ruminations, will anticipate treating his or her next victim with utter contempt and with no pity. It is an understatement to say that the sadist has a character structure of hostile intentions.

### *Misanthropic*

Misanthropy is a condemnation of humanity and includes hateful rumination, the process of misanthropizing. Yet, it must be defined differently than global hatred (a topic of Chapter 14). As conceptualized by Morris Rosenberg (1956, 1957), the misanthrope believes that people are unhelpful, unfair, and untrustworthy. Luhmann (1979) characterizes the misan-

thrope as lacking faith in human nature, having a negative and pessimistic outlook on people, feeling betrayed and isolated, and suffering from a “negative atomism.” Rosenberg also sees “faith in humanity” as the opposite of cynicism. The misanthrope sees humanity as evil and base. History’s greatest misanthropes would include Thomas Hobbes (1651/1952), who felt that humans were fundamentally insatiable in their lust for power, with the resulting covetousness leading to a “war of every man against every man” (p. 86). Niccolò Machiavelli (1513/1940) was not himself misanthropic, but he described it eloquently as a methodological necessity for rulers in the circumstances of Italy during his time. A dim view of human nature was expressed in his statement that *The Prince* would do well to regard people are “ungrateful, fickle, false, cowardly, [and] covetous. . . . Love is preserved by the link of obligation which, owing to the baseness of man, is broken at every opportunity for their advantage. . . .” (p. 343). He saw that political leadership, in the Italy of his day, required actions that are diabolic, wicked, cynically amoral, and cruel, and recommended that it is better for a prince to induce fear than seek being loved, but cautioned that instilling hatred should be avoided. Owing to principles of human nature, he believed, anyone who seeks to deceive will always find someone who allows himself to be deceived, or, as P.T. Barnum put it, “A sucker is born every minute.” Misanthropy is an oversimplified Darwinian version of the world as a jungle in which the stronger survive and the weak perish. There is here no respect for the powerless, for the weak are seen as having no dignity and deserving no consideration (Rosenberg 1957: 342).

The emotional ingredients of this noxious concoction, it is proposed, are the following:

*misanthropy*<sub>1</sub> = *anticipation & sadness & disgust.*

As before, we utilize the other three definitions to elaborate the meaning of this concept. Because “anticipation & sadness = pessimism,” it follows that

*misanthropy*<sub>2</sub> = *disgust & pessimism.*

Here, we have a view of the world, as all that people have to do with, that envision a negative, even disgusting future. This is not core disgust but rather sociomoral disgust, with the difference between this disgust and misanthropy attributed to pessimism, for the unity of disgust and pessimism yields a negative orientation to life and the social world. Alexander Shand (1914) saw misanthropy as a form of repugnance. Here repugnance is rather defined as a combination of anger and disgust, but Shand saw it as a primary emotion, complementary to joy, and characterized by aversion to people in general, the pursuit of solitude, continuing fault-finding

and complaining, and by expressions of despondency and sorrow. Shand held that in attributing bad qualities to others, one's mood can be either angry or sorrowful, according to the degree of opposition and frustration encountered. Insofar as a mood of repugnance persists, it tends to develop into misanthropy and pessimism, in the process destroying old sentiments of love and preventing the formation of new ones. Repugnant rumination, Shand (*ibid.*) argues, takes two forms: if it finds satisfaction in condemnation of human nature, the result is misanthropy; if satisfaction of human life and the world it produces, pessimism. This pessimist is focused on the melancholy fact that life will be subject to pain, disease, old-age, decay, finally to death and putrescence (p. 406). Thus, misanthropy is closely linked to pessimism, with the difference between the two concepts spanned by disgust with human nature.

Misanthropy is characterized not by genuine hatred but rather by aver-siveness. This element of sadness following lost or eschewed love is made explicit in a third definition, which requires the substitution "anticipation & disgust = cynicism." Thus,

*misanthropy*<sub>3</sub> = *sadness* & *cynicism*.

Moreover, this rejection of all close relationships leaves one miserable and lonely, and because "sadness & disgust = misery, loneliness," we arrive at the fourth definition:

*misanthropy*<sub>4</sub> = *anticipation* & *loneliness*.

Like most destructive emotions, such as aggressiveness and cynicism, misanthropy can in certain situations be functionally adaptive and necessary. Consider the case of Machiavelli. While he had a reputation for ruthlessness, deception, and cruelty, he was himself no Machiavellian. He stressed the importance of an uncorrupted political culture and vigorous political morality in order to achieve legitimate goals. He was concerned with the Italian crisis of disunity and foreign occupation. He issued impassioned calls for Italian unity and the end to foreign intervention, a goal attained only three centuries after his death.

Contemporary sociologists have linked misanthropy to the concept of social capital (Elshstain 1996; Putnam 1995; Uslaner 1993). Social capital refers to a set of beliefs and behaviors pertaining to interpersonal relations (e.g., trust in other people) and social connectedness (e.g., membership in voluntary organizations, interactions with neighbors) that are seen as necessary for the harmonious functioning of society. In the absence of social capital, the solidarity that binds societal members together is lost. Clearly, misanthropy indicates a lack of social capital. Because misanthropy can be measured by survey research questions, its trends and relations to sociorelational variables can be investigated, and the concept has

been traced since 1972 in the General Social Surveys conducted by the National Opinion Research Center (NORC; Davis and Smith 1994). Trends in such surveys are difficult to measure because the meaning of wording changes over time, so that questions become dated, and to their context in survey instruments, which will vary from one survey to the next. NORC measures misanthropy by a three-item scale adapted from Rosenberg's (1956: 341) original five-item scale:

Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?

Do you think most people would try to take advantage of you if they got a chance, or would they try to be fair?

Would you say that most of the time people try to be helpful, or that they are mostly just looking out for themselves?

Misanthropy is indicated by strong disagreement with all of these items; faith in humanity, by agreement. Using this measure, the longitudinal data show a modest increase in misanthropy during the 1990s but no dramatic increase (Smith 1997).

Present theory suggested a number of hypotheses that can be evaluated on the basis of analysis of the NORC surveys by Tom Smith (1997). The hypotheses follow from the primary emotional components of *misanthropy*<sub>1</sub>.

First, because misanthropy involves a negative anticipation of future economic circumstances, it can be expected to be highest among those with the fewest socioeconomic resources, and indeed this was the case, especially for being unemployed. Misanthropy decreased for those who experienced intergenerational or intragenerationally upward mobility. It was high for those who had been relieved of their economic resources through burglary and robbery during the last year.

Second, because misanthropy involves sadness and loneliness, it should be increased by negative life events interpretable as negative experiences of communal relationships, and this can also be found in the NORC results. Misanthropy was increased by experiences of abuse at the hands of another person, being shot at or hit. It was incremented by disruptive family events, as it was higher for respondents with divorced parents, and who had themselves either divorced or had never married. Given that divorce involves broken commitments involving a very close relationship, the exceptionally strong effect of personal divorce on misanthropy was hardly surprising. Divorce brings with it an anticipation of loneliness, the definition of *misanthropy*<sub>4</sub>. Interestingly, a death in the family did not contribute to misanthropy but rather reduced it. This makes sense if we recall Plutchik's (1962) statement that the function of the negative experience of his temporality dimension is reintegration, and following a death there exist public rituals, such as the funeral and the wake, that are designed to

reintegrate and strengthen the group following the loss of a valued member.

And third, because misanthropy involves disgust, it should be associated with circumstances that indicate a negative experience of social identity. Again, results consistent with theory were obtained. Misanthropy was seen to result from living in a large metropolitan area, where most people are strangers and the environment is perceived of as impersonal and threatening (see Robinson *et al.* 1991). Further, it was associated with membership in cultural groups and minorities somewhat isolated from the majority culture. Misanthropy was higher among recent European immigrant groups and non-European groups (Africans, Asians, Amerindians, and Hispanics) than it was for early European immigrant groups (British, Scandinavian). It was also high for respondents who had recently moved, the experience of which creates a period of relative social isolation as new friendships and community activities are gradually developed. The difference between blacks and whites was especially strong. For all three items, the respective percentages of whites and blacks on the misanthropic end of the items were: considering people untrustworthy, 51 and 81; judging people as unfair, 32 and 61; and judging people as unhelpful, 41 and 63 (Smith 1997).

### **The character structure of impulsiveness and sensation-seeking**

Our third kind of character structure (Table 10.1C) describes a person who has not experienced joy and acceptance in childhood in their pure form, but rather mixed them all possible ways with two negative emotions of agonic society, fear and surprise. The result is an impulsive and poorly developed self, possessing four interrelated aspects of an antisocial and deviant character. The impulsive person has not experienced healthy levels of joy and acceptance (and consequently of love) in their formative years, and seeks to compensate for this by attaining joyfulness and acceptance in adolescent peer groups and into adulthood in pathological ways, including gang membership. By crossing the two negative primary agonic emotions with the two positive primary hedonic emotions, we find a character structure can be described as a person predisposed to being (i) submission-inducing, (ii) guilt-indifferent, (iii) curious in a sense of being restless and in need of social stimulation, (iv) always seeking pleasures and delights, which are found in unsafe sexual adventures, substance use disorders (Bornovalova *et al.* 2005), and carousing with a large circle of friends. There is a general lack of affective response and a severely restricted range of emotional arousal, with a resultant inability to profit from past experiences, as they show little overt anxiety, have low levels of autonomic tension, and do not learn to avoid potentially stressful stimuli (Hare 1968). As students, they attend classes

sporadically, ask hostile questions in class and more generally have conduct problems, have hyperactivity-impulsivity-attention problems, are defiantly oppositional, and are apt to be underachievers.

It should be pointed out that it is undersocialized male adolescents – the wild boys – who are most impulsive. They tend to suffer from a feeling that most of life is boring (Larkin 1979) and that the movement of time is excruciatingly slow (Orme 1962; Flaherty 1999). Escape from their otherwise drab, monotonous, and uninteresting lives comes from engagement in activities that are adventurous, exciting, exuberant, risky, physically stimulating, and fun. The result is rule-breaking, aggressiveness and the placing of others at risk of their largely unintended evil. These persons, in general, have an impulsive character structure given an early but excellent description by Kipnis (1971), who sees impulsiveness in its extreme form was tantamount to sociopathy. This character-disordered person is apt to exhibit socially prohibited behaviors such as hyper-aggressiveness, stealing, untrustworthiness, interpersonal exploitativeness, and is prone to engage in thrill-seeking behaviors dangerous to the self and to others. This person is at risk of being imprisoned for his deviant behavior, and is close to being a sociopath, with short-range hedonism, poor judgment, and lack of impulse control (Hare 1968: 18). As adults, some will become psychopathic, violent criminal offenders (Johansson *et al.* 2005).

First, consider the dimension of interpersonal influence processes, with domination and submissiveness. Impulsive persons are less influenced by their friends than non-impulsive controls, but their friends tended to give way to their judgments (Kipnis 1971: 58). Impulsives tend to resist taking direction from legitimately appointed leaders, but do respond to threats. For male impulsives, the opinions of male strangers have little or no influence on their judgments but they are apt to be influenced by the opinions of attractive females (*ibid.*: 46–59). Overall, they tend to dominate others and to make efforts to induce submission from their friends and acquaintances. They are gregarious and extroverted and form cliquish friendship relations, carousing with a rather large groups of friends, which provides satisfaction of what Zuckerman (1979) terms “sensation seeking” needs.

Second, consider guilt. The precondition of guilt is engagement in behavior that violates the norms and values of society. Impulsive people have not internalized conventional social values and are tempted to exhibit socially prohibited behaviors. As McCord *et al.* (1959) note, for the impulsive “rules are not recognized as such: an action is bad because it is punished. Morality is purely an expedient one. What is bad is to be caught” (p. 199). Recall that guilt is born of the interaction of forbidden joys and the fear of consequences for engaging in such behavior. Yet the combination of joy and fear is not guaranteed to produce guilt, for as Plutchik insightfully emphasizes, “[g]uilt exists when the pleasure and fear elements

exist at near equal intensity. If there is much pleasure and little fear, or if there is much fear and little pleasure, there is no guilt." Delinquent youth who have an impulsive character disorder have a weak tendency to feel guilty about their own problematic behaviors. In making this point, Plutchik (*ibid.*: 164) cites Glover, who points out the following:

The outstanding factor which distinguished the anti-social and delinquent psychopath from the "private" case, both clinically and etiologically, is the quantity of externally directed aggression, either sexual or social. . . . This is coupled with an apparent callousness towards objects and an apparent indifference to consequences, including the stigma. At first sight there appears to be fault in, or atrophy of, the processes of guilt formation and a weakness in the processes of reality proving, both of which suggest, in turn, an extreme tenuousness of early object relations.

(Glover 1957: 1)

Delinquent children and youth are quick to blame others for their own destructive behavior (Peersen *et al.* 2000). "They cannot punish themselves, as does the neurotic child" (Plutchik 1962/1991: 165). While the neurotic child has internalized agents of authority, "so that one part of him can blame another," for the delinquent psychopath external standards of behavior have not been internalized" (*ibid.*). Two processes are at work here. First, the fear element is minimal or repressed, and thus so is the guilt. And second, delinquents have few sources of pleasure, as they are often described as "restlessly wandering in search of 'kicks'" (*ibid.*). Weizmann-Henelius *et al.* (2004) review research indicating that levels of psychopathology are generally lower for women than for men, and found in their own study of violent female offenders in Finland that they were antisocial and psychopathic impulsives, characterized by shallow affect, a conning and manipulative attitude, a lack of realistic goals, and a lack of guilt.

Third, curiosity and delight can be considered together. Curiosity can be very positive, an expression of the best instincts of the human being's hunger for truth and knowledge. But curiosity can be perverted, as it most certainly is in impulsive character disorder. And the same can be said of delight, for a healthy person can take delight in beauty and the wonders of the world, but the impulsive person's delights can be of a perverted nature. The impulsive person needs relief from the tedium and boredom he experiences with everyday life and its routines. His antisocial behavior is motivated by a need to relieve the experience of boredom. This temporal experience promotes a need for social stimulation and contributes to a restlessness of spirit. A feeling of too little stimulation produces psychological discomfort that leads to a seeking of stimulation (Berlyne 1960), which takes the form of a need for thrills and excitement (Quay 1965;

Hare 1968; Joireman *et al.* 2003). At an early age the impulsive person will begin to drink to excess, smoke, gamble, seek sexual experience with little thought of safety, hitchhike, drive aggressively (Malta 2004), and participate in explosive and paratelic sports (Svebak and Kerr 1989). Their behavior is active, aggressive, rebellious, and sometimes reckless (Kipnis 1971: 13–14), and lacks consideration of future consequences (Strathman *et al.* 1994). Chronic exposure to rewarding substances has been linked to alterations in neural substrates involved with psychic rewards contributing to a reduced capacity to inhibit behavior (Jentsch and Taylor 1999; Goldstein and Volkow 2002). The curiosity of this impulsive personality type is one of risky adventures beyond the boundaries of acceptable social behavior, and the delights that are sought tend to be dangerous and potentially harmful both to self and others. They show a compulsive curiosity of a possibly morbid nature.

Thus, these four dimensions of emotional life cluster together to form a fundamental dimension of character, a general way of fitting into the world, of finding a place in the world, that is thoroughly pathological. It results from an insufficient development of a healthy self in the earliest stages of life, creating an inner emptiness that places one beyond the boundaries of social control, free of guilt and shame, restlessly curious, and seeking thrills, pleasures, and delights of the flesh, all with an indifference to the consequences to the self and of others. Failure to develop a sense of self in early life is contributed to by poor parental supervision, child physical abuse, punitive or erratic parental discipline, parental conflict, disrupted families, antisocial parents, and large family size (Farrington 2005). When we look at the tertiary emotions, we find an elaboration of the secondary character traits delight-seeking and dominance-seeking, for the impulsive person can be further described as seductive, bullying, intimidating, and domineering.

### *Seductive*

It is of course fun for adolescent boys to find girls and endeavor to seduce them. They develop a seductive quality in their character, as expressed in this proposed definition:

$$\text{seductiveness}_1 = \text{joy} \ \& \ \text{acceptance} \ \& \ \text{surprise}.$$

To defend this definition, we turn immediately to the other three definitions. Given that “joy & acceptance = love,” we find:

$$\text{seductiveness}_2 = \text{love} \ \& \ \text{surprise}.$$

Here, love, interpreted as the activity of “making love,” is associated with the negative experience of boundary-maintenance, and the violation of the normative limits of sexual behavior (e.g., “first base,” “second base,” etc.) are aggressively violated and home plate reached without permission of the



girl. The third definition follows from the secondary definition “joy and surprise = delight:”

*seductiveness*<sub>3</sub> = *acceptance & delight*,

a definition that emphasizes a strong endorsement of the delight-seeking behavior described above. And our final definition derives from the equation “acceptance & surprise = curiosity:”

*seductiveness*<sub>4</sub> = *acceptance & curiosity*.

This definition suggests the enjoyment of sexual curiosity and sexual exploration that was historically stimulated by the invention of the automobile which opened up a world of “parking” and steamy windows.

### ***Bullying***

Turning to the mean streak so often observed in sensation-seeking impulsives (Joireman *et al.* 2003), we begin with bullying, a phenomenon found in schoolyards everywhere. Bullying among youth has become a focus of increasing attention in advanced countries. Whereas adolescent violence is usually defined by assault, vandalism, and theft, bullying – defined as peer abuse including acts of aggression in which one or more students psychologically or physically harass a weaker victim – is a lesser form of violence that is vastly more prevalent (Batsche and Knoff 1994). Bullying, as defined here, does not include lesser behavior such as teasing and excluding. The percentages of students taking part in bullying behavior ranges from a low of 13 percent of girls and 28 percent of boys in Wales to a high of 67 percent of girls and 78 percent of boys in Greenland, according to a World Health Organization European survey of adolescents (King *et al.* 1996). In the U.S., Perry *et al.* (1998) report that 10 percent of boys and girls aged 9–12 were victims of “extreme peer abuse” and other studies indicate that 75 percent of adolescents were victims at least once during their school year (Hoover *et al.* 1992).

Adolescent bullies show poor psychological functioning, as they have positive attitudes toward aggression and are hostile toward peers (e.g., Olweus 1995). As children, bullies come from families lacking warmth and love, where they are permitted to act aggressively, and where they are subjected to authoritarian, power-oriented parenting, including physical punishment (Olweus 1980). Their parents do not monitor their activities closely and are either over-protective or neglectful (Olweus 1993). Bullies describe themselves as impulsive, lacking self-control, and disliking school. They are often disliked by their teachers (Slee and Rigby 1993). They are at risk of becoming delinquents, criminals, and alcoholics. Those identified as bullies by age eight are six times more likely to be convicted of crimes as

young adults, and are five time more likely to have serious criminal records by the age of 30 (Olweus 1993).

Victims of bullies are also poorly adjusted. They tend to be depressed, insecure, anxious, and have low self-esteem, and they tend to be socially withdrawn, quiet, sensitive, cautious, and fearful of new situations (Byrne 1994; Olweus 1995). They tend to be lonely, unhappy at school, and have few good friends who could offer protection. They respond to bullying by capitulating to their demands, not going to school, refusing to go certain places, running away from home, and in extreme cases, committing suicide (Batsche and Knoff 1994).

There is a third category of students, who are both bullies and victims of other bullies higher in the pecking order. Like bullies, these bully/victims tend to be verbally and physically aggressive (Craig 1998), hyperactive, depressive, and lack self-esteem and scholarly competence (Austin and Joseph 1996). Haynie *et al.* (2001), in conducting a large-scale study of middle-school students in a Maryland school district, found that over half of the self-described bullies reported being victims as well. Their psychological functioning was even lower than that of bullies who were not victimized, as they had characteristics similar to those associated with other problem behaviors, such as forming friendships with delinquent peers, lacking self-control, and lacking social competence. They also lack confidence and the ability to find nonviolent solutions to problems, and are at great risk for antisocial behaviors in adulthood (Bosworth *et al.* 1999).

Bullying is a cognitive-affective propensity toward a certain class of behavior. The following definition is proposed:

$$\textit{bullying}_1 = \textit{fear} \ \& \ \textit{surprise} \ \& \ \textit{acceptance}.$$

To defend this definition, we immediately turn to the other three definitions. Because “fear & surprise = alarm,” we obtain

$$\textit{bullying}_2 = \textit{alarm} \ \& \ \textit{acceptance}.$$

For bullying to be accomplished, the aggression of the perpetrator must be responded to with an opposite emotional reaction, that of alarm, and the demands of the bully must be complied with or accepted, which are the requirements for playing the role of victim. This becomes clearer with our next definition, based on the substitution “fear & acceptance = submissiveness,” so that

$$\textit{bullying}_3 = \textit{surprise} \ \& \ \textit{submissiveness}.$$

Here the victim is submitting to a violation of his or her boundaries, which permits violations of one’s body and appropriation of one’s property, the

functional meaning of surprise. D. Schwartz *et al.* (2001), in a study of Chinese children, found results similar to those for Western children: the childhood victims of peer bullying were submissive and withdrawn in their behavior, had low levels of assertive-prosocial behavior, and had poor academic records. In an earlier U.S. study, Schwartz (1981) found that non-aggressive victims of bullies were pervasively submissive across social context. They rarely counterattacked and frequently rewarded aggressive overtures with submission. Aggressive victims, on the other hand, alternated between aggressive overtures and submissive roles. Both groups of victims were rarely dominant in conflict situations and received little support from their peers. Bullies pick their targets among their peers who lack prosocial qualities and behavioral patterns that indicate anxiety and submissiveness (Stoody 2001) and who lack athletic skills or are physically weak. Thus, bullies are most apt to pick on their peers who cannot defend their position, their person, or their possession, and who are predisposed to a submissive response.

Most children develop increasingly effective coping strategies as they age. For example, crying, a form of submissiveness, is particularly maladaptive on the playground, where non-dominant children are at risk of peer harassment and bullying. Children learn not to cry as it only encourages bullies, and such crying behavior declines with age (Smith *et al.* 2001). For older children, the best defense against bullying is the acquisition of high-quality friends who can buffer the effect of chronic harassment. It has been found that treatment programs for chronic victims are most effective if they incorporate both assertiveness training and social skills training, both of which aid victimized children to acquire and maintain helpful friendships (Smith *et al.* 2001)

Given that “acceptance & surprise = curiosity,” we find:

$$\textit{bullying}_4 = \textit{fear} \ \& \ \textit{curiosity}.$$

This definition suggests that the bully, by intentionally inducing fear in his victim, satisfies a curiosity about his own potency, and is apt to be pleasantly surprised by the form the interaction takes, as the victim might beg for mercy, cry, try to escape, capitulate, stay home, give money, snitch, etc. There is a pleasure to be had in anticipatory ruminations about bullying behavior, and childhood bullying can mark the beginning point of a road to sadism. Among motives for making another person suffer, according to Rican (1999), are the abnormal pleasures derived from the infliction of pain (algolagnia), a lust for power, compensation for feelings of inferiority, a desire for intense experience, and curiosity. Curiosity, in this context, is close in meaning to sensation-seeking. There is no consensus about the meaning of curiosity. Byman (2004) translated four curiosity inventories and one sensation-seeking scale into Finnish, then administered them to fifth graders. Whereas McCrae and Costa (1997) have argued that both

curiosity and sensation-seeking are objects of openness to experience, Byman's findings do not support this claim. He found two traits – curiosity and sensation-seeking – which were orthogonal for boys and nearly so for girls, indicating the two are separate concepts. It should be emphasized that the curiosity under discussion is not alone but linked to fear, which drastically shrinks its meaning to that of a bully's pathological curiosity about his incipient algolagnia. This is not a general curiosity, most certainly not any kind of intellect, but is rather a form of experience seeking. Bullying is an exciting experience, and a state of curiosity about the anticipated effects of one's aggressiveness on instilling fear in a victim is indeed close in meaning to stimulus seeking, and is in and of itself impulsive behavior.

### *Intimidating*

An important, disturbing category of evil behavior is that interpersonal violence includes the idea that the intimidation of others is “explicitly enjoyable” (Baumeister and Campbell 1999: 216), which serves as another antidote to boredom. This definition is proposed:

$$\textit{intimidation}_1 = \textit{fear} \ \& \ \textit{surprise} \ \& \ \textit{joy}.$$

Again, we find meaning in the other three definitions. Because “surprise & joy = delight,” we find

$$\textit{intimidation}_2 = \textit{fear} \ \& \ \textit{delight}.$$

Here, we move even close to sadism, for delight and pleasure are taken by the impulsive person to instill fear in others, which is a form of intimidation. Moreover, because “fear & surprise = alarm,” we find:

$$\textit{intimidation}_3 = \textit{joy} \ \& \ \textit{alarm}.$$

Here we find that aggressiveness has become fun and pleasurable, a source of exhilarating joy in the defensive reaction to one's aggression. This is the joy of aggressing.

And finally, because “fear & joy = guilt”, we find:

$$\textit{intimidation}_4 = \textit{surprise} \ \& \ \textit{guilt}.$$

Recall that Baumeister and Campbell (1999) argue that the reason most perpetrators of aggression do not become truly sadistic is guilt. Guilt holds people back. We have already seen that impulsive delinquents have advanced to the stage of guilt-indifference and to the extent this is true they are well on the way to overcoming the distress and reticence to aggress and increasingly find pleasure in their aggression.

The first time a youth intimidates another, he is apt to experience severe anxiety and distress, but this physical upsetness diminishes. Initially, one will feel remorse and guilt, but over time guilt gives way and acts of intimidation and cruelty can escalate. The anticipation of guilt, Baumeister and Campbell (1999) maintain, prevents most people with violent propensities from developing a full-blown sadism emerge from repeated aggressive actions. Initially, one will feel remorse and guilt, but over time guilt gives way, and acts of intimidation and cruelty can escalate. With proper socialization, children are taught to feel guilty about hurting others, so guilt acts as a deterrent. But if socialization involves control of the child through hitting and other forms of violence, physical and verbal, there is an underdevelopment of guilt and the empathy it requires (Baumeister, Heatherton *et al.* 1994; Tangney 1991). If one can empathize with the victim's distress, there will be no desire to intimidate. But as both physical and moral strictures are weakened, intimidating behavior increases and sadism emerges. The widespread rates of enjoyment of violent movies, television shows, and video games suggest that guilt-free viewing of violence can become pleasurable. There is no doubt that bored youth playing such video games have been implicated in shocking instances of high school violence in America. Anderson and Dill (2000: 772) describe how two male students, who had been bullied and abused by higher-status students, launched an assault on Columbine High School in Littleton, Colorado, murdering 13 and wounding 23 before turning their guns on themselves. They had both enjoyed the bloody video game *Doom*, a game licensed to train U.S. soldiers to kill. They had constructed a web site with a customized version of *Doom* in which the heroes had unlimited ammunition and others in the game could not fight back. Life imitated the game, as in both the two dressed in trench coats and killed school athletes. Pooley (1999) wryly observes that they were "playing out their game in God mode" (p. 32).

Intimidation<sub>4</sub>, involving surprise (and guilt), implies disrespect for the boundaries of another person. As an example, consider the case of unrequited love. This situation is bilaterally distressing, marked by mutual incomprehension and emotional interdependence. While those who reject have primarily negative feelings, would-be lovers have both positive and intensely negative feelings (Baumeister *et al.* 1993) as a result of believing that they have been led on and never clearly rejected. Rejectors see themselves as morally innocent but feel guilty about having hurt the other's feelings, but come to regard further efforts to win them as intrusive, annoying, and eventually intimidating as it can assume the form of stalking. In studying narrative accounts of spoiled romantic relations, Baumeister *et al.* (*ibid.*) found that rejectors constructed accounts to reduce their sense of guilt. If a would-be lover is highly persistent, unable to accept rejection, the rejector is apt to feel persecuted and victimized. One component of a persistence strategy is an attempt to induce guilt in the one threatening rejection for their infliction of pain for their disappointment.

The narratives of the rejected are concerned with salvaging self-esteem and instilling guilt for what they take to be cruel behavior. This guilt induction can be a strategy of manipulation, which makes sense if we consider three social functions of guilt presented by Baumeister, Stillwell *et al.* (1994). First, guilt motivates relationships, enhancing patterns of behavior that support a focus on mutual interest. It can punish efforts to create social distance, thereby reducing the chances that one will be hurt and disappointed, for it motivates the potential rejector to pay attention and express positive feelings to the potential partner or would-be lover. Second, guilt can possibly allow even a relatively powerless person to get his or her way, as the rejector, on realizing how their rejection would cause suffering, is apt to act in the desired manner. By depicting oneself as a helpless victim of the rejector's actions, there is a possibility that equity will be attained. However, if one's self-evaluation exonerated the rejection perhaps on the simple ground that the would-be lover is unattractive relative to other potential suitors, there is apt to be a resentment of such an attempt to manipulate guilt. And third, inducing guilt can redistribute emotional distress in the dyad. If the rejector can be made to feel that he or she has committed a transgression, the result will be worse feelings, while the feelings of the potential rejectee's feeling will be better. This can create movement toward a harmony of the two persons' emotional states. Locke and Horowitz (1990) find that people in similar affective states are apt to have mutually satisfying interactions with a likely positive outcome. Feeling guilt, after all, "affirms a commitment to the relationship . . . [by] showing that one cares" (Baumeister, Stillwell *et al.* 1994: 247).

### *Domineering*

Finally, in considering behavior that is domineering, the following is proposed:

$$\text{domineering}_1 = \text{fear} \ \& \ \text{acceptance} \ \& \ \text{joy}.$$

Again, we explore this character trait by examining three additional definitions. Given that "fear & acceptance = submissiveness," we find:

$$\text{domineering}_2 = \text{joy} \ \& \ \text{submissiveness}.$$

Thus, the domineering person will seek out partners who find pleasure in submission. The example that comes immediately to mind is sado-masochistic sexual behavior. For those attracted to such practices, those who prefer the submissive role far outnumber those wishing to play the role of dominator (Scott 1983), and those who wish to dominate usually started out in the submissive role (Baumeister 1989), such that the enjoyment of acting in a sadistic manner emerges only gradually. Sexual sadism

is morally acceptable in some circles and seen as a victimless crime in others if the activity is consensual for the masochistic partner to the sadist. Finally, because “joy & fear = guilt,” we find

*domineering<sub>3</sub> = acceptance & guilt.*

Here, we directly encounter the sociomoral emotion of guilt that moderates domineering behavior, at least in its earliest stages. From the standpoint of the perpetrator of aggression, we find an acknowledgement, agreement, and acceptance that such behavior is wrong and that one ought to feel guilty about such behavior. This is the most preliminary, tentative form of domineering, which will gradually disappear if guilt weakens and is no longer experienced. Baumeister and Campbell (1999) speculate that if true sadism emerges in no more than the usual 5 or 6 percent of those who engage in such practices, then it would be suggested that “sadistic pleasure in actual interpersonal harm is restrained by guilt” (p. 215). As an example of this variant of domineering, consider the domineering husband who has hit his wife for the first time. He might bring her flowers, apologize profusely, promise never to do it again, and freely acknowledge his guilt over this wrong behavior. He will be distressed, even sickened, by what he has done. This departure from homeostasis, the A process, is quickly followed by the restorative B process, but things are not quite the same. A line has been crossed and the restoration, which is quick and vigorous, does not quite restore the status quo ante. If he hits her again, his distress will not be quite as great, his guilt not as intense, and the first signs of pleasure will be secretly noticed. Moreover, this event in all probability was preceded by childhood and adolescent ruminations of sexual violence and adolescent roughness with girl friends, so by the time real violence occurs in marriage guilt for such behavior will have already been to some extent eroded.

Because “acceptance & joy = love” we arrive at the following definition:

*domineering<sub>4</sub> = fear & love.*

Here, again, we find a perversion of love, love linked to fear. From the perpetrator’s point of view, here is a love of inducing fear in others; from the standpoint of the victim, we have the example of the woman who loves, but at the same time is afraid of, her domineering but abusive husband. Again, it would be a gradual process by which a domineering husband overcomes his moderating guilt over inducing fear, to becoming increasingly abusive, finally sadistic, which eventuated in the battered-wife syndrome in which a wife afraid to flee is systematically brutalized by a sadistic husband.

### **The character structure of limited autonomy and social incompetence**

The fourth character type of this typology, that of limited autonomy and social incompetence (Table 10.1D), is the opposite of the first, as it is a description of social incompetence. The resulting secondary emotions reveal a person who is repugnant, embarrassing, shocking, and disappointing. In addition, the four tertiary emotions enable elaboration of this character type: such a person can be further described as jealous, shameful, revolting, and repulsive. This character type is the exact opposite of the first type, where all four of the primary emotions are positive. Here is a person who has had negative emotional experiences both in informal life and during childhood socialization processes and, in adulthood, in social relations of work and social rank. The result is a person with a thoroughly denigrated identity. This person is perceived as repugnant and abhorrent, a source of shame to himself and his family and friends (who are themselves highly unlikely to be pillars of their community), shocking in his behavior, a disappointment, who is so insecure as to be persistently and even morbidly jealous, to live in a state of shame, and to be both revolting and repugnant. Gilligan's (1996) description of dangerous, violent men who inhabit maximum-security prisons, a topic of Chapter 14, will provide an occasion for looking at specific examples of individuals who lack all social competence and stand at the extreme of this character type.

### **Sociality, the alpha and omega of emotions**

We have seen that the social relationships a person engages in, from earliest childhood through adult life, have a causal influence on the entire spectrum of emotions. Emotions are adaptive reactions to the straightforward or complex social circumstances in which ordinary life is lived. The experience of an emotion is a bodily response, as Descartes would have it, but also much more. It is an "orientation to the world" (Lear 1990: 49, emphasis deleted). An emotion orients the individual to the social world, that is, to everything that people infuse with meaning (Rose 1992). An emotion comes packaged with its own justification. For example, a boy might be angry because his father frustrates his oedipal wishes to have intimacy with his mother (Lear 1990: 49, emphasis in original). Because the boy can think of no good reason for his wishes being blocked, he reacts with outrage. Thus, an emotion, for Aristotle and for Freud, makes a claim for its own rationality. Indeed, emotions can generally be construed as efforts to establish a rational orientation to the world. The specific emotions that are systematically experienced cluster together in a gestalt to reach their complete realization, their full manifestation, in an overall adaptation to social life. These specific emotions, working together, give us our overall orientation to social objects. A person's efforts to adjust to the



social world, to fit into it, to have a place, are based both on experiences of single emotions and, more fundamentally, on clusters, or constellations, of emotions. In this chapter we have seen examples. A person who is systematically dominant, proud, prideful, resourceful, optimistic, ambitious, confident, and sagacious, has found a way to fit into the world, having developed a character structure of social success.

Thus, the alpha and the omega of emotions are social. Emotions involve feelings and are embodied, so they have a biological reality. Emotions are also cognitive, since thought is necessary to determine if a social situation is positive or negative, pleasurable or painful, helpful or harmful. Thus, emotions exist on three levels: the biological, the mental, and the social. But they both begin and end with the social. Even the most archaic emotions are attempts to achieve a rational understanding of the world. The enduring constellations of emotions that come to form our personality structure, and our moral character, come to be articulated with an internally coherent set of beliefs, thoughts, and feelings. But the struggle to attain rationality is even more than this. It is additionally a “developmental thrust” within the individual to find a rational orientation to the world. This developmental thrust Freud gradually, and in his mature work, came to see as the productive and creative force of the individual person, of *Eros*. With our emotional character fused with our rational mind, we can creatively and productively go out into the world and find expression for our sociality. If our formative social relations have been largely negative, one might approach the world equipped only for failure and maladjustment, with a pathological frame of reference. Emotions, then, are inexorably tied to our sociality, to our involvement in the lived world.

Each primary emotion possesses unique motivational properties that derive from the qualities of mind elicited by the situations that provoke the emotions. This process begins with a valence evaluation and then extends to thought about a socially embedded object that presents an opportunity or has become problematic. The secondary and tertiary emotions also possess unique motivational properties and are efforts to come to grips with, and adjust to, a complex social situation. Gradually, a set of emotions comes to work synergistically to form an overall adaptive stance toward the social world and its socially embedded objects of concern. The culmination of our emotional development is the establishment of an autonomous, social self. This is Izard's (1980: 209) third and final stage of development, the affective-cognitive stage, that follows the initial sensory-affective and the second, affective-perceptual stages of development. Once a constellation of emotions form an overall adaptive stance toward the world, our overall affective and cognitive structures are hopefully aligned into a well-individuated personality and character that are constitutive of the self.

This analysis takes us back to Aristotle, and his profound insight that emotions provide a framework through which the world is viewed. Freud,

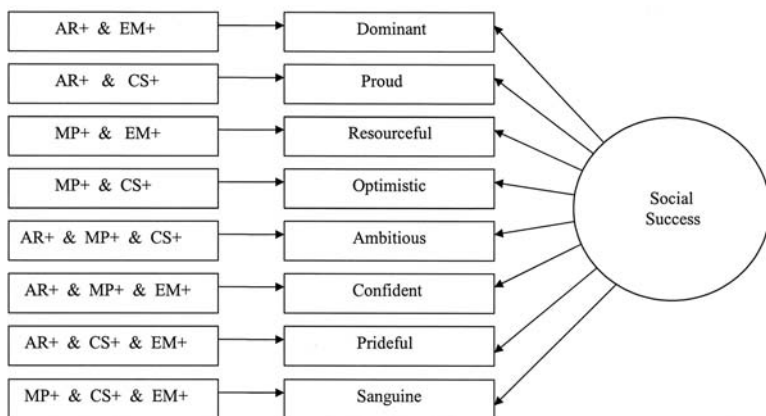
at the beginning of his career, discovered that the lives of his hysterical patients were governed by an overall emotional orientation to their inner reality. It was only at the end of his career that he extended this insight to normal people, whose emotional framework governs their orientation to the outer, social world. Freud brought into his patients' fantasies that their healing was a process of catharsis, in which hidden inner experiences could, like little devils, be cast out and externalized into a conversation. Gradually, he came to see that for normal people, the development of a healthy mind required not getting rid of what is repressed but rather aligning emotions with their proper objects. This synthesis of the cognitive and the affective is not catharsis but rather *abreaction*. A rich tradition of scholarly contemplation of what Plato and Aristotle meant by *katharsis* (purification) and *kathairein* (to cleanse or purify), along with a history of the usages of both catharsis and abreaction in the histories of psychoanalysis and, more generally, in the psychology of healing, is masterfully explicated by Jackson (1994). Abreaction refers not to cathartic discharge, but rather to the integration, or synthesis, of emotions and thoughts. Dewald (1972) explains that as conflicts or traumatic conflicts are recovered as memories, then the affects associated with them are likewise apt to be re-experienced. Gradually, the affects associated with conflicts, relationships, or traumatic events become less distressing upon recall and can be thought about with less psychic pain. As a result, the capacity to retain in consciousness the meaning and understanding of the situation in question, is enhanced, as the affects and thoughts are effectively integrated. There is thus in abreaction, as the term is used here, a creative unity of affect and thought, so that affect finds itself linked to its real social object, which might have been hidden from conscious awareness by the person's mind, perhaps as a pain-coping defense.

In bringing this concept of abreaction into present theory, we are not focusing on the efficacy of any form of psychological or psychoanalytic therapy or theory. We are rather referring to the processes involved in constructing a frame-of-reference by which an individual, who has come to systematically experience a closely-related set of emotional adaptive reactions, is able – by means of thought, verbalization, symbolization, fantasy, imagination, and all of the resources of the mind – to develop an orientation to the world.

Emotions are highly valuable in providing a mental frame of reference with which we can focus our conscious awareness on problems in the everyday world. As emotions are integrated with cognitions, we become increasingly aware of how we are feeling, and increasingly able to put a brake on our emotional behavior, able to step back from a suddenly urgent emotion, or set of emotions, so that we can question whether the emotional urge is the most rational and most effective course of action. This is much more than being conscious about how we are feeling, as it involves being what Buddhists call *mindful* about our emotions, in “the

sense of being aware of what our mind is doing” (Wallace 1993: 103, cited in Ekman 2003: 73). If we are mindful of our emotions, Wallace (*ibid.*) adds, we can make, for example, the following choice: “Do we want to act upon the anger, or do we simply want to observe it?” (p. 132).

In explicating the agonistic and hedonic emotions of rationality and intimacy, it was discovered in both sets of ten that only three were of a positive nature and that seven were essentially negative, or half negative. A similar outcome has been found for the emotions of personal identity pairing the emotions of formal and informal society and community. It has been found that just four of the 16 secondary emotions and four of the 16 tertiary emotions were of a highly positive nature, with the eight most positive clustering to form a character structure of social competence. The other three subsets of four secondary and four tertiary emotions, form character types that are both unpleasant and pathological. Perhaps the lesson to be drawn is that for things to turn out well in the experience of individual human beings in the difficult task of forming a mature and fully individuated social identity, everything has to go well. There must be a positive emotional experience from infancy and childhood and into adulthood. If there is not, it is highly likely that the brain will not develop properly, social relations will not be managed well and will not be rewarding, a problematic personality will develop, and the resulting character type will probably leave much to be desired. But just what processes are involved in the development of emotions in childhood that could lead to such a wide range of outcomes, from a successful identity, to problematic identities? The development of the emotions, both normal and pathological, can now



*Figure 10.1* Combinations of the positively valenced social relations and the character structure of social autonomy and social competence are the alpha and omega of the secondary and tertiary emotions of social identity.

be considered, beginning with a consideration of pride and shame in the next chapter and later extended in several ways.

In this section, we will present just one these four models, that of social success. This model is displayed in Figure 10.1. On the left side of this figure, we find the four secondary social relations variables with positive valences – equality matching (EM+), communal sharing (CS+), authority ranking (AR+), and market pricing (MP+). Pairs of these four variables are, by theory, predictive of the four emotional attributes identified in Table 10.1 as social-identity characteristics – resourceful, optimistic, proud, and dominant. This description is augmented by four tertiary character traits – ambitious, confident, prideful, and sanguine. These eight affective character traits are enclosed in rectangles to indicate that they are *manifest* variables, accessible to quantitative measurement. The single variable to the right, *Social Success and Social Autonomy*, has a circle rather than a rectangle around it, to indicate that it is an abstraction, a *latent* variable that cannot be directly measured, but which is modeled as being *indicated* by the emotional variables. The four causal arrows are directed from this latent variable to its indicators, for a latent variable is to its indicators as a cause is to its effects. The result of this modeling is that specific emotions are not seen as causes but rather as both effects and indicators, so that while they are “in between” the social relations variables and the Social Success variable, they cannot be considered to be “intervening” variables.

# 11 Social identity and social control

## Pride and embarrassment, pridefulness and shame

Let pride go afore, shame will follow after.

(George Chapman)

Natural selection acts on behavior. To survive and reproduce, animals, and humans, must act in adaptive ways. This means that *basic* emotions, such as pride and shame, have developed before the attainment of higher cognitive functions and therefore do not depend on them. It is helpful to distinguish between a *basic* emotion and a *primary* emotion. As used here, a basic emotion is one that has developed, at least in part, before high-level learning, perception, and cognition are attained, which included the eight primary emotions but also includes emotions such as pride and shame (see Weisfeld 1997), which most definitely have a biological infrastructure. When we get beyond this second set of eight emotions, this claim cannot yet be made, with the exception of one pair of half-opposite secondary dyads, *dominance* and *submission*, which can also be considered basic, and which are closely related to pride and shame.

### The biology of pride and shame, dominance and submission

While the primary emotions all have a biological infrastructure, the same is not necessarily the case for secondary emotions. This puzzle will ultimately be solved with the aid of experimental studies in affective neuroscience rather than through theoretical reasoning alone. The primary emotions are, as we have seen, widely shared in the animal kingdom, which means that their biological bases, and more specifically their neural mediation, antedate the development of the human neocortex and its remarkable cognitive abilities. Pride and shame, however, while not primary emotions are also shared by animals and have a deep evolutionary history. Darwin displayed keen interest in these two emotions. Dominance behavior is motivated behavior, and comparative neuroscientific research shows that motivated behavior evolved earlier than did complex cognitive capacities. The brain stem, the basil ganglia, and the limbic system ante-

date the expansion of the neocortex, as MacLean (1990), with his triune brain theory, consistently emphasized (see Weisfeld 2002: 193). Darwin (1872), along with contemporary ethologists (Savin-Williams 1977), have argued that the emotions of pride and shame have evolved from dominance and submission behavior in other species, the main evidence being parallels between dominance and submission in simians and pride and shame in humans (Weisfeld 1997).

The neural pathways for dominance behavior are similar, but distinct, from those of fear, as the neural route is from sensory receptors, to the thalamus, to the amygdala, to the midbrain. The neurons in this amygdala-to-limbic midbrain pathway are rich in testosterone receptors, especially for males. We will see later how the amygdala is involved. We will see also that another structure of the limbic system is involved in dominance behavior, the posterior portions of the *orbitofrontal cortex* (OFC), which is the only cortical area that projects directly to the hypothalamus, where various affects converge and are compared so that potential behaviors can be prioritized before action is taken. The OFC and the amygdala are similar and closely connected. Lesions to either can result in reduced aggressiveness and lowering of rank in monkeys (Fuster 1997). Both are involved in the recognition of faces and facial expressions (Rolls 2004). Both are rich in serotonin receptors (Masters and McGuire 1994), which are more abundant in dominant vervet monkeys than in subordinates (Damasio 1994). It has been suggested that the complexity of dominance competition in hominid evolution has contributed to the importance of the OFC, which evolved later than the amygdala, and the amygdala has itself enlarged mainly to process inputs from the OFC (Kling and Brothers 1992). The OFC is the only cortical structure to receive inputs from all sensory modalities, and it passes this information along to the amygdala for more refined analysis. The OFC refines dominance behavior, helping an animal learn about social rank, as mediated by the amygdala. Bilateral OFC lesions in monkeys will destabilize the dominance hierarchy of an entire community, as the operated individual will engage in inappropriate behavior, with previously dominant animals deferring to subordinates, and previous subordinates attacking their superiors, then being surprised to be attacked in return.

The limbic orbitofrontal cortex is involved in dominance behavior in simians, and also plays a role in pride and shame in humans. People who have bilateral OFC lesions experience a decrease in motivation for social success and seem unconcerned about their reputations, acting in a way that is boorish, impolite, and unrestrained; they are apt to lie and cheat, swear profusely, ignore their appearance, neglect their schoolwork or occupations, and boast (Fuster 1997). It is as if they lack dominance motivation and have lost interest in protecting and advancing their social standing and acting in a manner consistent with the values that govern human behavior. Breaking rules, they show no signs of shame. They take

no pride in themselves. The human OFC mediates all kinds of social action that affects social standing. High social standing, in humans, is not a result of mere aggressiveness and dominance displays – as it can be among monkeys – but is rather complex and subtle: we have high status to the extent that we appear articulate, insightful, and intelligent, that we are considerate of others, that we are polite and proper, that we have good values and are honest, that we attend carefully to our appearance, our posture, even our facial expressions. The OFC is *crucial* in mediating dominance/subordination cues and affective processes that are involved in success and failure (Weisfeld 2002: 202). When we exhibit social competence and are sensitive to other people, we are able to take pride in ourselves and to avoid acting in a shameful manner. Our ability to conduct ourselves in an exemplary manner, to be proud of ourselves and of our behavior, is not just a matter of highest level cognition, though this is of course very important. The kind of behavior that earns the respect and admiration of others, that enables us to take pride in ourselves, in how we behave, in how we treat others, in our self-integrity, also requires the work of limbic structures. Should these structures be damaged, as in the case of bilateral OFC lesions, all of this would be lost, and we might well find ourselves stealing, cursing, lying, possibly undressing in public, losing interest in performing well, acting inappropriately, and, worst of all, having no prospect for recovery or improvement. Consider the tragic case of a boy who as a three-year old sustained OFC damage, as described by Weisfeld (*ibid.*), from patient’s medical records and observations by his teacher:

[I]f reprimanded, he understood that he had broken a rule but showed no signs of shame in demeanor; instead, he often immediately asked for a favor. Asked how he felt when his mother yelled at him, he replied that he did not like it “because her voice goes up real high and I don’t like the way it sounds.” He used profanity freely, and in a word association test came up with “tit” and “nigger” for words beginning with “t” and “n.” Due to his size, aggressiveness, and quick temper, he terrorized his classmates. He had no friends; he antagonized other children by swearing at them, throwing things at them, or knocking them out of his way. Despite his exemplary home background and a well-ordered superior private school, he did schoolwork only when required to do so before being allowed to go home for the day.

(Weisfeld (2002), from patient’s medical records and observations by his teacher, Carol C. Weisfeld)

Because human beings have created highly complex social worlds, dominance is not simply a matter of raw strength and hyper-aggressive behavior. What we seek is high status, resources, and respect, and this cannot be had by the raw exercise of strength or by bullying and intimidation.

Instead, we get ahead in the world beyond the playground and the street by acting in an exemplary manner, by demonstrating intelligence and judgment, by being kind and considerate to others, by being well mannered and well dressed, by working very hard at our education and our jobs, by taking real responsibility, and by trying to make a positive difference in the world. Most of all, we are able to attain positions of importance and responsibility by acting in such a manner that we can be proud of ourselves, to be globally prideful, such that our relatives, friends, and co-workers can also be proud of us. If we fall far short of the mark, globally and consistently, we experience not only moments of embarrassment but eventually shame, as well we should.

Dominance behavior in humans has not been transcended by reason and rationality, and it retains an infrastructure in the lower areas of the brain, in the limbic structures that are highly involved in emotions. We have already described the pathway for dominance aggression. First, we perceive with our senses, and this input passes from the sensory receptors to the thalamus, to the medial amygdala, to the hypothalamus, then to the midbrain (for a detailed description, see Panksepp 1998). It has also been mentioned that the neurons in the amygdala to midbrain pathway are rich in testosterone receptors, which accounts for the strong sex difference in dominance aggression (Ellis and Weinstein 1985). This male sex hormone contributes to the relative greater aggressiveness of males.

As summarized by Weisfeld (2002: 196–7), the amygdala is highly involved in *directing* dominance and submission behavior, and each individual has a relatively stable level of dominance or submissive tendencies. Consistent with this, it has been found that stimulation of the amygdala enhances aggressive behavior in dominant animals, but reduces it in subordinates (Huntingford *et al.* 1987). If bilateral amygdalar lesions are surgically created in lizards, dogs, and monkeys, the result is a decline in dominance behavior and a loss of social rank (Kling and Brothers 1992). Under this condition, two monkeys put together are apt to fail to establish a dominance relationship which they otherwise would attend to immediately. In order to have a dominance relationship, two animals must be able to recognize each other and remember each other's rank.

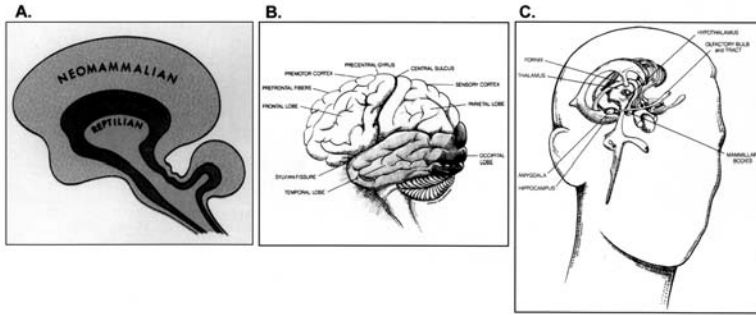
For the amygdala to be in charge of dominance behavior, it must be able to send emotional expressions, such as threat and surrender displays. In addition, to instigating the sending of facial and associated gestural expressions, the amygdala *receives* facial and vocal expressions. Some single neurons in the amygdala fire in response to a photograph of a known individual (*ibid.*). Although Darwin had no way to know this, facial displays in primates arise in the amygdala and in other limbic structures, are organized in the midbrain, then executed by brain stem nuclei by means of the cranial nerves (Panksepp 1998). Damage to the amygdala reduces the ability of a monkey to perceive a threat (Kling and Mass 1974) and renders people less able to perceive the emotional meaning of tone of



voice, which often conveys the opposite meaning of words through intonation. Thus we might say, “Thanks a *lot*” to communicate a lack of appreciation.

The emotions of dominance and submission are also linked to brain serotonin levels. Competitive success, in monkeys and in humans, is correlated with high levels of serotonin. If a male vervet monkey, for example, experiences upward mobility or perceives gestures of submission by others, his serotonin level will rise. On the other hand, the sight of another male copulating with a female will typically lower his serotonin level. Similar results have been found with testosterone. An increase in rank increases testosterone; injection of testosterone increases aggressive behavior intended to create a rise in rank (Masters and McGuire 1994; Mazur and Booth 1998). Thus, serotonin and testosterone, and dominance behavior, have reciprocal effects. And the amygdala is highly important to fear, a component of submissiveness.

The amygdalae are important in directing dominance behavior. But even more important is the orbitofrontal cortex, especially its posterior portions, which affects pride and shame in humans. In human brain evolution, this was the first part of the frontal lobes to have emerged, arising out of the limbic system (Figure 11.1A and C; see also Fuster 1997). As mentioned, the OFC is the only brain structure that projects directly to the hypothalamus, the memory center of the brain, where various affects converge and are compared for possible input to subsequent adaptive behavior. It is reasonable to speculate that the hypothalamus is much involved in the processes of differentiation of higher-order emotions from primary emotions. The OFC and the amygdala play similar roles. Like the amygdala, the OFC, if intentionally lesioned in experimental surgery, results in lowered dominance behavior and, as a consequence, lowered social rank (*ibid.*). Both structures receive information directly from the thalamus and from the olfactory bulb. The OFC sends signals of instruction to the amygdala, to the hypothalamus both directly and via the amygdala, and to the midbrain directly and via the amygdala-hypothalamus route (Figure 11.1C). The frontal lobe projections contribute to emotional expressions, as do downstream amygdalar outputs (Crosby *et al.* 1962). Thus, it is no wonder that on occasion we are taken aback to discover ourselves smiling, frowning, snarling, fearful, or feeling embarrassed. The production of such social communications occurs through the workings of brain structures lower than, and below, the neocortex, so that they do not require thought. At the same time, cognition is crucially important, for we can remember to smile politely when it is appropriate to do so, or to hide anger when circumstances so dictate. But the angry look we suppress with our conscious mind was generated through the unconscious workings of a lower order of brain organization, the limbic system and its extension into the frontal lobes, into the OFC. Like the amygdala, the OFC is rich in serotonin receptors, which are most abundant in the most



*Figure 11.1* Panel A: MacLean's triune brain. The R-complex or reptilian brain is shared by the turtle, fox, and human: it is involved in behavior necessary for survival, for identifying other creatures, engaging in reproductive behavior, fighting and flight, and establishing territory. Our second "brain," the limbic system, which we share with other mammals, deals with the emotions that guide behavior. The neomammalian brain, the cortex, is most highly developed in humans. It possesses memory and problem-solving ability. Panel B: Major features of the neocortex, including the occipital lobes (vision), parietal lobes (sensory cortex, "feeling"), temporal lobes (below the sylvian fissure, for hearing), and the frontal lobes (all in front of the central sulcus, containing the precentral gyrus for movement of the opposite side of the body, the premotor cortex, and the prefrontal cortex, involved in inhibition and intentionality). Panel C: Limbic structures. The cerebral hemispheres rest on the thalamus (Greek for "couch"). Information from lower areas to the cortex passes through the thalamus. Below the thalamus is the hypothalamus, the command center for complex motivation states such as fatigue, hunger, and anger, and placidity. Above and interconnected with the hypothalamus is a rim of structures called the limbic system, much involved in the emotions (source: Restak 1984 figures from pages 9, 17, and 138, copyright © by Educational Broadcasting Corporation and Richard M. Restak M.O. Panels B and C reprinted by permission of Bantam Books, a division of Random House, Inc.

abundant in the most dominant animals. Damasio (1994) shows this to be the case for vervet monkeys.

But if these two structures, the OFC and the amygdalae, are so similar, how do they differ, and why are they both needed? Weisfeld (2002: 199–201) reviews the evidence. The OFC modulates the action of the amygdala, making the amygdala take on even more responsibility. The amygdala, in fact, has gotten progressively larger in the primate line that led to humans, which increased its ability to process information sent to it by the OFC, which was responsive to the ever-increasing complexity of dominance competition in humans. The neocortical part of the OFC is, for example, the highest-order processor of smell and taste, and passes its

processed information on to the amygdala for more refined behavioral responses (Gloor 1997). The neocortical regions of the OFC condition and refine emotional responses, providing, on all sensory levels, an indirect but precise pathway for learned emotional reactions. With damage to the OFC, there is a loss of sensitivity to social rank, a decrease in dominance behavior, and a reduction in jealousy or envy when another receives attention.

Because pride and shame are so important to human affairs, the development of the human OFC made possible “[a] whole new layer of emotionality to our behavior” (Weisfeld 2002: 207). When we are generous and altruistic, and avoid committing antisocial acts, we are driven by emotions. It is not purely rational when we act in such an exemplary way, as such behavior is not necessarily in our raw self-interest. But there is a level of control of the neocortex by the limbic system, and many more nerve fibers go from limbic system to cortex than the other way around (Panksepp 1998). Weisfeld (2002: 208) goes as far as to assert, “there is no such thing as a rational motive.” There would have been no point in evolving a motive not to be emotional, not to strive to fulfill our biological needs. And he adds:

Our powers of rationality, of perception and cognition, are the servants of our behavioral imperatives. They can never replace or even suppress our set of motives. . . . [T]here is no evolved imperative to guide behavior except for our emotions. Any such force for rationality would have to negotiate with our affects, and so would have to be emotional itself.

(Weisfeld 2002: 208)

There is no doubt, Weisfeld further argues, that the misconception that rationality guides human behavior has contributed to neglect of the basic, universal emotions of pride and shame. He also complains that it is omitted from most psychologists’ lists of basic emotions. Hopefully, the classification presented here is helpful. While pride and shame are not *primary* emotions, they are most certainly *basic*, for they possess an evolutionary history, a biological basis, and are universal across human cultures. While they are secondary emotions, pride being an angry joy and shame a fearful sadness augmented by self-acceptance, they are hardly of secondary importance. They give our species adaptivity and contribute to a level of competitiveness that transcends the more elementary struggle for domination that we find in our primate relatives.

### **Pride and pridefulness**

Pride, to Plutchik, is an angry joy, and I agree, but the opposite of pride, comprised of fear and sadness, he defines as *guilt*. This definition does not seem reasonable to this author, however, for two reasons. First of all, on

an intuitive level, and on the level of common sense, the opposite of pride is embarrassment to shame, which is well-defined as a *fearful sadness*. If shame is intense and protracted, we have seen that it also involves identity. At the same time, recall that there may be a variant of guilt, remorseful guilt, that also would have as its components fear and sorrow, survivor guilt being an example. The person in a state of shame first of all has poor self-concept and has difficulty making friends and facing the everyday social world, which can be considered, in the most general way, a negative experience of community, of communal social relationships.

### *Pridefulness as an extension of pride*

It is necessary for purposes of classification to distinguish pride and pridefulness on the one hand, and embarrassment/mild shame and shame/shamefulness on the other. Ben-Ze'ev (2000: chapter 18) makes a cogent distinction when he states that the positive self-evaluation underlying pride can be subdivided into two types, *global* and *specific*, corresponding to pridefulness and pride. Pride is specific: we feel pride when we have done a good deed, made the winning score in a competitive game, helped a friend, worked for a worthy cause, saved a child from drowning. These are specific acts that make us feel triumphant, perhaps to shout, "We're number one!" This is an angry joy, but this accomplishment is in a sense ephemeral, for on another occasion we might miss the opportunity to do a good deed, miss a crucial shot at the goal as time expires, turn down a friend in need who might be asking "too much," or forget to renew a subscription to the Sierra Club. We can succeed or fail in these circumstances without feeling much better, or much worse, about our real self, for such specific acts, of commission or omission, do not define us. When we fail to carry out a positive specific act, or commit a social blunder or make an inappropriate remark, we feel an opposite emotion pride, for now we are embarrassed, possibly a bit ashamed. Thus just as we take pride in a specific commendable act, we feel embarrassed to violating a norm of etiquette in a moment of bad behavior.

But we also conduct life in a way that contributes to a global view of ourselves as worthwhile or worthless, as good or bad, and here there is another dimension, which of our own identity, our sense of self. When we conduct ourselves in a way that enables us to feel pride on a systematic basis, we reach a positive self-concept that can be defined as a state of pridefulness. When we act consistently in an honorable, dignified, self-respecting, self-confident, kind, and considerate manner, we have grounds for being proud of each and every one of these acts but, more globally, of being prideful. Thus, we have established a definition of pridefulness:

$$\text{pridefulness}_1 = \text{anger} \ \& \ \text{joy} \ \& \ \text{acceptance}.$$

By recalling that “pride = anger & joy,” we are led by substitution to our second definition of pridefulness:

$$\text{pridefulness}_2 = \text{pride} \ \& \ \text{acceptance}.$$

This definition of pridefulness as pride and self-acceptance would appear to capture the important distinction made by Ben-Ze’ev. When we experience pride of accomplishment in our endeavors on a systematic basis, we become a prideful person; the experience of pride has worked its way into our personality and become an aspect of our self-identity.

### *Pridefulness as dominance and joy: healthy pride*

Beginning with Darwin (1872), in the biological literature reviewed at the beginning of this chapter, and in the ethological literature, pride and shame have been linked to dominance and submission. By defining pridefulness and shame as tertiary emotions, this linkage can be made explicit. First we consider pride. If “pridefulness = anger & joy & acceptance,” and if we recall that “dominance = anger & acceptance,” then it follows that

$$\text{pridefulness}_3 = \text{dominance} \ \& \ \text{joy}.$$

Thus the prideful person is one who is happy to have attained dominance over some aspect(s) of life recognized by others in his community. Nathanson (1992) describes this variant of pride as “competency pleasure,” which he sees as “a major source of the complex adult emotion we call healthy pride” (p. 169). He describes experimental research carried out by Papoušek and Papoušek (1975) on a group of three-to-four-month-old human infants who were exposed to five-second bursts of pretty multi-colored lights off to one side. The babies found this interesting and pleasurable, but the novelty soon wore off. But whenever a baby turned its head toward the display more than 30 degrees and repeated this motion three times, the display would be turned on. As soon as the babies learned that their repetitive behavior could bring on the display, they showed tremendous interest and kept repeating what was now a learned skill, squealing with joy when their efforts were successful. Note that this combination of dominance of the skill and attendant joy satisfies our definition of pridefulness<sub>3</sub> as a healthy pride. As an additional experimental manipulation, the babies’ expertise was, on occasion, purposefully *not* rewarded, resulting in the infants’ sudden loss of muscle tone of the head and neck, slumping, and turning their faces away from the light display site. Broucek (1982) later explained this result as an episode of primitive shame. And Nathanson (1992: 170) further notes that this experiment shows that pride and shame are not necessarily *social* emotions, because this experiment was not based on any social relationship. The behavior of shame occurred

in the absence of embarrassment or humiliation, suggesting that shame has a biological basis, as a reaction that attenuates focus when an impediment to what is desired is detected.

*Pridefulness as love and anger: the worst of the seven deadly sins*

Pride does not want to owe, and self-love does not want to pay. . . . Self-love is the greatest of all flatterers. . . . Self-love is shrewder than the cleverest man in the world.

(La Rochefoucauld)

Ben-Ze'ev (2000: 527) sees pridefulness as occupying an ambivalent position between two sets of concepts, one positive and one negative. On the positive side, pridefulness can be associated with attitudes such as honor, dignity, self-respect, and self-confidence; on the negative side, pridefulness, usually always under the more generic term *pride*, has been associated with vanity, conceit, arrogance, and boastfulness. Conflicting moral evaluations have historically been directed to the emotion pridefulness, which was venerated by Aristotle but condemned in the Judeo-Christian religious tradition, which saw pridefulness as a sinful rejection of God. In reality, pride can be managed effectively, can be a valid or a false presentation of self (vanity), and can be understated or excessive, leading to vanity and arrogance, respectively. This takes us to our fourth conceptualization of pridefulness, a combination of love (joy & acceptance) and anger:

*pridefulness<sub>4</sub> = love & anger.*

This is the variant of pridefulness motivating theologians to regard pride as one of the seven deadly sins (the others being envy, anger, avarice, sadness, gluttony, and lust). Here a person is filled with a self-love that is assertive, angry, even and aggressive in manner. This variant of pride has also been called *vanity*, for it is excessive belief in one's own excellence, an unwarranted *pretension* based on self love accompanied by *arrogance* and performance of acts which enhance personal rights and advantages through displays of anger or violence. Pope Gregory the Great (d. 604) described such pride as the worst of the seven deadly sins in his *Moralia in Job*.

The English term *pride* comes from the Anglo-Saxon *prut*, "proud," the Old French *prod*, "valiant," "notable," "loyal," as in *prud'homme*, and from the Late Latin *prode*, "advantageous," and the Latin *prodesse*, "to be beneficial." According to Catholic theology, there is a distinction between sins that are *venial* that can be forgiven, and those qualifying as *capital*, meriting damnation. Capital or Deadly Sins were so called because they fatally affect a person's spirituality, putting a person at risk of ending up in

Hell, where the punishment for pride was to be eternally broken on the wheel. According to Christian and Islamic theology, and to Islam as well, pathological self love is based on spiritual blindness and a hatred of God. Both Christianity and Islam teach that pride caused the downfall of the Devil, or Iblis. A story of self love was told by Ovid in his *Metamorphoses*, wherein Narcissus, refusing to love anyone but himself, loved himself to death. For millennia humanity has been fascinated yet repelled by the danger that the individual will become so enamored of his own mind and body that society goes untended and God unloved (Zweig 1968/1980: vi). The medieval sin of *luxuria* was represented by a woman gazing into a mirror. Hinduism, too, holds that one can only come to a state of true knowledge by letting go of pride and one's "ego sense," yet it sees value in pride that does not covet the possessions or capabilities of others. Buddhism stresses the importance of shedding the ego, viewing pride as a refusal to let go of a sense of self as a separated individuality that makes competitive comparisons. The virtue to which such pridefulness is opposed, it is widely agreed, is *humility*, which requires seeing ourselves as we really are, being uncompetitive with others, and being largely indifferent to others' pridefulness and vanity. Humility has been considered an important virtue in Judaism, which also holds that arrogance – pride directed against others – stunts spiritual development. Dante Alighieri (lived 1265–1321), a Catholic layman who wrote the *Divine Comedy* with its three epic poems about Hell, Purgatory, and Paradise, grouped pride, envy, and wrath/anger under the category of perverted love, which is close in meaning to our third variant of pride, a combination of self-love and wrath.

It should be mentioned that the significance of the concept of sin in general, and the seven deadly sins in particular, lessened with the dawning of the Renaissance and the Reformation, which together with other historical movements promoted a fundamental moral mutation in European culture that facilitated the transition to modernity (Iyer 1985). The effort to reground morality independently of theology is now so advanced that excessive pridefulness – as an angry, assertive, and aggressive veneration of the self – no longer seems to be a sin but a pathology.

## Shame

Darwin (1872/1965), in *Expression*, devoted an entire chapter to blushing and its relation to shame. He saw blushing as caused by shame, and its variants modesty and shyness, as the essential elements in self-attention: "It is not the simple act of reflecting on our own appearance, but the thinking what others think of us, which excites a blush" (p. 325). Thus, blushing is caused by shame; shame is caused by the perception of negative evaluations of the self by others. Shame is thus, to Scheff, *the* social emotion, arising out of the monitoring of one's own actions by viewing

oneself from the imagined standpoints of others. W. McDougall (1908) asserted, “[s]hame is the emotion second to none in the extent of its influence upon social behavior” (p. 124).

C.H. Cooley (1902) considered pride and shame as the crucial “social self-feelings,” which he regarded as the chief interest of the imagination throughout life. While Cooley did not directly mention pride or shame, Scheff (1988) credits him with the insight that there exists an almost continuous presence of low-visibility pride or shame in speech and conversation. The resulting “looking-glass self” has three elements: “the imagination of our appearance to the other person; the imagination of his judgment of that appearance, and some sort of self-feeling, such as pride or mortification [shame]” (Cooley 1902: 56). Cooley described two features of the looking-glass self: (i) in adults, social monitoring of the self is virtually continuous; we are, often without noticing, living in the minds of others; (ii) social monitoring is always evaluative, giving rise to shame or pride according to the valence of the evaluation. To this, Scheff (1988) adds: (iii) adults are virtually always in a state of either pride or shame, usually unostentatious and of low visibility. This balance between pride and shame, Scheff contends, determines our level of self-esteem.

Shame is the perception of a negative evaluation of the self by others. Every person is at risk of being negatively evaluated, and the behavior associated with shame involves “moving away from,” which on the level of behavior, defines fear. The shamed person feels small, wants to hide, wants even to disappear from view, perhaps even to crawl under a rug, or under a rock. (Elster 1999). The role of fear in shame is beyond all doubt. As Tangney and Dearing (*ibid.*) put it, “[a] common component of the shame experience is the desire to hide, to escape from further scrutiny and devaluation” (p. 173). In fear, there is flight, and in shame, with fear as a component, there is either flight or the fantasy of flight (although there can be anger and the blaming of others as well).

The concern of the person gripped by the experience of shame is not other persons (as with guilt) but rather the self. “Shame is a self-involved, egocentric experience” (*ibid.*: 63). Focused on the self, blame is apt to be placed on the self, which comes to be seen as hopelessly defeated. How do people cope with being mired in an agonizing, ego-threatening state of shame. “One option,” as Tangney and Dearing (*ibid.*) explain, “is to withdraw – escaping the shame-inducing situation and hiding the horrible self from the view of others” (p. 92). Much research supports this notion of fear-and-flight as a component of shame (Lewis 1971). This strategy, however, is only partially effective, for wherever a person goes, the self is sure to follow, a self that is worthless, ineffective, paralyzed. In this action of moving away from the gaze of the others, there is inevitably a loss of those who look disapprovingly, and this loss of companionship, friendship, or even of love. The reaction is one of sadness, even of grief. Thus, we see that sadness joins fear as a component of shame.



Shame, like guilt, has a moral dimension. Shame can be an extremely painful emotion, and people in a state of deep shame are at risk of committing suicide if the shame becomes too intense to bear. There is impressive empirical evidence that deep shame contributes to suicide, and leading experts have long noted the significance of shame in the dynamics of suicidality (Durkheim 1897; Hastings *et al.* 2000).

Yet the existence of shame is not in and of itself pathological, for what is pathological would be a sociopathic inability to experience shame, which can make a person wicked, cruel, and uncaring (Elster 1999: 156). While we might break off eye contact temporally in the midst of, or following, a specific, embarrassing incident, in shame, gaze aversion can be severe and long-lasting. This results not from feeling rejected but is rather a defense against intimacy. Acceptance is a positive primary emotion, but there is ambiguity in every emotion, and here we have a case of acceptance of one's own unworthiness, an acceptance that one is a failure, that one is a nothing.

This analysis establishes fear and sadness are components of shame. But fear and sadness together constitute the secondary emotion embarrassment and mild shame, which suggests that a third primary emotion will be needed in order to define true shamefulness, which thus will emerge as a tertiary emotion. This emotion is not difficult to find. It is acceptance. Thus, we can introduce a formal definition:

$$\textit{shamefulness}_1 = \textit{fear} \ \& \ \textit{sadness} \ \& \ \textit{acceptance}.$$

To appreciate the role of acceptance in shamefulness, we now turn to the first of three additional definitions.

### **Shamefulness as embarrassment and acceptance**

The person who is in a global state of shamefulness has *accepted* a definition of themselves as a bad, worthless, and inept person. They do not necessarily feel rejection and in fact might not be rejected by others. As Ben-Ze'ev (2000) put it, “[i]n shame one thinks of oneself as a bad person, not simply as someone who did a bad thing” (p. 512). Given that embarrassment is a fearful sadness, we can see that the distance between embarrassment and mild shame, to a deeper, global shamefulness is spanned by the emotions acceptance:

$$\textit{shamefulness}_2 = \textit{embarrassment} \ \& \ \textit{acceptance}.$$

If a person acts in an inappropriate manner, embarrassment will be experienced. But if the inappropriate behavior happens over and over again, with the embarrassed person experiencing the disapproving gaze of others on a systematic basis, the person ceases to be merely often embar-

rassed but comes to be *an embarrassment*, and to accept this view of the self. Thus, while acts of embarrassment come about as a result of what we *do*, acceptance of oneself as an embarrassment to his or her significant others come to signify and mean what we are. Of course, there can be a thin line between embarrassment and shame, for anytime we make a fool of ourselves (e.g., by making a claim to honor that is not recognized), or cause people to laugh at us, or say precisely the wrong thing in a conversation, our self-esteem is suddenly reduced, our reputation is at stake, and the flow of our day is interrupted as we experience pangs of discomfort as the unfortunate event is recalled in later rumination. When one is insulted in public, the only way to avoid shame is to meet the challenge or lose "face." Nathanson (1992) states this well: "When our frailties or foibles are exposed before those in whose presence we do not feel safe or loved, this mild, humorous embarrassment gives way to the deeper forms of shame like a humiliation or mortification" (p. 17). The Latin root of mortification implies that shame can strike one dead, or completely destroy one's identity. Because our level of self-acceptance can vary from moment to moment, and vary almost continuously, as we have seen, the emotions of embarrassment and shame can at some point be almost indistinguishable, and for this reason embarrassment and mild shame have been placed together in the present classification. If a person is badly embarrassed in front of people who provide no security or safety, he or she might choose to never again associate with these people. If the incident happens at work, the embarrassed person might close his office door and avoid informal interaction for some time, thereby accepting the fact that his self-concept has been damaged.

Thus while there can be a slight difference between embarrassment and shame, the difference makes a difference. There are psychologists who make no such distinction (Tomkins 1963; Izard 1977), seeing the difference as one of degree rather than of kind. Their reasoning, which is not mistaken, is that shame is intense and destructive, whereas embarrassment is less intense. In the variant of shame we are considering here, it is not entirely inappropriate to refer to embarrassment as a mild form of shame. But embarrassment as mild shame is not the only variant of embarrassment, for there can also be embarrassment elicited by exposure, which is not related to a negative evaluation of the self, but related to shyness and to modesty. Goffman (1956) was referring to this type of embarrassment in his description of people's reactions to public display, or even to being praised or complemented in public (see also Lewis 1995). We will see that there can be variants of shamefulness that do not involve embarrassment at all.

### *Shamefulness as resignation and fear*

The secondary emotion *resignation* has been described in Chapter 6 as a combination of acceptance and sadness. Given that acceptance and sadness

are two of the three primary components of shamefulness, we arrive at a third definition:

*shamefulness<sub>3</sub> = resignation & fear.*

Recall that resignation is a “patient submission” and an “acquiescence.” As a component of shame, resignation has as its topic the self, indeed it is a loss of self (a source of its sadness), together with a withdrawal from the social field. Ben-Ze’ev (2000: 301) has associated resignation with depression, and there is ample evidence that shame is a highly “pathogenic” emotion, particularly in connection with depression (see, e.g., Tangney and Dearing 2002: 117, 202). Resignation is a profound negative evaluation in which the loss of self is so nearly total that it instills a process of grieving. In Lazarus (1991), there is a low degree of engagement, which provokes sadness at the low end of the dimension of engagement and involves “resignation rather than struggle, at which time the person has been moving toward acceptance and disengagement from the lost commitment. . .” (p. 247), which in this case is a commitment to maintain a viable self-concept. Thus, there is in the combination of resignation and fear a response to shame that comprises “withdrawal from interpersonal interaction” (Tangney and Dearing 2002: 173).

Thus, the verbal and nonverbal markers of overt shame are hiding behaviors (the behavior of the fear component of shame): words hide shame under disguising labels; nonverbal gestures suggest physical hiding. Our talk about shameful, embarrassing experiences reflect hiding (Scheff 1990b: 287–9). Scheff and Retzinger (1991), in analyzed videotapes of the television program, *Candid Camera*, found a wide range of nonverbal markers of shame. When subjects learned that an embarrassing private moment had been made public, caught on camera, the unlucky victims of this cruel game were apt to respond by covering their faces with both hands, turn away from the camera, or even attempting to escape completely, in one case, crawling under a desk.

#### *Shamefulness as submissiveness and sadness*

Just as pridefulness can be seen as a combination of dominance and joy, shame can be seen as a union of submissiveness (fear & acceptance) and sadness, our fourth and final variant of shame:

*shamefulness<sub>4</sub> = submissiveness & sadness.*

In this kind of shame, the person manifests a fearful acceptance as a result of feeling powerless and being without social support. This is a hapless kind of shame that is apt to contribute to victimization by playground bullies as a child, and to the possession of meager social skills as an adult.

It results from an unsupportive, or even abusive, childhood background, developing long before the kind of shamefulness resulting from embarrassing adult behavior.

First, consider the sadness component of shame. Sadness is a primary emotion that results from the loss, or absence, of close personal relationships. We experience sadness when a loved one is lost or taken away by another. And we experience an intense sadness when what is lost, in addition to the supportive company of others, is one's self respect. This form of sadness, then, involves the closest possible relationship, the relationship we have with the self, the object in the world with which we have the strongest attachment. Such a person has a disheartened spirit, and can be described as dejected, desolate, forlorn, and lonely. At the most extreme, there can be a figurative death of the self. Gilligan (1996), as we shall see in Chapter 14, found that among murderers in maximum-security prisons, there are men who, beneath an image of bravado and hyper-aggressiveness, are filled with a sense of despair, for they have been so degraded, humiliated, and shamed in childhood and adolescence that they describe themselves as zombies, robots, and vampires, for they are the living dead. Having received no love from others, there is an absence of self-love, a loss of self so total that their self has virtually collapsed and has itself been murdered, so that they live with the highest level of shame, with mortification.

The second component of this variant of shame is submissiveness. Those saddened by loss of self are typically replete with aggressive and hostile intentions and regard themselves as social failures, for they have submitted to negative evaluations. One expression of submissiveness is social overconformity.<sup>17</sup> In social situations, the person with a denigrated identity is hardly in a position to assert dominance, to assume leadership, to be assertive. Their behavior is instead going to be docile, passive, and submissive to the will of the group. There can also be compulsory behaviors, such as abuse of alcohol and other addictive, mind-altering substances which make it possible to intermittently escape the existential experience of inner emptiness.

### *Emotional manipulation: shame on you?*

Affect-spectrum theory holds that social relations are the alpha and the omega of emotional experience. This means that it is an oversimplification to regard social relations as causes and emotions as effects, even though such analysis is useful, as we will see in Chapter 15. Just as people can exert control over their own emotions, so they can endeavor to exert control over the emotions of others. This means that every person must be on guard against emotional manipulation as a means of social control. In this section an example will be considered in which shame plays a major role.

In an urban canyon, a real estate developer has purchased a vacant lot consisting of a steep hill, with the intention of manipulating city codes so that he can embed a house in this unlikely site, then sell it for a handsome profit. Above the hill is a small house, a rental property, which would be endangered if the hill was excavated, and its owner, Sally, is determined to stop the development. Across the street from the proposed new house is another house in no danger, and the owners, Ed and Denise, oppose the development merely because it would be noisy and inconvenient and loud during construction and because they are environmentalists. As things progress, a legal battle ensues and gains the involvement of many concerned neighbors wishing to protect their fragile ecosystem and life style. As the battle intensifies, Sally feels the need to hire a lobbyist. Needing funds, she asks the neighbors to contribute, and Ed and Denise pledge \$1,000, as she does, and another neighbor, Joyce, comes up with the balance, \$1,500. But then Sally sends Ed and Denise an email informing them that if additional funds are collected, it will be distributed only to Sally and Joyce until all contributions are equalized. Equality-matching is indeed a way to deal with such a situation, but Ed sends an email to Sally suggesting that all contributions are voluntary, that contributions should reflect degree of interest, and that equality of contribution is not possible given the presence of numerous free riders, who might be sympathetic but do not reach for their wallets. At this point all hell breaks loose, and Sally sends Ed a scathing email, with copies to all neighbors, suggesting he and his wife are selfish, not doing their fair share, and that he should feel embarrassed by, and ashamed of, his boorish and selfish behavior. Wishing to diffuse the situation, and restore a sense of solidarity, Ed and Denise contribute another \$333, thereby equalizing the three contributions, while at the same time making it clear that no additional contribution will be made. But as the battle continues, and the issue is not resolved, Sally and Joyce hire the same lobbyist for additional work, and then begin a campaign of vilification and accusations that Ed and Denise are deadbeats shirking their *additional* financial obligations, with a blizzard of condemnatory emails and phone calls, again intended to embarrass, or shame, Ed and Denise to contribute additional funds.

Ed and Denise have a problem, to be sure, but they also can bring their rational minds to bear on an emotional situation in which they have been ensnared. One way of adapting to this complex social situation would be to think of their putative shame as an instance of shame<sub>4</sub> (submission & sadness) in which they *submit* to the harsh definition of their own behavior and, faced with the loss of the goodwill of Sally, Joyce, and others, realize that resistance would lead only to isolation and *sadness*. Defining their situation in this way, they could only capitulate and make further contributions, the intended effect.

An even simpler resolution would be found in shame<sub>2</sub> (embarrassment & acceptance) in which they would admit that their behavior was indeed

an embarrassment, and communicate through apologies and making of amends their acceptance of what has been said and done. Here, they would be accepting a definition of their selves as more than a single instance of embarrassing behavior, for they would acknowledge that they are an embarrassment to their community, with personal identities that are dishonest and dishonorable. At this point, further contributions of money would earn only pity and snide remarks.

Fortunately, there is another way for Ed and Denise to cognize and cope with this effort to shame them, which is found in shame<sub>3</sub> – (resignation & fear) and thereby cope with the situation in a way makes no concession. They can simply resign themselves to the likelihood that the developer might indeed get his way, as developers usually do, and withdraw from the entire process. Additionally, while they are not psychologically afraid of their protagonists, they can back up their stance of resignation by carrying out the behavior consistent with fear, by moving backward and not continuing any interaction with those who have tried, for their own pecuniary reasons, to force upon innocents a public humiliation.

This example story shows that people can be intentionally placed in a situation where the sociorelational behavior of others induces the experience of certain emotions. But human beings have free will, possessing intentionality and agency, and for this reason they cannot necessarily be manipulated through their emotions. Thus, efforts to impose emotions on people will not necessarily succeed. An effort was made to humiliate two residents of a peaceful canyon community, with the intention of extracting money from them. While anyone would experience some degree of embarrassment in such a situation in which they are publicly vilified, whether this eventuates in a shamed identity or not to some extent depends on the initiative, and coping skills, of the potential target of this collective social behavior. The theoretical point to be made from this tale is that combinations of primary and secondary emotions can be pathways to tertiary emotions, but they can also be pathways to resisting the superimposition of emotional labels and invidious stereotyping. The social relations that people engage in shape their emotions and reflect their character, but at the same time emotions are not experienced in a passive-dependent manner but rather through cognition and efforts to carry out effective and rational social behavior.

What might be the motive behind such an effort to embarrass and humiliate Ed and Denise? Obviously, among other motives, it is possibly an effort to extract additional money. Of course, it is embarrassing to be vilified, but one's resources can be mobilized to *overcome* a negative emotion through engaging in strategic emotions management. Recall three variants of shame. The effort at manipulation, it will be shown, would work if Ed and Denise responded with shame<sub>2</sub> or with shame<sub>4</sub> but it would not work if they responded with shame<sub>3</sub>. If people have strong and healthy egos, and a strong sense of social identity, then they can deal effectively

with such situations. But in cases of weak and degraded social identity, such manipulations are apt to succeed. The ability to understand the emotions we experience, and to abreactively harness emotions and thought, is the foundation of rational behavior and effective conduct in social life.

Another point to be made from this story is that while equality-matching, communal-sharing, authority-ranking, and market-pricing (Fiske's 1991 terminology) are academic terms, they refer to social relations in the everyday world that are well understood by lay people. In fact, this story is about a struggle to impose a definition of a social situation in terms of equality-matching. Sally in fact is insisting that neighborhood fund raising be based on a principle of equality-matching in terms of money contributed, while Ed had replied that no such agreement about the nature of the interaction exists, nor should it. He did not spell out the alternative, but his assertion that contributions should be based on material interest, ability to pay, and interest in the issue, suggests market exchange; that all contributions should be voluntary, smacks of communal sharing. Social relations do not just happen, for social processes involve contested views of the social relations involved in social episodes, and how they should be defined and labeled. An insistence on equality-matched behavior, by present theory, invokes a negative experience of social identity, but this intended identity was in this case rejected. In fact, social life is filled with people's effort to impose definitions of situations on each other, systematically and intentionally. Such behaviors are known, for example, as "guilt-tripping," emotional blackmail, "jerking chains" and "pushing buttons" to induce anger, tug at heartstrings, play on sympathies, create a climate of fear, and the like.

## 12 Socialization and the emotions

### From alexithymia to symbolic elaboration and creativity

#### The development of emotional expression, normal and pathological

In the everyday world we assume that the emotional reactions of other people are much like our own. But this assumption should not be accepted uncritically, for pathologies such as alexithymia render people unable to function with the normal affectivity necessary to send emotional signals to the self and to others and for having “normal” human relationships with other people in which both self and others are cared about, empathized with, and understood. At the beginning of the infant’s development of emotions there exists a primordial duality of two basic affective states, a positive state of contentment and interest<sup>18</sup> and a negative state of distress (Tomkins 1963: 77–87; Izard 1980: 202–6). These two states, present at birth, are the precursors of pleasurable and painful affects, and of affects that can be either creative or destructive.

In the socialization process, the child learns to name the emotions, and learn when a particular emotion is being experienced or expressed. In the learning of emotions, initial feedback loops (Smith *et al.* 1999) gives way to complex social interactions. At about nine months, the child not only receives guidance in the learning of emotions, but actively seeks this guidance, copying the caregivers’ expressions and actions. By age two, the child knows well that different social participants feel differently. She learns that her angry outburst makes her parents sad and upset, and that the parents’ reprimands make her similarly so. The child learns emotions from stories, and can “pretend” those not actually being felt (e.g., “My dolly is sad.”). At about three-to-six years of age, the child learns what kinds of stories lead to simple emotions and more complex emotions as well – to pride, love, and dejection. The understanding of guilt and feelings of responsibility typically emerge at ages six-to-eight. Just as mastery of language gradually expands, so also does our *repertoire* of emotions. This process continues into adolescence and adulthood, and is in fact a lifelong process. And just as cognitive complexity can be increased by cognitively demanding situations even into old age, so also emotional complexity develops with mature, complex, differentiated social experiences and situations.



The most primitive emotions retain their power over us in part because they occur in parts of our brain below the level of conscious awareness. Yet even these emotions come to be cognitively elaborated and controlled and managed through great effort. Thus, for example, the person feels rage on the somatic level, and the rage might occur in response to a complex, logical deduction of a significant other's morally repugnant behavior. Thus, anger can be triggered by thought, then "experienced" subconsciously by limbic structures and processes. The raw emotions are then represented to the thinking neocortex, which then struggles to control, or act upon, the now symbolically elaborated rage. There is an enormous literature on this topic, including countless books teaching people control of anger, aggressiveness, hatred, envy, jealousy, and other undesirable emotions and deadly sins, including lust and gluttony. Such emotions are apt to be destructive and to trigger problematic behavior, especially if they were repressed and considered sinful and guilt-inducing by one's primary caregivers.

Much of our mentality emerges through experience of phenomena that are not of universal orientation, but rather settle on a lower level of concerns, which on the level of values and morality might include the following: how do you feel about prostitution, gay marriage, the death penalty, globalization, progressive taxation? To think and act rationally about such issues can be difficult, and is inseparable from acting morally, which requires consideration of the widest possible range of available scenarios (de Sousa 1991) and places a demand on the individual to critically evaluate the competing norms and values of his or her own culture. Emotional maturity requires the learning of alternative, even competing, scenarios, which requires empathy and an ability to understand the cognitive-affective frames of those who think differently. A scenario that was appropriate in one decade, or in one century, can become inappropriate at a later time, as culture itself changes, develops, and evolves.

There are three stages in the acquisition of complex emotions, which are, according to the differential emotions theory of Tomkins (1962, 1963) and Izard (1977) and in present theory, built up from the primary emotions, which have known biological infrastructures in the limbic system below the neocortex. In the first stage, primary emotions are developed, some of which are present at birth and the rest of which develop very early. In the second stage, the primary emotions are associated mentally to form the 28 secondary emotions. And, in the third stage, tertiary emotions are formed, either by mental association of three primary emotions or by combining a secondary emotion and a primary emotion, which can be done in any of three ways. Plutchik allowed for the possibility of tertiary emotions but attempted no definitions, despite the fact that his classification excluded jealousy, an extremely important emotion shared by humans and other animals. In the course of maturation and mental development, the basic problems of life and social relations become mixed in complex

ways, and as a result mixed affect precursor patterns separate out to form the complex social emotions such as shame, guilt, envy, jealousy, and so on, which evolve out of the general distress response. Other emotions, such as ambition, confidence, and love develop out of the general contentment/interest responses. Yet others have no clear valence.

As the process of mental development continues, the resulting secondary and tertiary emotions emerge, as primary emotions are combined into pairs and even triples, through processes of symbolic elaboration and differentiation through association. The differentiation of secondary emotions from the discrete set of primary emotions has an important cognitive aspect, in which complexities are refined, so that in the adult the emotions are differentiated to include refined nuances of meaning. In this process, even the primary emotions are elaborated and, hopefully, increasingly subjected to cognitive control. Indeed, the differentiation of affect contributes to cognitive and intellectual development (Piaget and Inhelder 1969). Izard (1980; see also Izard 1984), further developing the theories of Tomkins (1962, 1963, 1991, 1992), claims that "consciousness develops and realizes its highly complex organization as a function of the emergence of emotion" (p. 195).

Clinically, emotions such as envy, shame, and resentment are complex affect syndromes (secondary and tertiary emotions) that need to be understood in terms of their simpler components (the primary emotions). Plutchik (1962/1991) provides the example of the resentful patient, who "should be helped to recognize the different emotions which are in conflict within him [so that] . . . since feelings of resentment are compounded of (at least) disgust and anger, the patient should gradually be encouraged to face these components in their purer form, i.e., what does he wish to reject and what does he want to destroy?" (p. 156). In therapy, as Krystal (1982) puts it, it "is essential to establish whether the actual feeling [of the patient] is despair, grief, sadness, guilt, rage turned against one's self, or some other specific affect" (p. 365). The same process of emotional differentiation takes place for the development of the states of contentment and tranquility, so that the affective precursors of pleasure differentiate "into such affects as security, contentment, joy, pride, love, tenderness, and affection" (*ibid.*: 365).

The developmental life of affect also involves the verbalization of emotional responses. This process facilitates, in a way complementary to facial expressions and gestures, the use of affects as social signals. Affective reactions that are primarily somatic, and not cognitive, can be dangerous and overwhelming, calling attention to themselves rather than to the states that they signal. This process might involve heredity, but is closely linked to early childhood experiences and to early object relations. Trauma, in particular, can have devastating effects on the very young, inhibiting, even reversing, normal processes of affect differentiation. Even in adulthood, highly traumatic effects can have a regressive effect on the emotions that

can result in alexithymia and related pathologies such as posttraumatic stress disorder: there is a coolness, distancing, and detachment from others that develops along with a lack of concern for, and empathy with, others. Such a person, if in therapy, will show little interest in his or her treatment, acting in a way that is correct and courteous but libidinally very poor, as the process of symbolic representation is blocked.

### **Alexithymia**

Alexithymia is a term introduced by Sifneos (1973) to describe individuals who have difficulty in verbalizing symbols, lack an ability to talk about feelings, have an impoverished fantasy life and drab dreams, have difficulty describing and pointing to pain in their own bodies, tend to express psychological distress by focusing on external concerns and somatic symptoms rather than on emotions, show an overconformity in their interpersonal relationships, have a reduced ability to experience positive emotions together with a susceptibility to poorly differentiate negative affects, and lack a productive and creative involvement with the world. This psychiatric syndrome was described by Sifneos (1973), who noticed while perusing an old set of transcribed psychiatric interviews that psychosomatic patients, in comparison to psychoneurotic patients, showed an impoverished fantasy life and did not talk about their feelings.

It has since been found that a wide variety of socially oppressive experiences that are severely shameful, painful, or massively traumatic contribute to alexithymia, to a lack of creativity, and, it will be argued, to the underdevelopment of the rational mind. Among the experiences that contribute to alexithymia are childhood physical and verbal abuse, repeated sexual assault (Zeitlin *et al.* 1993), experience of high levels of the affective, unpleasantness component of pain (Lumley *et al.* 2002), having pain induced in an experimental setting (Kaplan and Wogan 1976–1977), having been imprisoned in a Nazi concentration camp (Krystal 1968), experiencing traumatic events in the social environment (Krystal 1988; van der Kolk 1987), having a catastrophic and painful illness (Fukunishi *et al.* 2001), suffering from posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD; Zeitlin *et al.* 1989; Henry *et al.* 1992; Søndergaard and Theorell 2004), being a heroin addict in the drug-withdrawal state (Krystal 1962), and having an anti-social personality disorder as a result of pathological socialization (Sayar *et al.* 2001).

### **Interhemispheric transfer deficit theory**

If alexithymia is a coping mechanism for pain, what mechanism might be at work? Hoppe and Bogen (1977) proposed, and study was made of, such a mechanism (TenHouten 1994, 1999b, 2006; TenHouten *et al.* 1985a–e, 1986, 1988). According to interhemispheric transfer deficit theory, alex-

ithymia has as a contributing neurobiological basis a relative lack of communication between the left and right cerebral hemispheres of the brain. It was hypothesized that complete cerebral commissurotomy, which disconnects the two hemispheres, contributes to alexithymia. This hypothesis is suggested by a tendency of the right hemisphere (in right handed adults with the usual lateralization) to be involved in the cognitive representation of emotions – primarily due to its capabilities for making complex pattern discriminations, and the left hemisphere in verbal comprehension and verbal expression. There is evidence that, in addition to the general model of information processing of the right hemisphere (Hellige 1993), the input of subcortical and limbic system mechanisms associated with emotions, such as the medial forebrain bundle, to the higher brain structures of the cerebral hemispheres are right-lateralized. Right hemisphere damage causes decreased emotionality and contributes to emotional indifference, even in rats (Denenberg 1981).

Especially in catastrophic trauma of the kinds described above, “there is a constriction of cognition in which memory, fantasy, problem-solving, and all other functions become gradually blocked” (Krystal 1982: 368). This is a form of primal repression. Its mechanism might well be a blocking of information from the right hemisphere, where emotions and symbolizations are cognitively represented, from reaching the left hemisphere and the possibility of symbollexia (talk about feelings and symbolization). This can happen if the corpus callosum is severed, and it can also happen if the corpus callosum is functionally impaired. Verbalizing painful emotions has been shown to increase the subjective experience of pain, and by blocking such emotions from being transferred from the right hemisphere to the left, alexithymia can function as a pain coping response (Kaplan and Wogan 1976–1977). Zeitlin *et al.* (1989) studied Vietnam veterans with intact corpus callosums suffering from posttraumatic stress disorder and found 60 percent (15/25) of them scored in the alexithymic range of the Toronto Alexithymia Scale (Taylor *et al.* 1986) and were unable to perform bimanual finger tapping tests at a normal level. These tapping tasks require effective communication between the two hemispheres of the brain, which had apparently been blocked (as indicated empirically by the low performance in finger tapping) or otherwise disorganized, this indirect evidence suggesting a functional commissurotomy.

### *The alexithymic personality*

The right hemisphere is much involved in the cognitive representation of affect, especially of negative affect, and is also involved in a distinctive mode of gestalt-synthetic information processing. Thus, alexithymia should have a cognitive component, and indeed it does. A major feature of alexithymic individuals is that they present a dull, mundane, utilitarian, and unimaginative recitation of concrete “facts.” Yet, they are capable of

surprises, such that symbolization, almost always poor, becomes dazzling at times, nevertheless remain incapable of entering into a real relationship based on genuine emotions. Typically, alexithymic patients merely relate the details of their everyday life and list their complaints in a repetitive fashion, almost never engaging in wish-fulfillment fantasies. When an alexithymic person is asked to describe how he or she feels, the response is apt to be a flat description of external events, so that the thought is more stimulus-bound than it is drive-oriented (Nemiah and Sifneos 1976: 30). Alexithymics appear on the surface to be “super-adjusted” to reality but they appear to be missing much of life. Alexithymics’ talk makes clear that their ideas are sterile and monotonous, and their imaginations severely impoverished.

Alexithymics have been widely described as having severe impoverishment of the imagination, which is just what we expected of left hemisphere’s verbalization in the absence of the right hemisphere’s imaginative, affective, symbolic, colorful input mode of synthesizing information from the outside world, which is subjected to some secondary perceptual synthesis before being subjected to the highest level of gestalt-synthetic processing that generates paleosymbolic images, the totality of which provides a non-linguistic basis for adapting to the world as a whole.

In speech, alexithymics, in comparison to normal controls, (i) use significantly fewer affect-laden terms; (ii) use a higher percentage of auxiliary verbs (which is indicative of passive and indirect presentation of self); (iii) produce significantly higher percentages of incomplete sentences, being especially apt to leave out the subject, which has been interpreted as a restricted verbal code; and (iv) use adjectives sparingly, indicating speech that is dull, uninvolved, flat, and lacking in color and expressiveness (Ten-Houten *et al.* 1985a). They are able to “tune in” with great precision to people around them for “manipulative or exploitative purposes [but] . . . there is no *personal* investment in these objects as unique individuals to whom there is a sentimental attachment” (Krystal 1982: 358–9, emphasis in original). The alexithymic might be dependent on another person, but that person is seen as interchangeable and replaceable, the central demand being that *someone* is there to meet his or her needs (McDougall 1974: 451). This absence of a “human” quality renders these patients’ thoughts “operative” and “thing-oriented.” This phenomenon, which we can now see as an aspect of alexithymia, is described as *pensée opératoire* (operational thinking) by Marty and de M’Uzan (1963).

The alexithymic’s dream life and fantasy life are impoverished. When asked to describe their dreams, they ignore symbolic possibilities in their dreams and focus on details. Their operational thinking has no relationship to unconscious fantasies. It is the normal person’s “capacity for fantasy-making and symbolization,” Krystal writes, that

permits creativity and the formation of neuroses. Symbolization of a conflict makes possible dealing with the cognitive aspects of an affect

such as anxiety. In the absence of such capabilities, the patients have to contend with the “expressive,” i.e., physiological aspects of their affective responses, and thus are prone to psychosomatic illnesses.

(Krystal 1982: 360)

This statement suggests that the alexithymic is *incapable* of neurosis, which directly contradicts Averill’s (2002) contention that “neuroses of many types – not just alexithymia – might be characterized as a form of despiritualization” (p. 180). Krystal also indicates that alexithymia can contribute to psychosomatic disorders, including dermatosis, peptic ulcer, and arthritis. Observations of concentration camp survivors indicate a very high rate of both psychosomatic disease and alexithymia: whereas their overall incidence of psychosomatic disease was 30 percent, the rate among those survivors who were in their teens during incarceration was 70 percent (Krystal 1979). This finding makes sense in terms of an interhemispheric transfer deficit: if the negative affects that are cognitively represented in the right hemisphere cannot be transferred to the left hemisphere, where they can be put into the forms of words, first in inner speech, then in conversation (e.g., between patient and therapist), then this emotional energy is apt to work its way into the body, with the result psychosomatic disorder. TenHouten *et al.* (1985d) found that alexithymia is predictive of, and is a possible cause of, a psychosomatic personality structure, and it should be remembered that the phenomenon of alexithymia was first discovered in psychosomatic patients being compared to psychoneurotic patients. Thus, while alexithymia might emerge as a pain-coping mechanism insofar as not talking about pain reduces its subjectively-experienced intensity, it might have psychosomatic personality structure and psychosomatic disorder as side effects.

### **Creativity, affect, and rationality**

Alexithymia is a pathology of the normal development of the emotions, which, it is proposed, involves four processes – differentiation through association, symbollexia, desomatization, and verbalization. In the face of massive, repeated trauma, these processes can be retarded or even reversed. The opposite of alexithymia is creativity in the expression and mental representation of emotions. Just as alexithymia results from an interhemispheric transfer deficit, the productive and active interaction of the two hemispheres, via the connectivity provided by the corpus callosum, results in a level of thought that integrates and transcends the gestalt-synthetic and logicoanalytic modes of information processing of the right and left hemispheres of the brain. Bogen and Bogen (1969) proposed that interhemispheric interaction leads to creativity. Hoppe (1985) sees this interaction leading to symbollexia and to the development of spirituality and the moral dimensions of mind and being. Bogen (1969) found an inability to write, a *dysgraphia*, in the *left* but not the right hands of

split-brained patients, meaning only the left hemisphere possesses the capability of writing. TenHouten (1994, 1999b; TenHouten, Seifer, and Siegel 1988) found in the handwriting of eight of these right-handed split-brained patients a pathological lack of creativity, for measures of creative aspirations and creative organization, on the level of writing, which was called an *expression dysgraphia* of the *right* hand. In this study, which was based on a quantitative graphological methodology, it was argued that although there might well be a “dialectical” aspect to creativity in that it often involves interaction of the logicoanalytic and gestalt-synthetic information made possible by posterior structures of the left and right hemispheres. This possible mechanism, alone, if demonstrated empirically, is insufficient for creativity because of the necessary inclusion of intentionality as a basis of creativity (TenHouten 1994, 1999b, 2006). On the one hand, creative ideas can be stimulated by the integration of analytic and synthetic thought, but creativity means more than an idea and an aspiration: also required is that something actually be created, a creation that must take on an external representation, as a book, poem, sculpture, painting, theory, building, or other material production. Thus, will power and intentionality are required for a person, or group of persons, to be able to care about a state of future affairs and the realization of a creation, organize a program to realize this state, and stick to this program despite distractions, limitations, other commitments, and obstacles. On the other hand, the intention to solve a problem can lead to the deliberate and systematic production of ideas that result in creations. Thus, there exist dynamic, reciprocal relations between creativity and intentionality.

Intentionality, along with planning, monitoring, editing, commanding, and controlling, is associated with the functioning of the frontal lobes of the brain. The frontal lobes evolved out of, and remain closely linked to, the limbic system, which provides emotional responses to images and models, and which, in combination with memory and information about the body and the environment, enables the frontal lobes to carry out meaningful, goal-directed behavior. The goal-directed behavioral programs of the frontal lobes extend to intentions and plans. These programs are complex results of social development and are formed with the participation of language, which plays an important role in abstraction, categorization, and generalization and in the control and regulation of behavior. To act with intentionality, it is necessary that the frontal lobes are able to evaluate the results of one’s own actions. The frontal lobes carry out a complex process of matching actions and initial intentions to evaluate success and error, such that action can be corrected and modified as necessary given changing circumstances. Thus, intentionality is a core responsibility of the frontal lobes (Luria 1966; Rabbitt 1997) and is necessarily involved in creative activity.

The development of a full range of emotions that have a strong cognitive component, together with an advanced capability for symbolic elabo-

ration of both ideas and feelings, is often taken for granted but is in fact an important creativity of the everyday world. We have seen that the existence of alexithymia as a defense mechanism resulting from massively traumatic and painful experiences shows that the cognitive representation of the emotions, and their verbal and interpersonal expression, is an essential prerequisite for the later development of the highest cognitive abilities (Tomkins 1962, 1963; Izard 1980). The emotions that have been systematically discouraged in Western civilization (and far beyond) have contributed to what can be called a *social alexithymia* and to a stultification of emotional intelligence (Goleman 1997: 50–2, 75, 96; 1998: 57; Taylor and Bagby 2000: 44–7; Parker 2000: 493–8). Even vilified emotions such as envy and aggressiveness are in and of themselves neither destructive nor creative, but possess the potential to be changed or combined with other emotions in a way that contributes to their incorporation in the highest level emotions that are essential for creativity, social innovation, and for a rational orientation to the world. The pathology of alexithymia is inevitable in a world of violence and exploitation. The viability of all cultures and nations depends on the development of creative expression, and of recognition that affect and rationality are inseparable for the development of a mentality able to transcend the oppressive features of our belief systems and values. This requires that children be provided the space and freedom necessary to explore even the most undesirable emotions, so that these emotions can be less destructive and transformed into higher emotions that are rather creative and able to address objectively any problems of social power and economic situation.



## 13 The development of tertiary emotions

### Jealousy, envy, ambition, confidence, and hope

#### Jealousy

Jealousy is the greatest of evils, yet it raises pity least in the person who causes it. . . . In jealousy, there is more self-love than love.

(La Rochefoucauld)

Mandler (1984: 295) reviews efforts to define jealousy as a combination of primary emotions, and found eight different proposed combinations. He suggests that the effort to reduce jealousy to primary emotions is misguided, seeing jealousy rather as an emotion *sui generis*. Plutchik made no effort to include jealousy among his inventory of secondary emotions, a glaring omission given the obvious importance of this emotion for humans and higher animals. Other than Mandler's suggestion that jealousy is irreducible, there are two other reasonable approaches to solving the problem of defining jealousy. First, it is possible that jealousy is a primary emotion. Recall that Plutchik defines both "exploration" and "anticipation" at the positive pole of his territoriality dimension. If we consider territory as inclusive of Lyman's and Scott's (1967) concept of "interactional territory," then we can contrast the behavior we expect of a significant other whom we can "possess" and possibly consider a potential reproductive partner, the violation of this expectation of an exclusive dyadic relationship means there is a threat of the valued other being appropriated by a third party. Because surprise is our adaptive reaction to the negative experience of (interactional) territory, we might think of jealousy as a subtype of surprise and therefore as a primary emotion. But this reasoning really only shows that surprise is a likely component of jealousy, which appears to be a complex emotion.

Given the uncertainty in the literature, and the observation that jealousy does not appear to be a primary emotion, it seems reasonable to speculate that jealousy is a combination not of two but rather of three primary emotions. If a person becomes jealous as the result of a potential rival appropriating one's chosen reproductive partner, there ensues a *fear of losing*

one's potential (or present) partner, which suggests that in addition to surprise, jealousy involves both fear and sadness, sadness being the negative experience of temporality, the sadness or grief we experience when a loved one is lost or taken away by a more attractive other. Thus, the following definition is proposed:

*jealousy*<sub>1</sub> = *surprise & fear & sadness.*

Jealousy ordinarily involves three people, where two is company but three is a crowd. If a third person threatens to attract one member of a romantically involved couple, the other member of this dyad has his or her interactional territory challenged. Any positive response to the advances of the third person violates a sense of possession, proprietary rights, and territorial claims, resulting in jealousy. This view is consistent with everyday understanding of the person who has elevated jealousy to a significant aspect of the personality that can be described as a "jealous person." It is not unusual for such a person to treat his, or her, significant others, and particularly but not solely, in romantic relationships, in a possessive way, exerting both ownership and managerial control over the love object. The person who does not feature jealousy in the personality, in contrast, does not care to possess, manage, and manipulate the other, and is in general not a possessive person.

Romantic jealousy is the emotional reaction to the potential, or actual, loss of a loved one, mate, or potential reproductive partner, to a rival (Hupka 1981). However, jealousy does not require a specific act to occur but only the imagination of that act. With this in mind, romantic jealousy can be more broadly defined as a complex of thoughts, feelings, and actions following the perceived threat of a real or potential romantic attraction between one's partner and a rival. This rival might be real or imagined, realistic or not. A still broader definition of jealousy is useful, because not all relationships about which one might feel jealous are romantic in nature. What jealousy requires is any social attachment that involves the flow of resources and emotional energy between two people or even between people and their pets. Intrusion by a third party to one of two members of a dyadic relationship is apt to stimulate jealousy in the other, if the third persons are seen as a threat or rival (Ellis and Weinstein 1985). Here the threat can be to the resources of the significant other, or to the emotional energy exchanged with this other.

Freud (1910/1958) saw jealous possessiveness as a pathologically neurotic character type in men, as defined by four interrelated characteristics: first, he approaches love with a pathological "need for an injured third party" (p. 162). This man would not be attracted to and choose as a love object a person who was both independent and unattached, but one that has just committed, or is fully committed to another man, so that this situation incites feelings of love and a desire to possess the other's woman.

Second, this man will seek out women who are not high on loyalty and fidelity, which Freud called “love for a harlot” (ibid.: 164). While the first condition “provides an opportunity for gratification of the feelings of enmity against the man from whom the loved woman is wrestled” (ibid.), the second is connected to feelings of jealousy, which is a necessity for lovers of this type. An occasion for jealousy raises passion to an intense level, creating a feeling of falling in love as the woman attains her full value. This type of man will go to great lengths, or seize on any incident, to trigger a chain of events that lead to the experience of jealousy, competition, conquest, and passionate love with a sexual aspect. It is strange, Freud also noted, that “it is not the lawful husband or the one who has proprietary rights to the woman to which this jealousy is directed, but new acquaintances and strangers in regard to whom she may be brought into suspicion” (ibid.).

Third, in normal society, and especially in shame-honor societies, a woman with sexual integrity and sexual restraint is valued more highly than is a “loose” woman, but for men of this type the highest value is assigned to the most adventurous woman, who absorbs all of the man’s energies as he strives to keep his prize true to him. These passionate attachments are not apt to last for long, and this man will embark on such romantic adventures chained together in serial fashion.

And fourth, the observer of such a dynamic is apt to be astonished by the desire that this man expresses to “rescue” his beloved, as without his aid she will lose all respectability and sink into a deplorable condition. The subtlety of his seduction is matched only by his skills in arguing for the path of virtue. In all of this, the woman of interest is hardly an innocent bystander, and her reward in inducing jealous competition is to make herself feel valuable indeed, and sexual adventures provide their own gratifications in their enormous pleasures and intensity of experience. Thus, both the predatory man and the tempted woman have a thirst for the experience of jealousy as an emotion, and a thirst for the dynamic social relationships that can be triggered by a wink and a touch. As a deeper explanation of the psychology of jealous men, Freud suggested that the man of this type has dwelt too long in attachment to the mother, so that maternal characteristics are stamped on later choices of love-objects. Freud explains that this type derives from an unresolved oedipal situation in which the rescue fantasy is but a conscious rationalization of deeply unconscious motives.

Jealousy must be understood both in terms of social situations and the psychology of object relations. It certainly also requires cognitive appraisal of threat. It follows that jealousy results not only from surprise but also from the concurrent experience of fear and sadness, fear of losing the other’s affections, resources, and emotional energy, and sadness at the loss, or imagined possibility of loss. A fearful sadness of a situational nature defines embarrassments, so we reach a second definition of jealousy:

*jealousy<sub>2</sub> = surprise & embarrassment.*

It is useful to consider the concept of jealousy advanced by Klein (1957), who sees that both greed and jealousy recognize that something, or somebody, is good and desirable and there is a feeling that I, not someone else, should possess this wonderful person. Yet any hints of such a claim can only be embarrassing because this potential love-object cannot be expected to respond to any unseemly suggestion, which fills one with a fear of being rejected.

If we recall that disappointment is an anticipation of sadness, then we arrive at a third way to look at jealousy:

*jealousy<sub>3</sub> = disappointment & fear.*

Ordinary jealousy can be a painful emotion. If we become insecure about the commitment of our significant other in the face of incipient competition, our grip is already weak and we will feel disappointed both in the other's (perhaps imagined) behavior and in our own lack of worthiness. This sense of disappointment at the fragility of a social bond is accompanied by a real fear of losing the love-object or at least of the prospect of losing the emotional energy of the other which could now possibly be directed elsewhere. This situation is made worse if one believes that jealousy should not be felt, and that people, after all, do not own each other (see Craib 1994: 47).

There is a fourth way to express jealousy, which requires only that we recall that "awe, alarm = surprise & fear:"

*jealousy<sub>4</sub> = alarm & sadness.*

In this case, we are reacting with alarm to the perceived aggression of a third party threatening our rights to our significant other, challenging an established social bond, together with a contemplation of the loss that would follow the success of this aggressive bid to seize what up until the present had been exclusively ours.

### *Functions of jealousy*

While the three primary components of jealousy are negative, it does not follow logically that jealousy is entirely and in all circumstances a negative emotion. In fact, it would be entirely irrational to invest one's time, heart, and emotional energy into establishing a close dyadic relationship that could potentially result in a commitment to marriage, children, and life-long companionship, and then not respond to a threat to this relationship. As Carlos Byington (2003) puts it, emotions such as "[e]nvy, jealousy, and anger are just as important as vision, sexuality, and nourishment" (p. 15).

Jealousy, like anger, can become problematic if it arises inappropriately and in an exaggerated form, where its components are acted out in a regressive manner, resulting in vulgar displays of possession of one's significant other, lashing out in anger at friendly gestures mistaken for an effort to "take away" the other, or acting hurt and sullen if the other engages in healthy and happy relationships with other people outside of the sacred dyad. These are dysfunctional, negative jealousies. But jealous behaviors can also serve positive functions, especially if the jealousy is based on reality, under the conditions when a rival really is actively working to appropriate one's significant other, which can be done in a way that is both ethical and moral. Jealousy thus can be an effort to avoid the loss of what one had hoped for, which will potentially and perhaps in fact leave the jealous person alone with feelings of violation, fear of loneliness, and the inevitable sadness, even humiliation, of having been the loser in a romantic competition.

Hupka (1981) describes three functions of jealousy. First, a display of jealousy can aid in preventing the loss of mate or other privileged relationship. Such behavior can be seen, for example, in Warau Indians, in which a new wife introduced into a household is apt to be attacked physically both by the present wife or wives and their relatives as well (Brett 1868). Second, jealous behavior serves to punish both the mate and the rival. Males are apt to confront a rival directly but females, in contrast, are more apt to withdraw from, or leave, an unfaithful male mate. And third, jealousy compensates the jealous one when reconciliation is ruled out. When one has lost status as a result of being appropriated by a rival, in many cultures social mechanisms exist for compensation, including the payment of money.

Insofar as jealousy is a negative and pathological emotion, one might expect that people would try to free their significant relationships of jealousy. However, in a study of 150 romantically-involved heterosexual couples, White (1980) found that 73 percent of his respondents reported having intentionally induced jealousy in their partner. There are at least five reasons for such behavior: (i) invoking jealousy in one's significant other can result in a variety of rewards, e.g., the partner exerting more emotional energy, becoming more generous with his or her time; (ii) having someone jealous of oneself can bolster feelings of self-esteem and pride; (iii) invoking jealousy can provide a test of a relationship; (iv) the pain caused by jealousy can be used as revenge, e.g., for the prior behavior of the other which had involved jealousy in the self; and (v), as a form of punishment.

There are numerous methods of coping with jealous feelings. Here one finds various devices of emotions management, including concealment of the overt expression of jealousy, denial of jealousy, masking jealousy with conspicuous display of other emotions, and a changed physiological state. It is also common behavior to endeavor not to feel jealous (Ellis and Wein-

stein 1985). Here a person can redefine the situation, or change one's mind about the meaning of the situation. The management of jealousy has been described by Bringle (1981) as a two-step process. First, the partners must communicate about the origins of jealous feelings. Second, the jealous person is in need of social support in order to reduce the effects of jealousy.

## **Envy**

Our envy lasts longer than the happiness of whose we envy. . . . We often boast of our passions, even the most criminal ones; but envy is such a timid and shameful passion that we never dare to admit it.

(La Rochefoucauld)

Envy, like shame and guilt, is an important emotion of social control. Envy, like jealousy, can be negative or positive. We will first see envy in its negative light, then focus on the positive.

### *Destructive envy*

Jules Henry has made great contributions to understanding anti-social trends in our social life. He had this to say about envy:

In a competitive culture one envies anything good that appears to anybody else: it is enough to know that somebody – anybody – has something good, for one to become depressed or envious or both. In a competitive culture, anybody's success at anything is one's own defeat, even though one is completely uninvolved in the process.

(Henry 1963: 153)

We can see from this that envy goes with paranoia and hatred, and that the promotion of envy would involve an offense to basic moral principles (see Holbrook 1972: 238). Schoeck sees envy as a despicable, irrational, destructive, emotion, which inhibits the abilities of civilization and of cultures and societies to adapt successfully to changing circumstances. Envy, he avers,

is a drive which lies at the core of man's life as a social being, and which occurs as soon as two individuals become capable of mutual comparison. This urge to compare oneself invidiously with others can be found in some animals but in man it has acquired a special significance. Man is an envious being who, were it not for the social inhibitions aroused with the object of his envy, would have been incapable of developing the social systems to which we all belong today.

(Schoeck 1966/1987: 3)

Envy's first definition is to feel displeasure about another person's superiority in happiness, success, reputation, or the possession of anything desirable. It is a disgruntled emotional state arising from the spiteful wish that another person would lose what he or she has achieved or acquired. An excellent definition of envy was provided by W. S. Davidson:

Envy is an emotion that is essentially both selfish and malevolent. It is aimed at persons, and implies dislike of one who possesses what the envious man himself covets or desires, and a wish to harm him. Grasping-ness for self and ill-will lie at the basis of it. There is in it also a consciousness of inferiority to the person envied, and a chafing under this consciousness. . . . I rejoice if he finds that his envied possession does not give him entire satisfaction – much more, if it actually entails his dissatisfaction and pain: that simply reduces his superiority in my eyes, and ministers to my feelings of self-importance. As signifying in the envious man a want that is ungratified, and as pointing to a sense of impotence inasmuch as he lacks the sense of power which possession of the desired object would give him, envy is in itself a painful emotion, although it is associated with pleasure when misfortune is seen to befall the object.

(Davidson 1925: 322)

Envy inhibits the behavior of those who are envied, who must take into account the damage that envious people can do. In Australia, for example, there is a saying that one should cut down a tall poppy in his garden, in anticipation of the envy of neighbors. High achievers in this society are often referred to as "tall poppies." But such inhibition, Schoeck (*ibid.*) argues, can "overshoot the mark and arouse or release inhibitions which have a retarding effect on the ability of a group to adapt to a new environment." In minority subcultures or ethnic groups, envy of those who attain in the society at large can in some instances make upward social mobility of high-achieving group members problematic. The achievement which distinguishes modern societies, the development of civilization, is, to Schoeck, in part the result of the uncertain and painful process of overcoming envy. The allocation of scarce resources in a society is rarely optimal when decisions are based on fear of the envy of others. Envy is thus a potentially destructive emotion, one that is unjust, inhibitory, futile, and painful. The emotion of envy is condemned in every culture. The envious person is exhorted to be ashamed. Yet envy seems to be ubiquitous, providing latent apprehensiveness on the part of those who have, or attain, or prosper. Envy, Schoeck (*ibid.*) suggests, "is the great regulator in a personal relationship: fear of arousing it curbs and modifies countless actions" (p. 4).

Envy manifests itself in social behavior and is a sociological problem of the first order. The envier rejects any social relationship with the envied

person. He or she might not know or have even seen the envied person. Envious behavior excludes relations to the envied based on reciprocity, such as love, friendship, and admiration. The envious person, in many cases, does not really want what the envied possesses. Rather than seeking a transfer of value, he or she “would like to see the other person robbed, dispossessed, stripped, humiliated, or hurt...” (ibid.: 12). Every culture’s language provides ways to describe the states of mind of a person who “cannot bear someone else’s being something, having a skill, possessing something, or enjoying a reputation which he himself lacks, and who will therefore rejoice should the other lose his or her assets, although that loss will not mean his own gain” (ibid.). The more *intensely* the envious person concerns himself or herself with the envied person, the more he or she indulges in self-pity. The intensity of envy does not depend on the magnitude of the stimulus, the assessment of the resources and attributes of the envied, as much as it does on the social disparity between the envier and the envied. To escape envy, the envious person must come to grips with the inequalities of life; the envied person can only attempt to ignore the envy of others.

Envy can become institutionalized. A prominent historical example is that of socialist societies with a Marxist ideology, in which the class privileges of the ruling class were revoked and political control shifted to a “dictatorship of the proletariat,” which took the form of totalitarian elites. The institutionalization of envy can also be seen in capitalistic societies, as one factor among many motivating steeply progressive income and inheritance taxes. It is a fundamental classically-liberal premise of the welfare state that taxation should be redistributive, so that incomes of the rich and the excessive profits of corporate enterprises should be reallocated to provide for the needs of those who are poor, unemployed, old, ill, handicapped, dependent, and sick. It is of course important not to *reduce* such policies to any single factor, including envy, for there are reasons far better than envy for leveling social classes so that the difference in life chances between rich and poor are not too great and that society is constructed in such a way that there is an approximate equality of opportunity and good life-chances for all regardless of their ethnicity, religion, sex, and social class.

In most cultures it is more than good taste, being rather a compulsion, not to mention one’s own social advantages, new possessions, or good luck to others unless done in conjunction with description of a lack, or of a disadvantage, or of a mischance. This inhibition tends to be more severe in primitive societies than in modern societies. For example, the spells of the Azande (Evans-Pritchard 1937: 117) are designed to protect against magic, are always done in reference to the envy of some other person, and no matter in what way a person excels or prospers, there will always be those who will envy him his possession, his descent, his appearance, his skills as hunter, singer, or orator, and will possibly seek to destroy him



through the use of malicious magic. This makes sense if we consider the potential behavior of the envious man, or woman, who might be perfectly prepared to injure himself if by so doing he can injure or hurt the object of his envy. Zimmerman relates the following story:

A fairy appears to an envious man telling him that she can magically give him anything he wishes for – material goods, personal qualities, luck and happiness. But there was one condition: that his neighbor, the person he badly envied, would receive all his desires in double. And do you know what the man wished for? He wished the fairy to snatch out one of his eyes!

(David Zimmerman, cited in Byington 2003: 21)

Proverbs in many languages suggest that the greatest harm done by the envious man is to the self, and describe envy as an utterly destructive, uncreative, and even diseased state of mind. In any group, the envious man is a potential disturber of the peace, a potential saboteur, and instigator of mutiny, who cannot be placated by others. The envious person is, by definition, the negation of the basis of any society's dominant groups and classes. Incurably envious persons can inspire and lead revolutionary movements but they are not apt to be equipped to establish a stable social order. Thus, we have these proverbs: "Envy stews in its own juice." "Envy has never made anyone rich." "Envy cuts its own throat." "Envy devours its own master."

Just as people intentionally invoke jealousy in others, so also do people invoke envy in others. One example is to be found in Dostoevsky's *Notes from the Underground*. His underground man, who covets even the shallow futures of his schoolboy contemporaries, comes to be imprisoned by his self-reflection. He develops a life of self-willed appearance "in which he seeks power over the other through eliciting the envy of others in the face of his own contrived appearance" (Sugarman 1980: 5–6). He is preoccupied with assuming a dignified facial expression. He turns a spiteful countenance against other persons, saying "No" to those who would care about him. He guards his own suffering, which he needs as his link to reality and sanity. Seeking revenge for a slight – being jostled and hurried along by a policeman – he goes into debt purchasing clothing that would be appropriate if he should ever again bump into this policeman. In imagining this possible encounter, he seeks a cause for his suffering, some living thing on which he can vent his feelings, actually or in effigy. The venting of his affects represents his attempts to win relief, anesthesia, to deaden his psychic pain.

### *Creative envy*

Envy . . . is not just the pointer dog that hunts and forages. Envy is also the eagle that swoops down on its prey in accurate flight, as it is

also the tiger that leaps with its whole body in order to gobble up its victim.

(Carlos Byington)

Byington's (2003) *Creative Envy* provides a contrasting view of envy, seeing its creative potential. He notes that envy is close in meaning to both covetousness and greed. "Covetousness expresses emerging psychic energy, while greed relates to this psychic energy driven toward an object. Envy is the normal covetousness and greed of the self, directed to something that already belongs to someone else" (p. 58). It is this yearning for the possession of another that makes envy so feared, because it destabilizes the social order. It is feared and condemned not because it is essentially bad and evil, consecrated by the Inquisition as one of the seven deadly sins, but precisely because of its huge creative power. In the Myth of the Garden of Eden, the forbidden fruit was an object of envy because it already belonged to God. Yet eating of the fruit led to human creativity, to the ability to make moral judgments, have the eyes opened, and to gain knowledge, so that envy was mobilized and played a central role in propitiating the creative development of the individual, family, and culture. The serpent in this story is a symbol of the deep creativity of the psyche and of the central archetype (Neumann 1955; Byington 2003: 116–17; Jung 1959b).

Byington contends that it is not sinful for the poor to want private property and social privileges, and to call for redistributive taxation. The aspirations of the oppressed and exploited peoples of the world should not be dismissed, as they have been by Klein (1957: 135), as the "destructive impulses" of envy and greed. Instead, they can be understood as demands for a just social order in which life chances are not reserved for the privileged few. It should be recognized that envy and greed grow out of real suffering and real deprivation. Envy and greed, along with resentment, can be seen as a beginning point of articulating self-interest and group-interest, a necessary step in constructing a vision, and finding the voice to verbally express such a vision, for the transformation of society into a more just order.

Adopting a Jungian perspective, Byington attempts to demonstrate the creative ethical power of envy attained in the process of symbolic elaboration. The Jungian concept of symbolic elaboration is closely related to the process of symbollexia articulated by Hoppe (1985), who describes symbollexia as a pathological, alexithymic regression of symbolic elaboration necessary to differentiate the complex emotions and gain the ability to verbalize feelings and emotions. Byington condemns injustices that began in the myth of Genesis, were amplified by the Inquisition, and have been sanctioned by Freudian psychoanalysis, all of whom have denounced envy, along with the other "deadly sins" and the concept of "original sin," as pathologically evil and deserving of the harshest punishment imaginable. The scientific discipline of sociology, in fact, was in large measure founded

on Weber's (1905a, 1905b) notion that emotions should be kept subservient to rational behavior in the management of complex organizations. Byington sees this heritage as threatening the chances for the very survival of the human species. If emotions such as envy, jealousy, anger, and aggression are repressed, as they are during childhood and even adulthood in Western civilization and far beyond, then there is a blocking of the development of symbolic elaboration and a retardation of the development of the more complex emotions, resulting in resomatization, deverbilization, and asymbollexia, which together constitute alexithymia and retard normal processes of desomatization, verbalization, and symbollexia necessary for a productive, creative engagement with the world, and an ability to mentally grasp the significance of symbolic structures and effectively communicate with other persons and with the self. From the infant's duality of distress and contentment the basic emotions develop as the basis for a differentiation through combination of the secondary and tertiary emotions, a process of symbolic elaboration and of symbolic creativity. We have seen that massively traumatic experiences, from insufficient mothering to devastating illness to painful and humiliating experiences, are able to stultify and even reverse the processes by which the emotions come to be differentiated, thus enabling us to act in the world effectively and creatively, adapting an expanded mental capability to the great complexities of social life.

If the "negative" emotions are inhibited from their normal development in childhood, then later emotional life will be primarily defensive, repressed, sublimated, and restricted from later elaboration. For example, "The best way to raise a coward that appears to be courageous is to repress fear." The father who discourages the display of fear in the child is apt to be the same father who both fears and hates his job because of persecutory and oppressive atmosphere. Yet fear is a primary emotion, and it is an important survival skill for all animals, even for the most ferocious animals. Fear reduces the chances not only of being killed but of being injured and thereby weakened.

Apart from the central role of primary caregivers, children are at risk outside of the home. As an excellent example, Leavitt and Power (1989) found that day-care providers can fail to legitimize children's emotional expressions by ignoring and not responding to these communications. While the providers were attentive to children's displays of appropriate emotion, these children were at the same time being taught to deny, suppress, and rework their deep and authentic emotions and make them congruent with expected surface acting, which enables the day-care providers to keep the children at an emotional distance.

Freud saw emotions as essentially defensive and negative, and the two major victims of psychoanalysis were envy and aggression, both of which were identified with the destructiveness of the so-called death instinct, *Thanatos*. There is no scientific evidence whatever for the existence of such

an instinct. Freud (1921: 75) originally referred to the ego instinct, but progressively rationalized instinctive human destructiveness until he reached the conclusion that we are all born with a death instinct. It is Jung's revision of Freud that provided an appreciation of imagery and symbolization as essential for the creative functioning of the mind. Envy was seen not only as potentially fixated, defensive, and destructive, which we have seen that it certainly can be, but also creative, contributing to the healthy development of the personality. The person who wished to lose an eye in order to blind his envied neighbor could have chosen otherwise, choosing the things he wanted first and dealt with his envy later, possibly mindfully deciding not to act on his envy. Any emotion that can act freely and creatively, however disturbing and unsettling it might be, can lead to the growth of consciousness and to the development of the self. Defensive attention, overprotecting the child from experiencing frustration, only reinforces an infantile narcissism and stands in the way of developing real character. The process of symbolic elaboration, Byington (2003) insists, "is the centre of all psychic activity" (p. 23).

Envy can play a positive and creative role if allowed to develop naturally in the child. It can instill ambition in the self, which can also be positive or negative, as in the case of blind ambition or of a passionate ambition for wealth leading to avarice. It can also be useful, or at least gratifying, to instill envy in others, which can be done through "conspicuous consumption" (Veblen 1973). It is possible to manipulate the envy of others, then reap the benefits of having done so. There is intentional instilling of envy in advertising. Politicians, for example, are able on occasion to manipulate the envy and greed of the electorate. This can be done in good faith, followed up by a genuine effort to satisfy the voters once elected, or it can be done cynically and in a demagogical manner, promising, in Byington's terms,

heaven and earth to all, despite knowing their promises could never be fulfilled. Like good salesmen they incite envy in order to increase the sale of their products, or instead, to manipulate the social complexities of the less favored classes and instigate envy with ideas of class rivalry for their own electoral benefit"

(Byington 2003: 32)

### *Envy as a tertiary emotion*

Byington relates and comments upon a story of envy in the work-place:

A worker hears that her friend has been promoted. At that moment, the envy function has been activated in her Self by the central archetype, so that she too can see promotion. This is absolutely natural, creative and praiseworthy for her development. . . . In the interests of the

Self, the creative matriarchal coordination of envy in the work will bear the frustration and lick her lips in anticipation of her own promotion; or in the case of being defensive, envy becomes fixed, causing her to give up seeking her own desires and to see in her friend an enemy who makes her suffer.

(Byington 2003: 26)

From this story, we can infer which primary emotions are involved in the situation as a whole. We have already seen that territoriality is involved in envy. In the example, we find that the promotion of a co-worker means that this particular promotion is not available for oneself. The promotion of a friend is initially positive, as it unblocks the latent desire for her own promotion. This process awakens one's own professional ambition, one's competitiveness in the social hierarchy, which is definitive of anger. Yet, the happiness of a friendship is disturbed, as "the damned envy that disturbed the peace of the Self . . . came to poison a beautiful friendship with sordid feelings" (Byington 2003: 27). Here the emotion of sadness emerges, as the friendship is potentially lost.

This situation, if combined with low self-esteem and frustrated vanity, could lead to a kind of envy that is negative and destructive, so that she would rejoice if her friend were to suffer misfortune. Conversely, these three primary emotions can be combined in a creative way, energizing the self for her own promotion and directing any anger to overcoming obstacles to that laudable goal of higher status and pay, feeling happy for her friend's increased well-being and resources, and realizing that her friend's promotion was, after all, not her own demotion, and that the organization provides an incentive structure rewarding those all who are hard-working and genuinely productive. In this positive response, the initial responses are overcome, as *surprise* passes into an *anticipation* of shared opportunity, *sadness* gives way to a *joy* in the celebration of friendship, and *anger* is redirected from friend to goal. In the most general sense, envy has given way to ambition, bitterness to resolve, and discomfort and anxiety to clarity of mind.

Recall that in Plutchik, classification of the secondary emotions,

*envy, sullenness = sorrow + anger.*

But in the author's revision of Plutchik's classificatory scheme, there is a useful distinction between sullenness and envy, so that sadness and anger define only sullenness, and envy is no longer listed as a secondary emotion. The reason for this is that the author rather defines envy as a *tertiary* emotion. From the above analysis of the story of a friend's promotion, we can define envy as follows:

*envy<sub>1</sub> = surprise & anger & sadness.*

The reasons for adding surprise to Plutchik's definition of envy is clear from the above discussion and from the story. The addition of surprise is necessary because envy always involves a negative experience of territory or resources. Recall that in W.S. Davidson's (1925) definition, envy "is aimed at persons, and implies dislike of *one who possesses* what the envious man himself covets or desires." Recall also that envy's first definition is "To feel displeasure and ill-will at the superiority of (another person) in happiness, success, reputation, or *the possession of anything desirable*" (p. 322, emphasis added).

There are, as we have seen, four ways to develop every tertiary emotion that can vary markedly from person to person. In the case of envy, a person might be systematically presented with complex social situations in which the three primary emotions of surprise, anger, and sadness are evoked together (respectively, by the negative experience of market-exchange relations, the positive experience of authority-based relations, and the negative experience of communal relations) with a resulting cognitive elaboration, with associated neural entrainments, to produce the adaptive reaction of envy. And in addition there are three ways to join one of these three primary emotions to a secondary emotion formed from the other two primary emotions, with envy as the result. They are as follows:

In envy<sub>2</sub>, a person is outraged at the good fortune of another and saddened by this realization:

$$envy_2 = (surprise \& anger) \& sadness = outrage \& sadness.$$

In envy<sub>3</sub>, the perceived fortune of another person is a disappointment at one's own lot, together with anger at the comparison:

$$envy_3 = (surprise \& sadness) \& anger = disappointment \& anger.$$

In envy<sub>4</sub>, the possible appropriation of a resource that could have been one's own leads directly to a surprise (the negative experience of territory or resources) and triggers a sullen feeling. Thus,

$$envy_4 = (sadness \& anger) \& surprise = sullenness \& surprise.$$

Our personality, in large measure, can be defined as those emotions that have become most salient in the process of development and maturation. Thus, for example, if a person's life from early on has included many disappointments and the person's mind is filled with angry thoughts, then their path to envy might well have taken the route of envy<sub>3</sub>. Pursuing the specific example, envy<sub>3</sub>, we can ask an obvious question: how might it come about that a person would come to persistently experience both disappointment and episodes of anger? First, disappointment (surprise & sadness) results from the joint occurrence of the negative experiences of

exchange and communal social relations, and of lacking both resources (MP-) and socially supportive, close social relationships (CS-), neither to have nor to hold, respectively. And anger results primarily from efforts to rail against social powerlessness, which when done persistently and in the same intractable situations, leads to anger as a highly developed aspect of the personality. The social situations that we experience the most persistently during childhood become defining aspects of the adult personality: thus, we find a person who has a disappointed and angry self is primed to develop envy<sub>3</sub>. It is our social experience that leads certain primary and secondary emotions to develop as dominant features of the personality, and these emotions in turn prime the person to follow up these emotional personality components so that they become associated, in part cognitively, in a process of symbolic elaboration that leads to specific variants of tertiary emotions. In this case, a person fundamentally disappointed in his or her own lot in life – contemplating another person who has not been so disappointed but rather appears to be delighted (anticipation and joy) with his or her own life-situation – is apt to entertain such invidious comparisons with a sense of real anger, the result being a real, and possibly intractable, envy<sub>3</sub>.

### *Jealousy and envy distinguished*

Jealousy is in some measure just and reasonable, since it wants to keep possession of a good thing which we own, or that we believe we own, as opposed to envy, which is a fury that cannot stand the good fortune of others.

(La Rochefoucauld)

While in our ordinary talk we sometimes confuse jealousy and envy, they are clearly distinct phenomena. Thus a person might say, “I am jealous of your new car” but jealousy is the wrong choice of word. Yet there is a thin line between the two concepts because sometimes “jealous” has the sense of “envious,” as in “It is certain that they looked upon it with a jealous eye.” Yet the principal meaning of jealousy remains the passionate endeavor to keep something that is one’s own right. The jealous man can never become a spontaneous aggressor, because his hostility begins only when a rival appears on the scene and induces in him insecurity and anxiety. The rival might be motivated by a desire to possess one’s assets or prized relationship, or he might be driven by anger or a thirst for revenge. In contrast to the envious man, who knows exactly what has provoked him, the jealous man is usually in some doubt as to the nature of his antagonist and his intentions. The basic difference between jealousy and envy is that in jealousy two or more persons must confront each other in a relationship that is reciprocal, whereas in envy the envious person might have hostile feelings toward a person who does not even know of his existence.

It should be noted that jealousy and envy are close in meaning, both involving sadness and surprise, but differing only by the opposite primary emotions anger and fear. Recall Darwin's (1872) principle of antithesis, according to which fear can turn into anger, and that there is a moment of frozenness (fear & anger) in which they are not distinguished on the behavioral level. A jealous person aims to control his or her significant other on a multiplicity of levels, but must respect that possession is always partial and subject to negotiation. Thus a person might experience jealousy when a relationship is threatened globally but if the worst happens, and the love object is lost to a rival, the fear of losing the other gives way to anger about the fact of this loss, and he or she now feels an intense envy of the successful rival enjoying life with the significant other who has left for someone better. Thus, when what the jealous person feared would happen actually comes to pass, the fear turns into its own opposite, into an anger, and the jealousy is transformed into envy. At one moment in this process, the emotions of envy and jealousy are indistinguishable. Moreover, a perceived potential rival might establish a *limited* relationship with one's mate or significant other involving studying together, talking together, jogging, talking about ideas or current events, and so forth, so that both jealousy and envy are experienced at once. The suffering person is jealous because he or she fears losing more aspects of their close relationship, or losing their significant other entirely, and is envious of the time and energy that the other is currently devoting to this third person.

## Ambition

Moderation is incapable of fighting and subduing ambition, because moderation is a fatigue and laziness of the soul, while ambition is activity and ardor.

(Le Rochefoucauld)

The above reasoning not only sees the positive potential of envy but also its transformation into another complex emotion, which can be defined as another tertiary emotion. In the above coming-to-grips with one's discomfiting envy, there emerges an ambition for the self. In this transformation of envy, surprise is first transformed into its opposite, into anticipation of one's own success, together with the development of a plan for attaining that success. Secondly, sadness is transformed from a sense of loss at the others gain into a happy, even joyful, anticipation of one's own success. And third, the anger is redirected. Byington (2003) writes that in this process "the sleeping giant of professional ambition begins to awaken" (p. 27). This emerges as a fully formed tertiary emotion that is also constitutive of a social-intention state. This definition is proposed:

$ambition_1 = anticipation \ \& \ anger \ \& \ joy.$



Byington also suggests that aggressiveness is involved in this transformation, and we need only recall that “aggression = anticipation & anger” to see that ambition can also be conceptualized as follows:

$$\textit{ambition}_2 = \textit{aggressiveness} \ \& \ \textit{joy}.$$

Byington makes a profound point about the place of aggression, and the potential for happiness, as latent “components” of ambition, which merits citation:

Many who study the growing violence in our midst have not yet realized how much the ideology of the consumer market, through advertising, increases frustration and social violence by aggressive marketing that creates even greater envy in the less favored, by implying that possession and status are often of higher value than work, self-esteem and dignity.

(Byington 2003: 32)

And Byington does use the term *components*, as he immediately follows up this insight with the claim that “[t]he components of envy make it one of the most powerful . . . emotions, and for this reason, it is frequently frightening, for it is painful and destabilizing when experienced.” In Western civilization, there is a disguising of envy, he adds, because of the fact that our intense patriarchal traditions have been enormously pathologized and aggravated by the Inquisition – the longest ideological repression in human history, beginning with the execution of the Spaniard Prisciliano under the order of Maxumus in AD375 and ending with the last death sentence for heresy in Germany in 1775 (Zilboorg and Henry 1941) – which was a celebration of psychopathic torture, sadism, murder, and even genocide on the part of the Catholic Church. Even when science became the dominant form of human knowledge at the end of the eighteenth century, the subjective level of human experience, including the emotions, was not deemed an acceptable topic for scientific investigation, even though there was intense scientific effort to detect the existence of the soul, for which the body was the corrupt vessel (Porter 2003).

When we observe the vitality and profound emotions of children, whether it be aggressiveness, sexuality, or envy, these emotions are raw and immature and are apt to be treated by caregivers as wrong, inappropriate, and sinful, preventing these emotions from being elaborated and improved, rather acting to repress and deform these natural adaptive responses of the developing mind. These emotions in fact are necessary to prepare the child for a successful life but are stigmatized, repressed, and punished, which retards, even reverses, the process of symbolic elaboration. The result is a repressed emotional life that is dyslexithmic and cognitively stunted. Rather than repress such emotions, relegating them to the

shadow of the mind, it is better that they be brought into consciousness, explored, and talked about. When the child is punished and humiliated for experiences of lying, cowardice, envy, or desire, the resulting trauma can lead to pathologies such as alexithymia and agoraphobia.

When we feel we deserve a reward for our performance, such as a promotion, taking pride (an angry joy) and working with anticipation of that outcome, then

*ambition<sub>3</sub> = pride & anticipation.*

Moreover, we can see in ambition that optimism (defined as joy and anticipation) can also be seen as a component of ambition, which combined with a moving forward to removing the obstacles standing in the way of the goal (which defines anger). Thus,

*ambition<sub>4</sub> = optimism & anger.*

Just as envy has its negative and positive moments, so too does ambition. Ambition can lead to success, but one's ambitions can also lead to failure. Yet, even success has its ambiguity. Success confirms our efforts and stimulates us to continue working (Byington 2003: 88) but there is always the temptation to become stuck in a place where we have succeeded rather than continuing on a developmental path. Jung used to say to his followers, "Congratulations, I hear that you have suffered a success." Ambition, the desire for achievement, is inherently a way toward wholeness. But success along the way can become a defense whenever yesterday's objectives become today's stagnation, and where, in Byington's (2003) terms, "past achievements can delay development and separate consciousness from its relations to wholeness" (p. 88) and lead to *hubris*. Emotional development, including the will to pursue one's ambitions, is an endless process of self-development and symbolic elaboration filled with all sorts of pitfalls and temptations. Just as envy can become defensive and self-destructive, so can ambition.

Even in the creation of scientific theory, the concepts we develop can be subverted by the very ambition that stimulated their development. Byington explains that Freud, when faced with his *own* oedipal complex (accompanied by his own fantasies of incest and aggressive patricide), did not ask how he had come to construct such defenses in himself, how he had personally turned defensive, neurotic, and patricidal in his relationships with his own parents (Freud 1900, 1920; see also Jones 1961: 322). Rather than examining the functions of envy, sexuality, and aggressiveness in a creative way, Freud simply labeled them as inadequate and destructive, essentially offering a rationalization: "I was created this way and the proof is in the death instinct in all of us" (Byington 2003: 94). Freud thus tried to "normalize," by repression and sublimation, his disturbing

thoughts of incest and patricide to form the “superego,” an unsatisfactory notion (with no known biological basis) that projected his personal pathology onto all of humanity and led him to a pessimistic attitude about human nature and the prospects for human civilization (Freud 1930). Freud’s project, from a scientific point of view, was a failure despite his valuable insights into human nature, for it contributed to cultural deformity insofar as it provided “scientific” endorsement of the curse of Genesis and the repression of the Inquisition. His concept of repression in neurosis was brilliant, and is consistent with the interhemispheric transfer deficit theory invoked as an explanatory mechanism of alexithymia. But his idea that incestuous and patricidal tendencies in children are normal yet in need of being repressed is an error that, in Byington’s (2003) terms, has “inoculated modern scientific humanism with the Judeo-Christian repressive inheritance, according to which the human being is intrinsically bad and needs to be repressed and ‘sublimated’ by culture” (p. 122). Byington argues that the repression and sublimation of creativity, aggressiveness, desire, and envy are not necessary but rather retard the symbolic elaboration needed for a fully developed self and a differentiated, verbalized, symbolized inventory of complex emotions that serve adaptive functions in the social world.

## Confidence

Confidence, even more than wit, improves conversation.

(La Rochefoucauld)

The confident person experiences a low-grade emotion, which is accompanied by muscular control, deep and even breathing, and other sensations of well-being. Confidence will be defined as follows:

*confidence*<sub>1</sub> = *anticipation* & *acceptance* & *anger*.

This definition derives from Barbalet’s (1998: 84–101) excellent discussion of this emotion, which could easily have been outlined under the headings of these three primary emotions. The meaning of confidence will be elaborated as combinations of each of these primary components together with secondary emotions formed from the other two primary emotions.

### *Confidence as the anticipation of dominance*

In a tertiary emotion, one element is usually most central. For confidence, anticipation is of central importance. Anticipation is an adaptive reaction to the opportunities for acquiring territory and resources. Simmel (1906/1950) understood confidence as “a hypothesis regarding future behavior” which is “certain enough to serve as a basis for practical conduct” (p. 318). The confident person is able to feel strongly that a future event will take place, or that a future outcome can be realized.

Barbalet regards confidence as an emotion necessary for social processes of agency, which together with trust and loyalty constitute the basis of social life. He sees confidence, in particular, as the emotion of assured expectancy, as it is an emotion of self-projection in which the person, acting as his or her own agent, is able to anticipate a desired future state of affairs, and that one will be able to act in a way that actually obtains the goal. To obtain a goal under competitive conditions is to win, or to establish a position of dominance. With this in mind, we arrive at a second definition of confidence:

*confidence*<sub>2</sub> = *anticipation & dominance.*

To act with agency is to have the ability to make a difference in the world. The *function* of confidence, then, is to promote social action. Confidence is an emotion with a substantial cognitive component. It is future oriented, as the agentic person is the one committed to bringing an envisioned future into the present, giving a sense of certainty to what is, in its essence, unknowable. All social action, Barbalet argues, is based upon a confidence which apprehends a possible future. The object of confidence is to be found in the future; more than that, it is anticipation that a certain outcome can be attained, a goal met, a plan realized, an intention turned into reality, a position of dominance attained.

### *Confidence as anger and resourcefulness*

The confident person is prepared to carry out action intended to realize his objective, a certain state of affairs to be realized in the future. One must be prepared to meet all kinds of blockages and obstacles, and to persist in the face of many distractions and problems. The behavior required is that of "moving toward," which is, behaviorally, anger. Thus anger, in this sense, is intrinsic to having confidence, for the realization of a wanted future is to realize the future that is desired by the self, with full knowledge that other people might prefer, and even fight for, different outcomes. This is the basis of intentionality, the ability to remain focused on a future objective that has been imagined, and a set of strategies and tactics constitutive of one's resources that can make this future attainable. The confident person has mental and other resources at his or her disposal, and has a strong and positive identity able to utilize these resources. He or she feels assured that one's abilities and resources are sufficient for the task at hand. Thus,

*confidence*<sub>3</sub> = *anger & resourcefulness.*

Confidence, as an emotion, has dispositional and cognitive components. The cognitive elements are images or projections of self and beliefs concerning the future. The dispositional aspects concern inclinations to act on

those images, projections, and beliefs. The role of anger is not explicit in Barbalet, but has been inferred from what he said about having the confidence to attain a certain future state of affairs.

### *Confidence as acceptance of one's aggressiveness*

The third primary component of confidence is clear from a reading of Barbalet (1998). Confidence is a feeling of assurance about the future. Insofar as the future cannot be subjected to a global analysis, logic is a limited tool in planning a future. What is needed is not complete information, which is impossible, but confidence in one's ability and effectiveness. Without confidence, action cannot be taken. Barbalet's main argument about confidence is that in promoting social action, confidence must have as its source acceptance – including self-acceptance, self-esteem, and the capability to gain the acceptance of other people with a say in one's eventual success or failure – together with an aggressive insistence on recognition. Self-confidence requires self-understanding, which gives a person an ability to act aggressively in pursuit of a goal. Such a feeling is necessary for action, because we can never know the future with certainty. Thus,

*confidence<sub>4</sub> = acceptance & aggressiveness.*

The confident person is a person with a highly positive self-image, with a strongly positive identity. Confidence in one's self means self-acceptance. To have high regard for oneself is a form of self-understanding, an understanding that makes aggressive action, and the taking of a chance that action will not succeed, possible. "The efficacious 'evidence' or 'knowledge' of self-confidence is a feeling about the actor's own capacities . . . to achieve" a desired future, bringing it into the present (ibid.: 83). The confident person acts with assured anticipation and self-projection, linking the future to one's identity. A feeling of confidence comes about in a person's social relations, if these relations lead to acceptance and recognition. Barbalet (ibid.) writes, "[i]n all likelihood, the greater the degree of acceptance and recognition accorded to an action in a social relationship, the higher the actor's feeling of confidence, and the more included that actor will be to engage in future interactions" (p. 86). Confidence leads to being "successfully accepted into an interaction" (ibid.: 32–3). While the object of pride is the actor's past behavior, the object of confidence is the actor's prospective behavior, the ability to act with a self-assured aggressiveness, prepared to overcome whatever competition stands in the way of success.

### *Overconfidence and underconfidence*

There is some evidence that in the evolutionary past of the human race that overconfidence was an adaptive trait, which as a result "has become

an integral aspect of the human psyche,” according to Dominic Johnson (2004: 5) in his *Overconfidence and War*. By “adaptive,” he means that overconfidence provides a survival or reproductive advantage that has consequently spread by a process of natural selection. Whether or not this is the case, he argues, overconfidence is a widespread phenomenon that cannot be ignored in an effort to understand human conflicts, including warfare, and must be considered as one cause of warfare. Exaggerated confidence can have a long-term payoff because the costs of failure arising from overconfidence often are of less import than the missed opportunities that derive from accuracy or from overcautiousness and underconfidence. Nettle (2004) shows that when outcomes of events are uncertain, as they almost always are, overestimating the probability of success can eclipse perfect rationality as a strategy. While it is possible to be either overconfident or underconfident, the costs and benefits of the two are asymmetrical. To make a sound decision, the payoff for winning should be weighted by its probability,  $p$ , which then is compared to the payout for losing, weighted by its probability,  $1 - p$ . A decision to compete, to play, or to go to war, becomes cost-effective as the ratio of benefits to costs increases. The problem with such a model is that the probabilities are not known, and must be estimated on the basis of limited information. Nettle and his colleagues, using computer simulations, have found that when uncertainty is high, it is better to overestimate one’s chances of success. In modern life, which is becoming increasingly unlike our environment of evolutionary adaptation, positive illusions become less responsive than they should be and can persist even when costs are extremely high, “perhaps because they are not triggered by evolutionary salient stimuli” (Johnson 2004: 225). One has only to contemplate recent wars of the United States, in Vietnam and Iraq, to appreciate this caution. Johnson also cautions that an overconfident bias need not always be better than accurate estimation of long-run payoff. Yet, on balance, a natural overconfidence might “result from adaptive biases that exist in the present because they led to survival and reproductive advantage for humans in this past” (Nettle 2004: 13). Fortunately, the human brain has evolved the capacity to develop error-management theory and to understand and correct for the predictable yet adaptive biases as aids in decision making.

In Chapter 10 we saw that confidence is one of eight emotions that contribute to a character type, that of social autonomy. There are two problems with confidence suggesting that, for an individual person, there can be an optimal level of confidence. First, a person lacking in self-confidence will not fare well in a tough and competitive world. And second, a person can be unrealistically overconfident, seeking goals that have no chance of being realized. Thus, a person is underconfident if the level of confidence is set too low given one’s natural abilities, and is overconfident if confidence level exceeds abilities. There are two meanings of the term, overconfidence. As just defined, overconfidence<sub>A</sub> related to hubris, the tragic flaw of a

person who overestimates his or her level of ability and ends up making wrong decisions harmful to the self and to others. And overconfidence<sub>B</sub> defines the behavior of a person who is “too certain” about some future event and has “too tight” a distribution of posteriors. For example, a broker is overconfident if he believes a stock price the following day will range from \$20–25 with 90 percent confidence, whereas in reality this confidence level should have been set at \$15–30 (Hvide 2002: 19).

People are often more confident than they are accurate, demonstrating more confidence for their knowledge than is justified – in the voting booth, in the hospital, and in the courtroom. There is no doubt that overconfidence hinders the pursuit of knowledge and the accurate interpretation of information (Puncochar and Fox 2004). In the educational system, students tend to be overconfident in their course-related knowledge and fail to recognize their need to improve their understanding of course materials. This is of great importance because the ability of students to discriminate between what they know and what they do not know is the essence of learning. The ability to make this discrimination has been called “confidence resolution” (Lieberman and Tversky 1993). It is the level of confidence that people can report when they answer a question correctly, contrasted with the confidence when they are wrong. Confidence resolution is typically far from ideal, as individuals often have considerable difficulty in discriminating between what they know and what they do not know. As humorist Josh Billings remarked, “It’s not what a man don’t know that makes him a fool, but what he does know that ain’t so” (cited in Lundeberg *et al.* 1994: 120).

Research on the overconfidence effect has primarily focused on social-cognitive processes, such as the biasing effects of judgmental heuristics and the faulty integration of relevant information. Blanton *et al.* (2001) have developed a motivational perspective that links overconfidence to strategies of cognitive dissonance reduction, according to which people become overconfident as a result of a desire to see the self as competent and knowledgeable. In two experiments with college students, it was found that the motivation to see the self as an accurate perceiver elevated confidence, independently of its impact on accuracy. This effect was diminished by manipulations derived from cognitive dissonance theory: confidence ratings were debiased by an affirmative manipulation designed to boost a feeling of self-worth; these ratings were also debiased by a manipulation designed to lower the aversive implications of feeling uncertain.

Other studies indicate that overconfidence in the knowledge that people possess is apt to lead to poor decision making in such real-life behaviors as voting and other action scenarios (Paese and Feuer 1991; Puncochar and Fox 2004). There is also evidence that individuals are apt to make better decisions than do groups, which is important because “groupthink,”<sup>20</sup> in crisis situations, tend to be overconfident, disregard risk they create for outgroups, and develop a collapsed time perspective (Hart 1991).

While positive illusions are essential elements of the mentally healthy mind, emotional pathology can contribute to inappropriate levels of confidence. Positive illusions are greatly reduced or absent among people who are depressed or merely dysphoric, a phenomenon that is called “depressive realism” (Alloy and Abramson 1979). Depression is one of the few forms of mental illness that is associated with low levels of aggressiveness and violence (Baumeister and Boden 1998). Depression, and physical illness, contributes to self-doubt, avoidance of decision, an inability to accept responsibility, overestimation of the importance of negative information, and propensity to become easily discouraged (Nettle 2004; Johnson 2004: 226–8).

On the other hand, two groups of people – those with the highest levels of positive illusions due to their narcissism, and those with genuinely high self-esteem – are prone to persist at nearly impossible tasks and life goals. Both aggressiveness and violence, personal and collective, can be attributed to a convergence of a highly inflated ego together with a threat to that ego (Baumeister and Boden 1998: 123; Robins and Beer 2001; Johnson 2004: 231). The highest levels of hostility are found in people who have high but unstable levels of self-esteem (Kernis *et al.* 1989). Narcissists are characterized by grandiosity and exaggerated opinions of themselves, a delusion of omnipotence, that causes overestimation of their own capability and underestimation of the power of opponents. These narcissists hide their aggressiveness behind a façade of friendliness. People with high self-esteem, in fact, will often respond to failure by raising their already-unrealistic predictions about their future performances and by making self-defeating commitments (Johnson 2004: 232; Baumeister and Boden 1998: 115). People suffering from mania, the highs in a cycle of bipolar disorder, are also prone to exacerbated, positive illusions, which lead them to a pathological level of overconfidence. Psychopaths with grandiose views of their own superiority are responsible for a high number of violent and exploitative crimes (Hare 1993).

There are interesting, and important, sex differences in overconfidence. Men, on average, have greater positive illusion than do women. This is, in part, attributable to the higher prevalence of depression and lack of confidence of women, especially those with traditional gender-role ideologies. Men have higher levels of testosterone and can raise these levels rapidly in comparison to women. Few female political leaders have acted in as confident and aggressive a manner as have their male counterparts (Johnson 2004: 228) and only the most aggressive females have been successful in obtaining positions of political leadership, especially in times of war and heightened international tension. In an experimental war game, McDermott and Cowden (2001) randomly matched female–female, male–female, and male–male contestants, in which subjects were unaware of their opponent’s sex. Female–female dyads were found less apt to end up at “war” than were male–male dyads. In mixed dyads, females were initially more



cooperative than males but were just as apt to turn to war in response to aggression. Women were shown as less overconfident, as they estimated their chances of “victory” as lower than did men. It has also been speculated that the culture of capitalism, materialism, and individualism contributes to overconfidence, with the result that Americans are widely seen as the most confident people on earth (Peterson 2000) but are also often seen as overconfident and arrogant.

### From despair to hopefulness

We make promises according to our hopes, and we keep them according to our fears. . . . Hope, though she is a deceiver, at least serves to lead us to life’s end by a pleasant path.

(La Rochefoucauld)

The final tertiary emotion to be considered is hope. Hope is closely related to optimism and pessimism. The hopeful person is neither optimistic nor pessimistic, but very much oriented to the future, anticipating – with a feeling of uncertainty – that things might or might not work out, that the future will bring happiness or sadness. He or she might say, “I am optimistic, but things might work out badly – I hope all goes well.” Or, “I am pessimistic, but things might work out happily anyway.” Thus, optimism (joy & anticipation) might be tinged with sadness, and pessimism (sadness & anticipation) with joy. Recalling that optimism and pessimism are anticipations of joyful and sad outcomes, we arrive at these definitions:

*hope*<sub>1</sub> = anticipation & joy & sadness;  
*hope*<sub>2</sub> = optimism & sadness; and  
*hope*<sub>3</sub> = pessimism & happiness.

Hope, like its secondary-emotional components optimism and pessimism, is a calm and “cool” emotion, which is apt to be directed to existential issues, so that we fear death but hope for a long and healthy life. Hope is not a hot emotion but rather a stable sentiment, for it is a key to our feelings about the value of life itself. Many psychologists, seeing that hope is not a “hot” state of mind, are apt to consider it not to be an emotion. Hope has coolness to it in part because of the great temporal distance in the future of the hoped-for object or objective.

Like all other tertiary emotions, hope can be given one additional definition. Because the combination of joy and sadness defines catharsis, it follows that

*hope*<sub>4</sub> = anticipation & catharsis.

An example will suffice. Consider a man determined to divorce his wife.

This objective, when its future reality is anticipated, is going to be regarded as eventually bringing a happiness he has, he believes lost, but it is sure to bring sadness as well, for he has committed himself to his wife in a public ritual, and he is going to lose access to his own children. The wife is going to lose companionship and feel lonely and sorrowful about a failed relationship even as she feels joy at escape from an oppressive situation. Thus, for both parties, the anticipated future will bring forth, albeit in different ways, the concurrent experience of joy and sadness.

Ben-Ze'ev (2000: 475) described hope as having three basic characteristics: (i) a desire to be in, or to avoid, a certain situation or outcome; (ii) a belief that the desired, or undesired, situation has a probability of occurrence somewhere in between zero and one, so that it is neither impossible nor certain; and (iii) the desired situation or outcome is important to us, or to someone else we care about. If the probability of the future state of affairs changes – so that an unlikely outcome becomes more probable, or a likely outcome becomes less probable – then hope will be intensified (*ibid.*: 476). If we wish for the impossible, then we engage not in hope but fantasy.

Research on hope suggests that episodes of hope are most apt to have as their object achievement-related goals, such as future success in academic, creative, occupational, or athletic endeavors. The second most usual objects of hope are for a valued or romantic interpersonal experience, and for the well-being of significant other people (Gordon 1980: 572–3). There is also research suggesting that high-hope people, in comparison to low-hope controls, set higher life goals and are more apt to attain their goals, have better skills for coping with the problems that life presents, and make better recoveries from illnesses and injuries. Thus, while hope might tend to be unrealistically positive, it is like optimism in being highly functional (Snyder 1994). People who tend to be unrealistically optimistic, hopeful, and overconfident about the future can be said to have positive illusions. Yet this orientation contributes to mental health and happiness, as it is a mentally healthy person who is able to see the world as being largely as it ought to be, so that they are able to be contented and happy with their lot in life (Ben-Ze'ev 2000: 205; Taylor 1989: 49).

Because of its existential aspect, philosophers and theologians are apt to see hope as an extremely important emotion. One important historical source of hopefulness is Christian theology, in which interest in hope dates to Pauline ethics. Saint Paul identified love, faith, and hope as the three theological virtues. Drawing on the ethics of Aristotle, Aquinas expanded this taxonomy by adding four “moral” virtues of temperance, justice, prudence, and fortitude. Aquinas’ theistic interpretation of hope, that it is realizable only through divine means, can be given secular interpretation, as he also saw that hope requires humility, for it can go wrong and be mistaken if a person relies on his own strengths. Aquinas realized that hope is an anticipation of future happiness tinged with the realization that the

actual outcome might not be a happy success. Yet hopefulness implicitly entails a critical reflection of one's present circumstances, and in this sense hope created discontent insofar as a person's hope for a better future created dissatisfaction and unhappiness with present conditions, especially if things as they are impede progress. Thus, anticipation of a happy future also creates a sad contemplation of one's discontented present. Hopefulness involves the belief that something yearned for could materialize, so that present unhappiness will be transformed into future happiness. To be hopeful is to be open to future possibilities and potentialities, which brings with it openness to other people, for an attitude of realizing a better future entirely with one's own effort is a form of hubris that leads to disappointment. Hope, then, is both cognitive and emotional and is realized through social relationships. As Tiger (1999; see also Tiger 1975) argues, hope is an "essential vitamin for social processes. If everyone awoke each day to announce 'It's hopeless', there would soon be no plausible tomorrow and no continuous social arrangements" (p. 622).

The concept of negative hope is not meaningful, so that hope as a dimension begins at a zero point, the condition of hopelessness or despair. The word *despair* derives from a Latin root *sperare*, meaning "hope," so that despair is to lose all hope. The opposite of hopefulness has been variously described. Nesse (1999) shows that hope and despair, which arise under opposed circumstances, are themselves not opposites. There are, he argues, "intrinsically intertwined partners in the dance of desire, differing only in whether or not the object of desire is more or less likely to be reached" (p. 431). Lazarus (1999: 654) sees hope as a vital coping resource against despair, and notes, "[w]hen all hope fails, there is nothing but despair." As defined here, despair and hope are at the opposite ends of the same nonnegative continuum. Both hope and despair have benefits. The benefits of hope are obvious, but its costs are concealed. For despair, the benefits are not obvious but the costs are apparent. There comes a time when a futile, unreachable goal should be abandoned, and a useless hope given up. Instead of despairing, one can praise the objective mind that gives up what is impossible to attain and the implicit capacity for suffering has its uses and survival value.

Depression and despair are often used interchangeably, but there is an important distinction, as is made clear in data presented by Platman *et al.* (1971), in which a manic-depressive patient was measured for Plutchik's eight primary emotions just one day before she made an unsuccessful suicide attempt while in a hospital ward. She was found high on *anger*, *disgust*, and *sadness*. The same patient in her manic state two weeks later showed an opposite profile in which these three emotions were virtually absent, replaced with their three opposites – *fear*, *acceptance*, and *joy* (along with lower levels of anticipation and surprise) (Figure 13.1). These results suggest the possibility that depression and mania are opposite tertiary emotions, but most neurophysiologists and psychologists regard depression and mania not as emotions but affective disorders.

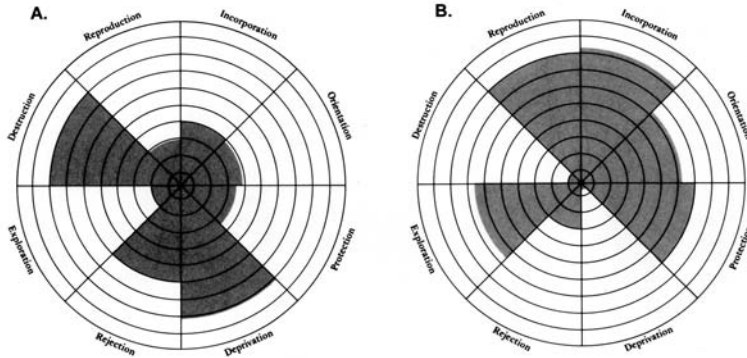


Figure 13.1 Primary emotions profile of a manic-depressive woman. Panel A: in a depressed state, a day before a suicide attempt; Panel B: two weeks later, in a manic state (source: Platman *et al.* (1971). Reprinted by permission of Permagon Press.

Hope can be, and is, easily exploited, and Tiger (1999) provides several examples. State-sponsored lotteries support education by extracting money mostly from the fatalistic poor. Politicians exploit hope by promising a better future in which freedom is ever on the march and the economy always improving. In its most grim forms, governments of the Khmer Rouge and the Nazis have asserted that perfect community can be attained by physical extermination of offensive outgroups. Hope is exploitation by cable tele-boutiques featuring preacher-stars offering life enhancement and assurance of eternal salvation in return for financial contributions. Medical quacks have long offered snake oil and the like, but contemporary medical science has rather focused on despair, hopelessness, and depression, in an effort to develop drugs that offer relief from a feeling of hopelessness by chemical means, by bathing the brain with endorphins that can restore a modicum of optimism and hope in the face of an uncertain future.

# 14 Emotions, violence, and the self

## Vengefulness and hatred

### Violence and the self

Even the most apparently “insane” violence has a rational meaning to the person who commits it, and to prevent this violence, we must learn to understand what that meaning is. And even the most apparently rational, self-interested, selfish, or “evil” violence is caused by motives that are utterly irrational and ultimately self-destructive.

(James Gilligan)

Violence is the infliction of physical injury on one person by another person, whether or not the injury is intentionally inflicted or comes about as a result of careless disregard for the safety of oneself or of others. Gilligan sees all interpersonal human violence as tragedy, and the first lesson that tragedy teaches is this:

[A]ll violence is an attempt to achieve justice . . . for himself or for whomever it is on whose behalf he is being violent, so as to receive whatever retribution or compensation the violence person feels is “due” to him or “owed” to him or to those on whose behalf he is acting, whatever he or they are “entitled” to or have a “right” to. . . . The attempt to achieve and maintain justice, or to undo or prevent injustice, is the one and only universal cause of violence.

(Gilligan 1996: 11–12, emphasis deleted)

Most violence is carried out by men, against other men, and tends to be about the maintenance of “manhood.” Violence is of course a medical problem, and a problem of public health, because victims of violence receive injuries that must be treated. It is a psychological problem, to be sure, and psychotherapy grapples with violent people, hoping to help them to understand and thereby gain control over themselves. And it is a key problem for the sociology of emotions.

In order to understand violence, it is helpful to examine the most violent of men, who can be found in maximum-security prisons. The worst

of these killers, Gilligan finds, have selves so denigrated, shamed, and humiliated that they are, in essence and by self-description, like zombies, robots, and vampires. Only the living dead, he argues, would want to kill the living, “because for them the most unendurable anguish is the pain of seeing that others are still alive” (ibid.: 32). Gilligan reports that many of these murderers have told him that they have died even though their bodies live on. Many report that they cannot feel anything – neither emotions nor physical sensations. Many of them have mutilated themselves horribly, enucleating their eyes, castrating themselves, tearing out their toenails, without feeling any physical pain at all. One inmate, who had raped and killed a 14-year-old girl, reported, “I wanted to do it. What I wondered was, whether I’d have feelings or not. . . . I’m a nothing. I had no feelings – no love, hate, sadness, remorse. I was not angry at her . . . I’ve never shown feelings because I haven’t had them” (ibid.: 35). But he did report having been at one time filled with rage at his mother, being unattractive and sexually inadequate, and feeling that he could only be ridiculed and humiliated. By the time of adulthood, his rage had left him.

How can it be, as it has been throughout human history, that the most vicious killers already feel numb and dead by the time they begin killing? Gilligan provides a coherent, theoretical argument that merits summary. First, he argues that for healthy and normal people the difference between life and death is clear: you are alive until you die, and you are dead from then on. But for these violent men, this is not true, as their categorical distinctions between life and death, pleasure and pain, the rational and the irrational, self-preservation and self-destruction, have broken down. This cognitive pathology has its roots in emotional pathology. For them, death means the death of the *self*, which is a kind of spiritual and emotional death. This condition is so intolerable that the death of themselves, and of others, is preferable. After discovering that killing does not restore their life and they cannot feel emotionally, the next best thing is to feel physical pain, which is preferable to nothing. Seeing themselves bleed, and knowing that at least while healing they will feel pain, reassures them that they are alive. Murder, for these men, is an effort to bring one’s dead self back to life. If nothing else works, there is suicide, and the suicide rate of men who have just murdered is several hundred times greater than it is for ordinary men (ibid.: 41). For them, death, and the death penalty, is not a deterrent but a promise of peace.

We saw in Chapter 12 that traumatic events can stultify normal emotional and cognitive development, so we might expect that pathological experiences in childhood contribute to this pathology of violence and the death of self, and indeed they do. As children, these men experienced neglect, rejection, physical violence, sexual exploitation, and violation on a scale that is extreme and even bizarre. They have been scalded, beaten, tortured, starved, set on fire, raped, prostituted, shot, locked in closets and attics, and thrown out of windows. Abuse on the non-physical level can be equally devastating. Words alone can insult and humiliate, disgrace, and

dishonor a child, tearing down self-esteem to the point that the soul is metaphorically murdered. This violence, physical and/or verbal, Gilligan (ibid.) argues, “is the ultimate means of communicating the absence of love by the person inflicting the violence” (p. 47). The self cannot develop normally without the experience of acceptance, joy, and love, the positive, natural emotions.

Gilligan defines the ultimate result of the absence or deficiency of *self-love* that results from a lack of love from others as a shamed identity. This accords with the present definition of shame, as a combination of fear, sadness, and self-disgust. It is shame that comes to be experienced as a feeling of coldness and deadness. The deeply shamed person believes themselves to be repugnant, abhorrent, and unattractive, an embarrassment to themselves and others, a disappointment. They fit a character cluster of Chapter 10, that of limited autonomy and social incompetence. Gilligan explains that the deep feelings of shame experienced by these sociopaths have led them to a total inability to feel, for they have suffered a total loss of self-love. To be overcome by shame and humiliation is to experience the destruction of self-esteem, so that the self collapses and the soul is murdered. The highest level of shame is *mortification*, which means both humiliation and causing death.

When emotional pain is mild to moderate, the person as an adult might become alexithymic, which Kaplan and Wogan (1976–1977) show to be a pain-coping mechanism. But when emotional pain is overwhelming, the repression is more extreme: “it provides an automatic, unconscious, reflex-like self-anesthetization, a self-deadening, . . . an inner emptiness” (Gilligan 1996: 50–1). The manifest absence of the primary emotions constitutive of a higher-order emotion indicates that their higher-order emotion has not been developed as an affective-cognitive unity. Typically, there is a total lack of acceptance of these violent men by their family members, and ultimately, by themselves as well. They have lived without joy, and “a joyless life is a synonym for hell . . .” (ibid.: 52). Unable to experience acceptance and joy, the components of love, they live without love. And love alone can provide the sense of aliveness that includes a vulnerability to pain, and only those who are capable of risking pain are able to experience joy.

The result of the brutalization these violent men have experienced leads to a wide range of pathology – to the character of social incompetence, to the character of hostile intentions, to sociopathies, and to narcissism. This is because a self that is emptied of love fills the void with hatred. Gilligan finds that these incarcerated killers reveal in therapy sessions in which they feel engulfed by hate and see the world as hateful. These men speak of a “blinding rage” and fit the character type that has been described as hateful and scornful, sullen, cynical, pessimistic, revenge-seeking, sadistic, and misanthropic. Gilligan (ibid.) speculates that what lies behind this hatred, more generally behind this complex of hostile intentions, “is the

unmet wish to be loved, the inability actively to love anyone (self or others), and the consequent abject dependence on others to magically fill with love a bottomless pit, an inferno – the self – that is utterly empty of love” (p. 54).

What do Gilligan’s violent men have to say about symbolization? He refers to Freud’s great insight, that thought and fantasies are symbolic representations of actions, so they can precede actions and substitute for them as well, a substitution of the word for the deed. Gilligan’s insight pertains to *somatization* of communication, arguing that the opposite is also true: “*Actions are symbolic representations of thoughts*” (p. 61, emphasis in original). Actions can take the place of thinking in words. The violent actions of violent men represent a symbolic language with its own logic. Freud also recognized that people with character disorders, whose pathology manifests itself in abnormal and destructive behavior, act out through behavior what normal and even neurotic people experience only in their unconscious minds and that psychotics experience consciously in their delusions. To understand violence, it is necessary to understand what thoughts and fantasies the violent behavior represents. They are highly alexithymic (Zeitlin *et al.* 1993). Gilligan (1996) explains: “[t]heir verbal inarticulateness prevents them from telling us in words the thought their behavior symbolically expresses” (p. 62). Gilligan describes one case study, Ross L., which enables theoretical clarification. As a child and young man, Ross had been treated with scorn and disrespect, treated as a weakling rather than as a “real man,” called a “wimp” and a “pussy.” He felt impotent and inadequate and regarded these feelings as intolerable. His only source of self-respect was his ability to mechanically repair cars. While unable to use his own car, unable to pay his own mechanic, he accepted a ride from a young woman who had been his high-school classmate, implicitly admitting that he lacked both the money and the mechanical skill to have a ride of his own. He mutilated and murdered this young woman, destroying her eyes and cutting out her tongue.

What was the logic behind his behavior? He expressed painful feelings of shame and humiliation, which had brought about the death of the self as described above. Shame, Darwin recognized, motivates a wish for concealment, the wish not to be seen. Darwin (1872/1965) wrote, “under a keen sense of shame there is a strong desire for concealment. . . . An ashamed person can hardly endure to meet the gaze of those present (pp. 320–1). For all of the limitations of *Expression*, Darwin recognized that the embodied movements and actions of animals, including humans, serve as protolanguages, expressing and communicating intentions and emotions. In many animal species, staring communicates intimidation and threat. In humans, staring eyes can communicate the strong emotions of love and of hatred. Averting one’s eyes from a rival, throughout the animal kingdom, is an act of surrender and submission. Human murderers similarly carry out a ritual sacrifice of humans, which Katz (2003) describes as



acts of “righteous slaughter.” Many of the most heinous of murders are done ritualistically, so that the same grisly procedures are visited upon every victim. By such killings, feelings of shame, at least for a short time, can turn into their opposite, a feeling of pride. In the act of murder, a man can feel independent, aggressive, and powerful. Gilligan (1996) gives the example of Dennis X., who in his paranoid fantasies killed a man he believed to be the Devil, saying, “I wanted to get credit for killing the Devil.” Yet after his arrest, his mother showed up at the jail, and he gave up hope of being either God or a man and felt “weak, not like a full man” (p. 81). Here indeed is a case of righteous slaughter, in this case not killing for God but with a fragile belief that he, himself, was God.

Erikson (1950) insightfully notes: “Shame supposes that one is completely exposed and conscious of being looked at. . . . He would like to destroy the eyes of the world” (pp. 252–3). The fear and anger that shame provokes, especially toward the eyes, is expressed in the proverb, “shame dwells in the eyes” and in legends and collective delusions about the Evil Eye. For Ross L., who had destroyed the eyes of his victim and cut out her tongue, his behavior reveals the symbolism of his magical thinking: “If I destroy eyes, I will destroy shame” and “If I destroy tongues, then I cannot be talked about, ridiculed or laughed at; my shamefulness cannot be revealed to others” (Gilligan 1996: 65). Thus, the fact that Ross L. had focused his hostility on the eyes and tongue of his victim reveals a morbid hypersensitivity to his fear of being overwhelmed by shame.

Such mutilation of victims often is addressed to the genitals as a form of violence which can be turned to oneself, as some maximum-security prisoners have cut off their own sex organs. “[S]hame,” as Gilligan (1996) puts it, “dwells not only in the eyes but also in the genitals” (pp. 33–4). The French word for shame, *pudeur*, means both “shame” and “genitals.” This and the English term for the genitals, *pudenda*, both derive from the Greek. In German, one expression for genitals is *schamtile*, which means “parts of shame.” The English word *privates* also communicates that the genitals are a source of shame. And in the myth of Adam and Eve, their discovery of their nakedness led them to feelings of shame, which is the first recorded story of the origin of shame. It is well established that the motivation for rape is not sex as much as it is hostility. Of course, the genitals *per se* are not the real issue, which is rather the effort to symbolize the presence or absence of feelings of sexual adequacy, pride, and self esteem. To ritually mutilate the genitals of one’s victim symbolizes the destruction of one’s own shame.

This analysis can be extrapolated to collective atrocities, such as those of Nazi Germany. Gilligan (1996) notes that Hitler came to power on the basis of a campaign promise to undo “the shame of Versailles” (pp. 66–7). At the time, the German lower-middle class was objectively in danger of sinking into the humiliated, poverty-stricken lower class, and was seeking revenge for their humiliating circumstances and the humiliation of their

nation. The anger this shame stimulated was directed to the Jews, who were envied for their wealth and success, whose capitalist enterprise threatened them from above, just as Marx and his followers were threatening to overturn the entire economic system from below. It is not irrelevant that “the Jewish people as a whole were viewed as . . . the source of the evil eye. . . . So feared was the purported power of the Jew that the German word for evil eye remains to this day, *Judenblik* (Jew’s glance)” (Moss and Cappannari 1976: 8). Hitler’s writings, it should be emphasized, include a protracted chronicle of the humiliation and shame that he, and the German people, had been subjected to following World War I. Gilligan (1996) makes the following argument: “The collective murder of the Jews can be seen as a symbolic representation of the thought, ‘[i]f we destroy the Jews, we will destroy the evil eye (because they are the bearers of the evil eye) . . . ; if we destroy the Jews, we will destroy shame – we cannot be shamed” (p. 69). Thus murder and mass murder can be seen to follow the same logic, as both Ross L. and the Nazis were motivated to destroy their vulnerability to being shamed. The results in both cases were of course horrible and unspeakable evil, but that does not preclude these two cases from being understood. As another example, the *Bible* is full of images of eyes and tongues being plucked out or cut out in reaction to words or deeds that had exposed some person or group to disrespect or insolence. The tale of Samson and Delilah, in which Delilah had Samson blinded in retribution for having mocked and made a fool of her, is but one example. The fate of “the eye that *mocketh* at his father” and “*scorns* a mother’s old age” is to have “[t]he ravens of the valley pick it out, and the young eagles shall eat it” (*Proverbs* 30: 17). All of these examples lead to the same conclusion, namely that behavior communicates symbolic meanings as effectively as words.

Gilligan’s major postulate, his precondition of violence, is that humans place a higher priority on honor and self-respect than they do on their own physical welfare, a unique human attribute that is dangerous indeed. When individuals, groups, and nations feel that their “honor” is at stake, and that an intolerable shame and humiliation, a “loss of face,” would result from failure to fight for that honor, they confront a potential death of the self, community, or nation. Anything will be sacrificed to prevent the loss of individual or group self-identity. Most acts of violence are carried out by persons with severe disorders of personality or character. Those who have been systematically humiliated wish above all else for self-respect and to be treated with respect by others, and to avoid “disrespect” at all costs. There is a close relationship between disrespect and shame. Anthropologist Pitt-Rivers (1968) claims that in all known cultures, “the withdrawal of respect dishonors . . . and this inspires the sentiment of shame” (pp. 503–4). The violent men Gilligan (*ibid.*: 110) studied would rather kill or be killed than live without dignity, respect, and pride. At the point of being overwhelmed by shame, the human instinct for self-preservation no longer

holds. The emotion of shame, Gilligan insists, is the primary and ultimate cause of all violence. The infliction of violence on those who treat one with disrespect and abuse diminish the intensity of shame and replace it with its opposite, pride and pridefulness. Gilligan discovered that the most closely guarded secret of the violent men he met with – and many of them would rather die than admit the truth about themselves – is that they are deeply, acutely, and chronically ashamed. They have been stripped bare of their status, respect, honor, masculinity, rationality, and even sanity – often over matters so trivial that their very triviality only intensifies their shame. This secret is often hidden behind defensive masks of bravado, arrogance, insouciance, and “machismo” (p. 111). The second precondition of violence comes about when these men perceive that they have no nonviolent means of warding off or diminishing their sense of shame, at which point they engage in violence, often as a “last resort.” And the third precondition for committing violence is that the person lacks the emotional capacities that could inhibit the violent impulses stimulated by shame. They cannot feel love for others, do not experience guilt about hurting others, and lack fear for the welfare of the self.

## Hatred

To hate someone is to feel irritated by his mere existence. The only thing that would bring satisfaction would be his total disappearance.

(José Ortega y Gasset)

Hatred, in its strict sense, is to feel a desire to destroy or at least injure, and it is a strong word for aversion. Thus hatred would seem to involve both anger (the desire to destroy) and fear (the desire for aversion), but, as Fernald (1914/1947) put it, “[t]o hate, in its strict sense, is to regard with such extreme aversion as to feel a desire to destroy” (p. 4) the object, to act with malice toward the object, which suggests that anger is stronger here than is fear, which is consistent with the idea of hatred as a positive feeling in its desire to take action. Hatred of evil, for example, “is a righteous passion, akin to abhorrence but more vehement” (ibid.).

Other terms are helpful in fleshing out the meaning of hatred. *Malignity* is a disposition to injure others in service of an evil passion; it is an intense and violent enmity, hatred, or malice; it is the extreme of settled ill intent. *Animus* is a hostile feeling or intention, and a *feud* is continuous, long-enduring enmity between families, clans, or other solidary social groups (Fernald 1914/1947: 180). *Virulence* of speech indicates hostility, as it is a quality of speaking seeming to exude poison or bile. *Enmity* has a different meaning than hostility, but the two are closely related. While hostility is the acting out of enmity toward a despised, rejected object, enmity itself is the bitter feeling toward such an object, which is apt to be regarded as an enemy. It is a strong and settled feeling of hatred. Hostility usually sug-

gests enmity expressed as active opposition to an enemy, such as in attack behavior. *Rancor* can be distinguished from enmity insofar as rancor, together with animosity, refers to a feeling that is more active and vehement, but also less enduring and determined (Fernald 1914/1947: 180). Rancor is defined as a continuing and bitter hate or ill will, spite, and malice. Insofar as hatred includes the meaning of aversiveness, rancor does as well, and therefore is included. *Spitefulness* means an evil feeling toward another and a desire to hurt, annoy, or humiliate that person. A spiteful person is easily aroused to outbursts of anger that are purposive and malicious. Implicit is a dislike and a rejection of the person treated spitefully (rejection, disgust). And *animosity* is an active and deep hostility directed toward some person or animals such as snakes or spiders found disgusting on a visceral level. There is some implication of fear here, but again we find animosity more characterized by anger (directed toward) than by fear. A person who is merely afraid of snakes will move away from them, but a person with animosity toward snakes is apt to overcome this fear and attack a snake and break its back. Similarly, an arachnophobic will stomp on a spider, thereby expressing both fear and anger along with disgust. Such a person would admit to hating spiders but would not hold them in contempt, for their transgression is not moral but simply territorial.

Anger is an essential component of hatred, but there are important differences which when considered together demand the inclusion of disgust. To approach this topic, it is useful to elaborate the distinction between anger and hatred in terms of social behavior. Like anger, hatred is ordinarily directed to a particular person but it is often directed to a group or category of people, such as strangers, women, and members of despised minorities. But whereas anger arises in response to some specific act of another person, hatred is not limited to specific circumstances but to general traits. Elster (1999) sums this up by his statement that in anger we believe that “because they do bad things, they are bad,” but in hatred we believe that “because they are bad, they do bad things” (pp. 64–5). While anger is suddenly evoked and can also leave quickly, as in irritation and bristling at an unkind remark, hatred is a long-term emotion, not triggered by a personal offense, which over time evolves into a sentiment. While we become angry with those close to us, we are rather apt to hate those distant from us, and can depersonalize the hated person or group of persons toward which one might have prejudicial feelings. Thus the object of hatred is more general than that of anger.

Hatred also involves fear. The potential harm to oneself that is perceived by the one who hates is believed to stem from fundamental traits of the other person or group, and hated groups are often seen as potentially powerful and able to inflict great harm to one’s welfare and way of life. Ben-Ze’ev (2000) argues that “the negative character of the other person and the danger inherent in the other’s continued *power* is . . . central to hate” (p. 381, emphasis added). Given that contempt is composed of anger

and disgust, and hatred of anger, disgust, and fear, it follows that the difference between contempt and hatred is fear. Thus, we arrive at two definitions of hatred:

$$\begin{aligned} \textit{hatred}_1 &= \textit{anger} \ \& \ \textit{disgust} \ \& \ \textit{fear}; \text{ and} \\ \textit{hatred}_2 &= \textit{contempt} \ \& \ \textit{fear}. \end{aligned}$$

Ben-Ze'ev (2000) explains, "in contempt the emphasis is on the inferiority of the object, whereas hate stresses the object's dangerous nature" (p. 392). He considers as an example the difference between the Nazis' attitude toward the Jews and whites toward blacks during the period of American slavery. The Nazis were hateful, the whites contemptuous. The Nazi ideology saw Jews as so unredeemably evil that their survival could not be risked, so that during the Holocaust "the only good Jew was a dead Jew," whereas during American slavery, the good black was a properly subservient black" (ibid.). Thus, while even Jewish infants were exterminated, children of slave owners and children of slaves were able to play together (Temkin and Yanay 1988). And Ben-Ze'ev further explains, and emphasizes, hatred implies a reaction to a perceived threat, to something which is to be feared. The Nazis had no pity for the Jews, for they lived in fear of their power, influence, even of their gaze.

On the level of behavior, anger is positive and both fear and disgust are negative. The combination of the three component emotions, insofar as they combine to form hatred of other social beings, is overall a negative sentiment. It has been emphasized that the valence of mixed emotions obeys no algebraic rule, and hatred is no exception, for even hatred, a destructive emotion, can have a creative and positive aspect, as in the case where there is hatred of an oppressive and sadistic political elite, in which social justice and social rights can be restored only through the destruction of an evil system of rule. A second example might be an anti-war movement in opposition to an unjust or unwise military adventure, in which the participants feel both anger and disgust fused in a hatred of what is being done in their name, such as bombing residential areas and torturing prisoners. And, of course, hatred can lead to genocidal extermination of people treated as subhuman and deserving of no consideration or pity. The person who hates strives to remove and destroy that which he hates. In anger, there is always the hope that an expression of anger will lead the object of anger to behave in a more considerate manner in the future, that the circumstances that trigger anger can be altered. But in hatred, there is little prospect for altering the undesirable, despised, disgusting characteristics of the other, so social action is not required. When those who are hated are seen as an imminent threat, hatred can take on an extreme form, the physical elimination of those who are hated. Usually, however, it is considered sufficient to maintain a high level of social distance. In spoiled marital relationships, for example, hatred is expressed by evading situ-

ations involving the spouse or in acting coldly and in a detached way. This creates an emotional tension filled with abuse and verbal aggression, which has the potential to boil over into physical violence. Hatred is often denied and hidden. It is not considered an admirable emotion, to say the least, and is given a negative moral evaluation. In addition, it can potentially be harmful to the self in the long run if the object, which after all is perceived as potentially wielding power, might even seek retaliation and revenge for being treated as an object of hatred. Disgust, in the present theory, has been conceptualized as reactive to the negative experience of identity, more generally of inequality. As Holbrook (1972: 42) observes, “[h]ate is a measure of inequality [the source of disgust] between subject and object.” Moreover, hate will be shown to result as pathology of incorporation, of ingesting, which is the most primal meaning of the negation of acceptance. Disgust is so interior to hatred that we can propose, as a third definition:

*hatred*<sub>3</sub> = *disgust* & *frozenness*.

Because anger and fear, when experienced together, require opposing behaviors, one of advance and the other of withdrawal, one state of anger is disgust at the spectacle of those who are hated being permitted to go about their business, while being unable to act.

There is one final way to define hatred, which is a combination of repugnance (disgust & fear) together with anger. Here, the object of hatred is abhorred and is the object of great antipathy, a sentiment which is expressed amid great anger. Given that “fear & disgust = repugnance,” it follows that

*hatred*<sub>4</sub> = *anger* & *repugnance*.

Hate is incubated in early experiences which inhibit the development of a self possessing *ruth*, the ability to care about the welfare of others. Hate, then, does *not* emerge from any primary animal aggression of the kind just discussed, or from a Freudian Thanatos, but rather “from frustrated love and the inevitable imperfections of our formative environment” (Holbrook 1972: 35). Hatred is just as ambiguous as love or aggression: it is a manifestation of a need to survive, and yet can be directed to the need to survive itself as it is manifested in the libidinal ego, and can thus be both a life-seeking and an anti-human force (*ibid.*). A concern for other people, *ruth*, is a positive achievement of humanity and the moral sense on which civilization can be constructed. But the ruthless can sink to a less than human state and be consumed by hatred. In other words, while aggression and the drive for pleasure, self-assertion, and power are indeed aspects of human nature, there is also something interior to our very nature that is beyond self-interest.

Descartes found himself thinking and made his famous inference, “*Cogito, ergo sum*,” “I think, therefore I am.” But he did not ask an obvious next question, “*What am I?*” Guntrip (1968: 267) endeavors to show that the answer to this question contains the secret of hatred. The origins of hate must be found in the foundations of identity, Being. This means that an understanding of hatred requires examination of what experiences, in the earliest stages of life, make possible the foundations of the attainment of a normal and healthy human identity. We are born with a primary urge to survive, physically and psychically, and to grow and develop into full human beings. The foundation of identity, Winnicott (1965a) holds, is in the development of a sense of *being*, which he terms our “female element,” which in turn makes possible what is developed later, the complementary “male element,” that of *doing*. At birth, the infant does not know that he or she is a whole person separate from the not-me. But a stable and attentive mother with the capacity to “be” an adequate source of security paves the way for the normal development of object-relations, first with the mother or primary caregiver, then with other persons, as the baby develops a not-me world and participates as a “subject” in a world of “objects,” all the while developing intellectual abilities and undergoing symbolic elaboration and the acquisition of language, culture, and a social identity. Winnicott (1965b: 368) sees transition objects, cuddly blankets and teddy bears, as the first artifacts, the first use of symbols (of the union of the baby and mother and his internalization of the mother) that makes it possible to be alone, separate as a human being. The capacity to be alone is one of the most important signs of emotional maturation.

When the earliest experiences are inadequate and pathological, the result can be weakness and failure to develop ego-strength and to develop normal relationships with other people. Another outcome can be the development of hatred, which we now examine. The emotionally over-sensitive self can easily be hurt, “and [this] can then be felt as a weakness to be resisted, resented, and hidden behind a tough exterior” (ibid.: 263). When this happens, a person has come to hate *being itself* and has come to *abuse culture*, out of a fear of it, as a manifestation of the emotionally over-sensitive self (Holbrook 1972: 20). And as this fear turns into its own opposite, anger, there is hidden resentment of the mother, who had failed to *be* for the child at a time when it was totally dependent on her; having not been accepted by his mother, acceptance has turned into its opposite, into rejection and disgust, and internalized.

Such a person is split between being and doing, and has become *divided against the self*. Without an integrated self, in whom emotions can be experienced normally, the world comes to be experienced as threatening, which can lead to a sense of persecutory anxiety (Guntrip 1961: 400). The rational intellect, acting without the wisdom of the emotions, is prone to make tragic mistakes of action, of doing, and being done to, without a firm foundation and centeredness of being. Where there should be an ego,

a real self, there is only fear of “not counting,” of being a “nobody.” As Guntrip (1968) explains,

The experience of “doing” in the absence of a secure sense of “being” degenerates into a meaningless succession of mere activities ... not performed for their own purpose but as a futile attempt to “keep oneself in being.” The experience of “being” is more than the mere awareness of “existence.” It involves the sense of reliable security in existence, realized both in knowing oneself as a real person and as able to make good relationships.

(Guntrip 1961: 254)

Thus, while sound doing results from secure being, a kind of doing not rooted in being becomes mere activity, futile and meaningless, with the potential to become false, destructive, and nihilistic abuses of culture and of other people. Winnicott (1965b: 144) see the healthy self that integrates doing and being as a True Self. The narcissistic, False Self can be associated with an elaborated intellectual structure, in which case the mind becomes the location of the False Self and there develops dissociation between thought and psychosomatic existence. This kind of dissociation, which prevails in modern culture, Holbrook (1972: 23) avers, exploits hatred. The False Self ultimately results from an inadequate early experience of love, for it creates an intense fear that love is harmful, while it is intensely desired. The result is that there is an impulse to confuse love and hatred. The False Self is highly active and motivated to satisfy its desires, and can learn to satisfy itself in angry and even sadistic ways, directing its attention to parts of objects, for example, to breast and legs, and there can also be a sadistic turning of the malignancy found in the outer world against the self, this self-hatred becoming a desperate strategy of survival. Many such people develop a contempt and scorn for their own need to depend for help on other people and will insist that they need no one (Guntrip 1968: 72; Gilligan 1996).

The above analysis does not see the problem of life as a struggle between reason and the emotions (Weber 1905b), nor of instinct versus civilization (Freud 1930). The problem of life is to develop capacity to be and do from the centre of the True Self (Holbrook 1972: 29). From this perspective, hatred is seen as a solution by those possessing only a False Self in need of feeling real and alive. “In the individual who feels disastrously empty, hollow, or unreal, the strategy of survival may take the form of intense and ungovernable violence” (ibid.: 30). While there is no death *instinct*, as Freud believed, there most certainly is a pathological death *impulse*. While this violence can appear to be strength, especially if it is collective, as with the Nazis and the Ku Klux Klan, it is a manifestation of a profound and collective psychic weakness. As Guntrip asserts, “[o]nly the strong can love. It is the weak who hate” (cited ibid.).



Hate arises from frustrated love and the inevitable imperfections of our early environment. When we hate, we show a lack of concern for others, a lack of ruth, and cannot live up to the moral sense upon which civilization ultimately depends. Ruth has its cost, in anxiety and in guilt, but without it we are not fully human. To be ruthless is to have a divided self. All of us have had an imperfect start to life, which might not result from malice but merely from the fact that our mothers were very busy, pressed for time, overloaded with commitments. Even normal people become capable of hatred, and develop a normal fear of destroying by hate. And not all hatred is destructive, as we can have a hatred of injustice, a hatred of racism, a hatred of fascism.

## 15 A partial empirical test of affect-spectrum theory

In this chapter, eight propositions linking the eight elementary social relations to the eight primary emotions will be tested empirically using as a dataset complete transcripts of a corpus of 658 life-historical interviews obtained and processed by the author over the last decade. These interviews were obtained during my fieldwork in Australia and represent two radically different cultures, the indigenous Australian Aborigines and Euro-Australians. The rationale for using life histories will be explained (see also TenHouten 1995b, 1999c, 2004a–c), the corpus of interviews described, and the empirical results presented. The present theory also requires empirical study of the secondary and tertiary emotions, but lack of space require that the results of this effort be set aside for future presentation.

### Content-analytic measures of social relations and emotions

The method to be used for the present analysis is a lexical-level content analysis of text, comprising the words produced by the informant in life-historical interview. To this end, Roget's (1852/1977) *International Thesaurus* was used, which provides a remarkable hierarchical classification of the English language. Roget worked consciously in the tradition of seventeenth-century rationalist philosophy, making a heroic, 47-year effort to map the totality of concepts of the human mind. His broadest classification contains eight *classes* of words: Abstract Relations, Space, Physics, Matter, Sensation, Intellect, Volition, and Affection. Under these classes, we find *notions*: for example, Volition encompasses seven notions, including Voluntary Action, Authority and Control, Support and Opposition, and Possessive Relations. Under the notions, we find *categories*: under Possessive Relations, for example, we find seven categories, including Possession, Sharing, and Monetary Relations. Under categories, we find *folk-concepts*, which provide the basis for measuring social relations. For example, under the category Possession, we find seven folk-concepts, including Possessor, Property, Acquisition, and Loss. And under these folk-concepts, we find individual words and phrases. The present analysis uses only words. Roget developed an inventory of 1,042 "broad classes of

words,” here rather termed folk-concepts, which serve as multiple indicators of the eight sociorelational variables.

The present word-classification is a partition, meaning that no word is used to measure more than one concept. Roget folk-concepts were selected to measure the positive and negative experiences of equality matching ( $EM+$ ,  $EM-$ ), communal sharing ( $CS+$ ,  $CS-$ ) authority ranking ( $AR+$ ,  $AR-$ ), and market pricing ( $MP+$ ,  $MP-$ ). Folk-concepts were selected on the grounds that they were consistent with the descriptions of the sociorelational variables presented in Chapter 8, they had a clearly positive or negative valence, and they meshed with the other variables in terms of inter-item reliability. In making a word list for the candidate folk-concepts variables, subcategories with meanings tangential to the overall concept were deleted at the outset, then all possible forms of every word under the key word were considered for inclusion. The primary denotation of every word was used as the criterion for classification and for deciding where to place words that were assigned to two or more folk concepts by Roget.

### **The life-history interviews**

The dataset for this study consists of edited transcripts from a corpus of 658 life-historical interviews, with 383 Aborigines (204 males and 179 females) and 275 Euro-Australians (155 males and 120 females). These interviews were obtained throughout Australia and are roughly representative of the two subpopulations. Australia is a multicultural society by any measure, but the non-Aboriginal, Euro-Australian interviews were restricted to Australian citizens who trace their ancestry primarily to the British Isles and Northern Europe, in an effort to reduce within-sample variation. The Aboriginal interviews ranged from traditional, tribal-living persons to urbanites highly assimilated to modern Australia and its market economy. Many of the interviews were obtained by the author, in collaboration with Aborigines from the New South Wales Aboriginal Family Education Centres Federation, while others were obtained from institutes, libraries, private collections, and publications. Most of the interviews were conducted in English, but approximately 20 were conducted in Aboriginal languages, then translated into English.

### **Measurement of variables, method of analysis**

To be confident that the words indicating folk-concepts are not measuring different concepts, for each candidate folk-concept an item analysis based on the method of summated ratings (Edwards 1957: 149–57) was carried out for all of the selected words assigned to every Roget folk concept, in which  $t$ -tests of the mean difference between upper and lower proportions of scores for all words were calculated for each word, and words were selected only if  $t$ -ratios have values of 1.0 or greater.<sup>19</sup>

Indicators for the social relations variables were subjected to a maximum-likelihood factor analysis and Tucker-Lewis (TL) inter-indicator reliability coefficients were calculated, except for *MP-*, for which a solution could not be obtained. The results of these analyses are shown in Table 15.1. For the eight measures of primary emotions, the final measure was the total number of words used from the list of folk-concept indicators, divided by the total words produced in the whole interview: this quotient was then multiplied by  $10^4$  to sweep away distracting zeros.

The variable *Culture* was coded Aborigines 1 and Euro-Australians 0; *Sex*, males 1 and females 0; the *Culture-by-Sex* interaction,  $CS = Culture * Sex$ . Roget also categorized emotions, and his classification was used in constructing wordlists for emotions, which required some combining and splitting of categories and the supplementary use of several dictionaries. Table 15.2 shows the 16 most frequently used words for each of the eight primary emotions. A study of the univariate distributions of the eight emotions variables indicated that all of them were heavily skewed to the right. To approximately normalize these eight distributions, square-root transformations were carried out prior to regression analyses.

Multiple-regression analysis was used to regress each of the eight primary emotions variables on the set of eight social relations variables, *Sex*, and *Culture*. The results of the separate analyses for Aborigines and Euro-Australians are shown in Table 15.3A–B, respectively. All of the cofactors that were not statistically significant (*ns*;  $ps > 0.05$ ) were returned to residual status before the final analyses were carried out.

For all eight emotions and all eight sociorelational variables, the sum of the total number of usages of the words assigned to each variable was divided by the total number of words spoken by the informant, with this proportion then weighted by  $10^4$ . For the independent variables, small sets of folk-concepts were used as indicators. For example, the proposed direct cause of *Acceptance*, *EM+*, was measured by words representing five Roget folk-concepts. The selected variables were subjected to maximum-likelihood factor analysis. The factor pattern scores for these Roget folk-concepts were *Identity* 0.36, *Affirmation* 0.02, *Accord* 0.44, *Justice* 0.06, and *Equality* 0.61. The reliability estimate was an unimpressive 0.61. To the right of the indicators are shown the five individual words with the highest incidence of usage (proportion of words spoken multiplied by  $10^6$ ). A reliability estimate was obtained for all variables but *MP-*. For the social relations variables, the number of indicators ranged from four (for *EM-*) to seven (for *AR-*), and the Tucker-Lewis reliability estimates ranged from 0.58 (for *CS-*) to 0.99 (for *CS+*) (Table 15.1, column 1).

## Results

The results of the multiple-regression analyses are shown in Table 15.3. The predicted results for the sociorelational variables as predictors of

*Table 15.1* Indicators of the eight social relations variables, and the five most used words for each, showing the relative frequencies of each word. For each social relational variable, Tucker-Lewis (TL) reliabilities are shown, and for each indicator, factor pattern scores (FP) are shown.

<i>Social relations</i>	<i>Indicators</i>	<i>FP</i>	<i>Five most frequently used words</i>
Equality Matching, Positive TL = 0.63	Identity	0.30	agreement 277, identity 213, identify 131, indistinct 59, fuse 40
	Affirmation	0.02	statement 123, announce 87, statements 71, stated 64, assured 61
	Accord	0.44	respect 676, respected 248, like-mindedness 40, accordance 27, symphony 27
	Justice	0.06	fairly 1,175, fair 1,059, sporting 246, justice 232, rightly 92
	Equality	0.61	even 636, level 552, equality 109, fifty-fifty 81, equivalent 61
Communal Sharing, Positive TL = 0.99	Welcome <sup>a</sup>		visit 962, visited 371, visiting 368, hey 226, hail 94
	Friendship	0.99	fellow 1,737, fellows 671, friendly 479, likes 171, fellowship 103
	Friends	0.93	friends 2,205, friend 136, neighbors 79, intimate 43, colleagues 49
	Lovemaking	0.11	dear 647, philander 145, darling 141, breast 111, kiss 70
	Kindness	0.11	indulgent 2,078, amiable 193, good-natured 184, generous 129, goodwill 126
Authority Ranking, Positive TL = 0.87	Demand	0.29	asked 3,038, ask 1,945, asking 667, direction 389, claim 231
	Opposition	0.18	confronted 49, confrontation 30, confront 21, opponent 18, opposed 13
	Disobedience	0.36	rebelled 26, rebellious 23, mutiny 21, rebellion 16, recalcitrant 14
	Defiance	0.13	cheeky 141, dare 113, dared 38, bold 38, daring 24
	Disapproval	0.61	criticism 129, critical 90, rejected 53, reject 44, appalling 33
Market Pricing, Positive TL = 0.92	Spaciousness	0.25	everywhere 716, field 620, extent 480, desert 339, acres 435
	Possessor	0.17	owner 920, landlord 413, owns 412, ownership 397, occupants 236
	Possession	0.29	owned 731, having 312, keeper 62, possession 46, occupy 36
	Acquisition	0.77	obtain 140, profit 138, acquired 122, gain 120, gained 111
	Wealth	0.12	afford 432, fortune 103, wealthy 74, wealth 63, luxury 41
Receive	0.16	loan 97, inherited 81, lend 76 loans 50, banker 24	
Equality Matching,	Difference	0.13	different 5,688, difference 873, otherwise 612, odd 398, differences 106
	Disrepute	0.09	foul 65, begged 46, notorious 34, disgrace 33, begging 30

Negative TL = 0.92	Injustice Inequality	0.84 -0.03	wrong 1, 898, unfair 55, wrongly 40, injustice 32, wronged 23 disparity 41, overbalance 11, overbalancing 6, inequality 3, unequal 3
Communal	Selfish	0.41	petty 67, greedy 53, greed 30, selfish 27, loner 17
Sharing	Seclusive	0.42	retires 600, private 545, secret 251, retirement 105
Negative TL = 0.58	Death	0.20	died 3, 751, deadly 1, 345, death 821, dying 265, drowned 132
	Discourtesy	0.11	crude 87, coarse 24, rude 82, crusty 8, vulgar 8
	Dislike	0.30	dislike 46, dislikes 27, unpopular 14, repel 9, nausea 8
Authority	Lack of Influence	0.22	weak 127, weakness 25, ineffective 6, ineffectual 6, powerless 3
Ranking, Negative TL = 0.93	Confined	0.23	prison 1, 175, hell 624, prisoners 645, jail 329, prisons 209
	Obedience	0.28	obedient 155, loyally 55, loyalty 54, faithful 21, allegiance 11
	Prohibited	-0.02	prevent 96, ban 49, banned 49, refused 26, don't 20
	Condemnation	0.53	damn 108, damned 83, convicted 49, sentenced 32, conviction 26
	Inferiority	0.15	inferior 49, inadequate 26, inferiority 23, deficiency 11, deficiencies 11
Market Pricing Negative	Expensiveness Loss	0.58	expensive 146, invaluable 32, costly 26, richly 6, exorbitant 3 loss 198, losing 187, lost 179, expenses 108, expense 71
	Ejection <sup>c</sup>	0.28	discharge 90, evict 67, dismiss 58, ejecting 39, ejection 39
	Relinquish	0.28	borrow 124, borrows 100, disposal 38, hocking 38, disposed 30
	Dislocation	0.45	shifted 405, shifting 96, shifts 58, shift 37, displace 23
	Circumscribed	0.20	fixed 322, qualified 225, edges 50, specify 24, definition 24

Note

a In order to obtain a maximum-likelihood factor analysis solution (communalities not >1.0), it was necessary to construct a variable that is the sum of scores for Welcome and Friendship, which does not influence the final summated ratings for CS+.



criticized	20	grim	55	terror	79	surprises	12
displeasing	20	sorrow	49	fearful	65	surprisingly	10
evacuation	18	howling	49	coward	56	dumfounded	8
excluded	14	wails	40	panic-stricken	47	unexpectedness	8
rejection	12	wailing	30	terrifying	45	improbably	8
detract	12	sadly	26	scare	41	unexpected	4
dismiss	11	wailed	24	eerie	27	aback	3
smearing	10	cried	24	scary	23	astounded	3
slur	9	mope-eyed	22	scaring	15	astounds	3
deplorable	8	unhappiness	20	eerily	11	stupefied	3



Table 15.3 Eight multiple-regression analyses, separately regressing the eight primary emotions on the eight elementary social relations variables, Culture, Sex, and the Culture-by-Sex interaction. Values shown in the body of the table are standardized partial regression coefficients. Aborigines' results are shown in panel A, Euro-Australians' in panel B

		<i>Primary emotions, the dependent variables</i>							
<i>Samples Independent variables</i>		<i>Acceptance</i>	<i>Happiness</i>	<i>Anger</i>	<i>Anticipation</i>	<i>Disgust</i>	<i>Sadness</i>	<i>Fear</i>	<i>Surprise</i>
<b>A. Aborigines</b>									
Equality matching	positive	<b>3.97**</b>	1.34	-0.04	<b>6.35**</b>	2.01*	-0.58	-0.97	1.24
Communal sharing	positive	0.61	<b>3.01**</b>	2.24*	-0.13	0.34	<b>3.77**</b>	1.62	1.31
Authority ranking	positive	<b>6.52**</b>	2.86**	<b>3.30**</b>	<b>6.22**</b>	<b>4.82**</b>	-0.03	0.30	1.59
Market pricing	positive	1.49	2.57*	1.50	<b>5.66**</b>	1.06	-0.42	-0.15	1.15
Equality matching	negative	<b>3.89**</b>	-0.91	0.86	-1.88	<b>2.65**</b>	1.43	1.28	1.06
Communal sharing	negative	0.63	-1.69	1.26	-2.25*	0.69	<b>3.42**</b>	1.59	<b>2.24**</b>
Authority ranking	negative	-1.53	-0.66	-1.16	-0.32	-0.41	-0.76	<b>2.67**</b>	-0.92
Market pricing	negative	-1.74	0.71	<b>3.82**</b>	1.19	<b>2.63**</b>	-0.87	-0.08	<b>1.89**</b>
Sex			-3.67				<b>-2.59**</b>		
(R <sup>2</sup> <sub>adj</sub> )		(0.22)	(0.15)	(0.09)	(0.28)	(0.12)	(0.07)	(0.02)	(0.05)
<b>B. Euro-Australians</b>									
Equality matching	positive	<b>2.51**</b>	2.22*	1.59	0.11	3.10	<b>2.83**</b>	1.28	1.04
Communal sharing	positive	<b>2.79**</b>	<b>3.69**</b>	2.91**	-1.37	1.73	2.14*	<b>3.42**</b>	1.19
Authority ranking	positive	<b>5.09**</b>	1.07	<b>5.15**</b>	<b>4.68**</b>	<b>8.74**</b>	2.27*	<b>3.14**</b>	<b>3.02**</b>
Market pricing	positive	<b>3.25**</b>	0.63	-1.45	<b>8.30**</b>	1.49	-1.75	-0.39	0.36
Equality matching	negative	1.69	0.58	0.71	1.27*	<b>3.14**</b>	4.21**	0.45	0.77
Communal sharing	negative	-2.71**	-2.17	-0.38	-1.85	-1.08	<b>6.98**</b>	-0.89	-1.22
Authority ranking	negative	-1.98*	1.25	1.62	-0.73	0.67	-1.05	<b>3.62**</b>	-1.76
Market pricing	negative	-0.30	-2.15*	-0.44	1.52	0.87	-1.16	-1.13	<b>0.55</b>
Sex					2.46*		<b>-4.72**</b>		
(R <sup>2</sup> <sub>adj</sub> )		(0.27)	(0.10)	(0.17)	(0.43)	(0.38)	(0.36)	(0.18)	(0.04)

Note  
Predictions positive regression coefficients are shown in boldface along the main diagonals of each of the three panels and have one-tailed probabilities, all other  $\beta$  values having two-tailed probabilities.  
\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ .

emotions are shown, in boldface type, along the main diagonals of the first eight rows of the two panels. The probability values associated with these coefficients are based on one-tailed tests, as all of these coefficients were predicted to be positive in sign. All coefficients off the main diagonals, for which predictions were not made, have two-tailed probabilities associated with them. Because these off-diagonal results were not predicted, and are available for inspection, they will not be discussed. It need only be said that there were more unpredicted than predicted significant results, all of which were intuitive, not counter-intuitive: for the Aborigines, there were 15 such results out of 56 values; for Euro-Australians, 19 of 56. It can thus be said that the eight primary emotions are highly sensitive to involvement in a wide variety of social relations.

For the Aborigines, the  $\beta$  values were all positive and significant. For the Euro-Australians, the results were in the predicted direction for all eight emotions, and statistically significant for seven, but the result for *Surprise* only directionally supported the theory ( $\beta = 0.55$ ). For both cultures, the most effective prediction was for *Anticipation* on the basis of  $MP+$ ; the worst, *Surprise*, on the basis of  $MP-$ .

It is not surprising that *Surprise* would not be effectively predicted by the negative experience of market-based social relations, for there were measurement problems with both variables: (i)  $MP-$  was measured poorly relative to the other sociorelational, independent variables, as a reliability estimate for these six indicators could not be obtained; (ii) *Surprise* was measured by words used more rarely than the words representing the other seven emotions, as can be seen in Table 15.2; (iii) the sample sizes are not large, only 275 for the Euro-Australians; and (iv) a follow-up analysis of the six folk-concept indicators of  $MP-$  revealed that the approximate interchangeability of indicators that held, albeit roughly, for the other seven sociorelational variables did not hold for *Surprise*. It was found that these six indicators of  $MP-$  were of two kinds, and their effects were radically different for members of the two cultures.

For the Aborigines, *Surprise* was predicted by four of the indicators, as the results of regressions using indicators as independent variables (controlling for other seven sociorelational variables) were: *Ejection*  $\beta = 3.01$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ; *Relinquishment*  $\beta = 3.64$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ; *Dislocation*  $\beta = 2.34$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ; and *Circumscription*  $\beta = 2.16$ ,  $p = 0.015$ . All four of these variables can be viewed as involving negative experiences of *collective access to territory*. While Aborigines have to some extent, and fully for many in urban and suburban areas, been incorporated into the market economy of modern Australia, the other two indicator variables, which reflect *individual or family economic difficulties*, were for Aborigines *not* even directionally predictive of *Surprise*: for *Expensiveness*,  $\beta = -0.04$ , ns; for *Loss*,  $\beta = -1.34$ , ns.

The results for Euro-Australians were nearly the opposite of those for Aborigines. For them, indicators of collective loss of territory were *not*

predictive of *Surprise*: for *Ejection*,  $\beta = 1.03$ , ns; for *Relinquishment*,  $\beta = -0.36$ , ns; for *Dislocation*,  $\beta = -0.50$ , ns; and for *Circumscription*,  $\beta = -1.80$ , ns. The indicators of negative personal economic circumstances, in contrast, were predictive of *Surprise*: directionally for *Expensiveness*,  $\beta = 1.21$ ,  $p = 0.11$ ; and significantly for *Loss*,  $\beta = 2.74$ ,  $p < 0.03$ .

As a final step in data analysis, ratings for these subsets of indicators of *MP*– were constructed and *Surprise* was regressed on them and the other seven sociorelational variables separately for the two groups. The variables defined for this analysis were  $MP_C = Ejection + Relinquishment + Dislocation + Circumscription$  and  $MP_I = Expensiveness + Loss$ . The Results using  $MP_C$  and  $MP_I$  were for Aborigines  $\beta = 4.13$  ( $p < 0.001$ ) and  $\beta = -1.34$  (ns) and for Euro-Australians  $\beta = -0.12$  (ns) and  $\beta = 2.22$  ( $p = 0.01$ ). It should be noted that in the above detailed analyses of *Surprise* and market-pricing indicators, no *Sex* differences were found significant, so *Sex* was returned to residual status.

### Culture and sex differences

Figure 15.1, panels A and B, shows the mean levels (and standard error bars) of the two pairs of emotions associated with hedonic society – *Acceptance* and *Disgust*, which is associated with *EM*, and *Happiness* and *Sadness*, associated with *CS*.

The results for the opposite emotions *Acceptance* and *Disgust* are remarkably similar. Based on analysis of the combined samples (results not shown), there was for both emotions a highly significant *Culture-by-Sex* interaction: for Aborigines, the females were slightly higher than the males; but for Euro-Australians, the males were significantly higher for both *Acceptance* and *Disgust*. If the interaction term had been suppressed, there would have emerged a significant effect of *Culture*, and these figures show that Euro-Australians are much higher for both emotions.

For the opposite emotions *Happiness* and *Sadness*, the results were opposite for the two cultures: the Aborigines expressed less *Happiness* but more *Sadness* than Euro-Australians. Within the cultures, there was a common *Sex* difference, as both Aboriginal and Euro-Australian females were more verbally expressive of both emotions than were males.

Figure 15.2 shows the mean levels of the four emotions of formal, agonic society, based on *AR* and *MP*, on political economy. For the opposed emotions *Anger* and *Fear*, (panel A), the distributions of means are remarkably similar to those obtained for *Acceptance* and *Disgust*. Aborigines were more expressive of both *Anger* and *Fear*, and within both cultures, females were more expressive of these emotions than males. These *Culture* and *Sex* differences reached significance for *Fear* but fell short for *Anger*. Given that high levels of powerlessness are experienced by Aborigines in contemporary Australia, and the high levels of pathology in their families and communities, these results are hardly surprising.

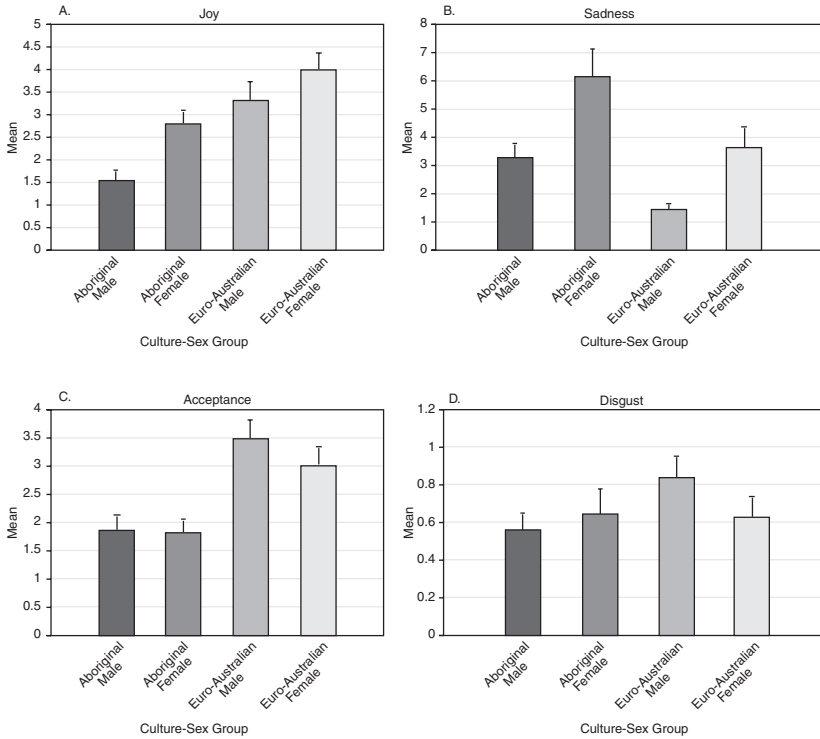


Figure 15.1 The emotions of hedonic community, by *culture* and *sex*. Panel A: mean levels of the opposite emotions *Acceptance* and *Disgust*; Panel B: mean levels of the opposite emotions *Joy* and *Sadness*. Error bars are +1 standard error of the mean (SEM).

For the opposites, *Anticipation* and *Surprise*, associated with territoriality and market-based social relations, outcomes differ from the results for *Happiness* and *Sadness*. Aborigines were lower for both *Anticipation* and *Surprise* (Figure 15.2B) than were Euro-Australians. Within the two cultures, there is a trend for males to be higher for *Anticipation*, or *Exploration*, especially for Euro-Australians. This difference is consistent with an ethological literature that shows males, for humans and mammals alike, are more oriented to spatial cognition and are more oriented to exploration of, and defense of, territory (see, e.g., Andersson 1994 and Ecuier-Dab and Robert 2004).

### Discussion of results

When culture is controlled for, it was found that females were (at least directionally) more expressive than males for happiness, sadness, anger,

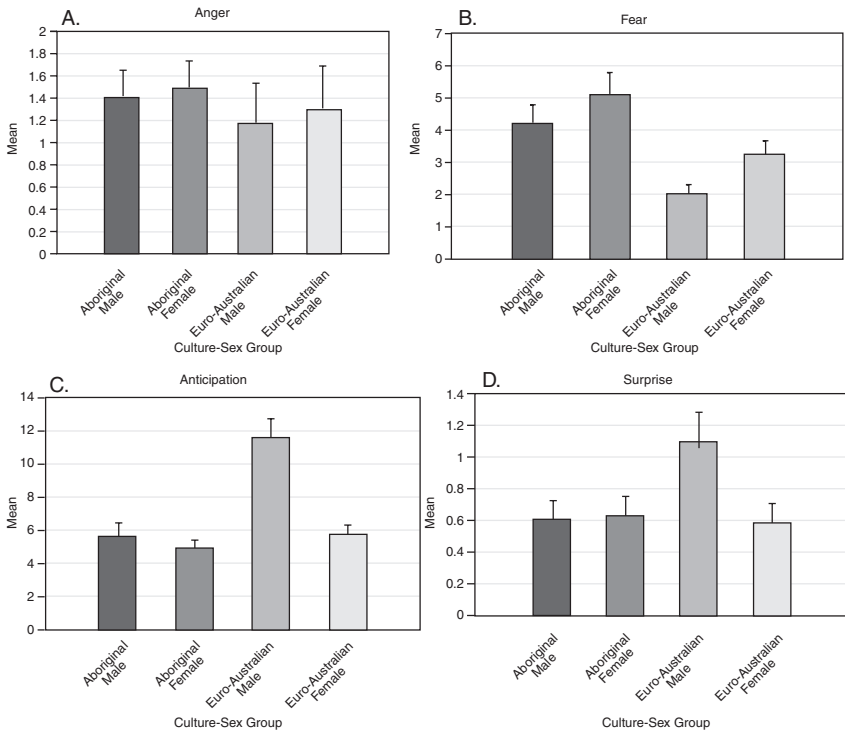


Figure 15.2 The emotions of agonistic society, by *culture* and *sex*. Panel A: mean levels of the opposite emotions *Anger* and *Fear*; Panel B: mean levels of the opposite emotions *Anticipation* and *Surprise*. Error bars are +1 SEM.

and fear. It should be emphasized that the methodology used here cannot be directly compared to different measures used in different studies. Women have been stereotyped as the generally more emotional sex across many diverse cultures. But men have been stereotyped as expressing more anger and aggression, and the present result is not consistent with this generalization. The present study was not designed to explain how or why men and women differ in verbal expression of these emotions, which results from multiple, interrelated factors, including cultural, social, biological, and interpersonal factors (Brody 1999).

The appropriateness of Roget's classification for cross-cultural research is of course an open question. His categories appear to indicate sociorelational variables that, it has been argued, are cultural universals. In an earlier analysis (TenHouten 2004c, 2005), it was found that the *positive* experiences of the four sociorelational variables predicted four elementary kinds of time consciousness, and that products of two pairs of these vari-

ables were predicted of products of pairs of kinds of time consciousness. It was found in the present analysis that Roget-based measures of the eight valenced social variables each predicted the primary emotion that was expected on the ground of theory.

The results of the study are strongly supportive of affect-spectrum theory with one problematic result: the negative experience of market-based social relationships predicted *Surprise* significantly for Aborigines, but only directionally for Euro-Australians. The impossibility of estimating inter-indicator reliability for the six measures of *MP* – suggest it is not a unitary concept, and in fact it was determined that its six items are of two different kinds. Four of the items – measures of ejection, relinquishment, dislocation, and circumscription – get at the shared cultural experience of Aborigines, who have historically had the collective experience of having been conquered and disposed; forcibly taken off their lands, rounded up, and placed in reserves, mission, other institutions, and private homes; ejected from their sacred lands, thereby losing their nomadic way of life with its hunting-and-gathering mode of economic production; experienced having their families broken up and their children taken away; and in countless other ways have had their lives and identities circumscribed (Bloomfield 1981; Butlin 1983; Hughes 1987; Elder 1994; Milliss 1994).

This loss of land, territory, and way of life was found predictive of *Surprise* for Aborigines. But for Euro-Australians, historically spared such experiences, the four variables reflecting this cultural erosion were unrelated to *Surprise*. For them, individual, family, difficulties in the cash economy predicted *Surprise* – particularly the two market-based variables *Expensiveness* and *Loss*. Market-pricing or exchange relations are a sociological generalization of territoriality, yet there remains an important difference between them, and this difference made a difference. While territoriality/market-pricing predicted *Surprise* for both groups, they did so in such dissimilar ways that entirely different measures were required for the two cultures.

After taking culture into account, and measuring the negative experience of territoriality/market-pricing differently for Aborigines and Euro-Australians, all 16 hypotheses receive statistically significant support. This study at least provisionally answers two important questions: How many emotions are there? What are they? Emotions are adaptive reactions to life situations, which in the human almost always involve social relations. The proposition that there are just four elementary social relationships, each of which can take on a negative or positive valence, means that there must be just eight primary emotions, 28 secondary, and as many as 56 tertiary. That the specific emotions identified as adaptive reactions could be predicted, suggests that the *interpretations* of these reactions as specific primary emotions are likely correct.

## 16 Discussion

An obvious further step in the development of affect-spectrum theory is to empirically examine the secondary emotions and test the propositions that have been developed (TenHouten 1996, 1999a) to explain them as pairs of the eight sociorelational variables. For example, pride is defined as an angry joy, and insofar as anger results from the negative experience of authority-ranking social relations ( $AR-$ ), and joy/happiness results from the positive experience of communal-sharing relations ( $CS+$ ), it follows that pride can be predicted to result from the joint occurrence of  $AR-$  and  $CS+$ , using multiplicative or exponential models. Beyond that, tertiary emotions can be similarly modeled as functions of three of the eight social relations variables.

The two terms, positivism and social constructionism, as Kemper (1981) notes, are “ideal types” that distinguish scholars who view emotions as “jointly determined by social structure and biology” and “those who emphasize ideographic, historical, and cultural factors” (p. 336n). Granted that many scholars are difficult to classify, this distinction is on the methodological level between those who take an etic approach and endeavor to explain and predict emotions with objective data analysis, and those who seek an emic goal of gaining insight into the subjective inner life. Many positivists believe that human documents are, as Plummer (1983) put it, “just too subjective, too descriptive, too arbitrary to help in scientific advance . . . [which] may actually be contingent upon building a methodology that can take subjectivity and the lived life as its cornerstone” (p. 11). If Plummer is correct, then documents of life are immensely valuable and a vastly under-rated source of primary data. While no single theory, or single study, can resolve such a great issue, the empirical study of the present theory, initiated in Chapter 15, demonstrates the efficacy of using personal documents as data for studying emotions. The simple, emic, quantitative analysis has been carried out with data that is indeed subjective and descriptive and reveals much about the structure of the inner self in relation to the social world.

Nearly every verbal utterance we make is tinged with affect. As Restak (1995) states, “[t]hought and emotion are interwoven: every thought,

however bland, almost always carries with it some emotional undertone, however subtle" (p. 21). Durkheim and Mauss (1903/1963) were not referring only to the "primitive" mind when they similarly asserted that it is the "emotional value of notions which plays the preponderant part in the manner in which ideas are connected or separated. It is the dominant characteristic in classification" (p. 86). Life-historical data would appear to be a nearly ideal source of data for etic theory testing. It is important that such data be cross-cultural, for it is the strategic place where nomothetic generalization does *not* hold – as was the case for surprise and territoriality/market-pricing – that only an etic approach will do. There was a moment in the history of sociology – which Plummer (1983) dates from 1920–1935 – when documents of life "firmly established themselves as a central sociological resource" (p. 2). This moment, Plummer adds, has "come and gone." It is to the credit of social constructionists to have attempted to revive historical ethnography and the personal narrative in an effort to advance the sociology of emotions. Such documents have been a "central sociological resource" for confirmatory analysis of affect-spectrum theory. It is by sharing the same kind of data, even if they are subjected to different kinds of analysis, that a perspective inclusive of positivism and constructionism, or nativism and equisitionism, and open to a role of our biological makeup can be established in the sociology of emotions.

The balance of this discussion will address two questions. First, where have we gotten? And second, where should we go from here? With respect to the first question, the basic outline of a general, socioevolutionary theory of emotions and social relations has been set forth. Averill,<sup>20</sup> in one of his criticisms of the concept of primary emotions, suggests that scholars who embrace this concept are interested only in the primary emotions and not in the secondary emotions. Nothing could be further from the truth. Of course, primary emotions, to the extent they really are the building blocks of secondary and tertiary emotions, are both important and highly interesting, but the whole purpose of identifying them as primary is to generate rigorous definitions of the other, more complex emotions. To have defined and analyzed all of the secondary emotions in a careful and rigorous way has been a major task of this book. Another has been the definition and analysis of tertiary emotions.

In addition to developing this theory, a first step toward testing this theory has been taken. This involves the assembly and analysis of a corpus of life-historical interviews from two very different cultures within a single country, the commitment to a lexical-level content-analytic methodology, the construction of wordlists and the analysis of data using a straightforward methodology, multiple-regression analysis. It was highly encouraging that the data generally fit the theory.

Where do we go from here? There are three obvious answers to this question. First of all, the theory presented in this book is not yet complete,



because only 17 tertiary emotions have been defined. Also, its model of social relations, based on a multi-level double polarity of hedonic community and agonistic society can be conceptually elaborated and placed in sociohistorical context. As for empirical verification, what has been accomplished is to show that the eight social relations are predictive of eight primary emotions. This is highly encouraging, but the data analysis has just begun. To begin with, no secondary emotions have been shown to result from any pair of elementary social relations, nor have any tertiary emotions been shown to result from any triple of the sociorelational variables. The methodology that will be used to test the first eight hypotheses is an innovation, but the propositions of the theory need to be studied empirically using other research methodologies and other datasets, and a great deal of modesty is in order with respect to any claim for their validation. The results obtained in testing propositions in the previous chapter suggest that at least one proposed relationship holds only if a fundamental social variable is measured differently for Australian Aborigines and Euro-Australians. This result suggests that qualitative analyses of the same dataset, and of other textual data will be helpful in theory testing and processes of theory elaboration.

Second, the relations between social relations and emotions must be placed in sociohistorical context and explored with a variety of research methodologies. Elias (1939), in *The Civilizing Process*, set such a course for himself, as he endeavored to tell the story of how, in Western Civilization, from the Middle Ages to the Modern Era, as W. Miller (1997) put it, “changes in social structure, primarily in the structure of dependence and relationships among people, have necessary consequences for emotional life” (p. 171). In this process, Miller (*ibid.*) continues, “sanctions that once relied on public ridicule and the actual presence of disapproving others become internalized so that the social is transformed into the psychological” (p. 171). To carry out such research, it is hoped that the analysis of life histories stimulates research using personal narratives of various kinds. As for other methodologies, in the analyses of misanthropy and happiness, it was found that longitudinal survey research is a valuable tool for investigation relationships between sociorelational variables and emotions, and there is no doubt that many of the propositions of affect-spectrum can be critically analyzed using existing survey datasets, and that new survey research projects could be designed for this purpose. It should also be clear that revolutionary advances in brain-imaging methodology has opened up a new world of possibilities for collaborative experimental research that will lead to new knowledge about the relationships between social relationships, cognitive-affective mental processes, and brainwork.

A third crucial direction that must and will be followed is to inquire more deeply into character disorder, emotional pathology, and more generally into the area of affective disorders. This topic was developed only to a limited extent in this book, especially in the chapters that dealt

with pathological character structures, alexithymia, and violence and emotional pathology. Other topics that merit further study will be the focus of my coming work. Of these, a study of emotions and time-consciousness will provide a way to study the interactions of emotions and cognitions, because both time-consciousness and emotions are adaptive reactions to problems of life, and every emotion has a temporal dimension: by studying the temporal dimensions of the whole range of emotions, much could be learned about interactions between cognition and emotion. A deeper study of love and aggressiveness should also be undertaken, and serious work on rationality and emotions in the social world, it is hoped, will follow. Apart from my own interests, it is hoped that the theory and research presented in this book will stimulate other scholars to become involved in the study of a vast, important, and wonderful field of scientific inquiry.

# Notes

## 2 From Darwin to psychoevolutionary theories of primary and secondary emotions

- 1 That the primary emotions are *prototypes* means that inclusion of mental experiences and behavior as associated, for example, with anger, is determined by degree of similarity to the most typical cases of anger. Thus, a prototype is an ideal type. The concept prototype also means that the primary emotions are latent variables only indirectly observable by the measurement of manifest indicators. Each of these emotions has an internal structure with fuzzy boundaries. The most typical aspects of emotions are fully developed in prototypical examples but in less typical examples certain aspects might exist in developed form or be absent (Ben-Ze'ev 2000: 6–7; see also Lakoff 1987).
- 2 The importance of the ordering of primary emotions will first be seen when we consider which emotions are to be considered the “primary dyads” (secondary emotions adjacent in his 1962 wheel) in Chapter 4, and the “secondary,” “tertiary,” and “quaternary” dyads in Chapters 5–7. The author’s rationale for preferring Plutchik’s earlier arrangement is also argued in TenHouten (1995a), where it is shown that the early-heaven arrangement of trigrams in the *I Ching* are interpretable as the primary emotions, which are arranged exactly as in the 1962 wheel. By interpreting the solid and broken, yang and yin, lines as binary numbers, it was shown that the positive emotions, all adjacent, are in numerical order, which also means that the negative primary emotions are also arranged by numerical order. Arrangement by similarity is of secondary importance in this book, however, because the emotions are reclassified in a theory-driven manner in Chapters 9–10.
- 3 Marie Louise Von Franz (1974), a protégé of Jung, makes the remarkable, yet valid claim that “Jung devoted practically the whole of his life’s work to demonstrating the vast psychological significance of the number four” (p. 115). Jung (1959a) was fascinated by mandala symbolism, a mandala essentially being a four-dimensional structure projected into a two-dimensional space. In this sense, Plutchik’s wheel, with its four intersection axes, is a mandala.

## 3 The four pairs of opposite emotions: acceptance and disgust, joy and sadness, anger and fear, anticipation and surprise

- 4 This allows an infant’s internal psychic development to go undisturbed, according to his or her own inner nature and laws of growth. But if there is “[i]mpingement and intrusion on the infant at times when he is not reaching out” (Guntrip 1961: 400), the baby will respond by withdrawing from unwanted impact, forcing him to act prematurely to an outer reality which is

seen as threatening. Thus, Guntrip (*ibid.*) claims, is “the origin of persecutory anxiety” (*ibid.*) and the conditions for a later weakness of identity (see also Holbrook 1972: 21).

- 5 Curtis (2004) and her colleagues conducted a study in six countries and one international airport, with a follow-up study of self-selected respondents on BBC’s website. Pairs of images were set up to look similar, but one image contained a disease threat and the other did not. For examples: two identical towels were shown, one with a blue stain, the other with a yellow-brown stain; two persons were portrayed, one looking healthy, the other looking feverish, damp, pinkish, and spotty. Respondents were asked to score several picture on a five-point disgust scale (from 1 = not disgusting to 5 = very disgusting). More than 80,000 people responded to the web survey, and the results were as expected: the image containing the bodily-fluid towel was rated more than twice as disgusting as its blue-stained control towel; the image of the apparently sick person was rated as twice as disgusting as his healthy counterpart; a train crowded with people was more disgusting than an empty one; a louse more disgusting than a wasp. There was also a strong and consistent sex difference, so that women felt more disgust than men, which makes sense in terms of the double genetic burden women bear in protecting and nurturing themselves and their offspring. For all groups and cultures studied, signs of infection and disease render pictures more disgusting.
- 6 Schimmack *et al.* (2002) argue that Western philosophy sees emotions such as joy and sadness as in conflict, whereas Asian cultures’ dialectical philosophy (Taoism, the yin/yang doctrine, Buddhist dialectics) see emotions of opposite valence as compatible with each other, as a unity-in-difference. Yet not all Western scholars have encountered this difficulty. Darwin, in fact, emphasized that joy and sorrow show opposing characteristics, in this example:

The whole expression of a man in good spirits is exactly the opposite of that of one suffering from sorrow. According to Sir C. Bell, “In all the exhilarating emotions the eyebrows, eyelids, the nostrils, and the angles of the mouth are raised. In the depressing passions, it is the reverse. . . . In joy the face expands, in grief it lengthens.”

(Darwin 1872/1965: 211)

In a cross-cultural study in 40 countries (described in Diener and Suh 2000), Schimmack *et al.* (2002) studied correlations between frequency estimates of pleasant emotions and of unpleasant emotions, and found, consistent with this hypothesis, that these correlations were less negative in Asian cultures than in other cultures.

#### 4 Secondary emotions: the four pairs of opposite primary dyads – love and misery, pride and embarrassment, aggressiveness and alarm, curiosity and cynicism

- 7 Sociologist Arlie Hochschild (1979) has expanded these concepts, seeing emotions management as labor involving two kinds of rules, feeling rules and display rules. She found, for example, that airline stewardesses used various strategies of deep acting to evince the feelings they were expected to feel, for example, by becoming adept at the surface acting of “putting on a happy face” when display rules, akin to Goffman’s expression rules, require that they should be happy. Hochschild rightly asserts that Goffman’s analysis ignores the inner processes by which a person struggles with managing their feelings, arguing that he has no concept of the self. J. Turner and Stets (2005: 36–46)

provide an excellent summary and discussion of Hochschild's work and other studies using her concepts.

**5 Secondary emotions, continued: the four pairs of half-opposite secondary dyads – dominance and submissiveness, optimism and pessimism, delight and disappointment, repugnance and contempt**

- 8 Embarrassment and mild shame have already been defined as a fearful sadness, and prudishness, an annoying modesty, is also a mild form of shame. Disgust has been considered at length, and while we can be ashamed of our disgusting bodies, disgust does not seem to be a definitional component of shame.

**6 Secondary emotions, continued: the eight tertiary dyads – resourcefulness and shock, morbidness and resignation, sullenness and guilt, anxiety and outrage**

- 9 A study by Luyten *et al.* (1998) of the relations between religiosity and the emotions of shame and guilt found that religious subjects reported higher levels of guilt than less religious controls, a finding that makes sense insofar as guilt is, as Tangney (2001: 127) suggests, the “quintessential” moral emotion, and religious people tend to be preoccupied with morality.
- 10 This surge in anxiety is reflected in an increase in posttraumatic stress disorder and also by an increase in acute sociogenic pseudoneurological (“conversion”) symptoms, especially epidemic sociogenic symptoms. Bracha *et al.* (2005) propose that such conversion disorders are etiologically related to specific evolutionary pressures (inescapable threats to life), and take the form of medically unexplained efferent vasovagal syncope and medically unexplained craniofacial musculoskeletal pain in young and otherwise healthy individuals, which can be classified as stress and fear circuit disorders, and to psychogenic non-epileptic attacks (“pseudo-seizures”), conversion motor deficits (pseudo-paralysis), pseudo-cerebellar symptoms, and psychic blindness. These perplexing anxiety-triggered symptoms, which are manifesting in today's world and its many human-made threats, are possibly traceable to allele-variant polymorphisms which developed during the Neolithic Age. In Neolithic-era warfare, conversion symptoms might have increased the survival odds for some non-combatants by signaling to predatory conspecifics that they present no danger.

**7 Secondary emotions, continued: the four antithetical, quaternary dyads – ambivalence, catharsis, frozenness, confusion**

- 11 If confusion is widespread and becomes a group phenomenon, large collectivities, such as citizens of a nation-state in times of high stress and worry, such as in times of war, are prone to collectively fantasize that their leader is in command, possesses strength and acts in a powerful manner. This is a defense mechanism against fear of the leader's probable weakness, ineptitude, stubbornness, cronyism, duplicity, cynicism, hubris, and lack of vision. But there can also be a productive response to such stressful situations (Atlas and Porzio 1994: 109). A first reaction to such a situation is apt to include anger, as a projection of rage onto outsiders – be it foreign immigrants, Muslim fundamentalists, or horse thieves – which allows for some degree of homeostasis. Generally, groups act in a much lower, and often psychologically regressed, emotional manner than individuals. When an individual attempts to fulfill his or her forbidden wishes, the result can be pathetic or dangerous to other persons; but when collectivities do the same, these adult groups can act in a

childish manner, lashing out at stereotyped minority groups and creating pressure for wars of vindication, lynching, mob violence, and revenge that have led to the torture and slaughter of countless human beings.

## 8 The sociorelational approach to the emotions: four elementary forms of sociality

- 12 While Kemper (1978) endeavored to classify and predict emotions using a dualistic model, he also introduced a third dimension, “technical activity.” The resulting tripartite model is consistent with a model of mental organization discovered by Osgood and his co-workers (1957, 1975) using the semantic differential technique in which survey respondents focus on an object and then assess it using pairs of opposite adjectives (as fair/unfair, weak/strong, etc.) to characterize the object. Factor analyses of the resulting of the adjective-pair variables consistently yield three dimensional solutions, interpretable as activity, evaluation as pleasant or unpleasant, and power, which parallel Kemper’s technical activity, status-accord, and power, respectively. This model finds its philosophical root in Baruch Spinoza’s (2002) philosophical model of the mind as organized by the three principles of persistence and striving (activity), desire (evaluation), and necessity (power). Kemper’s model has important application in the sociology of emotions, especially in the symbolic-interactionist affect-control theory of Heise (1985; see also MacKinnon 1994).
- 13 Agonic hyper-sociality can be extremely dysfunctional, as it comes at the expense of awareness of the natural surroundings, and the dangers this unawareness presents. A study of vervet monkeys (*Cercopithecus aethiops*) in Kenya showed that these animals were highly knowledgeable about social dynamics within their own social groups yet paid little attention to the natural world. Faced with an astoundingly high annual mortality rate of about 65 percent (Isbell 1990), mostly from leopard predation, and equipped with a specific alarm call for leopards, they nonetheless systematically failed to associate carcasses cached in trees with leopard presence; they also showed a potentially fatal inability to associate python tracks with python presence (Cheney and Seyfarth 1990).
- 14 Scheler (1926) conceptualized four elementary forms of sociality, paired under two larger principles: (i) kind of being with one another, and (ii) the kind and rank of values corresponding to the institutional domains of economics and politics. Scheler elaborated the first, informal level of community organization into two elements, identity and life-community. There is conceptual continuity between Plutchik, Chance, MacLean, and Scheler – with their identity, reproduction/temporality, hierarchy, and territoriality, on the one hand and Scheler, with his identity, life-community, rank, and value on the other.
- 15 It should be emphasized that this model of relationships between the elementary forms of sociality is neither presented, endorsed, or agreed to by Fiske, but is rather a formulation for which the author takes full responsibility. It is not a model or icon of society and it is certainly not a model of anything that goes on the human brain. It is merely a statement of relationships between key sociorelational variables.

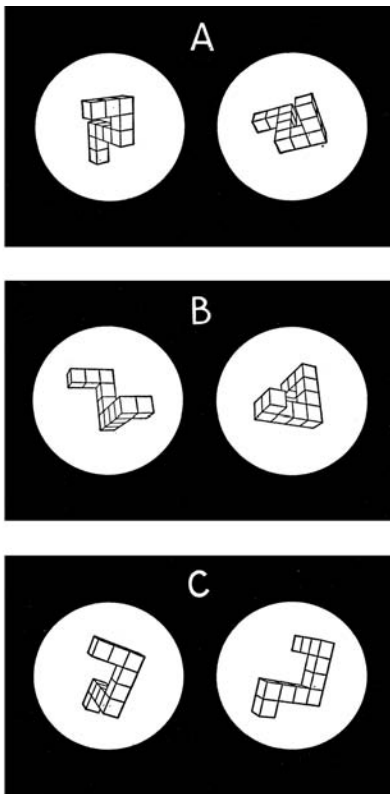
## 10 Affect-spectrum theory, continued: the emotions linking informal community and formal society; a typology of four character structures

- 16 A *sanguine* person is described as optimistic, cheerfully confident, and passionate, a person ready to fall in love (anticipating love). It is the combination of anticipation and love, or “anticipation & joy & acceptance” that justifies this very provisional designation of this tertiary emotion. The term *sanguinary* means “bloodthirsty” and *sanguine* means “cheerfully optimistic.” The connection is to

be found in medieval physiology and its notion of four humors (blood, bile, phlegm, and black bile), which were mistakenly believed to form a person's temperament and mentality. If blood was the dominant humor, one would have a ruddy face and a disposition of courage, hope, and a propensity to fall in love (*American Heritage Dictionary* 1996: 1598).

### 11 Social identity and social control: pride and embarrassment, pridefulness and shame

- 17 There is new and startling evidence regarding conformity, perception, and the emotions. Gregory S. Berns *et al.* (2005) have extended the famous studies carried out in the 1950s by Asch (1956). Then, subjects were shown two cards, one containing one vertical line and the other three vertical lines. The subjects were asked to indicate which lines were longer, but several confederates of the experimenter, on certain trials, intentionally communicated a consensus endorsing a wrong answer before the subject answered. Asch was astonished to



*Figure 11.1n* Sample items from the spatial rotation task used in the Berns *et al.* (2005) elaboration of Solomon Asch's famous studies of group pressure and conformity (from Shepard and Metzler (1971), p. 701. Reprinted by permission of the American Association for the Advancement of Science).

find that three of four subjects agreed with the incorrect answer at least once and one in four conformed half of the time. Asch died in 1996, still puzzled by his results. Had the subjects, perhaps avoiding embarrassment or mild shame, given into the group's apparent consensus knowing their answers were wrong, as Scheff (1990a: 90) has proposed? Or, had social pressures actually changed their perception? Berns *et al.* (2005) replicated this study, used the methodology of functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI) scanning to determine which areas of the brain were activated by the different experimental conditions. In the MRI machine, subjects were told that others would look at the object first and decide, as a group, if three-dimensional geometric shapes were the same or different, a spatial rotation task (Figure 11.1n). By design, the group's answers were sometimes correct, sometimes incorrect. The results paralleled Asch's. Subjects agreed with the group's wrong answer in 41 percent of the trials. If social conformity was a matter of conscious decision-making, then areas of the forebrain that deal with monitoring conflicts should be activated. But if group pressure actually changed perception, activation would be seen in the right hemisphere's intraparietal sulcus, the area where such spatial processing is carried out. For subjects with a propensity toward conformity, the group's consensus directly affected their perception, for activity in brain areas that make conscious decision was absent. But subjects who made correct, independent judgments different from the group had both right-hemispheric spatial activation and additional activation in the right amygdala and right caudate nucleus, regions involved in emotion. This indicated that there was an emotional cost in going against the group's consensus. The Berns *et al.* study is of great importance, for social conformity, acceptance of the views of the collectivity, has implications for economics, politics, and personal relationships.

## 12 Socialization and the emotions: from alexithymia to symbolic elaboration and creativity

- 18 Although Izard (1980) emphasizes interest (which includes expectation, anticipation, and exploration) in the sensory-affective processes of the infant – which plays an important role in selective attention – a feeling of contentment and tranquility also characterizes the positive affect of the human baby.

## 15 A partial empirical test of affect-spectrum theory

- 19 This was done in two stages. In the first stage of item analysis a summated rating – the proportion of total words spoken by the informant in the entire interview assigned to each folk concept – was calculated. The top and bottom fourths of the sample were then compared, then two-sample *t*-tests of differences between the means for the top and bottom quarters of the corpus were calculated separately for each word in the word list. If an individual word measures what the words measure collectively, then the mean for the top quarter should be higher than the mean for the bottom quarter. In the second stage, the top half and bottom half of the corpus were compared, with *t*-values again calculated for each word. In both states, if one or both of the two *t*s for a word were negative, then the word was purged; if one *t* was  $\geq 1$  and the other could not be computed (for rarely used words) or had a value between 0 and 1, then the word was retained.

## 16 Discussion

- 20 I misplaced, and could not find, the exact source of this statement in Averill's many writings.



# References

- Abelson, R.P. and Rosenberg, M.J. (1958) "Symbolic psycho-logic: a model of attitudinal cognition," *Behavioral Science*, 3: 1–13.
- Abrams, D. and Hogg, M.A. (eds) (1999) *Social Identity and Social Cognition*, Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Abramson, L.Y., Seligman, M.E., and Teasdale, J.D. (1978) "Learned helplessness in humans: critique and reformulation," *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, 87: 49–74.
- Acevedo, G.A. (2005) "Turning anomie on its head: fatalism as Durkheim's concealed and multidimensional alienation theory," *Sociological Theory*, 23: 75–85.
- Agger, B. (1992) *The Discourse on Domination: From the Frankfurt School to Postmodernism*, Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press.
- Akgun, S. and Ciarrochi, J. (2003) "Learned resourcefulness moderates the relationship between academic stress and academic performance," *Educational Psychology*, 23: 287–94.
- Alberoni, F. (1983) *Falling in Love*, trans. L. Venuti, New York: Random House.
- Alexander, R.D. (1987) *The Biology of Moral Systems*, Hawthorne, NY: Aldine de Gruyter.
- Allee, W.C. (1943) "Where angels fear to tread: a contribution from general sociology to human ethics," *Science*, 97: 517–25.
- Alloy, L.B. and Abramson, L.Y. (1979) "Judgment of contingency in depressed and nondepressed students: sadder but wiser?" *Journal of Experimental Psychology*, 108: 441–85.
- American Heritage Dictionary of The English Language, The* (1996) 3rd edn, W. Morris (ed.), Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin.
- Anderson, C.A. and Dill, K.E. (2000) "Video games and aggressive thoughts, feelings, and behavior in the laboratory and in life," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 78: 772–90.
- Andersson, M.B. (1994) *Sexual Selection*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Angyal, A. (1941) "Disgust and related aversions," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 36: 393–412.
- Argyle, M. (2001) *The Psychology of Happiness*, 2nd edn, New York: Routledge.
- Arieti, S. (1970) "Cognition and feeling," in M.B. Arnold (ed.), *Feelings and Emotions: The Loyola Symposium*, New York: Academic Press.
- Aristotle (1984) *The Complete Works of Aristotle: The Revised Oxford Translation*, ed. J. Barnes, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

- Arlacchi, P. (1993) *Men of Dishonor: Inside the Sicilian Mafia*, trans. M. Romano, New York: Morrow.
- Asch, S. (1956) "Studies of independence and conformity: I. a minority of one against a unanimous majority," *Psychological Monographs*, 70: 1–70.
- Ashby, F.G., Isen, A.M., and Turken, U. (1999) "A neuropsychological theory of positive affect and its influence on cognition," *Psychological Review*, 106: 529–50.
- Atlas, J. and Porzio, L. (1994) "Rage and anger: dealing with the symptoms of dysfunction in current American society," *Journal of Psychobiology*, 22: 103–13.
- Austin, S. and Joseph, S. (1996) "Assessment of bully/victim problems in 8 to 11 year-olds," *British Journal of Educational Psychology*, 66: 447–56.
- Averill, J.R. (1968) "Grief: its nature and significance," *Psychological Bulletin*, 70: 721–48.
- (1980) "A constructivist view of emotions," in R. Plutchik and H. Kellerman (eds), *Emotion: Theory, Research, and Experience*, vol. 1, *Theories of Emotion*, New York: Academic Press.
- (2002) "Emotional creativity: toward 'spiritualizing the passions,'" in C.R. Snyder and S.J. Lopez (eds), *Handbook of Positive Psychology*, London: Oxford University Press.
- Averill, J.R. and More, T.A. (2004) "Happiness," in M. Lewis and J.M. Haviland-Jones (eds), *Handbook of Emotions*, New York: Guilford Press.
- Azevedo, T.M., Volchan, E., Imbiriba, L.A., Rodrigues, E.C., et al. (2005) "A freezing-like posture to pictures of mutilation," *Psychophysiology*, 42: 255–60.
- Babcock, M.K. (1988) "Embarrassment: a window on the self," *Journal for the Theory of Social Behavior*, 18: 459–83.
- Babcock, M.K. and Sabini, J. (1990) "On differentiating embarrassment from shame," *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 20: 151–69.
- Bach, G.R. and Goldberg, H. (1974) *Creative Aggression*, Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company.
- Bakan, P. (1966) *The Duality of Human Existence*, Chicago, IL: Rand McNally.
- Barbalet, J.M. (1998) *Emotion, Social Theory, and Social Structure: A Macrosociological Approach*, New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Barchas, P.R. (1984) (ed.) *Social Hierarchies: Essays Toward a Sociophysiological Perspective*, Westport, CT and London: Greenwood Press.
- Barchas, P. and Mendoza, S.P. (1984) "Emergent hierarchical relations in rhesus macaques: an application of Chase's model," in P.R. Barchas (ed.), *Social Hierarchies: Essays Toward a Sociophysiological Perspective*, Westport, CT and London: Greenwood Press.
- Barlow, D.H. (2000) "Unraveling the mysteries of anxiety and its disorder from the perspective of emotion theory," *American Psychologist*, 55: 1247–63.
- Batsche, G.M. and Knoff, H.M. (1994) "Bullies and their victims: understanding a pervasive problem in the schools," *School Psychology Review*, 23: 165–74.
- Baumeister, R.F. (1989) *Masochism and the Self*, Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.
- (1997) *Evil: Inside Human Violence and Cruelty*, New York: Freeman.
- Baumeister, R.F. and Boden, J.M. (1998) "Aggression and the self: high self-esteem, low self-control, and ego threat," in R.G. Geen and E. Donnerstein (eds) *Human Aggression: Theories, Research, and Implications for Social Policy*, San Diego, CA: Academic Press, Inc.

- Baumeister, R.F. and Campbell, R.K. (1999) "The intrinsic appeal of evil: sadism, sensational thrills, and threatened egotism," *Personality and Social Psychology*, 3: 210–21.
- Baumeister, R.F., Heatherton, T.F., and Tice, D.M. (1994) *Losing Control: How and Why People Fail at Self-regulation*, New York: Academic Press.
- Baumeister, R.F., Stillwell, A.M., and Heatherton, T.F. (1994) "Guilt: an interpersonal approach," *Psychological Bulletin*, 115: 243–67.
- Baumeister, R.F., Wotman, S.R., and Stillwell, A.M. (1993) "Unrequited love: on heartbreak, anger, guilt, scriptlessness, and humiliation," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 64: 377–94.
- Becker, E. (1973) *The Denial of Death*, New York: Free Press.
- Becker, J.V. (1998) "What we know about the characteristics and treatment of adolescents who have committed sexual offenses," *Child Maltreatment*, 3: 317–29.
- Beebe-Center, J.G., Black, P., Hoffman, A.C., and Wade, M. (1948) "Relative per diem consumption as a measure of preference in the rat," *Journal of Comparative and Physiological Psychology*, 41: 239–51.
- Bell, D.E. (1988) "Disappointment in decision making under uncertainty," *Operations Research*, 33: 1–27.
- Beninger, R.J. (1991) "Receptor subtype-specific dopamine agonists and antagonists and conditioned behavior," in P. Wiener and J. Scheel-Kroger (eds), *The Mesolimbic Dopamine System: From Motivation to Action*, New York: Wiley.
- Benson, D.F. and Zaidel, E. (eds) (1985) *The Dual Brain: Hemispheric Specialization in Humans*, New York and London: The Guilford Press.
- Ben-Ze'ev, A. (2000) *The Subtlety of Emotion*, Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.
- Berlyne, D.E. (1960) *Conflict, Arousal, and Curiosity*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc.
- Berns, G.S., Chappelow, J., Zink, C.F., Pagnoni, G., et al. (2005) "Neurobiological correlates of social conformity and independence during mental rotation," *Biological Psychiatry*, 58: 245–53.
- Berry, J.W., Worthington, E.L., Jr., O'Connor, L.E., Parrott, L. III, et al. (2005) "Forgiveness, vengeful rumination, and affective traits," *Journal of Personality*, 73: 183–225.
- Bewes, R. (1997) *Cynicism and Postmodernity*, London and New York: Verso.
- Blackburn, R.M. and Mann, M. (1979) *The Working Class in the Labour Market*, London: Macmillan.
- Blanton, H., Pelham, B.W., DeHart, T., and Carvallo, M. (2001) "Overconfidence as dissonance reduction," *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 37: 373–85.
- Bleuler, E. (1911/1950) *Dementia Praecox; or, the Group of Schizophrenias*, trans. J. Zinkin, New York: International Universities Press.
- Bloomfield, G. (1981) *Baal Belbora: The End of the Dancing*, introduction by R. Ward, Chippendale, NSW: Alternative Publishing Co-operative Ltd.
- Bogen, J.E. (1969) "The other side of the brain: I. dysgraphia and dyscopia following cerebral commissurotomy," *Bulletin of the Los Angeles Neurological Societies*, 34: 73–105.
- (1985) "The stabilized syndrome of hemispheric disconnection," in D.F. Benson and E. Zaidel (eds), *The Dual Brain: Hemispheric Specialization in Humans*, New York and London: The Guilford Press.

- Bogen, J.E. and Bogen, G.M. (1969) "The other side of the brain: III. the corpus callosum and creativity," *Bulletin of the Los Angeles Neurological Societies*, 34: 191–220.
- Bolles, E.B. (1988) *Remembering and Forgetting: An Enquiry into the Nature of Memory*, New York: Walker and Co.
- Bornoalova, M.A., Lejuez, C.W., Daughters, S.B., Rosenthal, M.Z., et al. (2005) "Impulsivity as a common process across borderline personality and substance use disorders," *Clinical Psychology Review*, 25: 790–812.
- Bosworth, K., Espelage, D.L., and Simon, T.R. (1999) "Factors associated with bullying behavior in middle school students," *Journal of Early Adolescence*, 19: 341–62.
- Bower, T.G.R. (1971) "The object in the world of the infant," *Scientific American*, 225: 30–8.
- Bowlby, J. (1969) *Attachment and Loss*: vol. 1. *Attachment*, New York: Basic Books.
- (1973) *Attachment and Loss*: vol. 2. *Separation: Anxiety and Loss*, New York: Basic Books.
- (1980) *Attachment and Loss*: vol. 3. *Loss, Sadness and Depression*, New York: Basic Books.
- Bracha, H.S., Yoshioka, D.T., Masukawa, N.K., and Stockman, D.J. (2005) "Evolution of the human fear-circuitry and acute sociogenic pseudoneurological symptoms: the Neolithic balanced-polymorphism hypothesis," *Journal of Affective Disorders*, 88: 119–29.
- Brennan, T. (2004) *The Transmission of Affect*, Ithica, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Brett, W.H. (1868) *Indian Tribes of Guiana: Their Condition and Habits*, London: Bell & Daldy.
- Breuer, J. and Freud, S. (1893–1895) *Studies on Hysteria*, in J. Strachey, A. Freud, C.L. Rothgeb, L. Carrie, et al., trans. and eds, *Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works*, vol. 2, London: Hogarth Press.
- Bringle, R.G. (1981) "Conceptualizing jealousy as a disposition," *Alternate Lifestyles*, 4: 274–90.
- Brody, L.R. (1999) "Gender and emotions," in D. Levinson, J.J. Ponzetti, Jr., and P.F. Jorgensen (eds), *Encyclopedia of Human Emotions*, vol. 1, New York: Macmillan Reference USA.
- Broucek, F.J. (1982) "Shame and its relationship to early narcissistic developments," *International Journal of Psycho-analysis*, 63: 369–78.
- Brown, J.W. (1982) "Hierarchy and evolution in neurolinguistics," in M. Arbib, D. Caplan, and C.J. Marshall (eds), *Neural Models of Language Processing*, New York: Academic Press.
- Bull, N. (1951) *The Attitude Theory of Emotion*, New York: Nervous and Mental Disease Monographs.
- Burgess, A.W. and Holmstrom, L.L. (1976) "Coping behavior of the rape victim," *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 133: 413–18.
- Burk, L.R. and Burkhart, B.R. (2003) "Disorganized attachment as a diathesis for sexual deviance developmental experience and the motivation for sexual offending," *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 8: 487–511.
- Burke, E. (1757/1990) *Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Bussey, K. (1992) "Lying and truthfulness: children's definitions, standards, and evaluative reactions," *Child Development*, 63: 129–37.

- Butz, C. and Spaccarelli, S. (1999) "Use of physical force as an offence characteristic in subtyping juvenile sexual offenders," *Sexual Abuse: A Journal of Research and Treatment*, 11: 217–32.
- Butlin, N.G. (1983) *Our Original Aggression: Aboriginal Populations of South-eastern Australia, 1788–1850*, Sydney and Boston: G. Allen & Unwin.
- Bygott, J.D. (1972) "Cannibalism among wild chimpanzees," *Nature*, 238: 410–11.
- Byington, C.A.B. (2003) *Creative Envy: The Rescue of One of Civilization's Major Forces*, trans. P. Freeland, Wilmette, IL: Chiron.
- Byman, R. (2004) "Curiosity and sensation seeking: a conceptual and empirical examination," *Personality and Individual Differences*, 38: 1365–79.
- Byrne, B.J. (1994) "Bullies and victims in a school setting with reference to some Dublin schools," *The Irish Journal of Psychology*, 15: 574–86.
- Campos, J., Barrett, K., Lamb, M., Goldsmith, H., et al. (1983) "Socioemotional development," in P.H. Mussen (ed.), *Handbook of Child Psychology*, vol. 2, *Infancy and Developmental Psychology*, New York: Wiley.
- Cannon, W.B. (1929) *Bodily Changes in Pain, Hunger, Fear and Rage: An Account of Recent Researches into the Function of Emotional Excitement*, 2nd edn, New York: Appleton.
- Carlson, J.G. and Hatfield, E. (1992) *Psychology of Emotion*, Fort Worth, TX: Harcourt Brace Javanovich College Publishers.
- Carver, C.S., Sutton, S.K., and Scheier, M.F. (2000) "Action, emotion, and personality: emerging conceptual integration," *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 26: 741–51.
- Cataldi, S. (1993) *Emotion, Depth, and Flesh: A Study of Sensitive Space. Reflections on Merleau-Ponty's Philosophy of Embodiment*, Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Chance, M.R.A. (ed.) (1988) *Social Fabrics of the Mind*, Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.
- Chance, M.R.A. and Jolly, C.J. (1970) *Social Groups of Monkeys, Apes and Men*, London: Cape.
- Chang, E.C. (1998) "Distinguishing between optimism and pessimism: a second look at the optimism-neuroticism hypothesis," in R.R. Hoffman, M.F. Sherrick, and J.S. Warm (eds), *Viewing Psychology as a Whole: The Integrative Science of William N. Dember*, Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- (ed.) (2001) *Optimism and Pessimism: Implications for Theory, Research, and Practice*, Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Chang, E.C., Maydeu-Olivares, A., and D'Zurilla, T.J. (1997) "Optimism and pessimism as partially independent constructs: relationship to positive and negative affectivity and psychological well-being," *Personality and Individual Differences*, 23: 433–40.
- Charlesworth, W.R. (1969) "The role of surprise in cognitive development," in J. Piaget, D. Elkind, and J. Flavell (eds), *Studies in Cognitive Development: Essays in Honor of Jean Piaget*, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Chase, I.D. (1974) "Models of hierarchy formation in animal societies," *Behavioral Science*, 19: 374–82.
- Cheney, D.L. and Seyfarth, R.M. (1990) *How Monkeys See the World: Inside the Mind of Another Species*, Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

- Clark, M.S. (1984) "Record keeping in two types of relationships," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 47: 549–57.
- Clark, M.S. and Mills, J. (1979) "Interpersonal attraction in exchange and communal relations," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 37: 12–14.
- Clausewitz, K. von (1962) *War, Politics, and Power: Selections from On War, and I Believe and Profess*, trans. and ed. E.M. Collins, Chicago, IL: Henry Regnery Company.
- Collins, R. (1975) *Conflict Sociology: Toward an Explanatory Science*, New York: Academic Press.
- Comadena, M.E. (1999) "Anxiety," in D. Levinson, J.J. Ponzetti, Jr., and P.F. Jorgensen (eds), *Encyclopedia of Human Emotions*, vol. 1, New York: Macmillan Reference USA.
- Cooley, C.H. (1902) *Human Nature and the Social Order*, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- Cortoni, F. and Marshall, W.L. (2001) "Sex as a coping strategy and its relationship to juvenile sexual history and intimacy in sexual offenders," *Sexual Abuse: A Journal of Research and Treatment*, 13: 27–43.
- Costa, P.T., McCrae, R.R., and Zonderman, A.B. (1987) "Environmental and dispositional influences on well-being: longitudinal follow-up of an American national sample," *British Journal of Psychology*, 78: 299–306.
- Craib, I. (1994) *The Importance of Disappointment*, London and New York: Routledge.
- Craig, W.M. (1998) "The relationship among bullying, victimization, depression, anxiety, and aggression in elementary school children," *Personality and Individual Differences*, 24: 123–30.
- Crawford, J., Kippax, S., Onyx, J., Gault, U., et al. (1992) *Emotion and Gender: Constructing Meaning from Memory*, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Creusere, M.A. (1999) "Theories of adults' understanding and use of irony and sarcasm: applications to and evidence from research with children," *Developmental Review* 19: 213–62.
- Crosby, E.C., Humphrey, T., and Lauer, E.W. (1962) *Correlative Anatomy of the Nervous System*, New York: Macmillan.
- Csikszentmihalyi, M. (1996) *Creativity: Flow and the Psychology of Discovery and Invention*, New York: HarperCollins.
- Curtis, V. (2004) "That's disgusting! Thank goodness," *Los Angeles Times*, Tuesday, February 17: B11.
- Curtis, V. and Biran, A. (2001) "Dirt, disgust, and disease – is hygiene in our genes?" *Perspectives in Biology and Medicine*, 44: 17–31.
- Cutler, I. (2000) "The cynical manager," *Management Learning*, 31: 295–312.
- Dalgleish, T. and Power, M.J. (eds) (1999) *Handbook of Cognition and Emotion*, Chichester, UK and New York: Wiley.
- Damasio, A.R. (1994) *Descartes' Error: Emotion, Reason, and the Human Brain*, New York: Avon Books.
- (1999) *The Feeling of What Happens: Body and Emotion in the Making of Consciousness*, San Diego, CA: Harcourt, Inc.
- (2003) *Looking for Spinoza: Joy, Sorrow, and the Feeling Brain*, Orlando, FL: Harcourt, Inc.
- Darwin, C.R. (1859) *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection, or, The Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life*, London: John Murray.

- (1871) *The Descent of Man*, London: John Murray.
- (1872/1965) *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals*, Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Davidson, R.J. (1995) "Cerebral asymmetry, emotion, and affective style," in R.J. Davidson and K. Hugdahl (eds), *Brain Asymmetry*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- (2000) "Affective style, psychopathology and resilience: brain mechanisms and plasticity," *American Psychologist*, 55: 1196–1214.
- Davidson, R.J., Jackson, D.C., and Kalin, N.H. (2000) "Emotion, plasticity, context and regulation: perspectives from affective neuroscience," *Psychological Bulletin*, 126: 890–909.
- Davidson, W.S. (1925) "Envy and emulation," in J. Hastings (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- Davis, J.A. and Smith, T.W. (1994) *General Social Surveys, 1972–1994: Cumulative Codebook*, Chicago, IL: NORC.
- Dawkins, R. (1993) "Viruses of the mind," in B. Dahlbom (ed.), *Dennett and His Critics: Demystifying Mind*, Oxford, UK: Blackwell.
- de Grazia, S. (1962/1994) *Of Time, Work and Leisure*, New York: Vintage Books.
- de Jong, P.J., Peters, M.L., and De Cremer, D. (2003) "Blushing may dignify guilt: revealing effects of blushing in ambiguous social situations," *Motivation and Emotion*, 27: 225–49.
- Denenberg, V.H. (1981) "Hemispheric laterality in animals and the effects of early experience," *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*, 4: 1–49.
- Dennett, D.C. (1995) *Darwin's Dangerous Idea: Evolution and the Meaning of Life*, New York: Simon & Schuster.
- de Rivera, J. and Grinkis, C. (1986) "Emotions as social relationships," *Motivation and Emotion*, 10: 351–69.
- Descartes, R. (1647a/1970) *The Philosophical Works of Descartes*, trans. G.R.T. Rose, New York: Cambridge University Press.
- (1647b/1988) "The passions of the soul," in J. Cottingham, R. Stoothoff, and D. Murdoch (trans), *Descartes: Selected Philosophical Writings*, Cambridge, UK and New York: Cambridge University Press.
- de Sousa, R. (1991) *The Rationality of Emotion*, Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.
- de Waal, F. (1996) *Good Natured*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Dewald, P.A. (1972) *The Psychoanalytic Process: A Case Illustration*, New York: Basic Books.
- Dickstra, R.F.W., Kienhorst, C.W.M., and de Wilde, E.J. (1995) "Suicide and suicidal behavior among adolescents," in M. Rutter and D.J. Smith (eds), *Psychological Disorders in Young People: Time Trends and Their Causes*, Chichester, UK: John Wiley.
- Diener, E. and Diener, C. (1996) "Most people are happy," *Psychological Science*, 7: 181–5.
- Diener, E. and Suh, E.M. (eds) (2000) *Culture and Subjective Well-being*, Cambridge, MA and London: The MIT Press.
- Diener, E., Horwitz, J., and Emmons, R.A. (1985) "Happiness of the very wealthy," *Social Indicators Research*, 16: 263–74.
- Diener, E., Sandvik, E., and Larson, R.J. (1985) "Age and sex effects for emotional intensity," *Developmental Psychology*, 21: 542–6.
- Diener, E., Suh, E.M., Lucas, R.E., and Smith, H.L. (1999) "Subjective well-being: three decades of progress," *Psychological Bulletin*, 125: 276–302.

- Dobratz, M.C. (2002) "Acceptance, cognitions, and resourcefulness in women with diabetes: commentary," *Western Journal of Nursing Research*, 24: 744–5.
- Doi, T. (1973) *The Anatomy of Dependence*, trans. J. Bester, Oxford, UK: Kodansha International.
- Dolan, R.J. (2002) "Emotion, cognition, and behavior," *Science*, 298: 1191–4.
- Dudley, D.R. (1937) *A History of Cynicism*, London: Methuen and Company.
- Durkheim, É. (1893/1960) *The Division of Labor in Society*, trans. J. Simpson, Glencoe, IL: The Free Press of Glencoe.
- (1897/1951) *Suicide: A Study in Sociology*, trans. J.A. Spaulding and G. Simpson, Glencoe, IL: Free Press.
- (1912/1965) *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, trans. J.W. Swain, New York: Free Press.
- (1953) "Value judgments and judgments of reality," in É. Durkheim, *Sociology and Philosophy*, trans. D.F. Pocock, Glencoe, IL: The Free Press.
- (1973) "The dualism of human nature and its social conditions," in R.N. Bellah (ed.), *Emile Durkheim on Morality and Society*, Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Durkheim, É. and Mauss, M. (1903/1963) *Primitive Classification*, trans. R. Needham, Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Dykman, R.A., Reese, W.G., Galbrecht, C.R., and Thomasson, P.J. (1959) "Psychophysiological reactions to novel stimuli: measurements, adaptation, and relationships of psychological and physiological variables in the normal human," *Annals of the New York Academy of Science*, 79: 43–107.
- Ecuycer-Dab, I. and Robert, M. (2004) "Have sex differences in spatial ability evolved from male competitiveness for mating and female concern for survival?" *Cognition*, 91: 221–57.
- Edelmann, R.J. (1985) "Individual differences in embarrassment: self-consciousness, self-monitoring, and embarrassability," *Personality and Individual Differences*, 6: 223–30.
- Edwards, A.L. (1957) *Techniques of Attitude Scale Construction*, New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts.
- Eibl-Eibesfeldt, I. (1972) *Love and Hate: The Natural History of Behavior Patterns*, trans. G. Strachen, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- (1989) *Human Ethology*, Hawthorne, NY: Aldine De Gruyter.
- Eisenberger, R., Lynch, P., Aselage, J., and Rohdieck, S. (2004) "Who takes the most revenge? Individual differences in negative reciprocal norm endorsement," *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 30: 787–99.
- Eisinger, R.M. (2000) "Questioning cynicism," *Society*, 37: 55–60.
- Ekman, P. (ed.) (1973) *Darwin and Facial Expression: A Century of Research in Review*, New York: Academic Press.
- (1980) *The Face of Man: Expressions of Universal Emotions in a New Guinea Village*, New York: Garland STPM Press.
- (2003) *Emotions Revealed: Recognizing Faces and Feelings to Improve Communication and Emotional Life*, New York: Henry Holt and Company.
- Ekman, P. and Davidson, R.J. (1994) "Affective science: a research agenda," in P. Ekman and R.J. Davidson (eds), *The Nature of Emotion: Fundamental Questions*, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Ekman, P. and Friesen, W.V. (1975) *Unmasking the Face: A Guide to Recognizing Emotions from Facial Clues*, Oxford, UK: Prentice-Hall.



- Elder, B. (1994) *Blood on the Wattle: Massacres and Maltreatment of Australian Aborigines Since 1788*, French Forest, NSW, Australia: National Book Distributors and Publishers.
- Elias, N. (1939/2003) *The Civilizing Process: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations*, trans. E. Jepcott, ed. E. Dunning, J. Goudsblom, and S. Menuell, Malden, MA and London: Blackwell Publishers.
- Ellis, C. and Weinstein, E. (1985) "Jealousy and the social-psychology of emotional experience," *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships*, 3: 337–57.
- Ellsworth, P.C. and Smith, C.A. (1988) "From appraisal to emotion: differences among unpleasant feelings," *Motivation and Emotion*, 12: 271–302.
- Elshtain, J.B. (1996) "Marriage in civil society," *Family Affairs*, 7: 1–5.
- Elster, J. (1999) *Alchemies of the Mind: Rationality and the Emotions*, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Emde, R.N. (1980) "Levels of meaning for infant emotions: a biosocial view," in W.A. Collins (ed.), *Development of Cognition, Affect, and Social Relations: The Minnesota Symposium of Child Psychology*, vol. 13, Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Emde, R.N., Gaensbauer, T.J., and Harmon, R.J. (1976) *Emotional Expression in Infancy: A Biobehavioral Study*, New York: International Universities Press.
- Emory, G.R. (1988) "Social geometry and cohesion in three primate species," in M.R.A. Chance (ed.), *Social Fabrics of the Mind*, Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, Inc.
- Epstein, S. (1984) "Controversial issues in emotion theory," *Review of Personality and Social Psychology*, 5: 64–88.
- Erikson, E.H. (1950) *Childhood and Society*, New York: W.W. Norton and Co, Inc.
- Etcoff, N. (1999) *Survival of the Prettiest: The Science of Beauty*, New York: Doubleday.
- Evans, D. and Cruse, P. (2005) *Emotions, Evolution, and Rationality*, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Evans-Pritchard, E.E. (1937) *Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic among the Azande*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Fairbairn, W.R. (1952) *Psychoanalytic Studies of the Personality*, Oxford, UK: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Farrington, D.P. (2005) "Childhood origins of antisocial behavior," *Clinical Psychology & Psychotherapy*, 12: 177–90.
- Fernald, J.C. (1914/1947) *Standard Handbook of SYNONYMS, Antonyms, and Prepositions*, completely rev. edn, New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company.
- Festinger, L. (1957) *A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance*, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Fisher, H.E. (1994) *Anatomy of Love: The Mysteries of Mating, Marriage, and Why We Stray*, New York: Fowcett Columbine.
- Fiske, A.P. (1991) *Structures of Social Life: The Four Elementary Forms of Human Relations: Communal Sharing, Authority Ranking, Equality Matching, Market Pricing*, New York: The Free Press.
- (1992) "The four elementary forms of sociality: framework for a unified theory of social relations," *Psychological Review*, 99: 689–723.
- Flaherty, M.G. (1999) *A Watched Pot: How We Experience Time*, New York: New York University Press.

- Fombonne, E. (1995) "Depressive disorders: time trends and possible explanatory mechanisms," in M. Rutter and D.J. Smith (eds.), *Psychosocial Disorders in Young People: Time Trends and Their Causes*, Chichester, UK and New York: J. Wiley.
- Fossey, D. (1983) *Gorillas in the Mist*, Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin.
- Frank, R.H. (1988) *Passions within Reason: The Strategic Role of the Emotions*, New York: W.W. Norton.
- Franz, M.-L. von (1974) *Number and Time: Reflections Leading Toward a Unification of Depth Psychology and Physics*, Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press.
- Freedman, J.L. (1978) *Happy People: What Happiness Is, Who Has It, and Why*, New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
- Freud, S. (1900) *The Interpretation of Dreams*, in J. Strachey, A. Freud, C.L. Rothgeb, L. Carrie, et al., trans. and eds, *Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works*, vols 4–5, London: Hogarth Press.
- (1905) *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality*, in J. Strachey, A. Freud, C.L. Rothgeb, L. Carrie, et al., trans. and eds, *Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works*, vol. 7, London: Hogarth Press.
- (1910/1951) *On Creativity and the Unconscious: Papers of the Psychology of Art, Literature, Love, Religion*, trans. J. Riviere, New York: Harper & Row, Publishers.
- (1920) *Beyond the Pleasure Principle*, in J. Strachey, A. Freud, C.L. Rothgeb, L. Carrie, et al., trans. and eds, *Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works*, vol. 18, London: Hogarth Press.
- (1921) *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego*, in J. Strachey, A. Freud, C.L. Rothgeb, L. Carrie, et al., trans. and eds, *Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works*, vol. 18, London: Hogarth Press.
- (1923) *The Id and the Ego*, in J. Strachey, A. Freud, C.L. Rothgeb, L. Carrie, et al., trans. and eds, *Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works*, vol. 19, London: Hogarth Press.
- (1926) *Inhibitions, Symptoms, and Anxiety*, in J. Strachey, A. Freud, C.L. Rothgeb, L. Carrie, et al., trans. and eds, *Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works*, vol. 20, London: Hogarth Press.
- (1930) *Civilization and Its Discontents*, in J. Strachey, A. Freud, C.L. Rothgeb, L. Carrie, et al., trans. and eds, *Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works*, vol. 21, London: Hogarth Press.
- Fridlund, A.J. (1992) "Darwin's anti-Darwinism in the 'Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals'," in K.T. Strongman (ed.), *International Review of Studies on Emotion*, vol. 2, Chichester, UK and New York: John Wiley & Sons.
- (1994) *Human Facial Expression: An Evolutionary View*, San Diego, CA: Academic Press.
- Frijda, N.H. (1987) *The Emotions*, Cambridge, UK and New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Frijda, N.H., Kuipers, P., and Ter Schure, E. (1989) "Relations among emotion, appraisal, and emotional action readiness," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 57: 212–28.
- Friston, K.J., Tonini, G., Reeke, G.N., Jr., Sporns, O., et al. (1994) "Value-dependent selection in the brain: simulation in a synthetic neural model," *Neuroscience*, 59: 229–43.

- Frymier, J. (1997) "Cynics in the high school," *High School Journal*, 81: 37–45.
- Fukunishi, I., Tsuruta, T., Hirabayshi, N., and Asukai, N. (2001) "Association of alexithymic characteristics and posttraumatic stress responses following medical treatment for children with refractory hematological diseases," *Psychological Reports*, 89: 527–34.
- Furedi, F. (2002) *Culture of Fear: Risk-Taking and the Morality of Low Expectations*, rev. ed., London and New York: Continuum.
- Fuster, J.M. (1997) *The Prefrontal Cortex: Anatomy, Physiology, and Neuropsychology of the Frontal Lobe*, Philadelphia: Lippincott-Raven.
- Gaddis, J.L. (2004) *Surprise, Security, and the American Experience*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Gaw, K.F. (2000) "Reverse culture shock in students returning from overseas," *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 24: 83–104.
- Gay, P. (1993) *The Cultivation of Hatred*, New York and London: W.W. Norton & Company.
- Gentle, M.J., Jones, R.B., and Woolley, S.C. (1989) "Physiological changes during tonic immobility in *Gallus gallus* var *domesticus*," *Physiology & Behavior*, 46: 843–7.
- Gerzon, R. (1997) *Finding Serenity in the Age of Anxiety*, New York: Macmillan.
- Ghiselin, M.T. (1969) *The Triumph of the Darwinian Method*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Gibson, E.J. (1969) *Principles of Perceptual Learning and Development*, New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts.
- Gibson, J.T. and Haritos-Fatouros, M. (1986) "The education of a torturer," *Psychology Today*, 20: 50–8.
- Giddens, A. (1991) *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age*, Oxford, UK: Polity Press.
- (1992) *The Transformation of Intimacy: Love, Sexuality, and Eroticism in Modern Societies*, Oxford, UK: Polity Press.
- Gilligan, J. (1996) *Violence: Reflections on a National Epidemic*, New York: Vintage Books.
- Glenn, N.D. (1990) "The social and cultural meaning of contemporary marriage," in B. Christensen (ed.), *The Retreat from Marriage: Causes and Consequences*, Rockford, IL: Rockford Institute.
- Gloor, P. (1997) *The Temporal Lobes and Limbic System*, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Glover, E. (1957) "Observations on treating psychopathic delinquents," *Journal of the Association for Psychiatric Treatment of Offenders*, 1: 1–3.
- Goffman, E. (1956) "Embarrassment and social organization," *American Journal of Sociology*, 62: 264–71.
- (1971) *Relations in Public: Microstudies of the Public Order*, New York: Basic Books.
- Goldberg, J.G. (1999) *The Dark Side of Love: The Positive Role of Negative Feelings*, New Brunswick and London: Transaction Publishers.
- Goldstein, R.Z. and Volkow, N.D. (2002) "Drug addiction and its underlying neurobiological basis: neuroimaging evidence for the involvement of the frontal cortex," *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 159: 1642–52.
- Goleman, D. (1997) *Emotional Intelligence: Why it Can Matter More than IQ*, New York: Bantam Books.

- (1998) *Working with Emotional Intelligence*, New York: Bantam Books.
- Goodall, J. (1971) *In the Shadow of Man*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Goodall, J., Bandora, A., Bergmann, E., Busse, C., *et al.* (1979) "Intercommunity interactions in the chimpanzee population of the Gombe National Park," in D.A. Hamburg and E.R. McCown (eds), *The Great Apes: Perspectives on Human Evolution*, vol. 5, Menlo Park, CA: Benjamin/Cummings Publishing.
- Gordon, R. (1980) "Fear," *Philosophical Review*, 89: 560–78.
- Gordon, S.L. (1981) "The sociology of sentiments and emotion," in M. Rosenberg and R.H. Turner (eds), *Social Psychology: Sociological Perspectives*, New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers.
- Grabe, H.J., Spitzer, C., and Freyberger, H.J. (2001) "Alexithymia and the temperament and character model of personality," *Psychotherapy and Psychosomatics*, 70: 261–7.
- Gray, J.R. (2001) "Emotional modulation of cognitive control: approach-withdrawal states double-dissociated spatial from verbal two-back task performance," *Journal of Experimental Psychology*, 130: 436–52.
- Gray, J.R., Braver, T.S., and Raichle, M.E. (2002) "Integration of emotion and cognition in the lateral prefrontal cortex," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences USA*, 99: 4115–20.
- Greeley, A.M. (1991) *Faithful Attraction: Discovering Intimacy, Love, and Fidelity in American Marriage*, New York: Tor Books.
- Groth, N.A. and Birnbaum, H.J. (1979) *Men Who Rape: The Psychology of the Offender*, New York: Plenum.
- Guntrip, H. (1961) *Personality Structure and Human Interaction*, New York: International Universities Press.
- (1968) *Schizoid Phenomena, Object Relations, and the Self*, New York: International Universities Press.
- Hall, E.T. (1959/1973) *The Silent Language*, New York: Bantam Doubleday Dell Publishing Group, Inc.
- Hallam, R. (1992) *Counseling for Anxiety Problems*, Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.
- Hamer, D.H. (1996) "The Heritability of Happiness," *Nature Genetics*, 14: 125–6.
- Hamilton, W.D. (1975) "Innate social aptitudes of man: an approach from evolutionary genetics," in R. Fox (ed.), *Biosocial Anthropology*, New York: Wiley.
- Hampden-Turner, C. (1981) *Maps of the Mind: Charts and Concepts of the Mind and its Labyrinths*, New York: Macmillan Publishing Company.
- Hampshire, S. (1956) *The Age of Reason: The 17th Century Philosophers*, New York: New American Library.
- Hanon, C., Pinquier, C., Gaddour, N., Saïd, S., *et al.* (2004) "Diogenes syndrome: a transnosographic approach," *Encéphale*, 30: 315–22.
- Hardy, J.D. and Smith, T.W. (1988) "Cynical hostility and vulnerability to disease: social support, life stress, and physiological response to conflict," *Health Psychology*, 7: 447–59.
- Hare, R.D. (1968) "Psychopathology, autonomic functioning, and the orienting response," *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, 73(part 2): 1–24.
- (1993) *Without Conscience: The Disturbing World of the Psychopaths among Us*, New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Haring, M.J., Stock, W.A., and Okun, M.A. (1984) "A research synthesis of gender and social class as correlates of subjective well-being," *Human Relations*, 37: 645–57.

- Harmon-Jones, E. and Sigelman, J. (2001) "State anger and prefrontal brain activity: evidence that insult-related relative left-prefrontal activation is associated with experienced anger and aggression," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 80: 797–803.
- Harré, R. (ed.) (1986) *The Social Construction of Emotions*, Oxford, UK and New York: Basil Blackwell.
- Hart, P. (1991) "Groupthink, risk-taking and recklessness: quality of process and outcome in policy decision making," *Politics and the Individual*, 1: 67–90.
- Harvey, O.J., Frank, H., Gore, E.J., Edmond, J., *et al.* (1998) "Relationship of belief systems to shame and guilt," *Personality and Individual Differences*, 25: 769–83.
- Hastings, M.E., Northman, L.M., and Tangney, J.P. (2000) "Shame, guilt, and suicide," in T.E. Joiner and M.D. Rudd (eds), *Suicide Science: Expanding the Boundaries*, Norwell, MA: Kluwer.
- Haynie, D.L., Nansel, T., Eitel, P., Crump, A.D., *et al.* (2001) "Bullies, victims, and bully/victims: distinct groups of at-risk youth," *Journal of Early Adolescence*, 21: 29–49.
- Heidegger, M. (1962) *Being and Time*, trans. J. Macquarrie and E. Robinson, New York: Harper & Row.
- Heidt, J.M., Marx, B.P., and Forsyth, J.P. (2004) "Tonic immobility and childhood sexual abuse: a preliminary report evaluating the sequela of rape-induced paralysis," *Behaviour Research and Therapy*, 43: 1157–71.
- Heise, D.R. (1985) "Affect control theory: respecification estimation and test of the formal model," *Journal of Mathematical Sociology*, 1: 191–222.
- Heller, W. (1990) "The Neuropsychology of emotion: developmental patterns and implications for psychopathology," in N.L. Stein, B. Leventhal, and T. Trabasso (eds), *Psychological and Biological Approaches to Emotion*, Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.
- Hellige, J.B. (1993) *Hemispheric Asymmetry: What's Right and What's Left*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Henry, J. (1963) *Culture Against Man*, New York: Random House.
- Henry, J.P., Haviland, M., Cummings, M.A., Anderson, D.L., *et al.* (1992) "Shared neuroendocrine patterns of post-traumatic stress disorder and alexithymia," *Psychosomatic Medicine*, 54: 407–15.
- Hobbes, T. (1651/1952) *Leviathan, or, the Matter, Forme, and Power of a Commonwealth, Ecclesiastical and Civil*, Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica.
- Hochschild, A.R. (1975) "The sociology of feelings and emotions: selected possibilities," in M. Millman and R.M. Kanter (eds), *Another Voice: Feminist Perspectives on Social Life and Social Science*, Garden City, NJ: Anchor Press/Doubleday.
- (1979) "Emotion work, feeling rules, and social structure," *American Journal of Sociology*, 85: 551–75.
- Holbrook, D. (1972) *The Masks of Hate: The Problem of False Solutions in the Culture of an Acquisitive Society*, Oxford, UK and New York: Pergamon Press.
- Hoover, J.H., Oliver, R., and Hazler, R.J. (1992) "Bullying: perceptions of adolescent victims in the Midwestern USA," *School Psychology International*, 13: 5–16.
- Hope, A. (1985) *The Age of Reason*, Carleton, Victoria, Australia: Melbourne University Press.

- Hoppe, K.D. (1985) "Mind and spirituality: symbollexia, empathy, and God-representation," *Bulletin of the National Guild of Catholic Psychiatrists*, 9: 353–78.
- Hoppe, K.D. and Bogen, J.E. (1977) "Alexithymia in twelve commissurotomy patients," *Psychotherapy and Psychosomatics*, 28: 148–55.
- Hughes, R. (1987) *The Fatal Shore: The Epic of Australia's Founding*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Huntingford, F.A., Turner, A.K., and Downie, L.M. (1987) *Animal Conflict*, Boca Raton, FL: Chapman & Hall/CRC.
- Hupka, R. (1981) *Cultural Determinants of Jealousy*, Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Hvide, H.K. (2002) "Pragmatic beliefs and overconfidence," *Journal of Economic Behavior and Organization*, 48: 15–28.
- Inglehart, R.F. (1990) *Culture Shift in Advanced Industrial Society*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- (2005) "Globalization and postmodern values," *The Washington Quarterly*, 23: 215–28.
- Inglehart, R. and Klingemann, H.-D. (2000) "Genes, culture, democracy, and happiness," in E. Diener and E.M. Suh (eds), *Culture and Subjective Well-Being*, Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.
- Isbell, L.A. (1990) "Sudden short-term increase in mortality of vervet monkeys (*cercopithacus aethiops*) due to leopard predation in Amboseli National Park, Kenya," *American Journal of Primatology*, 21: 41–52.
- Itani, J. (1984) "Inequality versus equality for coexistence in primate societies," *Absolute Values and the New Cultural Revolution*, New York: I.C.U.S. Books.
- (1988) "The Origin of Human Equality," trans. P. Scarabaeus, in M.R.A. Chance (ed.), *Social Fabrics of the Mind*, Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.
- Iyer, H. (1985) "The seven deadly sins: I. the historical context," *Theosophy Library Online Homepage*: <http://theosophy.org/tlodocs/SevenDeadlySins-1.htm>.
- Izard, C.E. (1971) *The Face of Emotion*, New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts.
- (1972) *Patterns of Emotions: A New Analysis of Anxiety and Depression*, New York and London: Academic Press.
- (1977) *Human Emotions*, New York: Plenum.
- (1980) "The emergence of emotions and the development of consciousness in infants," in J.M. Davis and R.J. Davidson (eds), *The Psychobiology of Consciousness*, New York and London: Plenum Press.
- (1984) "Emotion-cognition relationships and human development," in C.E. Izard, J. Kagen, and R.B. Zajonc (eds), *Emotions, Cognitions, and Behavior*, Cambridge, UK and New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Jackson, S.W. (1994) "Catharsis and abreaction in the history of psychological healing," *Psychiatric Clinics of North America*, 17: 471–91.
- James, L. and Nahl, D. (2000) *Road Rage and Aggressive Driving: Steering Clear of Highway Warfare*, Amherst, NY: Prometheus Press.
- James, W. (1890/1981) *The Principles of Psychology*, vol. II, Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press.
- (1901–1902/1992) *The Varieties of Religious Experience: A Study in Human Nature*, Birmingham, AL: The Classics of Psychiatry and Behavioral Science Library.
- Jentsch, J.D. and Taylor, J.R. (1999) "Impulsivity resulting from frontostriatal

- dysfunction in drug abuse: implications for the control of behavior by reward-related stimuli," *Psychopharmacology*, 146: 373–90.
- Johansson, P., Kerr, M., and Andershed, H. (2005) "Linking adult psychopathology with childhood hyperactivity-impulsivity-attention problems and conduct problems through retrospective self-reports," *Journal of Personality Disorders*, 19: 94–101.
- Johnson, D.D.P. (2004) *Overconfidence and War: The Havoc and Glory of Positive Illusions*, Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press.
- Johnson, G.M. and Knight, R.A. (2000) "Developmental antecedents of sexual coercion in juvenile sexual offenders," *Sexual Abuse: A Journal of Research and Treatment*, 12: 165–78.
- Johnson-Laird, P.N. and Oatley, K. (1992) "Basic emotions, rationality, and folk theory," *Cognition & Emotion*, 6: 201–23.
- Johnson-Reid, M. and Way, I. (2001) "Adolescent sexual offenders: incidence of childhood maltreatment, serious emotional disturbance, and prior offenses," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 71: 120–30.
- Joireman, J., Anderson, J., and Strathman (2003) "The aggression paradox: understanding links among aggression, sensation seeking, and the consideration of future consequences," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 84: 1287–1302.
- Jones, E. (1961) *The Life and Work of Sigmund Freud*, vol. I, New York: Basic Books.
- Jung, C.G. (1959a/1972) *Mandala Symbolization*, trans. R.F.C. Hull, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- (1959b) "The archetypes and the collective unconscious," in H. Read, M. Fordham, and G. Adler (eds), *The Collected Works of C.G. Jung*, 2nd edn, vol. IX, part I, trans. R.F.C. Hull, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Kagen, J. (1984) *The Nature of the Child*, New York, Basic Books.
- Kanter, D.L. and Mirvis, P.H. (1989) *The Cynical Americans: Living and Working in an Age of Discontent and Disillusion*, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Kaplan, C.D. and Wogan, M. (1976–1977) "Management of pain through cerebral activation: an experimental analogue of alexithymia," *Psychotherapy and Psychosomatics*, 38: 144–53.
- Katz, J. (2003) *Righteous Slaughter*, Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Kelman, H.C. and Hamilton, V.L. (1989) *Crimes of Obedience: Toward a Social Psychology of Authority and Responsibility*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Keltner, D. and Haidt, J. (2003) "Approaching awe, a moral, spiritual, and aesthetic emotion," *Cognition & Emotion*, 17: 297–314.
- Keltner, K., Gruenfeld, D.H., and Anderson, C. (2003) "Power, approach, and inhibition," *Psychological Review*, 110: 265–84.
- Kemp, S. and Strongman, K.T. (1995) "Anger theory and management: a historical analysis," *The American Journal of Psychology*, 108: 397–417.
- Kemper, T.D. (1978) *A Social Interactional Theory of the Emotions*, New York: Wiley.
- (1981) "Social constructionist and positivist approaches to the sociology of emotions," *American Journal of Sociology*, 87: 336–62; (1983); "Reply," 89: 440–3.
- (1991) "An introduction to the sociology of emotions," in K.T. Strongman (ed.), *International Review of Studies on Emotion*, vol. I, New York: Wiley.
- Kemper, T.D. and Collins, R. (1990) "Dimensions of microinteraction," *American Journal of Sociology*, 96: 32–68.

- Kernis, M.H., Gannemann, B.D., and Barclay, L.C. (1989) "Stability and level of self-esteem as predictors of anger arousal and hostility," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 56: 1013–22.
- King, A., Wold, B., Tudor-Smith, C., and Harel, Y. (1996) *The Health of Youth: A Cross-national Survey* (World Health Organization regional publication, European Series No. 69), Canada: World Health Organization.
- King, J.A. and Napa, C.K. (1999) "Ambivalence," in D. Levinson, J.J. Ponzetti, Jr. and P.F. Jorgensen (eds), *Encyclopedia of Human Emotions*, vol. 1, New York: Macmillan Reference USA.
- Kipnis, D. (1971) *Character Structure and Impulsiveness*, New York and London: Academic Press.
- Klein, M. (1957) *Envy and Gratitude: A Study of Unconscious Sources*, Oxford, UK: Basic Books.
- Kling, A.S. and Brothers, L.A. (1992) "The amygdala and social behavior," in J.P. Aggleton (ed.), *The Amygdala: Neurobiological Aspects of Emotion, Memory, and Mental Dysfunction*, New York: Wiley-Liss.
- Kling, A.S. and Mass, R. (1974) "Alterations of social behavior with neural lesions in nonhuman primates," in R.L. Holloway (ed.), *Primate Aggression, Territoriality, and Xenophobia*, New York: Academic Press.
- Knutson, B. (2004) "Sweet revenge?" *Science*, 305: 1246–7.
- Knutson, B., Adams, C.M., Fong G.W., and Hommer, D. (2001) "Anticipation of increasing monetary rewards selectively recruits nucleus accumbens," *Journal of Neuroscience*, 21: 159.
- Kolk, B.A. van der (1987) *Psychological Trauma*, Washington, DC: American Psychiatric Association.
- Konner, M. (1982) *The Tangled Wing: Biological Constraints on the Human Spirit*, New York: Henry Holt and Company.
- Krystal, H. (1962) "The opiate withdrawal syndrome as a state of stress," *Psychiatric Quarterly* (suppl.), 36: 53–65.
- (1968) "Studies of concentration camp survivors," in H. Krystal (ed.), *Massive Psychic Trauma*, New York: International Universities Press.
- (1979) "Alexithymia and psychotherapy," *American Journal of Psychotherapy*, 33: 17–31.
- (1982) "Alexithymia and the effectiveness of psychoanalytic treatment," *International Journal of Psychoanalytic Psychotherapy*, 9: 353–78.
- (1988) *Integration and Self-Healing: Affect, Trauma, Alexithymia*, Hillsdale, NJ: Analytic Press, Inc.
- La Barbera, J.D., Izard, C.E., Vietze, P., and Parisi, S.A. (1976) "Four- and six-month-old infants' visual responses to joy, anger, and neutral expressions," *Child Development*, 47: 535–8.
- LaFollette, H. (1996) *Personal Relationships: Love, Identity, and Morality*, Oxford, UK: Blackwell.
- Lakoff, G. (1987) *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things*, Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Langer, E. (1997) *The Power of Mindful Learning*, Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Larkin, R.W. (1979) *Suburban Youth in Cultural Crisis*, New York: Oxford University Press.
- La Rochefoucauld, François duc de (2005) "The maxims of La Rochefoucauld," <http://charon.sfsu.edu/maximfoder/rochefoucauldresults.php?>



- Laski, M. (1962) *Ecstasy: A Study of Some Secular and Religious Experiences*, Bloomfield, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Layard, R. (2003) "Happiness: has social science a clue? Lecture 1. What is happiness: are we getting happier?" *Lionel Robbins Memorial Lecture 2002/3*, delivered on 3 March 2003 at the London School of Economics.
- Lazarus, R.S. (1991) *Emotion and Adaptation*, New York: Oxford University Press.
- (1999) "Hope: an emotion and a vital coping resource against despair," *Social Research*, 66: 653–78.
- Lazarus, R.S. and Folkman, S. (1984) *Stress, Appraisal, and Coping*, New York: Springer Pub Co.
- Lazarus, R.S. and Launier, R. (1978) "Stress-related transactions between person and environment," in L.A. Pervin and M. Lewis (eds), *Perspectives in Interactional Psychology*, New York: Plenum.
- Lear, J. (1990) *Love and Its Place in Nature: A Philosophical Interpretation of Freudian Psychoanalysis*, New York: The Noonday Press.
- Leary, M.R. and Kowalski, R.M. (1995) *Social Anxiety*, New York: Guilford.
- Leavitt, R.L. and Power, M.B. (1989) "Emotional socialization in the postmodern era: children in day care," *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 52: 35–43.
- LeDoux, J. (1996) *The Emotional Brain: The Mysterious Underpinnings of Emotional Life*, New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Lee, G.R., Seccombe, K., and Shehan, C.L. (1991) "Marital status and personal happiness: an analysis of trend data," *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 53: 839–44.
- Levenson, R.W. (1994) "The search for autonomic specificity," in P. Ekman and R.J. Davidson (eds), *The Nature of Emotion: Fundamental Questions*, New York: Oxford University Press.
- (2003) "Blood, sweat, and fears: the autonomic architecture of emotion," *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, 1000: 348–66.
- Levinson, R. (1992) "Grief and rage at the wedding: Demeter, Persephone and the mother of the bride," *Women & Therapy*, 12: 59–71.
- Lévy-Bruhl, L. (1910/1985) *How Natives Think*, trans. L.A. Clare, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Lewis, H.B. (1971) *Shame and Guilt in Neurosis*, New York: International Universities Press.
- Lewis, M. (1969) "Infants' responses to facial stimuli during the first year of life," *Developmental Psychology*, 1: 75–86.
- (1995) "Embarrassment: the emotion of self-exposure and evaluation," in J.P. Tangney and K.W. Fischer (eds), *Self-Conscious Emotions: The Psychology of Shame, Guilt, Embarrassment, and Pride*, New York and London: Guilford Press.
- Lieberman, V. and Tversky, A. (1993) "On the evaluation of probability judgments: calibration, resolution, and monotonicity," *Psychological Bulletin*, 114: 162–73.
- Lifton, R.J. (1986) *The Nazi Doctors: Medical Killing and the Psychology of Genocide*, New York: Basic Books.
- Lindsay-Hartz, J. (1981) "Elation, gladness, and joy," in J. de Rivera (ed.), *Conceptual Encounters: Method for the Exploration of Human Experience*, Washington, DC: University Press of America.

- Lipset, S.M. and Schneider, W. (1983) *The Confidence Gap: Business, Labor, and Government in the Public Mind*, New York: Free Press.
- Locke, K.D. and Horowitz, L.M. (1990) "Satisfaction in interpersonal interactions as a function of similarity in level of dysphoria," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 58: 823–31.
- Lockwood, D. (1992) *Solidarity and Schism: "The Problem of Disorder" in Durkheim and Marxist Sociology*, Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press.
- Luhmann, N. (1979) *Trust and Power: Two Works*, trans. H. Davis, J. Raffan, and K. Rooney, New York: Wiley.
- Lumley, M.A., Smith, J.A., and Longo, D.J. (2002) "The relationship of alexithymia to pain severity and impairment among patients with chronic myofascial pain: comparisons with self-efficacy, catastrophizing, and depression," *Journal of Psychosomatic Research*, 53: 823–30.
- Lundeberg, M., Fox, P.W., and Puncochar, J. (1994) "Highly confident but wrong: gender differences and similarities in confidence judgment," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 86: 114–21.
- Luria, A.R. (1966) *Higher Cortical Functions in Man*, London: Tavistock.
- (1973) *The Working Brain: An Introduction to Neuropsychology*, trans. B. Haigh, London: Allen Lane, Penguin Press.
- (1982) *Language and Cognition*, New York: Wiley.
- Lutz, A., Lachaux, J.-P., Martinerie, J., and Varela, F. (2002) "Guiding the study of brain dynamics by using first-person data: synchrony patterns correlate with on-going conscious state during a simple visual task," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Science*, 99: 1586–91.
- Luyten, P., Corveleyn, J., and Fontaine, J.R.J. (1998) "The relationship between religiosity and mental health: distinguishing between shame and guilt," *Mental Health, Religion & Culture*, 1: 165–84.
- Lykken, D. and Tellegen, A. (1996) "Happiness is a stochastic phenomenon," *Psychological Science*, 7: 186–9.
- Lyman, S.M. and Scott, M.B. (1967) "Territoriality: a neglected sociological dimension," *Social Problems*, 15: 236–49.
- McCord, W., McCord, J., and Zola, I.K. (1959) *Origins of Crime: A New Evaluation of the Cambridge-Somerville Youth Study*, New York: Columbia University Press.
- McCrae, R.R. and Costa, P.T. (1997) "Conceptions and correlates of openness to experience," in R. Hogan, J.A. Johnson, and S.R. Briggs (eds), *Handbook of Personality Psychology*, San Diego, CA: Academic Press.
- McDermott, R. and Cowden, J.A. (2001) "The effects of uncertainty and sex in a crisis simulation game," *International Interactions*, 27: 353–80.
- McDougall, J. (1974) "The psychosoma and the psychoanalytic process," *International Review of Psycho-Analysis*, 1: 437–59.
- McDougall, W. (1908) *Introduction to Social Psychology*, London: Methuen and Company.
- Machiavelli, N. (1513/1940) *The Prince and the Discourses*, trans. L. Ricci, New York: Random House.
- McIntosh, W.D. and Martin, L.L. (1992) "The cybernetics of happiness: the relation between goal attainment, rumination, and affect," in M.S. Clark (ed.), *Review of Personality and Social Psychology*, vol. 14, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

- MacKinnon, N.J. (1994) *Symbolic Interaction as Affect Control*, Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- MacLean, P.D. (1964) "Mirror display in the squirrel monkey (*siamiri sciureus*)," *Science*, 146: 950–2.
- (1973) *A Triune Concept of the Brain and Behavior*, Oxford, UK: University of Toronto Press.
- (1977) "The triune brain in conflict," *Psychotherapy and Psychosomatics*, 28: 207–20.
- (1990) *The Triune Brain in Evolution: Role in Paleocerebral Functions*, New York: Plenum.
- Magoun, H.W. (1963) *The Waking Brain*, 2nd ed., Springfield, IL: Thomas.
- Malinowski, B. (1921) "The primitive economics of the Trobriand Islanders," *Economic Journal*, 31: 1–16.
- Malta, L.S. (2004) "Predictors of aggressive driving in young adults," *Dissertation Abstracts International: Section B: The Sciences and Engineering*, 65(3-B): 1554.
- Mandler, G. (1984) *Mind and Body: Psychology of Emotion and Stress*, New York: W.W. Norton & Company.
- Marshall, W.L. and Marshall, L. (2000) "The origins of sexual offending," *Trauma, Violence, and Abuse*, 1: 250–63.
- Marshall, W.L., Laws, D.R., and Barbaree, H.E. (1990) *Handbook of Sexual Assault: Issues, Theories, and Treatment of the Offender*, New York: Plenum Press.
- Martin, I.I. and Clore, G.L. (eds) (2001) *Theories of Mood and Cognition: A User's Handbook*, Mahwah, NJ: L. Erlbaum and Associates.
- Marty, P. and M. de M'Uzan (1963) "La pensée opératoire," *Review Francaise de Psychoanalyse*, 27 (suppl.):1345–56.
- Maslow, A.H. (1954) *Motivation and Personality*, Oxford, UK: Harper and Row.
- Massumi, B. (ed.) (1993) *The Politics of Everyday Fear*, Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press.
- Masters, R.D. and McGuire, M.T. (eds) (1994) *The Neurotransmitter Revolution: Serotonin, Social Behavior, and the Law*, Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press.
- May, R. (1950) *The Meaning of Anxiety*, New York: Ronald Press.
- (1953) *Man's Sense of Himself*, New York: Norton.
- (1969) *Love and Will*, New York: Dell.
- Mazur, A. and Booth, A. (1998) "Testosterone and dominance in men," *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*, 21: 353–97.
- Mead, G.H. (1932) *The Philosophy of the Present*, ed. A.E. Murray, Chicago, IL and London: Open Court Publishing Company.
- Megargee, E.I. (1970) "Undercontrolled and overcontrolled personality types in extreme antisocial aggression," in E.I. Megargee and J.E. Hokanson (eds), *The Dynamics of Aggression: Individual, Group, and International Analyses*, New York: Harper & Row.
- Milgram, S. (1963) "Behavioral studies of obedience," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 67: 371–8.
- Miller, G.A., Galanter, E., and Pribram, K.H. (1960) *Plans and the Structure of Behavior*, New York: Adams Bannister Cox.
- Miller, W.I. (1997) *The Anatomy of Disgust*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Milliss, R. (1994) *Waterloo Creek: The Australian Day Massacre of 1838*, George

- Gipps and the British Conquest of New South Wales*, Sydney: University of New South Wales Press.
- Mills, C.M. and Keil, F.C. (2005) "The development of cynicism," *Psychological Science*, 16: 385–90.
- Modigliani, A. (1971) "Embarrassment, facework, and eye contact: testing a theory of embarrassment," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 17: 15–24.
- Montagner, H., Restoin, A., Rodriguez, D., Ullman, V., *et al.* (1988) "Social interaction of young children with peers and their modification in relation to environmental factors," in M.R.A. Chance (ed.), *Social Fabrics of the Mind*, Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.
- Moore, D.J. and Harris, W.D. (1996) "Affect intensity and the consumer's attitude toward high impact emotional advertising appeals (including appendices)," *Journal of Advertising*, 25: 37–50.
- Morsbach, H. and Tyler, W.J. (1986), "A Japanese emotion: amae," in R. Harré (ed.), *The Social Construction of Emotion*, New York, Basil Blackwell Inc.
- Moss, L.W. and Cappannari, S.C. (1976) "'Mal' occhio, ayin ha ra, oculus fascinus, judenblick: the evil eye hovers above," in C. Maloney (ed.), *The Evil Eye*, New York: Columbia University Press.
- Myers, D.G. (1992) *The Pursuit of Happiness: Who is Happy – and Why*, New York: William Morrow.
- Myers, D.G. and Diener, E. (1995) "Who is happy?" *Psychological Science*, 6: 10–19.
- Nash, R.F., Gallup, G.G., Jr., and Czech, D.A. (1976) "Psychophysiological correlates of tonic immobility in the domestic chicken (*Gallus gallus*)," *Physiology & Behavior*, 17: 413–18.
- Nathanson, D.L. (1992) *Shame and Pride: Affect, Sex, and the Birth of the Self*, New York: W.W. Norton & Company.
- Nemiah, J.C. and Sifneos, P. (1976) "Affect and fantasy in patients with psychosomatic disorders," in O.W. Hill (ed.), *Modern Trends in Psychosomatic Medicine*, vol. 2, Boston: Butterworths.
- Nesse, R.M. (1999) "The evolution of hope and despair," *Social Research*, 66: 429–69.
- Nettle, D. (2004) "Adaptive illusions: optimism, control and human rationality," in D. Evans and P. Cruse (eds), *Emotion, Evolution, and Rationality*, Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Neumann, E. (1955) *The Great Mother: An Analysis of the Archetype*, New York: Pantheon Books.
- Nierenberg, A.A., Ghaemi, S.N., Clancy-Colecchi, K., Rosebaum, J.F., *et al.* (1996) "Cynicism, hostility, and suicidal ideation in depressed outpatients," *Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease*, 184: 607–10.
- Nisslé, S. and Bschor, T. (2002) "Winning the jackpot and depression: money cannot buy happiness," *International Journal of Psychiatry in Clinical Practice*, 6: 183–6.
- Oatley, K. and Jenkins, J.M. (1996) *Understanding Emotions*, Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers.
- Oberg, K. (1960) "Culture shock: adjustment to new cultural environments," *Practical Anthropology*, 7: 177–82.
- O'Doherty, J.P., Deichmann, R., Critchley, H.D., and Dolan, R.J. (2002) "Neural response during anticipation of a primary taste reward," *Neuron*, 33: 815–26.

- Olds, J. and Milner, P. (1954) "Positive reinforcement produced by electrical stimulation of septal area and other regions of the rat brain," *Journal of Comparative and Physiological Psychology*, 47: 419–27.
- Olweus, D. (1980) "Familial and temperamental determinants of aggressive behavior in adolescent boys: a causal analysis," *Developmental Psychology*, 16: 644–60.
- (1993) *Bullying at School: What We Know and What We Can Do*, Oxford, UK: Basil Blackwell.
- (1995) "Bullying or peer abuse at school: facts and interventions," *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 4: 196–200.
- Orme, J.E. (1962) "Time estimation and personality," *Journal of Mental Science*, 108: 213–16.
- Ortony, A., Clore, G.L., and Collins, A. (1988) *The Cognitive Structure of Emotions*, New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Ortony, A. and Partridge, D. (1987) "Surprisingness and expectation failure: what's the difference?" in J. McDermott (ed.), *Proceedings of the Tenth International Joint Conference on Artificial Intelligence*, Los Angeles, CA: Morgan Kaufman.
- Ortony, A. and Turner, T.J. (1990) "What's basic about basic emotions?" *Psychological Review*, 97: 315–31.
- Osgood, C.E., May, W.H., and Miron, M.S. (1975) *Cross-Cultural Universals of Affective Meaning*, Champaign: University of Illinois Press.
- Osgood, C.E., Suci, G.C., and Tannenbaum, P.H. (1957) *The Measurement of Meaning*, Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.
- Oxford English Dictionary, The Compact Edition of the* (1971) 2 vols, Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Packer, C. (1979) "Male dominance and reproductive activity in *papio anubis*," *Animal Behaviour*, 27: 37–45.
- Paese, P.W. and Feuer, M.A. (1991) "Decisions, actions, and the appropriateness of confidence in knowledge," *Journal of Behavioral Decision Making*, 4: 1–16.
- Paine, T. (1794) *The Age of Reason: Being an Investigation of True and False Theology*, New York: Birdsall and Hyer.
- Panksepp, J. (1982) "Toward a general psychobiological theory of emotions," *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*, 5: 407–67.
- (1992) "A critical role for 'affective neuroscience' in resolving what is basic about basic emotions: response to Ortony and Turner," *Psychological Review*, 99: 554–60.
- (1998) *Affective Neuroscience: The Foundations of Human and Animal Emotions*, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Papoušek, H. and Papoušek, M. (1975) "Cognitive aspects of preverbal social interaction between human infants and adults," *Parent-Infant Interaction: Ciba Foundation Symposium 33 (new series)*, Amsterdam: Associated Scientific Publishers.
- Parker, J.D.A. (2000) "Emotional intelligence: clinical and therapeutic implications," in R. Bar-On and J.D.A. Parker (eds), *The Handbook of Emotional Intelligence: Theory, Development, Assessment, and Application at Home, School, and in the Workplace*, San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Pearce, F. (1989) *The Radical Durkheim*, Boston and London: Unwin-Hyman.
- Peersen, M., Gudjonsson, G.H., and Sigurdsson, J.F. (2000) "The relationship

- between general and specific attribution of blame for a 'serious' act and the role of personality," *Nordic Journal of Psychiatry*, 54: 25–30.
- Perry, D.G., Kusel, S.J., and Perry, L.C. (1988) "Victims of peer aggression," *Developmental Psychology*, 24: 807–14.
- Peterson, C. (2000) "The future of optimism," *American Psychologist*, 55: 44–55.
- Petrinovich, L. (1973) "Darwin and the representative expression of reality," in P. Ekman (ed.), *Darwin and Facial Expression: A Century of Research in Review*, Oxford, UK: Academic Press.
- Petronio, S. (1999) "Embarrassment," in D. Levinson, J.J. Ponzetti, Jr., and P.F. Jorgensen (eds), *Encyclopedia of Human Emotions*, vol. 1, New York: Macmillan Reference USA.
- Piaget, J. and Inhelder, B. (1969) *The Psychology of the Child*, New York: Basic Books.
- Pitt-Rivers, J. (1968) "Honor," *International Encyclopedia of Social Science*: 503–11.
- Platman, S.R., Plutchik, R., and Weinstein, B. (1971) "Psychiatric, physiological, behavioral and self-report measures in relation to a suicide attempt," *Journal of Psychiatric Research*, 8: 127–37.
- Plummer, K. (1983) *Documents of Life: An Introduction to the Problems and Literature of a Humanistic Method*, London: George Allen & Unwin.
- Plutchik, R. (1958) "Outline of a new theory of emotion," *Transaction of the New York Academy of Science*, 20: 394–403.
- (1962/1991) *The Emotions: Facts, Theories, and a New Model*, rev. ed., Lanham, MD: University Press of America, Inc.
- (1980) *Emotion: A Psychoevolutionary Synthesis*, New York: Harper & Row.
- (2003) *Emotions and Life: Perspectives From Psychology, Biology, and Evolution*, Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Plutchik, R. and Conte, H.R. (eds) (2002) *Circumplex Models of Personality and Emotions*, Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Pool, P.W. (2003) "Levels of resourcefulness and motivation as they relate to sales force success: an examination of correlates using the hope theory," *Dissertation Abstracts International: Section A: Humanities and Social Science*, 63(12–A): 4386.
- Pooley, E. (1999) "Portrait of a deadly bond," *Time*, May 10: 26–32.
- Porter, R. (2003) *Flesh in the Age of Reason: The Modern Foundations of Body and Soul*, New York and London: W.W. Norton & Company.
- Postone, M. (1993) *Time, Labor, and Social Domination: A Reinterpretation of Marx's Critical Theory*, Cambridge, UK and New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Power, M. (1986) "The foraging adaptation of chimpanzees, and the recent behaviors of the provisioned apes in Gombe and Mahale National Parks, Tanzania," *Human Evolution*, 1: 251–66.
- Pribram, K.H. (1981) "Emotions," in S.B. Filskov and T.J. Boll (eds), *Handbook of Clinical Neuropsychology*, New York: John Wiley & Sons.
- Puncochar, J.M. and Fox, P.W. (2004) "Confidence in individual and group decision making: when 'two heads' are worse than one," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 96: 52–91.
- Putnam, R.S. (1995) "Bowling alone: America's declining social capital," *Journal of Democracy*, 6: 65–78.

- Quay, H.C. (1965) "Psychopathic personality as pathological stimulation-seeking," *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 122: 180–3.
- Quervain, D.J. de, Fishback, U., Treyer, V., Schellhammer, M., *et al.* (2004) "Neural basis of altruistic punishment," *Science*, 305: 1254–8.
- Rabbitt, P. (ed.) (1997) *Methodology of Frontal Executive Function*, Manchester, UK and Perth, West Australia: Psychology Press.
- Räikkönen, K., Matthews, K.A., Flory, J.D., Owens, J.F., *et al.* (1999) "Effects of optimism, pessimism, and trait anxiety on ambulatory blood pressure and mood during everyday life," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 76: 104–13; correction, 77: 336.
- Rainwater, J. (1989) *Self-Therapy: A Guide to Becoming Your Own Therapist*, Wellingborough, Crucible.
- Rappaport, R. (1992) "Ritual, time, and eternity," *Zygon*, 27: 5–30.
- Raz, J. (2001) *Engaging Reason: On the Theory of Value and Action*, Oxford, UK and New York: Oxford University Press.
- Reber, A.S. (1995) *The Penguin Dictionary of Psychology*, 2nd edn, New York: Penguin Press.
- Restak, R.M. (1984) *The Brain*, New York: Bantam Books, Inc.
- (1995) *The Modular Brain: How New Discoveries in Neuroscience and Answering Age-Old Questions About Memory, Free Will, Consciousness, and Personal Identity*, New York: Touchstone Books.
- Rican, P. (1999) "Cruelty as experience and as motive," *Ceskoslovenská Psychologie*, 43: 543–55.
- Rilling, J.K., Guttman, D.A., Zeh, T.R., Pagnoni, G., *et al.* (2002) "A neural basis for social cooperation," *Neuron*, 35: 395–405.
- Robins, L.N. and Reiger, D.A. (eds) (1991) *Psychiatric Disorders in America*, New York: Free Press.
- Robins, R.W. and Beer, J.S. (2001) "Positive illusions about the self: short-term benefits and long-term costs," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 80: 340–52.
- Robinson, J.P., Shaver, P.R., and Wrightsman, L.S. (eds) (1991) *Measures of Personality and Social Psychological Attitudes*, San Diego: Academic Press.
- Roget, P.M. (1852/1977) *Roget's International Thesaurus*, 4th edn, revised by R.L. Chapman, New York: Harper & Row, Publishers.
- Rolls, E.T. (2001) *The Brain and Emotion*, Oxford, UK and New York: Oxford University Press.
- (2004) "The functions of the orbitofrontal cortex," *Brain & Cognition*, 55: 11–29.
- Rong, J.-R. (2001) "Perceptual stress, learned resourcefulness and adaptive functioning among older adults," *Dissertation Abstracts International: Section B: The Sciences and Engineering*, 62(2-B): 785.
- Rose, E. (1992) *The Werald: The Wording of the World*, Boulder, CO: The Waiting Room Press.
- Rosenbaum, M.S. and Kuntze, R. (2003) "The relationship between anomie and unethical retail disposition," *Psychology & Marketing*, 20: 1067–93.
- Rosenberg, M. (1956) "Misanthropy and political ideology," *American Sociological Review*, 21: 690–95.
- (1957) "Misanthropy and attitudes toward international affairs," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 1: 340–5.

- Rozin, P. and Fallon, A.E. (1987) "A perspective on disgust," *Psychological Review*, 94: 23–41.
- Rozin, P., Haidt, J., and McCauley, C. (1999) "Disgust," in D. Levinson, J.J. Ponzetti, Jr., and P.F. Jorgensen (eds), *Encyclopedia of Human Emotions*, vol. 1, New York: Macmillan Reference USA.
- Rozin, P., Lowery, L., and Ebert, R. (1994) "Varieties of disgust faces and the structure of disgust," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 66: 870–81.
- Rozin, P., Lowery, L., Sumio, I., and Haidt, J. (1999) "The CAS triad hypothesis: a mapping between three moral emotions (contempt, anger, disgust) and three moral codes (community, autonomy, divinity)," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 76: 574–86.
- Russ, S.W. (1999) "Emotion/affect," in M.A. Runco and S.R. Pritzer (eds), *Encyclopedia of Creativity*, vol. 1, San Diego, CA: Academic Press.
- Russell, D.E.H. (1975) *The Politics of Rape: The Victim's Perspective*, New York: Stein and Day.
- Saad, L. (2001) "Americans anxious, but holding their heads high: have increased confidence in government leaders, the economy," Gallup news service, retrieved December 7, 2001 from [www.gallup.com/poll/releases/pr011001.asp](http://www.gallup.com/poll/releases/pr011001.asp).
- Sacks, O. (1985) *The Man Who Mistook His Wife for a Hat and Other Clinical Tales*, New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Sandvik, E., Diener, E., and Seidlitz, L. (1993) "Subjective well-being: the convergence and stability of self-report and non-self-report measures," *Journal of Personality*, 6: 317–42.
- Savin-Williams, R.C. (1977) "Dominance in a human adolescent group," *Animal Behavior*, 25: 400–6.
- Sayar, K., Ebrinc, S., and Ak, I. (2001) "Alexithymia in patients with antisocial personality disorder in a military hospital setting," *Israel Journal of Psychiatry and Related Sciences*, 38: 81–7.
- Scheff, T.J. (1988) "Shame and conformity: the deference-emotion system," *American Sociological Review*, 53: 395–406.
- (1990a) *Microsociology: Discourse, Emotion, and Social Structure*, Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- (1990b) "Socialization of emotion: pride and shame as causal agents," in T.D. Kemper (ed.), *Research Agendas in the Sociology of Emotions*, Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- (1994) *Bloody Revenge: Emotions, Nationalism, and War*, Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Scheff, T.J. and Retzinger, S.M. (1991) *Emotions and Violence: Shame and Rage in Destructive Conflicts*, Lexington, MA: Lexington Books.
- Scheier, K.R. (1984) "On the nature and function of emotion: a component process approach," in K.R. Scheier and P. Ekman (eds), *Approaches to Emotion*, Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Scheier, M.F. and Carver, C.S. (1985) "Optimism, coping, and health: assessment and implications of generalized outcome expectancies," *Health Psychology*, 4: 219–47.
- Scheler, M.F. (1926/1960) *Die Wissenformen und die Gesellschaft*, München, Deutschland: Francke. Der Neue Geist Verlag.
- Schimmack, U. and Diener, E. (1997) "Affect intensity: separating intensity and frequency in repeatedly measured affect," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 73: 1313–29.



- Schimmack, U., Oishi, S., and Diener, E. (2002) "Cultural influences on the relation between pleasant and unpleasant emotions: Asian dialectic philosophies or individual-collectivism?" *Cognition & Emotion*, 16: 705–19.
- Schjelderup-Ebbe, T. (1935) "Social behavior of birds," in C.A. Murchison (ed.), *A Handbook of Social Psychology*, Worcester, MA: Clark University Press.
- Schlenker, B.R. (1980) *Impression Management: The Self-Concept, Social Identity, and Interpersonal Relations*, Monterey CA: Brooks/Cole Publishing Company.
- Schmidt, L.A. and Trainor, L.J. (2001) "Frontal brain electrical activity (EEG) distinguishes valence and intensity of musical emotions," *Cognition & Emotion*, 15: 487–500.
- Schoeck, H. (1966/1987) *Envy: A Theory of Social Behavior*, Indianapolis, IN: Liberty Fund.
- Schumm, W.R. (1999) "Satisfaction," in D. Levinson, J.J. Ponzetti, Jr., and P.F. Jorgensen (eds), *Encyclopedia of Human Emotions*, vol. 2, New York: Macmillan Reference USA.
- Schwartz, B. (1981) *Vertical Classification: A Study in Structuralism and the Sociology of Knowledge*, Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.
- Schwartz, D., Chang, L., and Farver, J. (2001) "Correlates of victimization in Chinese children's peer groups," *Developmental Psychology*, 37: 520–32.
- Scott, G.G. (1983) *Erotic Power: An Exploration of Dominance and Submission*, Secaucus, NJ: Citadel.
- Scott, J.P. (1972) *Animal Behavior*, 2nd edn, rev., Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- (1980) "The function of emotions in behavioral systems: a systems theory analysis," in R. Plutchik and H. Kellerman (eds), *Emotion: Theory, Research, and Experience*, vol. 1. New York: Academic Press.
- Scully, D. (1990) *Understanding Sexual Violence*, London: HarperCollins.
- Sennett, R. (1980) *Authority*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Shand, A. (1914) *The Foundation of Character: Being a Study of the Tendencies of the Emotions and Sentiments*, New York: MacMillan Co.
- Shenk, D. (1997) *Data Smog: Surviving the Information Glut*, San Francisco: HarperEdge.
- Shepard, R.N. and Metzler, J. (1971) "Mental rotation of three dimensional objects," *Science*, 171: 701–3.
- Sidanius, J. and Pratto, F. (2001) *Social Dominance: An Intergroup Theory of Social Hierarchy and Oppression*, Cambridge, UK and New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Sidanius, J., Pratto, F., and Bobo, L. (1994) "Social dominance orientation and the political psychology of gender: a care of invariance?" *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 67: 998–1011.
- Sifneos, P.E. (1973) "The prevalence of 'alexithymic' characteristics in psychosomatic patients," *Psychotherapy and Psychosomatics*, 22: 255–62.
- Silberman, C. (2001) "Inside shock art," *Art Business News*, 28: 154–8.
- Silver, M., Sabini, J., and Parrott, W.G. (1987) "Embarrassment: a dramaturgic account," *Journal for the Theory of Social Behavior*, 17: 47–61.
- Simmel, G. (1906/1950) "Types of social relationships by degree of reciprocal knowledge of their participants," in K. H. Wolff (ed.), *The Sociology of Georg Simmel*, Glencoe, IL: Free Press.

- Sincoff, J.B. (1990) "The psychological characteristics of ambivalent people," *Clinical Psychology Review*, 10: 43–68.
- Singer, J.L. (1974) *Imagery and Daydream Methods in Psychotherapy and Behavior Modification*, New York: Academic Press.
- Slater, P.E. (1970) *The Pursuit of Loneliness: American Culture at the Breaking Point*, Boston: Beacon Press.
- Slee, P.T. and Rigby, K. (1993) "Australian school children's self appraisal of interpersonal relations: the bullying experience," *Child Psychiatry and Human Development*, 23: 273–82.
- Smith, D.J. (1995) "Youth crimes and conduct disorders: trends, patterns and causal explanations," in M. Rutter and D.J. Smith (eds), *Psychosocial Disorders in Young People: Time Trends and Their Causes*, Chichester, UK and New York: John Wiley & Sons.
- Smith, P.K., Shu, S., and Madsen, K. (2001) "Characteristics of victims of school bullying: developmental changes in coping strategies and skills," in J. Juvonen and S. Graham (eds), *Peer Harassment in School: The Plight of the Vulnerable and Victimized*, New York: Guilford Press.
- Smith, T.S., Stevens, G.T., and Caldwell, S. (1999) "The familiar and the strange: Hopfield network models for prototype-entrained attachment-mediated neurophysiology," in D.D. Franks and T.S. Smith (eds), *Mind, Brain, and Society: Toward a Neurosociology of Emotion. Social Perspectives on Emotion*, vol. 5, Stamford, CT: JAI Press.
- Smith, T.W. (1997) "Factors relating to misanthropy in contemporary American society," *Social Science Research*, 26: 170–96.
- Snyder, C.R. (1994) *The Psychology of Hope: You Can Get There from Here*, New York: Free Press.
- Solomon, R.L. and Corbit, J.D. (1974) "An opponent-process theory of motivation: I. temporal dynamics of affect," *Psychological Review*, 81: 119–45.
- Somit, A. and Peterson, S.A. (1997) *Darwin, Dominance, and Democracy: The Biological Bases of Authoritarianism*, Westport, CT and London: Praeger.
- Søndergaard, H.P. and Theorell, T. (2004) "Alexithymia, emotions and PTSD: findings from a longitudinal study of refugees," *Nordic Journal of Psychiatry*, 58: 185–91.
- Spielberger, C.D. (1976) "The nature and measurement of anxiety," in C.D. Spielberger and R. Diaz-Guerrero (eds), *Cross-Cultural Anxiety*, New York: Halsted Press.
- Spinoza, B. (2002) *Complete Works*, trans. S. Shirley, Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc.
- Spitz, R.A. (1965) *The First Year of Life: A Psychoanalytic Study of Normal and Deviant Development of Object Relations*, New York: International Universities Press.
- Spitz, R.A. and Wolf, K.M. (1946) "Anaclitic depression: an inquiry into the genesis of psychiatric conditions in early childhood," *The Psychoanalytic Study of the Child*, 2: 313–42.
- Stearns, P.N. (1992) "Gender and emotion: a twentieth-century transition," *Social Perspectives on Emotion*, 1: 127–60.
- Steiner, J.E. (1977) "Facial expressions of the neonate infant indicating the hedonics of food-related chemical stimuli," in J.M. Weiffenbach (ed.), *Taste and Development: The Genesis of Sweet Preference* (DHEW Publication No. NIH 77-1068), Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

- Stern, D.N. (2002) *The First Relationship: Infant and Mother*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Stoody, M.A. (2001) "How bullies pick their victims: a systems approach," *Dissertation Abstracts International: Section A: Humanities and Social Sciences*, 61(12-A): 46.
- Stover, E. and Nightingale, E.O. (1985) *The Breaking of Bodies and Minds: Torture, Psychiatric Abuse, and the Health Profession*, New York: Freeman.
- Strasser, S. (1970) "Feeling as a basis of knowing and recognizing the other as an ego," in M.B. Arnold (ed.), *Feelings and Emotions: The Loyola Symposium*, New York: Academic Press.
- Strathman, A., Gleicher, F., Boninger, D.S., and Edwards, C.S. (1994) "CDC: weighing immediate and distant outcomes of behavior," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 66: 742–52.
- Sugarman, R.I. (1980) *Rancor against Time: The Phenomenology of "Ressentiment"*, Hamburg: Felix Meiner Verlag.
- Sullivan, S. (1999) *Falling in Love: A History of Torment and Enchantment*, London: Macmillan.
- Sun Tzu (2001) *The Art of War: A New Translation*, trans., essays, and commentary by The Denma Translation Group, Boston and London: Shambhala.
- Svebak, S. and Kerr, J.H. (1989) "The role of impulsivity in preference for sports," *Personality and Individual Differences*, 10: 51–8.
- Tangney, J.P. (1991) "Moral affect: the good, the bad, and the ugly," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 61: 598–607.
- (1994) "The mixed legacy of the superego: adaptive and maladaptive aspects of shame and guilt," in J.M. Masling and R.F. Bornstein (eds), *Empirical Perspectives on Object Relations Theory*, Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- (2001) "Constructive and destructive aspects of shame and guilt," in A.C. Bohard and D.J. Stipik (eds), *Constructive and Destructive Behavior: Implications for Family, School, and Society*, Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Tangney, J.P. and Dearing, R.L. (2002) *Shame and Guilt*, New York: Guilford Press.
- Taylor, G.J. and Bagby, R.M. (2000) "An overview of the alexithymia construct," in R. Bar-On and J.D.A. Parker (eds), *The Handbook of Emotional Intelligence: Theory, Development, Assessment, and Application at Home, School, and in the Workplace*, San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Taylor, G.J., Ryan, D., and Bagby, R.M. (1986) "Toward the development of a new self-report alexithymia scale," *Psychotherapy and Psychosomatics*, 44: 191–9.
- Taylor, S.E. (1989) *Positive Illusions: Creative Self-Deception and the Healthy Mind*, New York: Basic Books.
- Temkin, B. and Yanay, N. (1988) " 'I shot them with words': an analysis of political hate-letters," *Journal of Political Science*, 18: 467–83.
- TenHouten, W.D. (1994) "Creativity, intentionality, and alexithymia: a graphological analysis of split-brained patients and normal controls," in M.P. Shaw and M.A. Runco (eds) *Creativity and Affect*, Norwood, NJ: Ablex.
- (1995a) "Dual symbolic classification and the primary emotions: a proposed synthesis of Durkheim's sociogenic and Plutchik's psychoevolutionary theories of emotions," *International Sociology*, 10: 427–45.

- (1995b) “Inferring cognitive structure from text,” *Journal of Contemporary Legal Issues*, 6: 97–114.
- (1996) “Outline of a socioevolutionary theory of the emotions,” *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy*, 16: 189–208.
- (1997) “Neurosociology,” *Journal of Social and Evolutionary Systems*, 20: 7–37.
- (1999a) “Explorations in neurosociological theory: from the spectrum of affect to time-consciousness,” in D.D. Franks and T.S. Smith (eds), *Mind, Brain, and Society: Toward a Neurosociology of Emotion; Social Perspectives on Emotions*, vol. 5, Greenwich, CT: JAI Press Inc.
- (1999b) “Handwriting and creativity,” in M.A. Runco and S.R. Pritzker (eds), *Encyclopedia of Creativity*, vol. 1, San Diego: Academic Press.
- (1999c) “Text and temporality: patterned-cyclical and ordinary-linear forms of time-consciousness inferred from a corpus of Australian Aboriginal and Euro-Australian life-historical interviews,” *Symbolic Interaction*, 22: 121–37.
- (1999d) “The four elementary forms of sociality, their biological bases, and their implications for affect and cognition,” in L. Freese (ed.), *Advances in Human Ecology*, vol. 8, Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.
- (2004a) “Time and society: a quadratic theory of time-consciousness,” *Free Inquiry in Creative Sociology*, 32: 3–10.
- (2004b) “Time and society: social organization and time-consciousness,” *Free Inquiry in Creative Sociology*, 32: 11–19.
- (2004c) “Time and society: a cross-cultural study,” *Free Inquiry in Creative Sociology*, 32: 21–35.
- (2005a) “Primary emotions and social relations: a first report,” *Free Inquiry in Creative Sociology*.
- (2005b) *Time and Society*, Albany: State University of New York Press.
- (2006) “Alexithymia – borne of trauma and oppression, to symbolic elaboration and the creative expression of emotion,” in J. Kaufman and J. Baer (eds), *Reason and Creativity in Cognitive Development*, Cambridge, UK and New York: Cambridge University Press.
- TenHouten, W.D., Seifer, M., and Siegel, P. (1988) “Alexithymia and the split brain: VII. evidence from graphological signs,” in K.D. Hoppe (guest ed.), *Hemispheric Specialization, Affect, and Creativity*, Philadelphia, PA: Psychiatric Clinics of North America Series.
- TenHouten, W.D., Hoppe, K.D., Bogen, J.E., and Walter, D.O. (1985a) “Alexithymia and the split brain: I. lexical-level content analysis,” *Psychotherapy and Psychosomatics*, 43: 202–6.
- (1985b) “Alexithymia and the split brain: II. sentential-level content analysis,” *Psychotherapy and Psychosomatics*, 44: 1–5.
- (1985c) “Alexithymia and the split brain: III. global-level content analysis of fantasy and symbolization,” *Psychotherapy and Psychosomatics*, 44: 89–94.
- (1985d) “Alexithymia and the split brain: IV. Gottschalk-Gleser content analysis, an overview,” *Psychotherapy and Psychosomatics*, 44: 113–21.
- (1985e) “Alexithymia and the split brain: V. EEG alpha-band interhemispheric coherence analysis,” *Psychotherapy and Psychosomatics*, 47: 1–10.
- (1986) “Alexithymia: an experimental study of cerebral commissurotomy patients and normal controls,” *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 143: 312–16.
- (1988) “Alexithymia and the split brain: VI. electroencephalographic correlates

- of alexithymia," in K.D. Hoppe (guest ed.), *Hemispheric Specialization, Affect, and Creativity*, Psychiatric Clinics of North America Series, Philadelphia, PA: Saunders.
- Thamm, R. (1992) "Social structure and emotion," *Sociological Perspectives*, 35: 649–71.
- Thoits, P.A. (1989) "The Sociology of emotions," *Annual Review of Sociology*, 15: 317–142.
- (1990) "Emotional deviance: research agendas," in T.D. Kemper (ed.), *Research Agendas in the Sociology of Emotions*, Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Thompson, M.M. and Zanna, M.P. (1995) "The conflicted individual: personality-based and domain-specific antecedents of ambivalent social attitudes," *Journal of Personality*, 63: 259–88.
- Thoresen, C.E., Luskin, F., and Harris, A.H.S. (1998) "Science and forgiveness intervention: reflections and recommendations," in E.L. Worthington, Jr. (ed.), *Dimensions of Forgiveness: Psychological Research & Theological Perspectives*, Philadelphia, PA: Templeton Foundation Press.
- Tiger, L. (1975/1995) *Optimism: The Biology of Hope*, New York: Kodansha America Inc.
- (1999) "Hope springs internal," *Social Research*, 66: 611–23.
- Toch, H. (1969/1993) *Violent Men: An Inquiry into the Psychology of Violence*, Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Toffler, A. (1970) *Future Shock*, New York: Random House.
- Tomarken, A.J. and Keener, A.D. (1998) "Frontal brain activity and depression: a self-regularity perspective," *Cognition & Emotion*, 12: 387–420.
- Tomkins, S.S. (1962) *Affect, Imagery, Consciousness*, vol. I, *The Positive Affects*, New York: Springer Publishing Company, Inc.
- (1963) *Affect, Imagery, Consciousness*, vol. II, *The Negative Affects*, New York: Springer Publishing Company, Inc.
- (1984) "Affect theory," in K.R. Scheier and P. Ekman (eds), *Approaches to Emotions*, Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- (1991) *Affect, Imagery, Consciousness*, vol. III, *The Negative Affects: Anger and Fear*, New York: Springer Publishing Company.
- (1992) *Affect, Imagery, Consciousness*, vol. IV, *Cognition: Duplication and Transformation of Information*, New York: Springer Publishing Company, Inc.
- Trevarthen, C. (1984) "Emotions in infancy: regulators of contact and relationships with persons," in K.R. Scherer and P. Ekman (eds), *Approaches to Emotion*, Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers.
- Turner, J.H. (2002) *On the Origins of Human Emotions: A Sociological Inquiry into the Evolution of Human Affect*, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Turner, J.H. and Stets, J.E., (2005) *The Sociology of Emotions*, New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Uslaner, E.M. (1993) *The Decline of Comity in Congress*, Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- van Dijk, W.W. and Zeelenberg, M. (2002) "What do we talk about when we talk about disappointment? Distinguishing outcome-related disappointment from person-related disappointment," *Cognition & Emotion*, 16: 787–807.
- Van Helmont, F.M. (1694) *The Spirit of Disease; or, Diseases from the Spirit: Laid Open in Some Observations Concerning Man and his Diseases*, London: Sarah Howkins.

- Veblen, T. (1973) *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Veenhoven, R. (1984) *Conditions of Happiness*, Dordrecht, Holland: Reidel.
- (2005) “Apparent quality-of-life in nations: how long and happy people live,” *Social Indicators Research*, 71: 61–86.
- Vernon, L.L. and Berenbaum, H. (2002) “Disgust and fear in response to spiders,” *Cognition & Emotion*, 16: 809–30.
- Wallace, A. (1993) *Tibetan Buddhism from the Ground Up: A Practical Approach for Modern Life*, Boston, MA: Wisdom Publications.
- Walter, J.L. (2002) “The emergence of the capacity for guilt in preschoolers: the role of personal responsibility in differentiating shame from guilt,” *Dissertation Abstracts International: Section B: The Sciences and Engineering*, 62 (8–B): 3831.
- Ward, C., Bochner, S., and Furnham, A. (2001) *The Psychology of Culture Shock*, 2nd edn, Hove, UK and Philadelphia, PA: Routledge.
- Warren, K.B. (1947) *The Symbolism of Subordination: Indian Identity in a Guatemalan Town*, Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Weber, M. (1905a/1975) “Knies and the problem of irrationality,” in G. Oakes (ed.), *Roscher and Knies: The Logical Problems of Historical Economics*, New York: The Free Press.
- (1905b/1991) *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, trans. T. Parsons, London and New York: Routledge.
- (1921a/1968) *Economy and Society: An Outline of an Interpretive Sociology*, trans. H. Fischhoff *et al.*, 3 vols, New York: Bedminster Press.
- (1921b/1970) “Politics as a vocation,” in H.H. Gerth and C.W. Mills (eds and trans), *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Webster’s New World Dictionary of American English* (1988), ed. V. Neufeldt and D.B. Guralnik, New York: Webster’s New World.
- Weisfeld, G.E. (1997) “Discrete emotions theory with specific reference to pride and shame,” in N.L. Segal, G.E. Weisfeld, and C.C. Weisfeld (eds), *Uniting Psychology and Biology: Integrative Perspectives on Human Development*, Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- (2002) “Neural and functional aspects of pride and shame,” in G.A. Cory, Jr. and R. Gardner, Jr. (eds) *The Evolutionary Neuroethology of Paul MacLean: Convergences and Frontiers*, Westpoint, CT and London: Praeger.
- Weizmann-Henelius, G., Viemerö, V., and Eronen, M. (2004) “Psychopathy in violent female offenders in Finland,” *Psychopathology*, 37: 213–21.
- Whellis, A. (1958) *The Quest for Identity*, New York: Norton.
- White, G.L. (1980) “Inducing jealousy: a power perspective,” *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 6: 222–27.
- Whitrow, G.J. (1961) *The Natural Philosophy of Time*, New York: Harper.
- Wigan, A.L. (1844/1985) *The Duality of the Mind*, Malibu, CA: Joseph Simon/publisher.
- Wilensky, R. (1983) *Planning and Understanding: A Computational Approach to Human Reasoning*, Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley Pub. Co.
- Wilhelm, P.G. (1993) “Application of distributive justice theory to the CEO pay problem: recommendations for reform,” *Journal of Business Ethics*, 12: 469–82.
- Willhoite, F.H. (1986) “Political evolution and legitimacy: the biological origins of hierarchical organization,” in E. White and J. Losco (eds), *Biology and*

- Bureaucracy: Public Administration and Public Policy from the Perspective of Evolutionary, Genetic, and Neurobiological Theory*, Lanham, MD: University Press of America, Inc.
- Wilson, E.O. (1975) *Sociobiology*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Winnicott, D.W. (1958) *Collected Papers, Through Paediatrics to Psycho-analysis*, New York: Basic Books.
- (1965a) *The Family and Individual Developments*, New York: Basic Books.
- (1965b) *The Maturation Process and the Facilitating Environment: Studies in the Theory of Emotional Development*, New York: International Universities Press.
- Wolfe, P.H. (1965) "Development of attention in young infants," *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, 118: 815–30.
- Worchel, S.J., Morales, F.J., Páez, D., and Deschamps, J.-C. (eds) (1998) *Social Identity: International Perspectives*, London and Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Worthington, E.L., Jr. and Wade, N.G. (1999) "The psychology of unforgiveness and forgiveness and implications for clinical practice," *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology*, 18: 385–418.
- Wundt, W. (1902–1903) *Grundzüge der Physiologischen Psychologie*, Leipzig: W. Engelmann.
- Zahn-Waxler, C. and Robinson, J. (1995) "Empathy and guilt: early origins of feelings of responsibility," in J.P. Tangney and K.W. Fisher (eds), *Self-Conscious Emotions: The Psychology of Shame, Guilt, Embarrassment, and Pride*, New York: Guilford Press.
- Zauszniewski, J.A., McDonald, P.E., Krafcik, K., and Chung, C.W. (2002) "Acceptance, cognition, and resourcefulness in women with diabetes," *Western Journal of Nursing Research*, 24: 728–43.
- Zeitlin, S.B., McNally, R.J., and Cassiday, K.L. (1993) "Alexithymia in victims of sexual assault: an effect of repeated traumatization?" *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 150: 661–3.
- Zeitlin, S.B., Lane, R.D., O'Leary, D.S., and Schrift, M.J. (1989) "Interhemispheric transfer deficit and alexithymia," *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 146: 1434–9; "Reply," 147: 956.
- Zilboorg, G. and Henry, G.W. (1941) *A History of Modern Psychology*, New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc.
- Zuckerman, M. (1979) *Sensation Seeking: Beyond the Optimism Level of Arousal*, Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- (2001) "Optimism and pessimism: biological foundations," in E.C. Chang (ed.), *Optimism and Pessimism: Implications for Theory, Research, and Practice*, Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Zweig, P. (1968/1980) *The Heresy of Self-Love: A Study of Subversive Individualism*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

# Name index

- Abelson, R.P. 109  
Abrams, D. 15  
Abramson, L.Y. 95, 132, 223  
Acevedo, G.A. 88  
Agger, B. 92  
Akgun, S. 86  
Alberoni, F. 53–6  
Alexander, R.D. 117  
Allee, W.C. 74  
Alloy, L.B. 132, 223  
Anderson, C.A. 164  
Andersson, M. 257  
Angyal, A. 26–7  
Argyle, M. 34–5  
Arieti, S. 4, 14  
Aristotle 3, 50, 104, 147, 167–9, 181, 225  
Arlacchi, P. 150  
Asch, S. 262  
Ashby, F.G. 31  
Atlas, J. 260  
Austin, S. 161  
Averill, J.R. 3, 31, 38, 197, 255, 263n20  
Azevedo, T.M. 106
- Babcock, M.K. 51, 59–60  
Bach, G.R. 61–2  
Baer, J. xiv  
Bagby, R.M. 67, 199  
Bakan, P. 126  
Barbalet, J.M. 130, 147–8, 218–20  
Barchas, P.R. 17, 74  
Barlow, D.H. 98, 100  
Batsche, G.M. 160–61  
Baumeister, R.F. 34, 150–1, 163–6, 223  
Becker, E. 38  
Becker, J.V. 145
- Beebe-Center, J.G. 78  
Beer, J.S. 223  
Bell, D.E. 79  
Beninger, R.J. 31  
Benson, D.F. 131  
Ben-Ze'ev, A. 6–7, 28, 30–1, 34, 41, 83, 92–3, 179–81, 184, 186, 221, 235–6, 258n3  
Berenbaum, H. 20  
Berlyne, D.E. 46, 68–69, 77, 108, 158  
Berns, G.S. 262n17  
Berry, J.W. 147  
Bewes, R. 70  
Biran, A. 27  
Birnbaum, H.J. 150  
Blackburn, R.M. 44  
Blanton, H. 222  
Bleuler, E. 102  
Bloomfield, G. 253  
Boden, J.M. 223  
Bogen, G.M. 197  
Bogen, J.E. xi, 102–3, 194, 197  
Bolles, E.B. 44  
Booth, A. 176  
Bornovalova, M.A. 156  
Bower, T.G.R. 46  
Bowlby, J. 42, 80, 145  
Bracha, H.S. 260n10  
Brennan, T. 6  
Breuer, J. 104  
Bringle, R.G. 205  
Brody, L.R. 252  
Brothers, L.A. 173, 175  
Broucek, F.J. 180  
Brown, J.W. 131  
Bschor, T. 34  
Bull, N. 46  
Burk, L.R. 145–6  
Burke, E. 66



- Burkhart, B.R. 145–6  
 Bussey, K. 72  
 Butlin, N.G. 253  
 Butz, C. 146  
 Bygott, J.D. 116  
 Byington, C.A.B. 203, 208–12, 215–18  
 Byman, R. 162  
 Byrne, B.J. 161
- Campbell, R.K. 150–1, 163–4, 166  
 Campos, J.J. 47  
 Cannon, W.B. 39  
 Cappannari, S.C. 233  
 Carlson, J.G. 98  
 Carver, C.S. 75, 132  
 Cavanagh, K. xiv  
 Cavanagh, M. xiv  
 Chance, M.R.A. 113–17, 119, 122, 127, 261n14  
 Chang, E.C. 75–6  
 Charlesworth, W.R. 48  
 Chase, I.D. 74  
 Cheney, D.L. 261n13  
 Ciarrochi, J. 86  
 Clark, M.S. 113, 119, 122, 124, 126–7  
 Clausewitz, K. von, 106  
 Clore, G.L. 132  
 Collins, R. 113  
 Comadena, M.E. xii  
 Conte, H.R. 18  
 Cooley, C.H. 183  
 Corbit, J.D. 151  
 Cortoni, F. 146  
 Costa, P.T. 33, 162  
 Cowden, J.A. 223  
 Craib, I. 79–80, 203  
 Craig, W.M. 161  
 Crawford, J. 41  
 Creusere, M.A. 72  
 Crosby, E.C. 176  
 Cruse, P. xi  
 Curtis, V. 27, 258n5  
 Cutler, I. 72
- Dalglish, T. 132  
 Damasio, A.R. 4–5, 131, 173, 177  
 Darwin, C.R. 1, 10, 12, 14–15, 17–19, 22, 26, 30–31, 37–9, 42–3, 47, 51–2, 64, 66–7, 74, 79, 102–4, 106–7, 122, 153, 172–3, 175, 180, 182, 215, 231, 259n6  
 Davidson, R.J. 22, 32–3  
 Davidson, W.S. 26, 213
- Davis, J.A. 155  
 Dawkins, R. 71  
 de Grazia, S. 126  
 de Jong, P.J. 94  
 de M'Uzan, 196  
 de Rivera, J. 113  
 de Sousa, R. xiii, 191–2  
 de Waal, F. 83  
 Dearing, R.L. 95–7, 183, 186  
 Denenberg, V.H. 195  
 Dennett, D.C. 10  
 Descartes, R. 14–15, 100, 13, 167, 238  
 Dewald, P.A. 169  
 Dickstra, R.F.W. 37  
 Diener, C. 30–1, 33–5, 78, 259  
 Diener, E. 34  
 Dijk, W.W. van, 78  
 Dill, K.E. 164  
 Diogenes, 69, 71  
 Dobratz, M.C. 87  
 Doi, T. 24  
 Dolan, R.J. 8  
 Dudley, D.R. 69, 71–2, 152  
 Durkheim, É. xi, 53, 66, 88, 110, 113, 119–23, 127, 147, 184, 255  
 Dykman, R.A. 46
- Ecuyer-Dab, I. 251  
 Edelmann, R.J. 56  
 Edwards, A.L. 242  
 Eibl-Eibesfeldt, I. 12, 42  
 Eisenberger, R. 147  
 Eisinger, R.M. , 70  
 Ekman, P. 14–18, 20, 22, 55, 132  
 Elder, B. 253  
 Elias, N. 28  
 Ellis, C. 175, 201, 204  
 Ellsworth, P.C. 20  
 Elshtain, J.B. 154  
 Elster, J. 183–4, 235  
 Emde, R.N. 14, 42  
 Emory, G.R. 115  
 Epstein, S. 14  
 Erikson, E.H. 232  
 Etcoff, N. 34  
 Evans, D. xi  
 Evans-Pritchard, E.E. 207
- Fairbairn, W.R. 25  
 Farrington, D.P. 159  
 Fernald, J.C. 7, 65, 81–2, 164, 234–5  
 Festinger, L. 109

- Feuer, M.A. 222  
 Fisher, H.E. 139–40  
 Fiske, A.P. 76, 113, 119, 122–7, 134,  
 164, 190, 261  
 Flaherty, M.G. 157  
 Folkman, S. 89  
 Fombonne, E. 36  
 Fossey, D. 116  
 Fox, P.W. 222  
 Frank, A. 64  
 Frank, R.H. 88  
 Franks, D.D. xiv  
 Franz, M.-L. von, 126, 258n3  
 Freedman, J.L. 34  
 Freud, S. xi, 23, 29, 34, 44, 55–6, 64,  
 95–7, 104–5, 167–9, 201–2, 209–11,  
 217–18, 231, 237, 239  
 Fridlund, A.J. 12  
 Friesen, W.V. 20, 22, 55  
 Frijda, N.H. 2, 14, 20, 48, 78, 95  
 Friston, K.J. 8  
 Frymier, J. 70  
 Fukunishi, I. 194  
 Furedi, F. 45  
 Fuster, J.M. 173, 176
- Gaddis, J.L. 49  
 Gaw, K.F. 89  
 Gay, P. 64, 117  
 Gentle, M.J. 105  
 Gerzon, R. 98  
 Ghiselin, M.T. 12  
 Gibson, E.J. 42  
 Gibson, J.T. 150  
 Giddens, A. 80–1  
 Gilligan, J. 63, 167, 187, 228–34, 239  
 Glenn, N.D. 35  
 Gloor, P. 178  
 Glover, E. 158  
 Goffman, E. 59, 125, 185, 259n7  
 Goldberg, H. 61–2, 64  
 Goldberg, J.G. 139–40  
 Goldstein, R.Z. 159  
 Goleman, D. 67, 199  
 Goodall, J. 38, 116  
 Gordon, R. , 225  
 Gordon, S.L. 5  
 Grabe, H.J. 86  
 Gray, J.R. 132  
 Greeley, A.M. 35  
 Grey, A. xiv  
 Grinkis, C. 113  
 Gristich, M.F. vii, xiv
- Groth, N.A. 150  
 Guntrip, H. 26, 238–9, 258n4
- Haidt, J. 21, 27, 65–6  
 Hall, E.T. , 125  
 Hallam, R. 98  
 Hamer, D.H. 33  
 Hamer, L. 33  
 Hamilton, W.D. 117  
 Hampden-Turner, C. 88  
 Hampshire, S. 130  
 Hanon, C. 70  
 Hardy, J.D. 70  
 Hare, R.D. 156–7, 159  
 Haring, M.J. 33  
 Harmon-Jones, E. 108, 132, 135  
 Harré, R. 3  
 Harris, W.D. 90  
 Hart, P. 22  
 Harvey, O.J. 70  
 Hastings, M.E. 184  
 Hatfield, E. 98  
 Haynie, D.L. 161  
 Heatherton, T.F. 164  
 Heidt, J.M. 105  
 Heise, D.R. 261n12  
 Heller, W. 132  
 Hellige, J.B. 195  
 Henry, G.W. 216  
 Henry, J. 216  
 Henry, J.P. 205  
 Hobbes, T. 43, 153  
 Hochschild, A.R. xi, 259n7  
 Hogg, M.A. 15  
 Holbrook, D. 26, 52, 56, 205, 237–9,  
 258n4  
 Holmstrom, L.L. 106  
 Hoover, J.H. 160  
 Hope, A. 130  
 Hoppe, K.D. xi, 194, 197, 209  
 Horowitz, L.M. 165  
 Hughes, R. 253  
 Hupka, R. 201, 204  
 Hvide, H.K. 222
- Inglehart, R.F. 33, 35–6  
 Inhelder, B. 193  
 Isbell, L.A. 261n13  
 Itani, J. 116  
 Iyer, H. 182  
 Izard, C.E. 13–14, 32, 39, 42, 45–8, 50,  
 97, 168, 175, 185, 191–3, 199,  
 261n18

- Jackson, S.W. 103, 169  
 James, L. 40  
 James, W. xi, 37, 43, 64, 91  
 Jefferson, T. 30  
 Jentsch, J.D. 159  
 Johansson, P. 157  
 Johnson, D.D.P. 221, 223  
 Johnson, G.M. 146  
 Johnson-Laird, P.N. 14  
 Johnson-Reid, M. 145  
 Joireman, J. 159–60  
 Jolly, C.J. 115  
 Jones, E. 135, 217  
 Joseph, S. 161  
 Jung, C.G. 23, 209, 211, 217, 258n3
- Kagen, J. 83, 113  
 Kanter, D.L. 71  
 Kaplan, C.D. xiv, 194–5  
 Katz, J. 231  
 Keener, A.D. 132  
 Keil, F.C. 8  
 Kelman, H.C. 150  
 Keltner, D. 65  
 Keltner, K. 40  
 Kemp, S. 42  
 Kemper, T.D. xi, 1, 42–3, 58, 113–14, 254, 261n12  
 Kernis, M.H. 223  
 Kerr, J.H. 159  
 Keynes, J.M. 10  
 King, A. 160  
 King, J.A. 102, 110  
 Kipnis, D. 157, 159  
 Klein, M. 203, 209  
 Kling, A.S. 173, 175  
 Klingemann, H.-D. 36  
 Knight, R.A. 146  
 Knoff, H.M. 160–1  
 Knutson, B. 149  
 Kolk, B.A. van der, 194  
 Konner, M. 38  
 Kowalski, R.M. 98  
 Krystal, H. 193–7
- La Barbera, J.D. 32  
 La Rochefoucauld, F. 9, 30, 52, 82, 93, 100, 103, 181, 200, 205, 214–15, 218, 224  
 LaFollette, H. 41  
 Lakoff, G. 258  
 Langer, E. 78  
 Larkin, R.W. 157
- Laski, M. 31  
 Launier, R. 113  
 Layard, R. 31, 33, 37  
 Lazarus, R.S. 20, 38, 89, 92–3, 113, 186, 226  
 Lear, J. 4, 105, 167  
 Leary, M.R. 98  
 Leavitt, R.L. 210  
 LeDoux, J. 14, 118  
 Lee, G.R. 35  
 Levenson, R.W. 103  
 Lévi-Bruhl, L. 108  
 Levinson, R.W. 20, 22, 27, 105  
 Lewis, H.B. 83, 95, 183  
 Lewis, M. 46  
 Liberman, V. 222  
 Lifton, R.J. 150  
 Lincoln, A. 30  
 Lindsay-Hartz, J. 113  
 Lipset, S.M. 71  
 Locke, K.D. 165  
 Lockwood, D. 88  
 Lowery, L. 28  
 Luhmann, N. 152  
 Lumley, M.A. 194  
 Lundeberg, M. 222  
 Luria, A.R. 130  
 Luyten, P. 260n9  
 Lykken, D. 33  
 Lyman, S.M. 200, 220
- McCord, W. 157  
 McCrae, R.R. 162  
 McDermott, R. 223  
 McDougall, J. 196  
 McDougall, W. 46, 183  
 McGuire, M.T. 173, 176  
 Machiavelli, N. 153–4  
 McIntosh, W.D. 34  
 MacKinnon, N.J. 261n12  
 MacLean, P.D. 14, 117–19, 122, 127, 173, 177, 261n14  
 Magoun, H.W. 130  
 Malinowski, B. 124  
 Malta, L.S. 159  
 Mandler, G. 47, 200  
 Mann, M. 44  
 Marshall, L. 146  
 Marshall, W.L. 106, 146  
 Martin, I.I. 132  
 Martin, L.L. 34  
 Marty, P. 196  
 Mass, R. 175

- Masters, R.D. 173, 176  
 Mauss, M. 255  
 May, R. 56, 99–100  
 Mazur, A. 176  
 Mead, G.H. 55  
 Mendoza, S.P. 74  
 Metzler, J. 263n17  
 Miller, G.A. 48  
 Miller, W.I. xi–xii, 27–9, 52, 83, 256  
 Milliss, R. 253  
 Mills, C.M. 72  
 Mills, J. 76, 113, 124, 126  
 Milner, P. 149  
 Mirvis, P.H. 71  
 Modigliani, A. 58  
 Montagner, H. 117  
 Moore, D.J. 90  
 More, T.A. , 31  
 Morsbach, H. 24  
 Moss, L.W. 23  
 Myers, D.G. 30–1, 33, 35  
  
 Nahl, D. 40  
 Napa, C.K. 102, 110, 137  
 Nash, R.F. 105  
 Nathanson, D.L. 180, 185  
 Nemiah, J.C. 196  
 Nesse, R.M. 226  
 Nettle, D. 221  
 Neumann, E. 209  
 Nightingale, E.O. 181  
 Nisslé, S. 34  
  
 O'Doherty, J.P. 149  
 Oatley, K. 14, 20, 104, 118  
 Oberg, K. 89  
 Olds, J. 149  
 Olweus, D. 160–1  
 Orme, J.E. 157  
 Ortony, A. 3, 14, 47–8, 77, 92, 107  
 Osgood, C.E. 14, 261n12  
  
 Packer, C. 116  
 Paese, P.W. 222  
 Paine, T. 130  
 Panksepp, J. 14, 48, 60, 175, 178  
 Papoušek, H. 180  
 Papoušek, M. 180  
 Parker, J.D.A. 199  
 Partridge, D. 47  
 Pearce, F. 88  
 Perry, D.G. 160  
 Peterson, C. 224  
 Peterson, S.A. 74, 125  
 Petrinovich, L. 10  
 Petronio, S. 58  
 Piaget, J. 193  
 Pitt-Rivers, J. 233  
 Platman, S.R. 226  
 Plato, 69, 104, 169  
 Plummer, K. 254–5  
 Plutchik, R. xi, 1–2, 4, 13–15, 17–19, 21–5, 30, 39, 42–3, 46–8, 51, 53, 56–8, 60, 65–6, 68, 70, 73–5, 77, 81–2, 85, 87–8, 90–4, 98, 100, 102, 113–14, 117–19, 121–5, 127, 129, 132, 144, 155, 157–8, 178, 192–3, 200, 212–13, 226, 258n2–3, 261n14  
 Pool, P.W. 87  
 Pooley, E. 164  
 Porzio, L. 260  
 Postone, M. 126  
 Power, M. 116  
 Power, M.B. 210  
 Power, M.J. 132  
 Pratto, F. 74  
 Pribram, K.H. 131, 134  
 Puncocchar, J.M. 222  
 Putnam, R.S. 154  
  
 Quay, H.C. 158  
 Quervain, D.J. de, 149  
  
 Rabbitt, P. 198  
 Räikkönen, K. 76  
 Rainwater, J. 81  
 Rappaport, R. 119  
 Raz, J. 129  
 Reber, A.S. 98  
 Reiger, D.A. 33  
 Restak, R.M. 177, 254  
 Retzinger, S.M. 186  
 Rican, P. 162  
 Rigby, K. 160  
 Rilling, J.K. 149  
 Robert, M. 251  
 Robins, L.N. 33  
 Robins, R.W. 33  
 Robinson, J. 96  
 Robinson, J.P. 156  
 Roget, P.M. 141–3  
 Rolls, E.T. 14, 173  
 Rong, J.-R. 86  
 Rose, E. xiv, 167  
 Rosenbaum, M.S. 70  
 Rosenberg, M. 152–3

- Rosenberg, M.J. 109  
 Rozin, P. 21, 27–8, 83  
 Russell, D.E.H. 106
- Saad, L. 49  
 Sabini, J. 51  
 Sacks, O. 31  
 Sandvik, E. 31  
 Savin-Williams, R.C. 173  
 Sayar, K. 194  
 Scheff, T.J. 182, 186, 263n17  
 Scheier, K.R. 75, 113  
 Scheler, M.F. 113, 119, 122, 127, 261n14  
 Schimmack, U. 78, 259n6  
 Schjelderup-Ebbe, T. 73–4  
 Schlenker, B.R. 25  
 Schmidt, L.A. 32  
 Schneider, W. 71  
 Schoeck, H. 205–6  
 Schumm, W.R. 30  
 Schwartz, B. 17  
 Schwartz, D. 162  
 Scott, G.G. 165  
 Scott, J.P. 14  
 Scott, M.B. 200  
 Scully, D. 151  
 Sennett, R. 3, 44  
 Seyfarth, R.M. 261n13  
 Shakespeare, W. 47, 106  
 Shand, A. 14, 30, 153–4  
 Shaw, G.B. 52  
 Shenk, D. 90  
 Shepard, R.N. 263n17  
 Sidanius, J. 49, 74  
 Sifneos, P.E. 194, 196  
 Sigelman, J. 108, 132  
 Silberman, C. 90  
 Simmel, G. 218  
 Sincoff, J.B. 111  
 Singer, J.L. 48  
 Slater, P.E. 44  
 Slee, P.T. 160  
 Smith, C.A. 20  
 Smith, D.J. 37  
 Smith, P.K. 162  
 Smith, T.S. xiv, 50  
 Smith, T.W. 80, 155–6  
 Snyder, C.R. 225  
 Solomon, R.L. 151  
 Somit, A. 74, 125  
 Söndergaard, H.P. 194  
 Spaccarelli, S. 146
- Spencer, H. 64  
 Spielberger, C.D. 98  
 Spinoza, B. 4, 261n12  
 Spitz, R.A. 32  
 Stearns, P.N. 42  
 Steiner, J.E. 32  
 Stern, D.N. 31–2  
 Stets, J.E. 113, 259n7  
 Stillwell, A.M. 165  
 Stoody, M.A. 162  
 Stover, E. 151  
 Strasser, S. 3  
 Strathman, A. 159  
 Strongman, K.T. 42  
 Sugarman, R.I. 208  
 Suh, E.M. 259n6  
 Sullivan, S. 54, 57  
 Svebak, S. 159
- Tangney, J.P. 95–7, 164, 183, 186, 260  
 Taylor, G.J. 67, 95, 199  
 Taylor, J.R. 159  
 Taylor, S.E. 225  
 Tellegen, A. 33  
 Temkin, B. 236  
 TenHouten, W.D. xiii, 50–1, 117, 127, 134, 194, 196–8, 241, 252, 254, 258  
 Thamm, R. 113  
 Theorell, T. 194  
 Thoits, P.A. xi, 55  
 Thompson, M.M. 137  
 Thoresen, C.E. 148  
 Tiger, L. 55, 226  
 Toch, H. 150  
 Toffler, A. 90  
 Tomarken, A.J. 132  
 Tomkins, S.S. 13–15, 22, 27, 46–8, 50, 85, 191–3, 199  
 Trainor, L.J. 32  
 Trevarthen, C. 14 .  
 Turner, J.H. 14, 259n7  
 Turner, T.J. 46–8, 77, 107  
 Twain, M. 64  
 Tversky, A. 222  
 Tyler, W.J. 24
- Van Helmont, F.M. 103  
 Veblen, T. 211  
 Veenhoven, R. 34–5  
 Vernon, L.L. 20  
 Volkow, N.D. 159
- Wade, N.G. 148

- Wallace, A. 170  
Walter, D.O. xi  
Walter, J.L. 51  
Ward, C. 89–90  
Warren, K.B. 74  
Way, I. 145  
Weber, M. 35, 43–4, 88, 113, 210, 239  
Weinstein, E. 175, 201, 204–5  
Weisfeld, G.E. 52, 172–5, 177, 178  
Weizmann-Henelius, G. 158  
Whellis, A. 99  
White, G.L. 204  
Whitrow, G.J. 43  
Wigan, A.L. 103  
Wilensky, R. 102  
Wilhelm, P.G. 71  
Willhoite, F.H. 74, 116–17  
Wilson, E.O. 117  
Winnicott, D.W. 238–9  
Wogan, M. 194–5  
Wolf, K.M. 46, 140  
Wolfe, P.H. 46  
Worchel, S.J. 15  
Worthington, E.L. Jr. 148  
Wundt, W. 77  
Yanay, N. 23  
Zahn-Waxler, C. 96  
Zaidel, E. 131  
Zanna, M.P. 137  
Zauszniewski, J.A. 87  
Zeelenberg, M. 78  
Zeitlin, S.B. 194–5  
Zilboorg, G. 216  
Zuckerman, M. 76, 157  
Zweig, P. 182

# Subject index

- abhorrence 73, 82, 167, 234, 237; and character 142, 23; *see also* repugnance
- Aborigines of Australia 2, 42, 103–4, 109, 116–17, 241–3, 248–51, 253, 256
- abreaction 86, 169, 190
- acceptance 18, 21, 25, 26; and character 142–4; cultural differences in 248, 250–1; in Darwin 17–8; in Durkheim 119; in early childhood 25–7, 156; and equality-matching 122, 243, 250–1; and identity 52, 178, 180, 185, 220; and incorporation 15, 22, 25; measurement of 246; in object-relations theory 24–5; opposite of disgust 18, 25, 28, 31, 55, 12, 139, 237–8, 250; and other emotions 2, 12, 22, 25–6, 48, 50–2, 54, 56, 62, 66–7, 73–4, 85, 87, 91–3, 111, 120, 138–40, 143, 156, 159, 161–2, 165–6, 179–81, 184–9, 218, 222, 230; by others 15, 25, 63, 220, 230; as primary 2, 14, 19, 24–5, 184; of temporality 99; sex differences in 245, 250–1
- affect 2–3, 6–8, 47–9, 60, 67, 86–7, 99, 1–8, 168–9, 171, 173–4, 176, 178, 191–3, 195–9, 226, 230, 254, 256, 261
- affect-spectrum theory 23–4, 111–12, 122, 133, 187, 253–6
- agency, human 11, 23, 34, 50, 126, 134, 189, 219; *see also* communion
- aggressiveness 4, 49, 60–5, 82, 114, 140, 173–4; and character 144–5, 147–8, 151, 157–66; development of 63, 79, 144–5, 174, 187, 210, 218–19; hyper 63, 65, 157–68, 174–5, 187; and other emotions 28, 54, 60, 65, 111, 137, 139, 145, 147–8, 151–2, 157–66, 192, 200–3, 216, 220, 237, 251–2; passive 60–5; in primates 116–17; and rationality 60, 135, 137; as secondary emotion 49, 51, 60; sex differences in 224
- agonic society 1–2, 114–17, 126–7, 129, 133–5, 138–9, 142, 146, 156, 170, 250, 252, 256
- agoraphobia 7, 42, 217, 235; *see also* phobia
- alarm 51, 65, 111, 132, 136–7, 139, 161, 163, 203, 261; *see also* awe
- alexithymia 1, 62, 86, 191, 194–7, 199, 209–10, 217–18, 230–1, 257; Toronto Alexithymia Scale 195; *see also* symbollexia
- ambitiousness 2, 143–4, 168, 171, 193, 211–12, 215–18
- ambivalence 54, 80, 102–3, 110–11, 132, 137, 139
- anger 3–4, 7, 8, 12, 21, 39–42, 70, 132, 170, 176, 190, 192, 213, 258; and character 142–3, 146–8, 152; and destruction 21–2, 98; development of 39, 63, 96, 170; measurement of 246; opposite of fear 12, 17, 22, 30, 43, 102, 215; and other emotions 19, 21, 23, 51, 57, 60, 73–4, 79, 80–5, 92–4, 97–102, 104–6, 111, 146–8, 151–3, 179–81, 193, 203–4, 210, 212–20, 226, 237, 260n11; as primary 12, 14, 17, 19, 22, 40; and rationality 60, 135–8, 212; sex

- differences in 41–2, 250–2; and social power 40, 42, 122, 212, 214, 248, 254; as sociomoral 83–4, 250–52; valence of 22, 39, 41, 60, 63, 78, 132
- anomie 69–70, 88
- anticipation 14–15, 18, 43–6, 60, 67–8, 75, 77, 94, 108, 121, 149, 164–5, 224–5, 263n18; and character 142–3; cultural differences in 252; and exploration 17–18, 22, 46–8, 133, 200, 263n18; and market pricing 155, 249–51; measurement of 246; opposite of surprise 48, 67, 77, 107, 215; and other emotions 42, 49, 51, 60, 65–6, 69–70, 73, 75–6, 79, 85–7, 97–8, 100–2, 111, 137, 145–6, 148–9, 151–4, 164, 203, 212, 214, 219, 224–6, 261n5; as primary 14–15, 17, 19, 21, 77–8, 108; and rationality 2, 133–5, 145; sex differences in 252; and territoriality 17, 133, 200, 250–1
- antithesis, principle of 12, 15, 18, 23, 30, 51, 102, 214, 256
- anxiety 7, 14, 30, 33, 42–3, 58, 78, 85, 87, 89–90, 92, 96–101, 111, 136–8, 150, 156, 162, 164, 197, 212, 214, 238, 240, 256, 260n10
- apathy 56, 69, 99–100
- apes *see* primates
- astonishment *see* surprise
- asymbollexia 1, 209–10
- attachment theory 38, 42, 70, 80, 140, 145, 187, 196, 201–2
- attractiveness 150, 157, 165, 201, 229–30
- Australians *see* Aborigines of Australia; Euro-Australians
- authority-ranked social relations 17, 41, 44, 58, 62, 65, 122, 124–6, 127, 134, 137, 158, 160, 171, 190, 213, 241; as component of agonistic society 122, 134–5, 137–8; definition and measurement 44, 124–5, 241–2, 244–5; and fear and anger 22–3, 39–45, 248, 254; as opposite of equality matching 126; and rationality 133–5
- autonomy 79–81, 83, 86, 121, 142–4, 167, 170–1, 221, 230
- awe 29, 51, 65–6, 111, 136, 203; *see also* alarm
- basic emotions 14, 22, 52; *see also* primary emotions
- being 238–9; *see also* doing
- birth, the newborn 15, 17, 22, 25–6, 31, 33, 50, 63, 123, 188, 192, 238; *see also* Eros; reproduction; temporality
- bittersweet feelings *see* catharsis
- body, human 4–5, 8–10, 12, 15, 18, 25–7, 29, 32, 37–9, 66, 76, 79, 106, 125, 130, 140, 144, 151, 160–1, 177, 182, 197–9, 216
- brain 4–5, 14, 18, 31–3, 46–7, 103, 109, 117–18, 121, 130–4, 140–1, 144, 146, 149–50, 170, 162–73, 175–9, 195, 197–8, 221, 223, 256, 261–3
- bullying 63, 117, 143, 151, 159–63, 174
- capital economic, 125, 207, 224, 233; social 76, 144, 154; symbolic 17, 125
- catharsis 102, 111, 139, 169, 224
- cats 106–7
- character 2–3, 7, 9, 59, 94–5, 106–7, 110, 137, 142–72, 230–1, 233, 257; of autonomy and success 142–4; of hostile intentions 143–56; of impulsivity and sensation-seeking 143, 156–66; of limited autonomy and incompetence 143, 167
- classification of emotions in general 1, 15, 23, 111–12, 129, 142, 178–9, 192, 255, 258, 261n12; of social relations and emotions in English language 241–3, 252
- cognition 15, 28, 48, 66, 68, 78, 83, 86–87, 90, 92, 109–10, 123–4, 130, 133–5, 145, 169, 195–98, 222; *see also* emotion
- communal-sharing social relations 120–1, 134, 145, 171, 190; as component of hedonic community 120, 129, 138; definition and measurement of 34, 76, 120, 123, 242, 244–5, 248; and joy 2, 17, 34, 120, 138, 248, 254; as opposite of market-pricing 2, 122–3, 126; and sadness 2, 17, 57, 138, 155, 179, 213–14; and time 134
- communion 126; *see also* agency
- confidence 2, 9, 14, 65, 99, 116, 137, 143–4, 161, 168, 171, 179, 181, 193, 218–23



- confusion 68, 89, 12, 107–11, 136–7, 145, 260n11  
 consciousness 3–4, 32, 39, 45, 48–9, 70, 88, 91, 99–100, 134, 151, 169, 193, 211, 217, 253  
 contempt 7, 14, 26–7, 70, 73, 81–4, 97, 101, 111, 152, 235–6, 239  
 control of emotions *see* management of emotions  
 creativity 5, 341, 56, 60, 63, 65, 67–8, 168–9, 191, 194, 196–9, 208–12, 217–18, 236  
 cruelty 28, 57, 63–4, 84, 91, 148–54, 164–5, 184, 186; *see also* sadism  
 culture 2, 5, 8, 15, 17, 24, 27–9, 36, 38, 46, 53, 55, 69–70, 72, 89–90, 109, 114, 124, 154, 156, 178, 182, 192, 199, 204–7, 209, 218, 224, 232–3, 238–9, 241–3, 248–55, 259  
 culture shock 89; *see also* shock  
 curiosity 20, 48, 66–9, 111, 143, 156–60, 162–3  
 cynicism 51, 66, 69–72, 88, 111, 143, 145–6, 151–4, 211, 230, 260
- deadly sins, the seven 181–2, 192, 209  
 death 5, 17, 27, 30, 38, 56–7, 88–9, 93, 103, 105, 109, 118, 140, 151, 154–5, 182, 185, 187–8, 192, 210, 216, 224, 229–31; *see also* temporality; *Thanatos*  
 delight 32, 47, 52, 73–8, 80, 111, 143, 156, 158–60, 163, 214  
 depression 5–7, 30–1, 33–4, 36–7, 41–2, 54, 70, 76, 87, 132, 150–1, 161, 186, 205, 223, 226–7  
 desire 8, 14, 20, 24–6, 29, 46, 53, 55–6, 58–9, 66–7, 72, 74, 76, 78–9, 86, 89, 91, 96, 99, 105, 124, 130, 138, 162, 164, 181, 183, 199, 201–3, 206, 208, 212–14, 217–20, 222, 225–6, 231, 234–6, 239, 261n12  
 desomatization 1, 197, 210; *see also* resomatization  
 despair 5, 45, 57, 63, 93, 99–100, 187, 193, 224–7, 236, 261; *see also* hope  
 development of emotions *see* emotion  
 differentiation of emotions *see* emotion  
 disappointment 5, 7, 14, 45, 47–8, 54, 73, 78–81, 203, 221, 230; kinds of 78–9; and other emotions 47–8, 73, 111, 143, 148, 164–5, 205, 213–14  
 discombobulation *see* confusion  
 disgust 2, 7, 9, 18, 2, 26–9, 31, 82–4, 259n8; and character 96, 143, 193; cultural differences in 248, 251; development of 27–9, 39, 104, 150; and disease 26–8, 256–57n5; and equality (negative) 13, 138, 237–8; and identity 13, 131, 237–8; and intimacy 139; measurement of 246–7, 250–1; and other emotions 18–21, 51, 55–6, 66, 69–70, 73, 81–5, 88–91, 111, 132, 150, 156, 193, 226, 235–7; as primary 14–15, 18–21, 102, 139; and rejection 20–2, 26–7, 235; sex differences in 248–51, 259n7; and sexuality 29; sociomoral 28, 83, 89, 101, 153, 250–1  
 distress *see* stress  
 dogs 12, 25, 43, 69, 74, 79, 86, 106, 139, 175, 208  
 doing 238–9; *see also* being  
 dominance 17, 40, 49, 52–3, 73–5, 111, 115–17, 142–4, 157, 162, 165, 168, 172–8, 180, 186–7, 208, 218–19  
 domineering 44, 143, 159, 165–6
- embarrassment 51, 58, 60, 69, 77, 93–4, 111, 143, 167, 175–6, 179, 181, 184–9, 202–3, 230, 259, 262  
 emotion, and cognition 3–5, 7, 9, 18, 20, 24, 28, 40, 42, 47–8, 50–1, 60, 67, 71, 77, 80, 86–7, 95, 98, 105–8, 117, 130–5, 144, 146, 148, 161, 168–9, 172, 174, 176, 178, 189–93, 201–2, 212, 214, 216, 219, 222, 226, 229–31, 238–8, 251, 254–7; complexity of 8–9, 89; defined 2–4, 7–8; development of 1, 8, 24, 28, 31–2, 39, 42–6, 48, 50–2, 55, 57, 61–5, 67, 71–2, 79–81, 83–4, 86, 88–91, 95–6, 110, 140, 144–7, 154, 156, 158, 162, 164, 168–70, 172, 182, 187, 191–4, 197–9, 206, 210–11, 213–18, 229–30, 237–40, 258n4, 260n9; differentiation of 13, 50–1, 109, 145, 176, 191–4, 197, 201; evolution of 1, 8, 10–13, 15, 18, 24, 38, 64, 66, 71, 74, 109, 112, 114, 116–18, 172–6, 178, 220–1, 260n10; words for 7–8, 21–2, 50–1, 58, 74, 80–4, 86, 105, 176, 186, 197, 228–29, 231, 233, 241–7, 249, 263  
 emotional intelligence *see* intelligence

- emotions, specific *see* primary:  
 acceptance, anger, anticipation,  
 disgust, fear, joy, sadness, surprise;  
 secondary: aggressiveness, alarm/awe,  
 ambivalence, anxiety, catharsis,  
 confusion, contempt, curiosity,  
 cynicism, delight, disappointment,  
 dominance, embarrassment,  
 frozenness/tonic immobility, guilt,  
 love, misery, morbidity, optimism,  
 outrage, pessimism, pride,  
 repugnance, resourcefulness/sagacity,  
 submissiveness, sullenness; tertiary:  
 ambitiousness, bullying, confidence,  
 domineering, envy, hope,  
 intimidation, jealousy, misanthropy,  
 pridefulness, repulsiveness,  
 revoltingness, sadism, sanguinity,  
 seductiveness, shamefulness,  
 vengefulness
- energy, emotional 29, 41, 79, 105, 110,  
 197, 201–4, 209, 215
- envy 6–7, 9, 29, 79, 83, 93, 136, 178,  
 181–2, 192–3, 199, 205–18
- episodic information processing 130–1,  
 134–6
- equality-matched social relationships  
 116, 119, 122–3, 125, 145, 171, 188,  
 190, 207; and acceptance 52, 113,  
 138, 244, 248; as component of  
 hedonic community 114, 122, 127;  
 and disgust 138, 248; and identity  
 119, 124; measurement of 242–3,  
 245; opposite of authority ranking  
 126; and time 134; *see also* identity
- Eros* 52–4, 168
- Euro-Australians 2, 127, 241–3,  
 248–52, 253, 256
- evolution of emotions *see* emotions
- exploration 15, 17–18, 21–2, 44–6, 48,  
 67–9, 87, 121–2, 125, 133, 135, 160,  
 200, 217, 246, 251, 256, 263; *see  
 also* anticipation
- expressiveness 3–8, 10, 12, 14–15, 18,  
 20, 27–8, 32, 37, 39–41, 43, 46, 51,  
 55, 59, 61, 63, 66, 84, 86, 104, 119,  
 132–4, 154, 174–6, 191–9, 204,  
 208–10
- facial expression 4, 12, 14–16, 18, 20,  
 27, 32, 37, 44–5, 50, 55, 66, 174–5,  
 193, 208
- failure 9, 29, 59, 71, 76, 78, 80, 92, 94,  
 108, 143–5, 159, 168, 174–5, 179,  
 184, 210, 217, 220–3, 226, 233, 238
- fatalism 85, 87–8, 111, 227
- fear 3–4, 12, 19, 22, 32, 42–5, 61, 66,  
 74, 98, 105, 153, 210, 260n10; and  
 character 143; cultural differences in  
 250, 252; measurement of 246–7;  
 opposite of anger 12, 18, 38–9,  
 102–3, 215, 237; and other emotions  
 19–22, 38–9, 51, 58–60, 62, 65,  
 73–4, 81–2, 85, 94–9, 101, 111, 132,  
 137, 148, 157–8, 161–3, 165–6,  
 178–9, 183–6, 189–90, 200–4, 206,  
 209–10, 224, 226, 230, 232, 234–9;  
 as primary 12, 14, 17–23, 39, 41–5;  
 and protection 12, 17, 21–2, 41–5,  
 105–6, 148, 234, 240; and rationality  
 136–7; sex differences in 250, 252;  
 and social power 12, 14–15, 17,  
 19–23, 38–9, 44–5, 58, 74, 122, 136,  
 158, 233, 248
- feelings 2–8, 32–3, 35, 80
- friendship 4–5, 25, 33–5, 41, 57, 60–1,  
 63, 69, 78, 103, 111, 123, 140, 146,  
 156–7, 161–2, 166–7, 174–5, 179,  
 183, 204, 207, 211–12, 223, 244
- frozenness 12, 102, 105–7, 111, 136–7,  
 215; *see also* tonic immobility
- gestalt-synthesis 130, 134, 167, 195–8
- goal-attainment 2–4, 9, 22, 40–1, 60,  
 63, 69, 74–6, 86–7, 94, 99, 102, 108,  
 129–33, 135–8, 140, 144, 154, 158,  
 198, 212, 217–26, 254
- grief 5, 7, 21–2, 37–8, 57, 79, 103–4,  
 138–9, 147, 183, 193, 201, 246, 259;  
*see also* sadness
- guilt 6–7, 14, 29, 51, 54, 57–8, 61–2,  
 70, 85, 93–7, 111, 143, 145, 150–1,  
 156–9, 163–6, 178–9, 183–4, 190–3,  
 205, 234, 240, 260n9
- happiness 4, 6–7, 29–34, 38, 53–4, 57,  
 79, 91, 94, 153, 230, 259n8; and  
 character 142–3, 156–7, 159–66,  
 184–6, 216–17; and communal  
 sharing 34–5, 37–8, 52–5, 57, 122,  
 138, 140, 145, 204, 212, 215, 250–1,  
 253–4; cultural differences in 33–6,  
 120, 248, 251; development of 31–3,  
 50, 61, 64, 91; and economics 34–5;  
 measurement of 246–7; and other  
 emotions 2, 18, 23, 47, 51–2, 54–8,

- happiness *continued*  
 60, 64, 73, 75–8, 85, 90–1, 93–4, 96,  
 111, 138–40, 159–64, 178–80, 186,  
 193, 205–6, 212–17, 224–6, 259n5,  
 n7; as primary 14–15, 21, 29–34, 94;  
 sex differences in 248, 250–1; and  
 temporality (reproduction) 21–2, 38,  
 123; *see also* well-being
- hatred 2, 6, 9, 14, 26, 29, 53, 55–7, 80,  
 82, 88, 91, 93, 100–2, 143, 145–6,  
 152–4, 182, 205, 210, 229–31, 234,  
 240
- hedonic community 2, 114–17, 120, 127,  
 129, 134, 138–9, 142, 156, 170, 250–1
- hierarchy 15, 17, 19, 22–3, 39, 58,  
 83–4, 114–16, 118, 124–7, 137, 173,  
 212; and anger 22–3, 39–41, 148,  
 212; and fear 22–3, 39–40, 43, 100,  
 137–8; *see also* authority-ranked  
 social relations
- hope 105, 224–7, 236, 261; *see also*  
 despair
- hostility 2, 6, 31, 62, 70, 83, 84,  
 142–52, 157, 160, 187, 214, 223,  
 230, 232, 234–5; as character  
 structure 143–56
- humiliation 14, 63, 145–6, 181, 185,  
 187, 189, 204, 207, 210, 217,  
 229–33, 235; *see also* shame
- humility 14, 182, 225
- hyper-aggressiveness *see* aggressiveness
- identity 1–2, 15, 20–2, 25–6, 34, 40,  
 52, 60, 79, 94–5, 99–100, 113,  
 118–19, 123–4, 126, 143–5, 152,  
 156, 167, 170–2, 179–80, 185, 187,  
 189–90, 219–20, 230, 233, 237–8,  
 243–4, 258, 261n14; *see also* self
- impulsiveness 2, 143, 147, 156–60,  
 163; as character structure 143,  
 156–66; *see also* sensation seeking
- incorporation 15, 21–2, 25–8, 52,  
 67–9, 237, 246
- inhibition 40, 105, 149, 205–7
- intelligence 5, 10, 59, 86, 121, 141,  
 174–5; emotional 67, 199
- intensity of emotional experience 6, 19,  
 21, 27, 29, 53, 56, 78, 94, 98, 105,  
 158, 174
- interhemispheric transfer deficit theory  
 194–5, 197, 218
- intimidation 136, 143, 151, 159,  
 163–5, 174, 231
- irritability *see* anger
- jealousy 2, 4, 7, 9, 29, 63, 79, 95, 143,  
 167, 178, 192–3, 200–5, 208, 210,  
 214–15
- joy *see* happiness; well-being
- learning 42, 46, 50–2, 68–70, 86, 89,  
 124, 172, 191–2, 222
- life history 2, 78, 94, 241–2, 255
- logical analysis 108–9, 117, 129–31,  
 134–5, 192, 197–8
- loneliness 14, 41, 37, 51, 55–7, 62, 80,  
 111, 139, 154–5, 161, 187, 204, 225;  
*see also* misery
- love 2, 5–6, 14, 24–6, 30–1, 34–5, 38,  
 50–7, 61, 64, 69, 79–80, 91, 94–6,  
 102, 111, 120–2, 138–40, 145–6,  
 153–4, 156, 159–60, 164–6, 181–3,  
 185, 187, 191, 193, 200–3, 207, 215,  
 225, 229–31, 234, 237, 239–40, 244,  
 257
- management, of emotions 42, 80, 92, 95,  
 133, 170, 189, 192, 201, 204–5, 259n7
- manipulation, emotional 45, 60, 62, 99,  
 158, 165, 187–90, 196, 201, 211,  
 222
- marasmus 140
- market-pricing social relations 1–2,  
 35–6, 45, 64, 71, 76–7, 86, 121–2,  
 125–6, 134, 136–8, 144, 155, 170,  
 190, 199, 213, 218, 233, 234; and  
 anticipation 135, 248; and character  
 141; as complement of agonistic society  
 127, 261; as opposite of communal  
 sharing 126; and surprise 49, 136,  
 248–50, 252–5; and time 134; *see  
 also* territoriality
- memory 31, 38, 44–5, 104, 133, 140–1,  
 176–7, 195, 197–8
- mindfulness about emotions 169–70,  
 211
- misanthropy 143, 145–6, 152–6, 230,  
 256
- misery 31, 36–7, 51, 53–7, 111, 139, 154
- monkeys *see* primates
- mood 2, 6–7, 33, 92, 154
- morals *see* sociomoral emotions; values
- morbidness 85, 90–2, 111, 139, 150,  
 167, 232
- murder 43, 64, 91, 116, 164, 187, 216,  
 229–33; *see also* violence

- natural emotions 2, 123, 125, 135, 138–41, 230
- optimism 73, 75–6, 79, 111, 142–4, 168, 171, 217, 224; Life Orientation Test of 75
- outrage 10, 71, 85, 100, 111, 136, 138, 167, 217
- pain 3–5, 7, 38, 41, 44, 57, 61, 63, 79–80, 91, 95–6, 99, 103, 105, 109, 145, 154, 162, 164, 168–9, 184, 191, 194–5, 197–9, 203–4, 206, 208, 210, 216, 229–31, 260n10
- passion 3, 6, 9, 28, 42, 53–4, 88, 110, 129–30, 202, 205, 211, 214, 234, 259, 261
- passive aggressiveness *see* aggressiveness
- pessimism 73, 75–6, 78, 88, 91, 111, 143, 145–6, 148, 153–4, 218, 224, 230
- phobia 20, 42, 62, 82, 217, 235; *see also* agoraphobia
- pleasure 3–7, 14, 18, 25, 29, 32, 54, 60, 65–7, 69, 78, 91, 94, 96–7, 109, 120, 147, 149–52, 156–9, 162–6, 168, 180, 191, 193, 202, 206, 229, 237
- pride 1, 23, 38, 51–2, 56–8, 91, 93, 111, 143–4, 171–9, 183, 186, 191, 193, 204, 217, 220, 232–4, 254
- pridefulness 1, 58, 44, 142, 168, 171, 174–5, 178–82, 234
- primary emotions 1–2, 10, 14–52, 61, 73, 75, 85, 94, 97, 99, 102, 111, 114, 129, 135, 143, 145–7, 168, 172, 189, 192–3, 200, 212, 226–7, 230, 241, 243–51, 253, 255–6, 258n1–2
- primates 10, 12, 31, 38, 43, 74, 83, 114–18, 173–8, 261n13
- psychosomatic disorder 194, 197, 239
- rage *see* anger
- rape 71, 105, 150, 229, 232
- rationality 1–3, 24, 44, 80–1, 95, 99, 104, 108, 110–23, 133–8, 140, 167–9, 175, 178, 189–90, 192, 194, 210–11, 228–9, 234, 241; and emotions 3–4, 9, 40, 45, 60, 99, 129–38, 167–70, 197–9, 210–11, 221, 238
- rejection *see* disgust
- religion, religious experience 8, 10, 31 35, 38, 44, 53, 64–6, 87–8, 91, 98–100, 109–10, 119–20, 122, 181–2, 207, 225, 252–3, 260
- repugnance 14, 73, 81–2, 111, 143, 153–4, 167, 192, 230, 237
- repulsiveness 143, 167
- resignation 85, 91–3, 111, 139, 185–6, 189
- resomatization 1, 197, 210; *see also* desomatization
- resourcefulness 72, 85–7, 89, 111, 137, 142–4, 168, 171, 219
- revenge *see* vengefulness
- revoltingness 26–7, 89, 143, 167
- ruminatation 5, 67, 95, 106, 145–9, 151–2, 154, 162, 166, 185
- ruth, ruthlessness 71, 154, 237, 240
- sadism 64, 143, 145–7, 149–52, 162–6, 217, 230, 236, 239
- sadness 5–7, 37–9, 57, 92, 132, 178, 181, 186, 226, 229–30; and character 143, 147–8, 153–5; and communal-sharing social relations 2, 38, 56, 59, 138–9, 212; cultural differences in 250–1; measurement of 245–6; opposite of joy 18, 29–30, 103, 224–5, 251, 259; and other emotions 19–21, 47, 51, 55–60, 73, 75–9, 81, 85, 92–4, 102, 111, 147–8, 153–5, 178–9, 183–5, 193, 201–4, 212–13, 215, 224; as primary 14–15, 19; sex differences in 33, 250–1; and temporality (reintegration) 21–2, 39, 92
- sagacity *see* resourcefulness
- sanguinity 143–4, 171, 261n16
- scorn *see* hatred
- secondary emotions, concept of 1–2, 23–5, 47, 50–1, 60–1, 73, 102, 111, 129, 142–3, 170, 172, 189, 192–3, 210, 214; *see also* emotions, specific
- seductiveness 44, 143, 159–60, 202
- self 1–2, 5, 9, 18, 20, 22, 25–32, 38–40, 53, 55–9, 63–5, 70, 79–81, 88–9, 91, 95–7, 99, 105, 113, 126, 137, 144–5, 148, 159–61, 165, 168, 178–87, 191, 193, 195–6, 204, 206, 208–12, 214–23, 228–40, 269n7
- sensation seeking 2, 142–3, 156–66; *see also* impulsiveness
- sentiment 2, 5–7, 24, 31, 38, 53, 91, 110, 119, 122–3, 196, 224, 235

- sexual behavior 15, 17, 27, 31, 33, 53, 74, 95–6, 105–6, 123, 145–6, 150, 156, 158–60, 175, 194, 202–3, 216–17, 223
- shame 7, 14, 19, 29, 51–2, 58–60, 63, 69–70, 74, 81, 92–7, 103, 111, 143, 148, 159, 171–6, 178–84, 188–9, 193–4, 202, 205–6, 229–34, 260n8–n9, 263n17
- shamefulness 167, 184–7
- shock 85, 88–90, 111, 143, 149–50; *see also* culture shock
- social class 54, 64, 96, 207–8, 211, 232
- social movements 113–14
- social relations, elementary *see*  
 authority-ranked social relations;  
 communal-sharing social relations;  
 equality-matched social relations;  
 market-pricing social relations
- sociomoral emotions 28–9, 83–4, 101, 145, 153, 166
- solidarity, social 53, 119, 123, 154, 188; organic 120–2; mechanical 119–21
- stress, distress 14, 17, 19, 30, 38–9, 41–2, 45, 49, 70, 86–9, 92, 97, 108, 123, 140, 146, 150–1, 156, 163–6, 169, 191, 193–5, 210, 260
- submissiveness 12, 52, 73–4, 111, 157, 161–2, 165, 175–6, 186–8
- success 9, 35, 39, 59, 63, 71, 86–7, 99, 103, 135–9, 144, 168, 170–1, 173–4, 176, 180, 198, 205–6, 213, 215–22, 225–6
- suicide 34, 37–8, 70, 88, 120, 161, 184, 226–7, 229
- sullenness 85, 93–4, 101, 111, 143, 145–6, 148, 204, 212–13, 230
- surprise 2–3, 17–22, 43, 45–9, 65–6, 132, 173, 252; and character 136; cultural differences in 89, 247–52, 255; development of 48; and market pricing 48–9, 135, 156, 251–3, 255; opposite of anticipation 17–18, 48, 67, 212, 249, 251; and orientation 17, 21–2, 47–9, 65, 75, 213; and other emotions 19–22, 47–8, 51, 65–9, 73, 77–8, 85, 88–9, 100–2, 111, 132, 137–8, 143, 159–64, 201–3, 212–13, 215, 222–6; as primary 14, 18–21, 47–8, 65, 109, 200; and rationality 136; sex differences in 251–2; and
- territoriality 17, 19, 48–9, 65–6, 101, 125, 136, 200
- symbolic elaboration 1, 28, 53, 108, 130, 169, 192–6, 198, 209–11, 214, 216–18, 231–3, 238
- symbollexia 1, 86, 195, 197, 209–10
- temporality 3, 15, 17, 22–3, 38, 43, 53, 58, 78, 92–3, 98–9, 115, 118, 123–4, 135, 155, 158, 201, 257, 261
- territoriality 15, 17–22, 29, 47–9, 66, 68–9, 78, 101, 114–16, 125, 127, 133, 136–8, 177, 200–1, 212–13, 218, 235, 249, 251, 253, 255, 261
- terror *see* fear
- tertiary emotions 1–2, 23–5, 50, 85, 129, 147, 168, 192–3, 218
- Thanatos* 56, 64, 210–11, 217, 237, 239
- time 17, 55–6, 76, 78–81, 90, 120, 125–6, 130, 134–8, 144, 147, 252–4, 257; and emotions 5, 7, 29, 34, 54–6, 61, 78, 80–1, 83, 87–9, 95, 97–101, 106, 138, 144, 147–8, 150–3, 155–7, 159, 191–2, 198, 204, 218–24, 226, 236, 240
- tonic immobility 105–7; *see also* frozenness
- triune brain 117–18, 177
- valence 2–3, 15, 19–20, 22, 24, 47–8, 60, 77, 85
- values 4, 8, 28, 35, 59, 69–70, 72, 94, 121, 157, 173–4, 192, 198, 224, 261n14
- vengefulness 49, 55, 60, 143, 145–9, 151, 204, 208, 214, 230, 232, 237, 260
- violence 2, 29, 34, 40–1, 43, 49, 54, 63–4, 88, 91, 101, 110, 116, 138, 141, 145–6, 150–1, 157–8, 160–1, 163–4, 166–7, 181, 199, 216, 223, 228–34, 237, 239, 257, 261n11
- warfare 36, 64, 100, 106–7, 124, 150, 153, 223–4, 233, 236
- well-being 5, 18, 31, 33–8, 76, 90, 98, 140, 212, 218, 225; *see also* happiness
- wheels of primary emotions 18–19, 21, 25, 51, 73, 85, 129, 258
- words for emotions *see* emotions
- World Values Survey 35–36; *see also* values

# eBooks

eBooks – at [www.eBookstore.tandf.co.uk](http://www.eBookstore.tandf.co.uk)

## A library at your fingertips!

---

---

eBooks are electronic versions of printed books. You can store them on your PC/laptop or browse them online.

They have advantages for anyone needing rapid access to a wide variety of published, copyright information.

eBooks can help your research by enabling you to bookmark chapters, annotate text and use instant searches to find specific words or phrases. Several eBook files would fit on even a small laptop or PDA.

**NEW:** Save money by eSubscribing: cheap, online access to any eBook for as long as you need it.

---

---

### Annual subscription packages

We now offer special low-cost bulk subscriptions to packages of eBooks in certain subject areas. These are available to libraries or to individuals.

For more information please contact  
[webmaster.ebooks@tandf.co.uk](mailto:webmaster.ebooks@tandf.co.uk)

We're continually developing the eBook concept, so keep up to date by visiting the website.

**[www.eBookstore.tandf.co.uk](http://www.eBookstore.tandf.co.uk)**