

**HUMILIATION: ASSESSING THE SPECTER OF
DERISION, DEGRADATION, AND DEBASEMENT**

by

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PROJECT DEMONSTRATING EXCELLENCE

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Dedicated to:

Dr. Richard L. Slaven

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FIGURE

1. **Maladaptive responses to humiliation based on Karen Horney's personality typology. 25**

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

"My only concern was to get home after a hard day's work."

Rosa Parks

In 1955, Rosa Parks refused to relinquish her seat on the bus to a white man. Her refusal to be relegated to the back of the bus marked the beginning of a social revolution in America known as the civil rights movement. While most of us are aware that her actions challenged the hateful practices of discrimination, segregation, and racism, few people recognize that she was also defying an even broader form of behavior which poisons relationships and damages individuals at all levels of our society. Like racism, this behavior involves "power-over" dynamics, social control, and degradation (Griscom, 1992). Ms. Parks not only challenged the oppressive practice of racism, she challenged a behavior that is a salient tool of oppression. That tool is the subject of this study. That tool is the practice of humiliation.

Rosa Parks' experience illustrates the way in which the experience of humiliation is woven into the fabric of our society in such a way that it remains unidentified, minimized, neglected, or ignored. Humiliation depends on a veil of social silence or, as Klein (1991a) describes it, a "conspiracy of silence." While some people readily recognize painful incidents of humiliation, many people, particularly those who are members of oppressed groups, are socialized to adapt to subtle and obvious forms of humiliation. This tolerance develops over years of experiencing degrading or humiliating treatment which

begins at birth and continues throughout a lifetime. In a hierarchical society such as ours, humiliation and the threat of humiliation are social control tools used to secure compliance and conformity from groups who threaten the power of the dominant group. Those who realize this and dare to challenge the perpetrators of this behavior find themselves at risk for further humiliation. Silence, social control, and the consequences of confronting humiliation have kept this experience in the shadows of the study of human behavior. As the title of this study suggests, the experience of humiliation is a specter, something that haunts or perturbs the mind, that has been neglected in the field of psychology.

Fortunately, in 1989, Dr. Donald Klein began the formidable process of examining this behavior. He presented a lecture on "The Humiliation Dynamic" at Harvard Medical School which was followed by a series of articles in The Journal of Primary Prevention on various forms and aspects of humiliation (Klein, 1991a, 1991b, 1992; see also Barrett & Brooks, 1992; Duhl, 1992; Griffin, 1991; Kirshbaum, 1991; Secouler, 1992; Smith, 1992; Swift, 1991). Klein's research and his subsequent efforts to establish a serious dialogue on this topic have been the inspiration for this current investigation of humiliation. His work along with my own studies have led me to challenge certain assumptions that have contributed to the lack of research in this area.

Challenging Assumptions

In the past, when scholars or researchers have referred to humiliation, they typically identify it as a component of other experiences thereby implying that humiliation is an incidental or peripheral experience. This view of humiliation as a peripheral component has kept an investigation of this topic in the background of psychological research. My studies have led me to agree with Klein (1991a, 1991b) that the impact of humiliation has been discounted and underestimated. Rather than a peripheral experience, it is a central dynamic of human behavior that should be brought to the

forefront of study. I suspect that trivializing and marginalizing the experience of humiliation results from the manner in which this behavior manifests itself in our society. In our hierarchical culture, humiliation is a socially tolerated method for establishing one's position of superiority. The very institutions that should be investigating this pernicious form of human behavior are infested with implicit and explicit examples of humiliating traditions. As an example, we could consider the practice of quantifying a student's learning achievement into one of five grades: A, B, C, D, or F. Students are socialized to accept these five letters of the alphabet as adequate evidence of their academic performance (Kohn, 1993). It is all too easy for grades to be internalized by students as the true measure of their cognitive ability. Students learn to identify themselves as "A" students, "B" students, "C" students, and so forth. While some students might be motivated—artificially—to achieve higher grades, other students, as Griffin (1991) points out, will drop out of school to avoid the humiliation of academic failure. As long as humiliating practices are tolerated or accepted in education and other institutions in our society, these practices will remain outside the center of social concern and outside the center of psychological research. As long as the practice of humiliation remains outside the center of psychological research, it will continue to endure without serious question or challenge.

Most people can recall a specific humiliating experience. Because of this, one might assume that the impact of humiliation is confined to isolated experiences. Based on the research for this study, I view humiliation as a pervasive experience. It occurs in a variety of interactive forms including: individual-to-individual, organization-to-individual, organization-to-organization, and nation-to-nation. It is generated from one person to another, one group to another, one generation to another, and one nation to another. My research has led me to believe that the consequences of humiliation ripple

throughout our society and seemingly isolated experiences of humiliation can contaminate an individual's sense of self for a lifetime.

Finally, for many years research in psychology has operated as though "sticks and stones may break my bones but names will never hurt me." American psychology has exhibited a bias toward observable, quantifiable behavior. We can measure the impact of sticks and stones but it is much more challenging to measure the impact of interactional experiences such as name calling, or in this case, the impact of humiliation. The lack of research implies that humiliation is not as destructive as other forms of human behavior and therefore is not worthy of study. Fortunately, Klein and other scholars are challenging this view. They are shedding light on the connection between humiliation and social isolation, lowered academic performance, juvenile delinquency, poverty, violence, crime, depression, suicide, racism, sexism, and all forms of oppression. Humiliation is an insidiously destructive force in our society that disrupts and destroys healthy relationships and lives.

This study challenges the assumptions that have marginalized the study of humiliation. It views humiliation as a central dynamic which is pervasive in our society, deeply destructive, and therefore of critical importance to researchers.

Researcher Perspective

In addition to understanding the purpose of the research, it is important to recognize the perspective of the researcher and his or her impact on the topic of investigation. Over the last three decades psychological research has been questioned by individuals concerned with the tendentious nature of traditional scientific inquiry which assumes that the researcher is a detached observer. Feminist researchers have challenged the idea that people conducting research are indifferent to the topics they explore. Furthermore, they have illuminated the biases of academic theory and research which have predominantly

been defined, designed, and implemented by a small group of privileged white Western European men (Minnich, 1990). Feminists are attempting to reveal pernicious androcentric postulations woven into all aspects of research. Misogynistic assumptions are sagaciously cloaked by problematic research methodologies and spurious value-free terminology such as "objectivity." While feminist researchers are diverse in their values and beliefs, they generally agree that:

Science is not, and cannot be, value-free. Values affect all phases of a research project from the choice of what to study to the conclusions drawn from the results. The effects of researchers' values on the works produced are by no means necessarily negative. Indeed, values motivate and enrich all of science. Because scientists' values cannot be obliterated any more than their gender, race, class, and social or educational background, they serve science best when they are acknowledged, examined, and counterbalanced when possible. This position is not an open invitation to indulge biases, wallow in subjectivity, or advocate political causes in the name of science. It simply acknowledges the nature and limits of science and psychological knowledge. (Rabinowitz & Sechzer, 1993)

Rather than participating in an illusion of scientific neutrality, as a feminist researcher it is my ethical obligation to acknowledge the experiences and values which contribute to my research perspective and my interest in the topic of study. These experiences and values may limit or enrich the final outcome of my investigation, but it is essential for the reader to be aware of these factors.

My research perspective may be limited by my privileged position in a privileged society. As a white able-bodied, heterosexual, upper-middle class, educated woman, living in a Western European culture, I have not been the target of many forms of humiliation that stem from racism, heterosexism, homelessness, poverty, hunger, war, and other social dysfunctions. For the most part, I have had access to health care, transportation, education, career opportunities, and other benefits that result from my identification with the dominant culture. I am aware that my experience of privilege creates psychological and intellectual scotomas which prevent me from recognizing and understanding the humiliating experiences of certain individuals and groups (McIntosh, 1989). Feminist

researchers, just as all researchers, must be alert to the reality of a limited perspective resulting from their access to certain culturally prescribed advantages. With regard to the study of humiliation, there are many forms of this behavior that I have been socialized to disregard because these humiliations have served to maintain the power structure of the privileged class of which I am a part. This awareness encourages me to be hypervigilant lest I minimize the impact of the ignorance that ensues from living a privileged existence.

On the other hand, my research perspective may be enriched by my personal encounters with oppression which have often occurred in the form of humiliation. As a woman living in an androcentric society, raised in a working class family, I have an intimate understanding of humiliation. I have been the target of discrimination, ridicule, and mistreatment because of my gender and social class. As the daughter of a chronically mentally ill woman who has been tossed around by the mental health care system, I have come to understand the propensity of those in power to discount or pathologize those who do not conform to the dictates of the dominant group. Also, I am aware that research is typically produced by those who have societal privilege and, therefore, their research may misrepresent the authentic experience of non-privileged groups. My encounters with oppression have sensitized me to the impact of humiliation and inspired my efforts to evaluate this form of human behavior.

My personal experiences of privilege and oppression have profoundly influenced my values and research efforts. I am committed to the elimination of oppression and discrimination in our society and in the world. This commitment affects both my research perspective and my interest in studying the impact of humiliation. By openly acknowledging my research perspective, I am supporting the readers of this manuscript as they make an informed determination of the value and meaning of this research.

Overview of the Project

With an understanding of my research perspective and my view of humiliation as central, pervasive, and destructive, the goal of my research is to develop an assessment tool to measure the impact of humiliation. This document will describe the process I engaged in to achieve this goal. It will begin with a review of the literature, describe the methodology for constructing an assessment instrument, explain the results of a statistical analysis of the instrument, summarize the findings, and suggest implications for future research.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The specific dynamics of humiliation are rarely discussed in the literature on human behavior. This chapter will examine the reasons for overlooking the experience of humiliation, the historical antecedents of humiliation in personality theory, the recent dialogue on humiliation, the constructs that directly relate to humiliation, and the rationale for developing a scale to measure this experience.

The Neglected Topic of Humiliation

Reasons for the neglect of humiliation in the literature on human behavior are multifaceted. First, psychological theories have typically emphasized the "self" (Guisinger, 1994; Lykes, 1985; Miller, 1991; Surrey, 1991), especially those dealing with personality organization and development. Traditional theories about personality development have taken a decidedly individualistic, intrapsychic stance. Consider, for example, Freud's views which predominantly emphasized that personality development follows an invariant course of biologically determined stages in which psychopathology and emotional disturbances result from intrapsychic conflict.

While the ego psychology of Erikson revises and enlarges Freudian theory with a psychosocial view of personality development, his stages of development continue to stress the autonomous functioning of the self by placing ego identity formation earlier than the capacity for intimacy in his sequence of stages of personality development (Erikson, 1959,

1963). Erikson along with other modern theorists have tended "to see all of development as a process of separating oneself out from the matrix of others" (Miller, 1991, p.11). Jean Baker Miller states:

In Erikson's scheme, for example, after the first stage, in which the aim is the development of basic trust, the aim of every other stage, until young adulthood, is some form of increased separation or self-development. (Ibid., p.12)

Since the age of Freud, individualistic intrapsychic models of personality theory have dominated psychology. However, humiliation is a relational form of human behavior stemming from interpersonal dynamics. It cannot be adequately explained by individualistic intrapsychic theories. The discipline's bias toward "self"-oriented personality theories is one explanation for the omission of humiliation from most of the literature.

Another reason humiliation has been overlooked may be because it is not a prominent experience of the groups who conduct research (McIntosh, 1989). While no one is immune from humiliation, certain groups are at considerably less risk for experiencing it. Those possessing more power and privilege in this society are less likely to be the targets of humiliation. More often they are the intentional or unwitting perpetrators of humiliation. These privileged, powerful groups tend to be people who have access to advanced educational opportunities. Therefore, they are the ones who decide the questions to be asked and the concepts to be explored through academic research.

Finally, the study of humiliation may have been neglected because it offers nefarious advantages to those who employ this behavior in their interactions with others. Humiliation or the threat of humiliation secures compliance and conformity from its victims. People in powerful positions can utilize this behavior to elicit control over others in domestic situations, classrooms, military training, sporting events, corporate environments, and political arenas. Identifying humiliation as a damaging form of human behavior might require perpetrators of humiliation (individuals or groups) to

relinquish a powerful tool. As long as this behavior is neglected or ignored in the research and in the literature, it will continue to be freely utilized without acknowledgment of the negative impact it has on victims.

Personality Theories and Humiliation

It is my contention that humiliation is a central component of human behavior. However, the historical record reveals few personality theorists have explored the topic. Perhaps this has been due to the limitations of the dominant paradigms of personality theory that have governed the study of human behavior. Thomas Kuhn in his book The Structure of Scientific Revolution (1970) argues that implicit paradigms or established beliefs and assumptions underlie all areas of exploration. Once a paradigm is established, research is conducted from that perspective. Like a filter or a screen, conducting research from a particular paradigm allows certain information to be readily perceived; however, it can also obscure important data. Perhaps humiliation has been neglected because the dominant paradigms of personality theory have not recognized the impact of this experience. In other words, our models of understanding the human experience have obfuscated or screened out the information that would place the experience of humiliation in the discourse of academic study.

In the past, theories of personality development have been predominantly "self" theories where separation and autonomy were considered the foundation of "ideal" or "healthy" development. Recently, theorists have come to question this paradigm (Brown & Gilligan, 1992; Gilligan, 1982, 1991; Gilligan, Rogers, & Noel, 1993; Jordan, Kaplan, Miller, Stiver, & Surrey, 1991; Miller, 1986; Surrey, 1991). As J. B. Miller states, "We have all been laboring under only one implicit model of the nature of human nature and of human development" (1991, p. 26). An alternative view, fostered by the theorists working at the Stone Center at Wellesley College in Boston, proposes that people develop through

relationships with others (Jordan, et al., 1991). In a context of “relationality,” the experience of humiliation takes on special significance. Recognizing that personality theories have traditionally been built on individuality rather than relationality helps explain why humiliation has been overlooked.

While most personality theorists did not directly discuss the experience of humiliation, certain aspects of their theories contributed to setting the stage for recognizing the importance of relational issues in human development. Some theorists integrated relational concepts into their work despite popular bias toward the prevalent “self” theories of their time. The purpose of this section is to review aspects of earlier theories of personality development that may be regarded as the antecedents for examining the relational experience of humiliation.

Freud

Freud, who developed the earliest and the most comprehensive theory of personality, had opportunities to recognize and identify the impact of humiliation. Many of his patients described experiences of having felt degraded by the words and/or actions of a more powerful other. Freud’s famous case of Dora is an excellent example of this dynamic. Dora was brought to Freud by her father because she was depressed and suicidal (Williams, 1987). During her three months of treatment, Dora told Freud that her father’s friend had made inappropriate sexual advances toward her. Dora had complained to her father, but he did not believe her. Freud believed Dora’s story, but interpreted it to mean Dora was unconsciously attracted to her father’s friend, despite her insistence to the contrary.

Unfortunately, Freud’s individualistic and psychosexual paradigm of personality theory blinded him to Dora’s experience of humiliation. Seeking an internal explanation for Dora’s depression, Freud missed Dora’s humiliation at being inappropriately approached by her father’s friend. He also missed her humiliation at being disbelieved by

her father. And finally, Freud missed the humiliation that Dora must have experienced when he interpreted her problems to be the result of an unconscious attraction for her father's friend rather than due to the trauma of this man's behavior. As Herman (1992) stated, "Freud refused . . . to validate Dora's feelings of outrage and humiliation" (p. 14). The experience of humiliation did not fit with Freud's analysis of human behavior.

At one point in his career, Freud theorized that hysteria was caused by early sexual trauma. Sexual trauma is a relational experience which involves intense humiliation. Unfortunately, Freud went on to recant his theory of hysteria (Masson, 1984). He returned to an intrapsychic explanation of his clients' experiences which blinded him to the impact of traumatic interpersonal dynamics which would have included humiliation.

Although Freud did not consider the experience of humiliation in his work, he indirectly contributed to the understanding of the consequences of humiliation. Freud believed early childhood experiences had a lasting impact on adult functioning. This theory applies to humiliation as it is known that experiences of degradation remain vividly alive in the minds of victims and causes many to negatively alter her or his future behavior (Klein, 1991b). As an example, many people would be able to recall a time when they were humiliated by an experience in school. These seemingly minor events can cause individuals to consciously or unconsciously avoid similar situations. Avoidance ultimately limits life experiences. Freud's therapeutic techniques for identifying early experiences and unconscious processes might be useful when examining the conscious and unconscious consequences of humiliation.

Adler

Like Freud, Alfred Adler did not speak of humiliation in specific terms, but he developed a theory of personality development that was more amenable to relational concepts such as humiliation. In the early 1900s, Adler rejected Freud's individualistic, psychosexual theory of personality. He became one of the first psychoanalysts to emphasize

the importance of understanding people as relational beings (Adler, 1939, 1954, 1956; Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1979; Hall, Gardner, Loehlin, & Manosevitz, 1985). For Adler, relationships were a primary part of human development and psychological difficulties occurred as a result of damaging social experiences. According to Sweeney (1989), Adler believed:

From early dependent experience and throughout life, human beings can be understood best as they interact with others. As children begin discovering themselves, others, and the world, their first impressions of the world are predicated upon contact and through other people. (p. 6)

In Adler's model, healthy people demonstrated a sense of "social interest." He believed social interest, or a concern for the care of others, was the ultimate goal of human development (Rychlak, 1981). If Adler had examined the practice of humiliation, he would have recognized it as being in opposition to the goal of social interest. Adler might have included the practice of humiliation in the category of negative behaviors people utilize to overcompensate for feelings of inferiority. The humiliator degrades others to abrogate his or her deficiencies. Also, Adler would have recognized that victims of humiliation are damaged by this experience.

In addition to expanding personality theory to include social interactions, Adler acknowledged the impact of power differentials in relationships (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1978). Rychlak (1981) describes Adler as one who remained aware of the dynamics of unequal power between people. "His patients were primarily of the lower social classes . . . Adler was a tireless champion of the underdog" (p. 123). Power imbalances are a prerequisite to the practice of humiliation. For a humiliating incident to occur, one person must have some perceived form of power over another. Adler believed that healthy people, or people "who are high in social interest will think of themselves and others as equals and behave accordingly" (Sweeney, 1989, p. 20). In this context, humiliation would be viewed as an unhealthy interaction given its dependence on unequal relationships.

Finally, Adler made another indirect but potentially useful contribution for developing an understanding of the experience of humiliation. Adler reluctantly formulated a typology of unhealthy personalities (Ryckman, 1993, p. 115). Although Adler did not discuss humiliation specifically, it is interesting to speculate how his personality typology would pertain to this experience:

1. **Ruling type** - Individuals with this personality lack social interest and courage. They feel a need to be superior, more powerful, or have control over others. This type would most likely be the perpetrator of humiliation, using this tactic to gain advantage.
2. **Getting type** - These individuals are dependent on others. They use charm to persuade others to take care of them. They would be attracted to more powerful people such as Ruling types which would put them at risk of being a victim of humiliation.
3. **Avoiding type** - Avoiding personalities lack confidence. Their strategy for life is to withdraw from obstacles or problems. These people would avoid the potential for humiliation by being invisible or by restricting their interaction with potential humiliators.

While Adler did not speak of humiliation directly, his paradigm is more in accordance with social, relational forms of human behavior. If his ideas had gained the prominence of Freud's theories perhaps humiliation would have been recognized as a legitimate focus of research.

Sullivan

Harry Stack Sullivan, an early twentieth century American psychiatrist, moved closer to a paradigm of personality theory that would illuminate the experience of humiliation. He went beyond Adler's general view of social interest and focused specifically on interpersonal relationships (Sullivan, 1940, 1953). In a biography on Sullivan's life Chapman (1976) says: "Personality, Sullivan states, *consists of the characteristic ways in which a person deals with other people in his [sic] interpersonal relationships*" (p. 69). Sullivan believed that "Personality is formed by the interpersonal relationships an individual has, especially with close persons, during his [sic] entire

lifetime" (p. 75). As the paradigm shifts from an individualistic view to Sullivan's interpersonal view, the impact of humiliating relationships becomes more significant.

Central to Sullivan's interpersonal theory is the role anxiety plays in unhealthy relationships. Anxiety results in shame, guilt, dread, and feelings of personal worthlessness. Anxiety is a warning signal about the health of the relating. According to Sullivan: *"Anxiety is always interpersonal in origin. It arises from long-term or short-term unhealthy relationships between people"* (Chapman, 1976, p. 80-81). Certainly humiliation results in anxiety which includes shame, guilt, dread, and feelings of personal worthlessness (Klein, 1991b). Therefore, it is consonant with Sullivan's paradigm of interpersonal psychiatry.

Sullivan noted how anxiety impacted self-esteem. "By 'self-esteem' he means all the things that hold a person together and make him [sic] a human being" (Chapman, 1976). Sullivan recognized that anxiety impairs and paralyzes an individual's capacity to function which precipitates a loss of self-esteem or a loss of those qualities that make up his or her humanity. Since humiliation or the threat of humiliation typically results in feelings of anxiety, it is reasonable to assume that humiliation impacts self-esteem and therefore an individual's sense of what makes her/him human. Recent authors have discussed the de-humanizing effects of humiliation (Klein, 1991b; Silver, Conte, Miceli, & Poggi, 1986).

Sullivan also realized that anxiety tends to lock people into familiar but unhealthy patterns of behavior. Anxious people resort to behaviors that appeared to work for them in the past. Anxiety robs individuals of "the ability to experiment with new ways of interacting with people and changing his [her] interpersonal patterns" (Chapman, 1976, p. 84-85). Anxiety and humiliation seem to hold hands in many situations. It is reasonable to suspect that humiliation or the threat of humiliation results in individuals resorting to established, familiar patterns of behavior rather than exploring new options. We must

question the implications of the experience of humiliation on human creativity, learning, and experimentation.

Sullivan believed that people naturally strive to achieve a state of security or “emotional ease” (Chapman, 1976, p. 87). To accomplish this a person develops a set of “security operations” (Ibid., p. 87). Healthy security operations result in emotional ease, while unhealthy security operations reduce anxiety—at a cost to the individual. All the security operations a person develops become a part of his or her “self-protecting system” (Ibid., p. 95). The self-protecting system operates as a circle of protection around the individual. It can include healthy strategies that enhance an individual’s life experience or unhealthy security operations that restrict and diminish an individual’s life experience.

If Sullivan’s perspective is correct, people in interpersonal relationships are interacting through their self-protecting systems. When anxiety occurs, which might be triggered by a fear of humiliation, individuals would develop a security operation which would protect them from this experience in the future. The operation could be healthy or unhealthy. This suggests that as the perceived risk for feeling humiliated increases, so does anxiety, and, therefore, the need for more powerful security operations to protect the self increases. If the security operation is in an unhealthy form, security is achieved at a high price to the individual. This might include withdrawal from a relationship, avoidance of certain situations, and restriction of activities. As an example of an unhealthy security operation, Griffin speaks of African-American adolescents who drop out of school to avoid the humiliation and the anxiety of testing (Griffin, 1991). From the students’ point of view, dropping out of school may be essential to protect what remains of their sense of self—a self having endured the reality of an alienating school environment.

The experience of humiliation is clearly accommodated within Sullivan’s paradigm of personality. Since his focus is interpersonal, the dynamics of humiliation

can be readily recognized as a destructive, anxiety-producing result of unhealthy relationships.

Horney

Karen Horney, a German psychoanalyst who eventually moved to America in the 1930's, is the first personality theorist who spoke directly about the experience of humiliation. Perhaps this was due to the many degrading experiences she endured while becoming a physician in a system and society that disapproved of women pursuing medical careers (O'Connell, 1990; Quinn, 1987; Rubins, 1978). Several biographies describe the various humiliations she encountered as a result of gender discrimination.

Horney and Harry Stack Sullivan were colleagues, so it is not surprising they shared similar thoughts on the importance of relationships. Like Sullivan, Horney took a relational view of personality development. Although Horney and Sullivan developed their relational theories years after Freud, Freud's view and other individualistic views comprised the dominant paradigm throughout the first part of the twentieth century. This may explain why Horney and Sullivan have been seen as peripheral theorists. Their relational views were not in sync with the dominant paradigm. In addition, Horney dared to criticize Freud's theories on women. This critique resulted in her being ostracized from professional organizations and psychoanalytic publications (Quinn, 1987).

Horney believed that all neuroses are due to disturbances in relationships either on the interpersonal or on the cultural level (Horney, 1937). She argued if a child was raised in a supportive, nurturing environment with appropriate levels of love and guidance, s/he would maintain a "real self" and naturally move toward "self-realization" (Horney, 1950, p. 17). Self-realization involves being authentic and achieving full potential. This process of self-realization occurs in relation to others. Horney believed that if a child was in an unhealthy environment, one positive relationship would assist the child in moving toward self-realization.

When a child lives in a hostile environment characterized by disturbed relationships, the child develops a sense of “basic anxiety” (Horney, 1945). Horney (1937) describes basic anxiety as: “a feeling of being small, insignificant, helpless, deserted or endangered in a world that is out to abuse, cheat, humiliate, betray, envy.” (p. 79). This anxiety causes the individual to develop maladaptive strategies for maintaining security which eventually results in the individual becoming alienated from her or his real-self. The individual develops what Horney calls the “idealized-self” (Horney, 1945). The idealized-self is the image the person thinks s/he “should” be. It is composed of self-alienating strategies and behaviors adopted to cope with a hostile environment.

Rather than focusing on internal, individual factors as Freud did, Horney emphasized relational and cultural factors contributing to personality development. She believed that our context, particularly in the form of relationships, affected our journey toward self-realization or self-alienation. Children growing up in hostile environments move toward self-alienation. A hostile environment, according to Horney (1945), is characterized by a child experiencing a wide range of adverse conditions:

...direct or indirect domination, indifference, erratic behavior, lack of respect for the child's individual needs, lack of real guidance, disparaging attitudes, too much admiration or the absence of it, lack of reliable warmth, having to take sides in parental disagreements, too much or too little responsibility, over protection, isolation from other children, injustice, discrimination, unkept promises, hostile atmosphere, and so on and so on. (Ibid., p. 41)

The dynamic of humiliation would be rampant in a hostile environment. In such an environment, humiliation can take many forms, including disparaging attitudes, over protection, isolation, and discrimination. Horney's environmental and relational view of personality development creates a context in which the impact of humiliation can be analyzed.

As stated earlier, Horney is the first theorist to specifically describe some of the dynamics of humiliation. In her book, Neurotic Personality of Our Time (1937), Horney states:

In persons in whom the craving for prestige is uppermost, hostility usually takes the form of a desire to humiliate others. This desire is paramount in those persons whose own self-esteem has been wounded by humiliation and who have thus become vindictive. Usually they have gone through a series of humiliating experiences in childhood, experiences that may have had to do either with the social situation in which they grew up—such as belonging to a minority group, or being themselves poor but having wealthy relatives—or with their own individual situation, such as being discriminated against for the sake of other children, being spurned, being treated as a plaything by the parents, being sometimes spoiled and other times shamed and snubbed. Often experiences of this kind are forgotten because of their painful character, but they reappear in awareness if the problems concerning humiliation are clarified. In adult neurotics, however, never the direct but only the indirect results of these childhood situations can be observed, results which have been reinforced by passing through a “vicious circle”: A feeling of humiliation; a desire to humiliate others; enhanced sensitivity to humiliation because of a fear of retaliation; enhanced wish to humiliate others. (p. 150)

This quote demonstrates Horney’s awareness of the power issues involved with humiliation, the potential cyclical nature of humiliation, the connection between humiliation and hostility, the social and individual forms of humiliation, the damage that occurs to a person’s self-esteem, and the long-term consequences of humiliation. Horney describes humiliation not as a static event, but as a multifaceted enduring experience.

Not only did Horney identify the detrimental consequences of the experience of humiliation, she believed that people suffer from anxiety due to their fear of future humiliations (Horney, 1950). She states:

Fear, anxiety, panic may occur as reactions both to anticipated humiliations or to ones that have taken place. Anticipatory fears may concern examinations, public performances, social gatherings. . . . People who are afflicted with such fears often refer to them as fears of failure, disgrace, ridicule. (Ibid., pp. 100-101)

This quote significantly expands an analysis of the impact of humiliation. Not only are people impacted by the experience of humiliation, they are impacted by their fear of humiliation. According to Horney, fear of humiliation can be likened to “stage fright” but it is a fear that can be experienced in any situation where there is an anticipated public or

private performance. Fear of humiliation can result from seeing others being humiliated or it can occur prior to a situation where the individual feels s/he may be judged or scrutinized. Horney believed that "fear of humiliation comes from an injured self-esteem" (Horney, 1945, p. 151). Because of weakened self-esteem, people may be frightened by situations where there is a potential for humiliation. Their fear may lead them to avoid certain situations; they may mask their fear with anger; or they may suffer with their fear silently.

Horney recognized that individuals would exhibit dissimilar reactions to humiliation. Some people react with "trembling, shaking, perspiration, or some other expression of fear" (Horney, 1950, p. 101). "In self-effacing types, reactions of humiliation are by far over-shadowed by feelings of shame" (Horney, 1937, p. 97). Because of the injury to one's sense of self, another reaction is rage. With a response of rage, which always contains fear, the victim of humiliation may seek vindication to restore her or his esteem. If, for some reason, the person cannot retaliate against the humiliator, the victim experiences "double injury: the original 'insult' and the 'defeat,' as opposed to a vindictive triumph" (Horney, 1950, p. 104).

Horney's ideas about the effects of the experience of humiliation can be understood in the context of her typology of personality (Horney, 1945). Horney identified three personality types: (1) those moving toward people, (2) those moving against people, and (3) those moving away from people. These personality types develop in response to basic anxiety. While people may utilize behaviors from any of these three personality types, typically an individual will have one dominant mode of operation. These descriptions of personality types could be used to analyze many forms of behavior, but I will describe them specifically as they relate to the experience of humiliation.

The first type is the "moving toward" personality. These people have an insatiable need to feel safe and loved. In terms of humiliation, they might think: "If you love me, you

will not humiliate me.” They believe in their own weakness or helplessness. Perhaps they developed feelings of powerlessness from earlier experiences of being degraded or being made to feel worthless. With this belief, it seems reasonable they would move toward and attempt to secure safety in the protection of a more powerful other. To gain this protection these individuals may be overly compliant, overly responsible, overly appreciative. They may deny themselves their own needs and inhibit their hostility, assertiveness, or aggressiveness to win love and protection. “Moving toward” personalities are at risk for being exploited or abused by the powerful other from whom they are seeking safety and protection.

An example of this personality type might be seen in some women who are the victims of domestic abuse. Domestic abuse is an issue of power and control. Our society teaches women to doubt their personal power and reinforces the doubt by restricting their access to economic power. At the same time, men have been taught to exercise personal power and have been given access to economic power. A “moving toward” woman may understandably believe she can earn security and protection from a more powerful man. This is the “knight in shining armor” fantasy that many women are socialized to believe. Women who become the victims of domestic violence may have begun the relationship with men who fit their ideal of powerful protector (Walker, 1994). For a while the woman’s strategy for earning security may work in the relationship. But due to the man’s increasing need to exercise power and control, he will make increasingly difficult demands on the woman and exercise violence to achieve his ends. At this point the “moving toward” woman may be using her strategy to avoid harm. Without power or economic support, the woman may come to believe she must endure periods of abuse to maintain a dubious form of security.

For people who have not experienced domestic violence, it is difficult to understand why women stay in abusive relationships. However, similar behavior can be seen to a

lesser degree in individuals who are working for a difficult employer. People who are degraded by the behavior of an over-powering boss will endure or excuse this behavior to maintain the security of employment. Appeasing an employer is on the same continuum as pleasing a seemingly more powerful spouse. Individuals may also join groups such as religious cults or political organizations that offer them a sense of security. Horney describes the general intent of this behavior: "By complying . . . he [sic] gains a feeling of belonging and support which makes him [sic] feel less weak and less isolated" (Horney, 1945, p. 42). In an attempt to earn security, these individuals may be exploited, psychologically abused, and physically abused. All are forms of humiliation. Ultimately, these individuals may become the victims of murder.

The second personality type is the "moving away" person. This individual seeks security by withdrawing from threat. When applied to humiliation, this person may believe: "If I am invisible, you can't humiliate me." An experience of humiliation will often result in an individual wanting to hide (Klein, 1991b). These people will construct a world that will minimize their risk of threat. They may do this by isolation or by a restriction of activities. The goal is self-sufficiency and may require withdrawing from life physically and/or mentally.

People find numerous ways to withdraw from society. They may withdraw socially through isolation, emotionally through depression; they may develop anxiety disorders, engage in obsessive-compulsive behavior, or withdraw through the use of substances such as drugs or alcohol. Realizing a reduction or absence of humiliation reinforces this strategy. Also, the reduction or absence of fear of being humiliated reinforces this strategy. The "moving away" individual is creating a protective shell around his or her life which appears to lessen anxiety. This shell creates an artificial harmony and a sense of security in the individual's environment, at least temporarily. Over the course of a lifetime, the individual may find it necessary to intensify his or her

strategies of withdrawal to deal with overwhelming instances of threat. The most unfortunate and most absolute strategy of withdrawal would be suicide.

Finally, there is the "moving against" personality. These people seek power and control over people to avoid being humiliated. As stated in Horney's earlier quote, this behavior may be a consequence of being humiliated in the past. In relation to humiliation, these people believe "If I am more powerful, you cannot humiliate me." This individual's sense of security depends on controlling situations in a way that will allow them to maintain power over others. This control may be achieved by dominance, authoritarianism, intimidation, manipulation, anger, rage, hostility, and by humiliating others. To describe how this individual relates to others Horney states, "He [sic] wants to be stronger and defeat them, partly for his [sic] own protection, partly for revenge" (1945, p.43).

The "moving against" type would be the most likely group to be perpetrators of humiliation. They would seek out people they could dominate to establish their sense of power and control. They dominate others through interpersonal relationships or they may belong to a group organized for purposes of domination such as a gang. Some examples of behavior that might be connected with this personality are: sexual assault, sexual abuse, physical assault, domestic violence, hazing, gang activity, degradation of students or employees, and harassment. All of these activities involve power and control. They offer the "moving against" individual a deciduous state of security that will eventually need reinforcement through another demonstration of power. With some individuals, establishing security through this strategy may lead to escalating demonstrations of control over others. In the most extreme manifestation of the need to dominate, the "moving against" person may exercise his or her power over others by committing murder.

Horney's paradigm of personality theory is not only congruent with the relational aspect of humiliation, but she addresses the experience of humiliation specifically and provides us with a model of personality development that is useful for understanding maladaptive responses to humiliation. The illustration (figure 1) on the following page utilizes Horney's personality typology as a model for understanding people's nocuous responses to humiliation or the threat of humiliation.

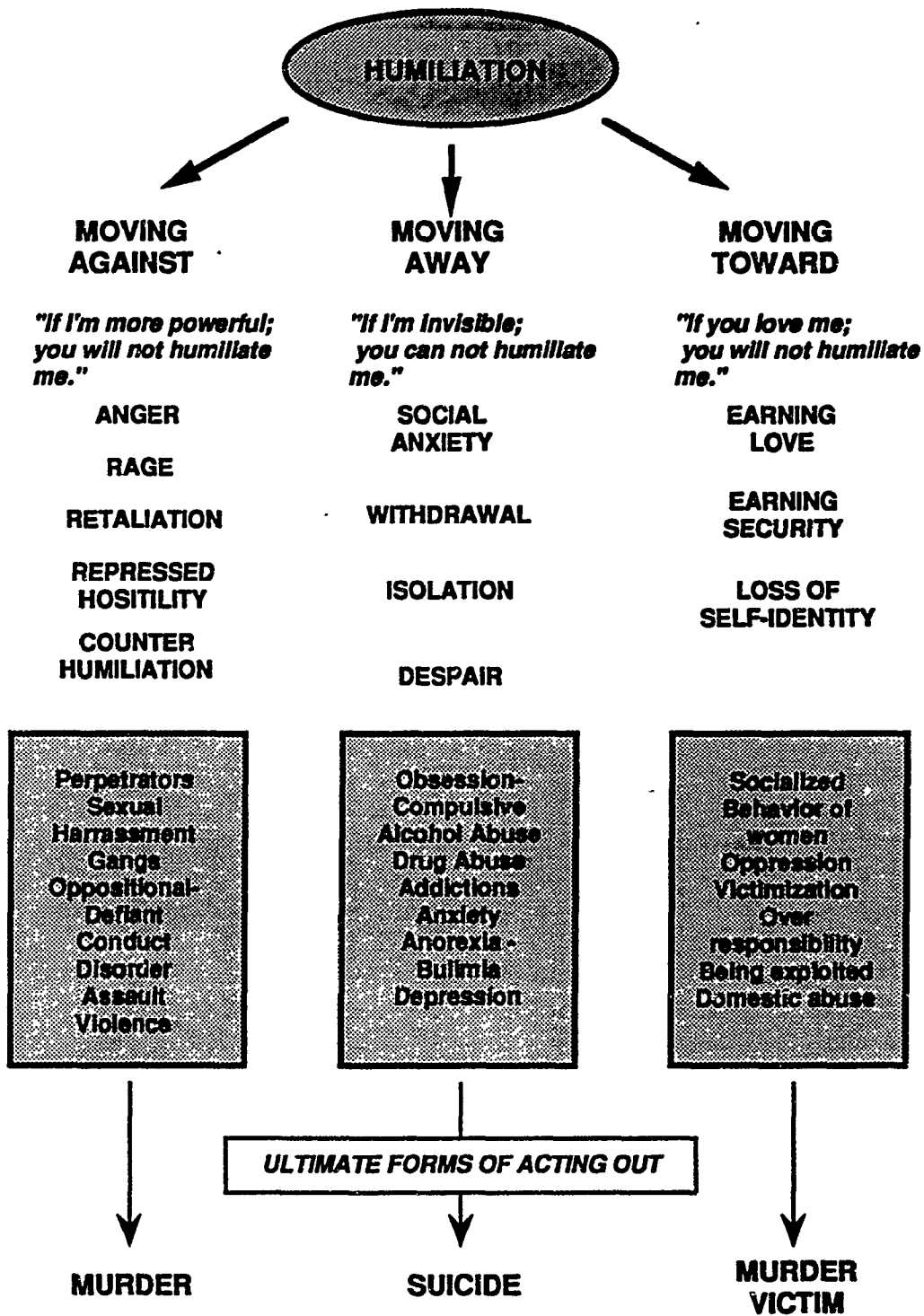


Figure 1: Maladaptive responses to humiliation based on Karen Horney's personality typology.

Summary of Personality Theories and Humiliation

In the past the dominant paradigms of personality development emphasized the “self.” The experience of humiliation did not fit well within this paradigm and as a result theorists overlooked the impact of humiliation on human development. Although some theorists such as Adler, Sullivan, and Horney expanded their views to recognize relational factors, their theories have often been marginalized or discounted by the dominant intrapsychic theories of the early twentieth century.

Fortunately, recent developments by feminist theorists, primarily from the Stone Center at Wellesley College, have proposed a broader view of personality development which is known as “self-in-relation” theory (Jordan, et al., 1991; Miller, 1986, 1991; Surrey, 1991). This nascent theory emphasizes the centrality of relationships in personality development (see also Brown & Gilligan, 1992; Gilligan, 1982, 1991; Gilligan, et al., 1993). Since humiliation is a relational experience that affects the self, the self-in-relation theory of personality development is more congruent with the experience of humiliation. Examining humiliation through this paradigm illuminates the multifaceted and damaging impact of this experience. Rather than viewing the experience of humiliation as an individual/intrapsychic phenomenon, this study will view humiliation as a relational construct.

Current Literature on Humiliation

While the literature on humiliation is exiguous, a few authors have discussed the impact of this experience in the past decade. These writings have examined humiliation from a particular perspective. The following is a review of the existing literature specifically relating to the experience of humiliation.

Humiliation as Social Control

Silver, Conte, Miceli, and Poggi (1986) analyzed humiliation as a powerful form of social control which undermines an individual's identity. To support their position, they referred to many examples of humiliation that range from daily interpersonal encounters to the experience of prisoners in Nazi concentrations camps. These authors attempt to discover the common elements in a wide range of events that are experienced as humiliation.

Silver et al. (1986) contend that humiliation requires an assessment on the part of the victim. It is this assessment—not the intensity or characteristics of the event—that determines whether or not an individual perceives an experience as humiliating. To assess an experience as humiliating, the individual must feel incapacitated or powerless as a result of the situation. This assessment may or may not be based on truth, but it is the individual's perception of powerlessness in a situation that leads one to perceive an event as humiliating.

Powerlessness is a key element in the experience of humiliation. To illustrate this point, Silver et al. compared two scenarios. In the first instance, a doctor comes in contact with human excrement while performing a medical procedure. In this context the doctor would not typically feel humiliated by this contact. The second scenario is of a prisoner in a Nazi concentration camp who is forced to have contact with human waste. The prisoner would likely feel humiliation. The difference between these two situations is the doctor has a choice and the prisoner has none. The doctor has *chosen* to participate in a medical procedure involving contact with excrement. The prisoner is *forced* into the position of being in contact with human waste. S/he is aware of his/her complete incapacity and powerlessness in the face of a more powerful other. Being forced into contact with excrement reveals the prisoner's powerlessness. It is the prisoner's assessment of

powerlessness, not the characteristics of the event that determines whether an experience is perceived as humiliating.

In another example, Silver et al. discuss the experience of being insulted. While an insult may be entirely fallacious, it can be harmful when the victim feels powerless to respond to the insulter. It is not the content or the intensity of the insult that causes humiliation; it is the sense of powerlessness associated with not being able to respond in a way that one believes s/he should be able to respond that fomented humiliation.

In addition, Silver et al. suggest that humiliation involves an individual's perceived inability to live up to some implicit standard that is expected from members of a social group. The individual feels that because of his/her membership in a certain group, s/he "should" have a certain capacity or capability to act in a situation but is unable to live up to that expectation. Silver et al. used an academic example to explain this point. Two students are enrolled in college: one is planning to become a doctor and the other is planning to become a lawyer. Both students fail organic chemistry. The student who intended to be a doctor is humiliated by this failure while the student who is going to be a lawyer is merely irritated. The first student feels humiliated because passing organic chemistry is part of what is expected of a student planning to go to medical school. The other student did not experience humiliation because organic chemistry is not expected from someone who is going into the field of law. This example illustrates how the same event can produce humiliation in one individual and a dissimilar experience for another. Also, it illustrates the importance of examining individual beliefs concerning standards of performance when humiliation has occurred.

Finally, Silver et al. discuss humiliation as a powerful form of social control. To explain this, the authors return to the experience of torture perpetrated in Nazi concentration camps. The authors contend that the goal of torture is humiliation. It is argued that "humiliating the victim makes the job of the torturers less of a strain" (Silver,

et al., 1986, p. 279). Humiliation in the form of torture accomplishes two goals. First, it conditions individuals to stop resisting their treatment. As the author's state, "persistent humiliation robs you of the vantage of rebellion" (Ibid., p. 280). Second, from the perspective of the humiliator, the victim is reduced to something less than human. This makes it easier for the humiliator to treat the victim with total disregard for his or her humanity. Humiliation dehumanizes the victim. Degrading or dehumanizing an individual allows the humiliator to exercise power over that person. Victims become unable to act in their best interests. This illustrates the pernicious impact of humiliation when used as a form of social control.

Humiliation and Self-Esteem

Stamm (1978) discusses the impact of humiliation on self-esteem from a psychoanalytic perspective. He believes that humiliation is distinct from other experiences such as shame. He begins his discussion by defining humiliation as "the affect associated with the sensation of unpleasure and any idea connoting loss of self-esteem when one's self-esteem is attacked, diminished, or threatened unjustifiably either from without (external) or from within (superego)" (p. 425). The affect of humiliation is a signal to the ego to defend itself against the loss of self-esteem or injury to self-presentation. Over time, individuals learn to anticipate potentially humiliating situations which trigger ego defense mechanisms. As a result, symptoms may arise due to the employment of these defense mechanisms: "distorted character traits, regressive psychosomatic phenomena, impulsive acting out" (Ibid., p. 432). Included in the article were several case studies which illustrate that past and current humiliating experiences can result in maladaptive behaviors in individuals. These behaviors are used as strategies to protect the individual from further humiliation.

Stamm's article is important because it recognizes the unique impact humiliation has on individual behavior. He describes humiliation as distinct from shame. He

identifies the cumulative affect of humiliation which motivates defenses and results in symptom formation. And he identifies and analyzes the destructive consequences of humiliation on self-esteem and self-presentation.

Humiliation in Medical Settings

Lazare (1987) examined the impact of shame and humiliation in medical settings. Regardless of the individual's role as patient or physician, there are many ways in which s/he may be humiliated or shamed in this setting.

While Lazare often refers to shame and humiliation interchangeably, he describes the distinction between these two emotions. Shame is "distress concerning the *state of the self* that the person regards as no good, not good enough, or defective" (Ibid., p. 1653). It is comprised of three elements: "(1) the shame-inducing event, (2) the vulnerability of the subject, and (3) the social context" (Ibid., p. 1654). These elements interact to determine the impact of shame and humiliation on the individual. Humiliation involves "*a temporary status of the self*, an alteration, usually caused by someone else, that the person regards as lowering or debasing" (Ibid., p. 1653). Humiliation seems to be more interpersonal in nature than shame. However, both shame and humiliation result in the loss of self-respect, pride, or self-esteem.

In a medical setting, patients often experience a sense of shame and humiliation. A patient may feel shame or humiliation due to the nature of his or her disease, due to the process of undergoing treatment, due to his/her lack of understanding the medical terms, due to interactions with health care providers, or due to side effects of medication. Each patient will respond to these variables differently so one cannot make assumptions about a patient's reactions to medical settings. Some patients will feel shame and humiliation in certain contexts and others will not. It is important for medical professionals to be aware of the patient's susceptibility to shame and humiliation.

Physicians are also at risk for experiencing shame and humiliation. Throughout their careers doctors are expected to be in absolute control of their work; they must have all the answers, make the appropriate diagnosis every time, apply the correct treatment in every instance, and deal with the emotional reactions of the patient and the patient's family. Lazare states that doctors are shame-prone because of their "need to see themselves as perfect and in complete control in their practice of medicine" (Lazare, 1987, p. 1656). These attitudes are inculcated into medical students throughout their education.

Today, Lazare might add another example of humiliation experienced by physicians. As more women have become doctors, researchers have studied the prevalence of sexual harrassment in the medical setting. The New England Journal of Medicine reported that 77% of female doctors surveyed had been sexually harrassed (Begley, Biddle, & Gordon, 1994). This behavior primarily occurs as a result of the behavior of male patients, but it also occurs in interactions with male colleagues. These incidents are clear demonstrations of power that result in humiliation for the female doctor. These situations also illustrate the likelihood that humiliation will occur when women enter non-traditional fields of employment.

In addition to his analysis, Lazare introduces a term that may be useful in understanding how individuals respond to humiliation. In an angry response to humiliation, individuals may react by "displacing humiliation onto someone lower in the pecking order or counterhumiliating the person who inflicted the injury" (Lazare, 1987, p. 1655). Counterhumiliation is a term that may be useful for describing a particular response to humiliation. Lazare suggests that counterhumiliation arises out of intense anger also known as humiliated rage. This form of anger is seen as long-lasting and unforgiving. Although Lazare discusses counterhumiliation in relation to medical encounters, perhaps this term is appropriate for describing some forms of teenage violence and gang activity. Aggression may be a desperate strategy for reclaiming self-respect

following some experience of humiliation. Campbell (1993) discusses the link between adolescent aggression and self-respect. Humiliating others, in response to one's own humiliation, is a form of aggression which may allow the adolescent to gain a sense of power which restores his/her self-concept, at least temporarily.

From the perspective of the patient and of the physician, medical settings provide a context for people to experience shame and humiliation. Lazare closes his article with an outline of how these damaging emotions can be diminished. His ideas include: not making patients wait for long periods of time, calling people by their surnames, respecting patient's privacy, supporting the patient in maintaining their identity by bringing comforting possessions to the hospital, validating the patient, offering praise, understanding the patient's perspective, recommending support groups, and having physicians manage their own personal shame and humiliation (Lazare, 1987, p. 1656-1657).

Humiliation in Marital Relationships

Vogel and Lazare (1990) examined the impact of humiliation within marital relationships. For this article, Vogel and Lazare define humiliation as:

...an interaction between two or more people, in the course of which one perceives oneself as having suffered an insult which substantially offends one's sense of self worth; it is experienced by the recipient as an affront, possibly undeserved, which is delivered with hostile intent, even though the intending party may have no awareness of having been hostile or insulting. (p. 141)

To deal with this offense, Vogel and Lazare propose that there are two basic responses: "flight" or "fight." An individual exhibiting a flight response feels like hiding, escaping, or withdrawing from the situation. A fight response involves anger. Anger is more likely to occur in individuals who are not incapacitated by the experience of humiliation. They feel strong enough to strike back.

Vogel and Lazare analyze the havoc caused by humiliation in a marital situation. This damage includes the disruption of the relationship, deep betrayal, and an imbalance

of power. Out of fear of being humiliated, one partner may stop expressing his/her needs or concerns. When the lines of communication are damaged by humiliation, issues between the partners remain unresolved and feelings of resentment accumulate. Often the perpetrator of humiliation does not recognize the imbalance of power in the relationship and the consequences of his or her behavior. The following quote exemplifies the consequences of humiliation in an intimate relationship:

If even a single such experience is sufficiently intense, it can become a focal point of organization and governance of one's attitudes, feelings and behaviors—for an indefinitely prolonged time—towards the person, persons, or institutions, which are seen as the source of one's humiliation. It can permanently alter a relationship or irreparably damage it. The crucial factor in determining the prepotency of a humiliation experience is less an objective attribute of the insult than the sufferer's subjective experience and perceptions of the insult. Insults which seem negligible to an objective observer may seem to be intolerable to the sufferer. The sufferer's refusal to forgive the insult and resume the relationship has obvious protective value, shielding one from further exposure to additional humiliation. (Ibid., p. 142)

Along with an analysis of humiliation in marital situations, Vogel and Lazare offer steps for addressing this problem. These strategies include:

1. Having both persons acknowledge the humiliation which has occurred.
2. Having the therapist validate the experience of the victim of humiliation.
3. Normalizing the situation so the victim's responses are not seen as abnormal.
4. Negotiating restitution which includes: (a) an apology, "the key to the saving of the relationship"; (b) compensation, psychological or material; and (c) restructuring the relationship to rebuild trust. (Ibid., pp. 149-150)

Humiliation and Self-Inflation

The most extensive analysis of humiliation outside the field of psychology comes from William Ian Miller, a historian and law professor from the University of Michigan. In his book, Humiliation (1993), W. I. Miller articulates a view of humiliation which diverges substantially from the discourse in psychology. His view begins with an analysis of the social context in which humiliation occurs. He sees humiliation as an artifact of an honor-based society. An honor-based society is one in which individuals

engage in behaviors to maintain or enhance their social status within a larger group. An individual's social status is a measure of his/her honor. As W. I. Miller sees it, most forms of humiliation occur when an individual is caught over-inflating his/her self-presentation to maintain social status or gain a higher position in the hierarchy. The individual's excessive self-enhancing behavior is exposed. In W.I. Miller's framework, humiliation can serve a positive social function by causing the humiliated individual to abnegate his/her pretentiousness. In other words, the humiliated person is justifiably humbled. This is an experience W. I. Miller calls "the comedy of pretension deflation" (Ibid., p. 165).

W. I. Miller distinguishes the common day-to-day forms of humiliation from the extreme forms of humiliation which occur in concentration camps or torture chambers. Extreme humiliation, such as torture, has nothing to do with the humiliations which occur in daily interactions. According to W. I. Miller, ordinary forms of humiliation result in the reduction of an individual's excessive self-importance. Extreme forms of humiliation involve the humiliator viewing and treating the victim as something less than human. The humiliation which occurs in concentration camps involves dehumanization not pretentiousness. W. I. Miller states:

They know that the people they torture are humans (there is no ambiguity) and that is why they torture them, in the hope that they can reveal them as not being what they know they are. There is no thrill in making a rat act like a rat. The thrill is in making a human a rat. A human who acts like a rat justifies his torture for two contradictory reasons: because as a rat he disgraces his humanity by acting like a rat and because as a rat he is pretending to humanity, a most disgraceful and arrogant presumption for a rat. (Ibid., p. 166)

W. I. Miller recognizes that the affect of humiliation is not confined to the actual experience of being humiliated. An individual's fear of humiliation has a tremendous impact on the individual's behavior. People organize their behavior to avoid the possibility of being humiliated. Their actions are tailored by their fear of humiliation. W. I. Miller equates the fear of humiliation with the fear of looking foolish and he believes this fear

shapes our character. According to W. I. Miller, "...how we go about avoiding humiliation is us, is our very character" (Ibid., p. 140). Due to his/her fear, an individual will go to great lengths and even risk death to escape humiliation.

Finally, W. I. Miller suggests that humiliation is a concept gendered as feminine. To support this view he offers an anecdote about the numbers of women versus the numbers of men who enroll in his seminars. Women typically outnumber men six to one in his seminars about humiliation. To explain this discrepancy, he states:

"Women can admit to an interest in humiliation without losing face. Men suspect that they can only lose face. Either they type themselves feminine if they admit to being humiliated, or they type themselves immoral, as sadists, if they admit to humiliating." (Ibid., p.168-169)

In addition, W. I. Miller sees the rituals of courtship as an example of men subjecting themselves to self-deflation or humiliation to win the attention of a woman. He notes that the act of intercourse is often expressed in terms that connote deflation (e.g., penetration). He goes on to say, "...humiliation (of males) is a necessary condition to the reproduction of the human species" (Ibid., p. 169). Using his definition of humiliation, this statement appears to mean men must abdicate their pretentious self-presentation to engage in sexual relationships.

W. I. Miller presents a challenging discussion of humiliation. While his view of extreme forms of humiliation is comparable to the views of other scholars, his analysis of commonplace humiliation is substantially different. He perceives everyday humiliation as primarily a corrective experience which forces the victim to relinquish an excessive expression of self-importance. Within the context of an honor-based society or a hierarchical society, humiliation prevents individuals from overstating their position of power. But why do women, as W. I. Miller suggests, have less difficulty acknowledging their experiences of humiliation than men? Perhaps men, who are socialized to compete in a hierarchical society, predominantly experience humiliation when they have been forced

to relinquish their self-inflated positions of power over others. On the other hand, women, who have had limited access to public positions of power, may not primarily experience humiliation as self-deflation but may experience it as an undeserved demotion. In our hierarchical society, women are already in a lesser position and through humiliation they are forced to assume an even lower position. It may be easier for women to admit their humiliation because they recognize that they have been unfairly demoted. Men may not want to acknowledge their experiences of humiliation because they do not want to appear too weak to defend themselves against this experience or admit that their self-deflation was an appropriate reduction of pretentiousness.

Concerning another gender related issue, an understanding of socialization may help explain W. I. Miller's view that the courtship ritual is humiliating to men. Modern courtship appears to encourage men to substantially curtail power-over behavior and enter into a relationship of mutuality with a potential partner (Genero, Miller, Surrey, & Baldwin, 1992). What W. I. Miller (1993) describes as men subjecting themselves to humiliation to win the attention of women, may actually reveal how men have been socialized to experience mutuality in relationships. Mutuality may be humiliating to men when the norm has been to exercise power over others. After they have endured the humiliation of courtship, some men may return to power-over behaviors and feel humiliated when they cannot force their partners to assume what they believe is the appropriate lesser position in the relationship. This dynamic may be a precursor to abusive relationships. At the same time, women are socialized to be attracted to men who exercise power-over others in their public activities. After courtship, a woman may find herself the victim of humiliation when her partner's power-over behaviors begin to seep into their relationship. All of these potential dynamics suggest that an examination of gender role socialization may offer important insights into how men and women experience humiliation.

Humiliation as a Central Dynamic of Human Affairs

The most comprehensive discussion of humiliation in the literature was initiated by Donald Klein. In 1989, Klein spoke on humiliation at the Harvard Medical School in Boston (1991a). During his speech Klein shared his research on the impact of various forms of humiliation. His studies have led him to believe that humiliation is a central dynamic of human interaction. He refers to this as the "Humiliation Dynamic." Although other theorists have touched on humiliation as an element of human experience, Klein appears to be the first to describe the pervasive and insidious qualities of this behavior. He developed his analysis by reviewing the psychological literature, interviewing individuals, reflecting on his personal experience, and examining autobiographies and novels.

Through his studies, he has found characteristics which are common to the experience of humiliation. He describes these characteristics in The Journal of Primary Prevention (Klein, 1991b, 1992). In addition to his research, Klein invited a number of scholars to join him in publishing a series of articles on humiliation. These articles are the foundation of my investigation into humiliation. Each article offers a different perspective into the characteristics and complexity of the humiliation dynamic. The following is a brief summary of the critical issues discussed in these articles.

An Overview of Humiliation

In his opening article, Klein (1991b) offers the most comprehensive overview of humiliation to be found in the literature. It is Klein's contention that humiliation, in its various forms, contaminates virtually all levels of our society. Unfortunately, the impact of this dynamic has been overlooked by researchers and society as a whole due to a "conspiracy of silence" (Klein, 1991a). His examination of humiliation attempts to override the silence and spotlight this dark side of human behavior. His analysis provides

a substantial framework for understanding the pervasive and destructive nature of humiliation.

In this article, Klein presents an incipient definition of humiliation. He says: "...humiliation involves the experience of some form of ridicule, scorn, contempt, or other treatment at the hands of others" (p. 94). This definition brings to light the primary components of this experience. First, it designates humiliation as an interactive experience; it occurs in relationship. Second, it is an experience concerning power; the power of one person (or group) over another. Finally, the victim of humiliation is degraded or assigned an inferior position. These characteristics are consistent in the humiliation dynamic.

According to Klein, the relational component of humiliation is comprised of three roles: (1) the humiliator, (2) the victim, and (3) the witness. While individuals may most often remember being in the role of the victim, it is likely they have operated in all three roles at some point during their lifetime. One can augment Klein's analysis by examining how these roles are actively or passively manifested. To be an active humiliator might be to attack or degrade someone as in an instance of rape or physical assault. A passive humiliator might allow, indirectly support, or benefit from someone being relegated to an inferior status. Discrimination against women and minorities could be seen as both subtle and blatant forms of humiliation. To be actively victimized means to be the direct target of humiliation. To be passively victimized might involve having to comply with some degrading, perhaps institutionalized procedure or unnecessarily imposed social norm. A specific example of passive victimization is the subtle barriers which keep women from achieving economic equity despite comparable work/worth. Finally, to be an active witness is to recognize at some level of awareness that humiliation has occurred. To be a passive witness is to ignore, discount, deny, or blame the victim when an experience of humiliation is witnessed. Klein's identification of the

roles, also called the humiliation triangle, allows us to explore the variety of ways individuals and society participate in this problem. The complexity of these roles and how they are enacted expands the dynamic of humiliation into virtually every arena of society.

Another essential aspect of humiliation is the dynamic of unequal power. Within the humiliation dynamic, power is specifically power-over others or the power to diminish, demean. In a hierarchical society such as ours, the power-over dynamic occurs in numerous contexts from playgrounds, to classrooms, to boardrooms, to battlegrounds. It is experienced in subtle or obvious forms; specific or general forms; individual or institutional forms; and national or international forms. As long as there are significant power imbalances between individuals or groups, there is the potential for the humiliation dynamic to operate.

The final common characteristic of humiliation is the experience of being treated in a degrading manner. During his research, Klein interviewed individuals who described their feelings of having been degraded. Their reactions included: feeling helpless, confused, paralyzed, excluded, invaded, and attacked; they were made to feel small, experienced a loss of face, and wanted to hide. In addition to these intense feelings, informants explained that their experiences remained vivid in their memories long after the initial event. This implies that humiliation can deeply affect individuals for extended periods of time, perhaps even a lifetime.

In addition to describing the various aspects of the experience of humiliation, Klein makes another critical distinction about this dynamic: People do not need to be humiliated to fear humiliation. Even if an individual has never been the victim of humiliation, s/he can be affected by a fear of being humiliated. This analysis adds a new dimension to the humiliation dynamic. It implies that people who have witnessed humiliation may alter the course of their lives to avoid situations that might lead to being humiliated. Klein states that the motivation to avoid humiliation may be so strong that individuals will risk being

killed. Silver et al. (1986) supports this position in his article about the humiliation of prisoners in Nazi concentration camps.

In addition to defining and describing the nature of the humiliation dynamic, Klein goes on to explain how this dynamic manifests itself in our society. In some contexts this dynamic takes on a prosocial form. Humiliation is used to pressure people into conforming to certain behaviors that are expected by the humiliator. Examples of prosocial humiliation can be seen in fraternity and sorority hazing, boot camp environments, educational settings, personal development trainings such as Werner Earhart's *est* training, to name a few. The prosocial process of humiliation typically involves individuals enduring an experience of humiliation. Having survived the humiliation, these people are supposedly elevated to a higher level of existence or they are given the opportunity of belonging to the same domain as the humiliator. They feel exalted. Klein points out that this form of humiliation typically occurs in group settings.

While prosocial humiliation might be seen as a useful socialization mechanism, it can also be connected with negative long term consequences. Having endured his/her humiliation, the survivor may view uninitiated individuals as inferior. S/he may even become the humiliator who facilitates the ritual humiliation that others must endure if they wish to belong to the sought-after group. In this way, prosocial humiliation is passed from one member to another as the necessary experience for becoming a member of the group. Senior members of a group facilitate the ritual humiliation of the junior members who will eventually assist with the induction of the next generation of members. The humiliation process is handed down from one generation to another. This cyclic humiliation behavior can obviously be seen in fraternity and sorority hazing, but it can also be seen in more subtle forms such as in new employment situations. New members of a business corporation may be required to "pay their dues" to be fully accepted into the organization.

Competitive situations offer another context for the humiliation dynamic to operate. The importance of winning and the disgrace of losing are taught to children from an early age and reinforced throughout the individual's lifetime. In school, students endure the many humiliations that are associated with being ranked, graded, and categorized in a win-lose environment. According to Kohn (1986) competition is a societal norm despite its destructive impact on individuals. He analyzes the sports industry as an example of our obsession with competition. Like humiliation, competitive sports have become a "socializing agent" in our culture. Our society seems to value adversarial interaction and it is believed competition develops our skills for dealing with adversaries. In this environment, however, humiliation can often be a tool of the conqueror.

Klein (1991b) also examines the connection between humiliation and mental illness. His review of the literature reveals that humiliation is associated with many forms of psychosocial problems, including juvenile delinquency, depression, paranoia, serial killings, sado-masochism, anxiety disorders, domestic violence, and suicide. This connection is critical because, unlike some factors that contribute to mental illness, many forms of humiliation are controllable and preventable.

Finally, Klein examines humiliation in everyday life. Events that seem insignificant can have lasting impact if they are perceived as humiliating. Individuals may demonstrate maladaptive responses to humiliation including intense, destructive anger. This anger may be directed at others who then become secondary victims of humiliation. Organizations and nations participate in collective humiliation when they dominate and degrade each other in an effort to achieve their goals. Klein's overview emphasizes the complex and pervasive nature of the humiliation dynamic.

Humiliation and Sexism

Carolyn Swift (1991) discusses humiliation from an inter-gender perspective. According to Swift, culturally assigned gender roles place both women and men at risk of

humiliation. She identifies many examples of how women and men are socialized to fear humiliation. Women risk humiliation when they don't conform to cultural expectations about their appearance, weight, aggressiveness, speaking, expression of anger, or sexual behavior. Men experience humiliation when they don't conform to expectations about being the "bread winner," being aggressive, performing sexually, being competitive, being macho, and controlling their emotions. Women and men are bound and controlled in this society by these expectations. The risk of humiliation increases when an individual defies cultural expectations. This risk is particularly intense for women, who are seen as the inferior sex. Swift states:

Members of both genders are vulnerable to humiliation because of the meaning their culture attaches to being women and men. Fundamental gender humiliation occurs at birth through the assignment of specific meaning—social, economic, political, and cultural—to newborns based on their sex. Women in patriarchal cultures are subject to fundamental humiliation by their assignment to inferior status at birth. (p. 124)

Women and men who step out of their culturally assigned roles are at greater risk of humiliation and attack. In our culture, women who work in the field of construction are subject to ridicule and harassment for working in a "man's" occupation. Men who become nurses or dental hygienists are considered suspect because women have performed these jobs in the past. As Swift suggests, men have dominated the "public" world of business, professions, and government while women have dominated the "private" world of home, family, and relationships. Today, as women step into nontraditional public roles, men may find it difficult to share the power and influence they have attained. This creates an environment where some men may engage in behaviors that humiliate women in an effort to keep them in positions of lower status.

Recently Morris (1992) offered an interesting example of intra-gender humiliation that augments Swift's analysis. In the last decade feminists became aware that their movement primarily reflected the values and beliefs of white women. In response to this

situation, some women in the movement have been publicly shamed by other feminists for not meeting the optimal standards of sensitivity regarding multiple forms of oppression. Morris points out that leaders and participants in all new social movements may inadvertently make mistakes. Responding to these mistakes by shaming or humiliating individuals in public creates an atmosphere of fear. This is what Morris believes has occurred within the feminist movement. While publically shaming and humiliating women has been a tool of the patriarchy throughout history, Morris makes it clear it can be used by women against women.

Humiliation and Racism

An article by Jean Griffin (1991) discusses the connection between humiliation and racism. She sees Klein's concept of the humiliation dynamic as a tool for understanding racial oppression. She explains: "Humiliation and racism have been silent partners for many years" (p. 151). Humiliation is used as a social control mechanism on African-Americans and other minority groups at the individual level, the institutional level, and the cultural level. Griffin cites the example of school and job testing which can be traumatic and humiliating for many African-Americans. Despite the fact that many tests have been shown to be biased, they continue to be used to evaluate African-Americans and other nondominant groups. Griffin points out that some young people drop out of school to avoid the humiliation of failing tests or being placed in classes for "slow" learners.

Invisibility as a form of humiliation can be readily identified as a common experience for nondominant groups. White culture rarely recognizes or acknowledges the contributions of minorities in text books or in school curricula. Griffin points out that: "Invisibility is a form of humiliation that creates an especially intense rage over being in the position of having to submit to others who define you and your community as beneath their notice" (Griffin, 1991, p. 157). A flagrant example of this form of humiliation is the custom of using masculine nouns and pronouns when referring to members of both sexes.

This supposedly gender neutral linguistic practice results in the marginalization or elimination of the experiences, ideas, and opinions of half of the human race. Research has shown that this practice causes people to think of males (Unger & Crawford, 1992). Generic masculine references render women invisible; they have the effect of making male experience appear to be the norm. Similarly, minorities and other nondominant groups experience this form of humiliation when they are not represented in books, in movies, in newspapers, or on television. When images of their participation in society are made absent, nondominant groups absorb the furtive message that they are insignificant and outside the established norms of society.

Griffin also discusses how humiliation erodes the self-esteem of individuals and the self-esteem of the group in which the individual holds membership. When African-Americans are repeatedly portrayed in a negative light or endure humiliation in the media, the message creates a chain reaction of negative images which are absorbed by individual African-Americans and eventually the entire race. For example, if African-American men are constantly portrayed as criminals in the media, the message is that crimes are most often committed by black men. African-American males may feel degraded because of their individual similarities to the images or because of their membership in this racial group. Moreover, the effects of internalized oppression are passed down from one generation to another.

Humiliation and Physical Handicaps

Hal Kirshbaum's (1991) article examines humiliation from the perspective of people with physical disabilities. Kirshbaum points out that: "Disabled people are viewed as not only different but also deficient" (p.172). This is degrading and humiliating. This experience of humiliation is reiterated in our language which uses terms such as "handicapped" and "disabled." These terms connote a sense of incompleteness, of being something less than the norm. Not only is the language we use humiliating, we also

humiliate the disabled by distancing and separating them from the able-bodied. We accomplish this by placing them in institutions, special facilities, or special programs or inhibiting their movement through public buildings and public walkways.

Most of us are aware that people who have physical or mental differences are often the targets of humiliation. Many of us remember the child in school that was different in some way and was tormented because of that difference. Recently, a group of thirteen high school boys raped and sexually assaulted a girl they knew to be mentally disabled (Houppert, 1993). It seems our society is willing to wait until humiliating experiences have reached a criminal level before we take notice. Kirshbaum's article demonstrates that the experience of the disabled must be addressed in any discussion of humiliation.

Additional Perspectives

Other articles in The Journal of Primary Prevention identify additional areas where the humiliation dynamic damages our sense of self. Secouler (1992) discusses the impact of humiliation on the elderly in our society. She confronts the forms of discrimination that suggest older people are less valuable, less employable, and less productive. She outlines the impact of humiliation on individuals who reach retirement. Their humiliation involves loss of meaningful activity, physical aging, loss of a relevant role in society, and loss of control over one's life. If one lives long enough, the humiliation of ageism is almost inevitable.

Smith (1992) explores the role of the humiliation dynamic in the criminal justice system. He examines the historical antecedents that have led to the misperception that humiliation is acceptable and justified when it is practiced on criminals or alleged perpetrators of crimes. Smith outlines the influence of humiliation on the total experience of individuals who come into the criminal justice system from the moment of arrest through the period of incarceration. During this time, police officers, attorneys, prosecutors, and judges often play a part in the humiliation dynamic. A recent example of

this was the extreme force used by police when they arrested Rodney King in Los Angeles, California.

Finally, Duhl (1992) discusses the humiliation of people that society deems disposable. These people include those who are homeless, those who live in ghettos, those who are locked in mental wards, or who exist in similar environments. The common denominator among these people is that no one cares about their existence. This is the humiliating reality of their lives. Duhl proposes that many people in our society operate on the view that problems that have not been personally experienced can be ignored but in actuality the problems of others affect us all. Poverty, crime, homelessness, disease, drugs, and other social issues humiliate us all and we should take action to deal with these issues.

Managing Humiliation

Klein concludes this series of articles in The Journal of Primary Prevention by discussing the management of humiliation (Klein, 1992). He describes avenues of action that would minimize the impact of being humiliated by others. His ideas include: "psychological immunization, refusing the role of victim by redefining one's identity, participating in self-help and mutual support groups, using healing laughter, achieving a state of transcendent humility, and responding with one's capacity for appreciation to the potential humiliations that come one's way" (Ibid., pp. 55-56).

While explaining the alternative of achieving a state of transcendent humility, Klein describes the connection between humiliation and humility. Both words come from the same root which is associated with the earth. Klein states that the "truly humble person cannot be humiliated" (Ibid., p. 261). He goes on to explain:

To be humble means to exist close to the earth. When one is humble, one cannot be humiliated because one has no distance to fall. One is already there, grounded in the soil of life. Humble persons are dirtied with the inevitable stains of earth existence. They carry whatever burdens of responsibility come their way without need for self-justification, on the one hand, or fear of failure, on the other. (p. 261)

Finally, Klein contemplates what it would be like to live in a “humiliation-free” world. What would interpersonal relationships, social systems, businesses, and nations be if they operated without the suffering caused by the humiliation dynamic? Klein challenges us to consider this possibility by examining how this dynamic operates in our personal lives.

Summary

Klein and the other authors of these articles have adumbrated parameters of the humiliation dynamic. Their research and perspectives demonstrate the significance of this dynamic in our society. While we have clarified the nature of humiliation, it is important to distinguish humiliation from other related constructs.

Humiliation and Related Constructs

While there is a limited selection of references on the subject of humiliation, related concepts have been identified and studied in the literature. These concepts include shame, embarrassment, guilt, powerlessness, and violation or trauma. These experiences have aspects in common with humiliation but it is important to distinguish the unique characteristics of humiliation. Many characteristics of these concepts overlap with humiliation and each other. While it is difficult to sort out the precise lines of demarcation, it is possible to clarify the boundaries of these concepts based on the available literature. This section of this project will clarify the domain of humiliation.

Shame and Humiliation

Of all the concepts related to humiliation, shame shares the most characteristics. Often, particularly in the psychoanalytic literature, shame and humiliation are used interchangeably. This has contributed to the obfuscation of humiliation. While shame may frequently accompany humiliation, it is not always present. Nor is humiliation

required to experience shame. What are the similarities, the interrelationships, and the differences between these two experiences?

Similarities

The literature discusses the similarities between the concepts of shame and humiliation. First, to experience shame or humiliation an individual must make an interpretation that an event is humiliating or shaming (Lewis, 1992; Silver, et al., 1986). Each person, based on his or her previous background, life experiences, and level of vulnerability may assess the same situation differently. What is shaming or humiliating to one person may not be perceived as such by another. Given this context, it is difficult to conduct empirical research on these two concepts.

Second, humiliation and shame are often considered to have an impact on the whole self rather than on an aspect of the self (Klein, 1991b; Lewis, 1987). Both of these experiences relate to who one is as a person rather than what one does; they are about "being" rather than "doing." Both humiliation and shame result in an individual feeling degraded, inadequate, deficient, inferior, and worthless as a human being. These feelings attack the core of our being and weaken our resistance to future forms of humiliation and shame.

Third, humiliation and shame can be temporary or enduring experiences. The variation depends on the individual's resources for coping and the intensity of the experience. The intensity, duration, and frequency of the experience will interact with individual's vulnerability. If an experience of humiliation or shame occurs frequently or is intense, and the individual does not possess adequate defenses to counteract the event, the person may unconsciously internalize his or her experience. Feelings of inadequacy or worthlessness may be internalized. In this way the experience may remain with a person for a lifetime. Most people can remember a particularly humiliating or shaming event from their childhood that had a significant impact on how they operate today. An

emphasis of pop psychology has centered around recognizing the impact of internalized shame which may be internalized humiliation (Bradshaw, 1988).

People often have similar subjective responses to shaming and humiliating experiences including feeling exposed and/or wanting to hide (Klein, 1992; Lewis, 1987; Shane, 1980; Vogle & Lazare, 1990). As Wurmser (1981) points out, the meaning of shame can be traced back to its Indo-European root *kam/kem* which literally means "to cover, to veil, to hide" (p. 29). Humiliation often results in a similar reaction. If one cannot hide his or her humiliation or shame, one feels set apart from others and therefore isolated. In addition, hiding can become a habitual response to the threat of humiliation or shame which constricts an individual's life experience.

Anxiety is another commonly experienced concomitant of shame and humiliation. In both instances, anxiety seems to stem from a fear of loss. Wurmser (1981) believes that anxiety from shame stems from a fear of losing love and eventually the love object. While the victim of humiliation may sometimes experience anxiety due to a fear of losing love, more consistently s/he will experience anxiety due to a loss of control or a loss of power due to the behavior of a more powerful other. Victims of humiliation may feel they have lost the power or ability to protect themselves or control their lives. Another form of loss that may trigger anxiety in victims of shame and humiliation is loss of security in one's self-definition. Prior to a shaming or humiliating experience an individual may have a reasonably clear sense of who s/he is, but shame and humiliation call this identity into question.

Finally, both the experiences of shame and of humiliation frequently lead to anger or rage. In the literature this rage is referred to as "humiliated fury" or "shame-rage" (Klein, 1991b; Lewis, 1971, 1987; Scheff, 1987). The individual experiencing this rage may direct it inwardly, outwardly, or both. Lewis describes this reaction:

Hostility against the rejecting other is almost simultaneously evoked. But it is humiliated fury, or shame-rage, and the self is still in part experienced as the object of the other's scorn. Hostility against the other is trapped in this directional bind. To be furious and enraged with someone cared about because one is not loved in return renders one easily and simultaneously guilty for being furious. Evoked hostility is readily redirected against the vulnerable self. (Lewis, 1987, p. 19)

When this anger is inner directed, the result is often self-hate, depression, or despair. When it is outer directed, it can be the energy that creates additional victims of shame and humiliation.

Interrelationships

The literature offers many suppositions about how humiliation and shame are related. At first, Wurmser (1981) seems to use shame and humiliation synonymously; later he describes humiliation as a "shame-inducing" situation. He argues that people experience shame-inducing events at different levels of intensity. Embarrassment can be seen as a less intense form of a shame-inducing event, while humiliation is a more intense form. In his view, humiliation is an experience on a continuum of shame-inducing events.

Lewis (1971, 1987) has several ways of analyzing the relationship between humiliation and shame. First, she describes humiliation as a variant of shame. Humiliation is distinguished from other shame states by its particular mixture of guilt and hostility. Second, Lewis uses the term "humiliated fury" to describe the sequence of events that occur following an experience of shame. As mentioned earlier, humiliated fury is a distinct form of anger. When shame is evoked and not dispelled, it elicits "humiliated fury" which leads to retaliation and eventually results in guilt. Lewis sees humiliated fury as the accompaniment of shame. Additionally, Lewis theorizes that unresolved shame, resulting in humiliated fury, retaliation, and guilt, allows symptomatic behavior to increase or be maintained.

Scheff (1987) expands Lewis' ideas and suggests that the sequence of emotions have a spiral effect (p. 111). Basically, this spiral consists of feelings of shame, followed by humiliated fury, followed by retaliation, followed by guilt which results in more shame. Scheff calls this the "shame-rage spiral." These spirals are closed loops that can accumulate greater degrees of intensity eventually causing devastation to the individual. Spirals can operate within the person (intrapsychic) or between individuals (interpersonal). While humiliation plays a secondary role in Scheff's and Lewis's theories, it would be interesting to utilize their theories when examining the experience of humiliation.

Retzinger (1987) takes a similar view of shame's relationship to humiliation. She considers shame a family of emotions which includes: humiliation, shyness, embarrassment, self-consciousness, inadequacy, and inferiority. She goes on to identify the common factor among these emotions:

The common element among these emotions is the self in its relation to others, with the ideation that the other (or the internalized other) is evaluating self negatively; in some way the self cares about the other's evaluation. (p. 153)

While Retzinger makes a convincing point regarding the role of negative evaluation in these emotions, humiliation does not always occur under circumstances in which the self is concerned about the other's evaluation (Silver, et al., 1986). A person can be humiliated without caring about the humiliator's negative evaluation. There is something more to humiliation than the impact of negative evaluation.

Differences

When humiliation is examined in relation to shame, it is difficult to identify the qualities that make humiliation distinct from the experience of shame. S. B. Miller (1988) discusses these differences: "humiliation involves being put into a lowly position, debased, and powerless position by someone who has, at that moment, greater power than oneself" (Ibid., p. 44). Shame, on the other hand, "involves primarily a reflection upon the

self by the self" (Ibid., p. 45). She suggests that the experience of humiliation has interlocking meanings. It can be the state of feeling in a lowered position and it can be the interpersonal interaction itself. The individual who is humiliated feels forced into a degraded position. The experience and the feeling of humiliation are bonded to the interaction. Shame puts a "steady" focus on the self rather than on the interpersonal event (Ibid., p. 45). An individual who feels shame is concerned about his or her sense of self, but is not necessarily concerned with the precipitating interaction. With humiliation the emphasis is on the interaction, particularly in terms of one person truculently exercising power over another.

While the experience of shame places less emphasis on the precipitating interpersonal event, it is also important to note that there may be a qualitative difference between the types of interpersonal events that trigger shame and events that trigger humiliation. As stated earlier, Wursmer (1981) believes that shame stems from a fear of losing love and eventually losing the love object. This theory presumes that the individual cares about the relationship in which the shame occurs. With humiliation, the experience does not necessarily occur within a caring relationship. Humiliation frequently occurs within adversarial and punitive relationships where there is no caring connection between the victim and the humiliator. When this is the case, the victim may not be concerned about losing the love of the humiliator; s/he may be concerned about losing his or her dignity as a human being.

Klein (1991b) clarifies the distinction between shame and humiliation even further. He states:

Shame is what one feels when one has failed to live up to one's ideals for what constitutes suitable behavior in one's own eyes as well as the eyes of others. Humiliation is what one feels when one is ridiculed, scorned, held in contempt, or otherwise disparaged for what one *is* rather than what one *does*. *People believe they deserve their shame; they do not believe they deserve their humiliation.* (p. 117)

The feeling of deserving shame and not deserving humiliation may be a key to understanding why these concepts are difficult to distinguish. Initially people who experience humiliation may realize that it is not deserved, but does that realization continue? I suspect that some individuals come to believe that their humiliation is somehow deserved. This belief produces shame. We must question why some individuals would come to believe they deserve their humiliation.

Perhaps this is an unconscious coping strategy similar to the coping behavior of trauma survivors (Bulman, 1979, 1985, 1992; Bulman & Frieze, 1983; Bulman & Wortman, 1977). Humiliation causes the victim to feel powerless as though s/he has been unjustly attacked. If I come to believe that I somehow deserve my humiliation (producing shame) due to something about me, I can then believe I can do something to prevent this experience from happening in the future. If an individual assumes responsibility for an humiliating event, even if none is deserved, it gives her/him a sense of control over the event. By cognitively adapting the humiliating experience into a shaming experience the victim may unconsciously gain an illusion of control over the encounter. This may be one reason shame and humiliation are often confused. Many experiences of shame may in reality be adapted experiences of humiliation.

A victim of humiliation may respond in a variety of ways. S/he may not experience any shame, s/he may develop shame, or s/he may feel shame immediately. Shame is one reaction to humiliation that might allow the victim to cope with the experience, but it may also distort the individual's interpretation of the event. If, after an experience of humiliation, I feel shame, I will focus on myself not the interaction. Focusing on myself may help me feel I am regaining control, but it distracts my focus away from the actions of the humiliator. I may come to doubt myself and my actions but not the manner in which I have been treated. Inducing shame may be the most powerful tactic

of the humiliator. If the victim of humiliation accepts responsibility for the event and feels shame, the humiliator has established a measure of control over the victim.

Another significant difference between shame and humiliation has to do with function. Theorists have recognized that shame can serve an appropriate adaptive function (Levin, 1967, 1971; Shreve & Kunkel, 1991; Tangney, 1990). It can act as an inhibitor of aggressive behavior or protect an individual from unnecessary personal exposure. In contrast, nowhere in the literature does it state that humiliation serves an adaptive function. Klein (1991b) notes that humiliation has been used for "prosocial" purposes such as in hazing and in personal development workshops, but he also points out the long term consequences of this type of humiliation. Prosocial humiliation can create individuals who participate or facilitate the humiliation of others and it can lead the survivor toward a lifelong fear of vulnerability to humiliation.

Summary

There are many similarities between shame and humiliation but there are also significant differences. Shame is a focus on the self; humiliation is a focus on the interaction. People believe they deserve their shame. People do not believe they deserve their humiliation, but they may come to believe they deserve their humiliation as an adaptive strategy to regain control of their life experience.

Most of the literature on the relationship between humiliation and shame comes from the research on shame. In this research, humiliation is viewed as being secondary to the experience of shame, or it is one of many precipitating events that lead to shame. Humiliation becomes a peripheral topic in this literature. As more becomes known and understood about the experience of humiliation, it may be that shame will become secondary to the experience of humiliation.

Humiliation and Embarrassment

Embarrassment is another relative of humiliation. In the family of experiences related to humiliation, it seems like the eccentric, sometimes amusing cousin of humiliation. Most people can recall an embarrassing experience with some chagrin and often with some humor as well. Sharing an embarrassing experience is often used as an icebreaker for individuals to introduce themselves to other members of a group. Experiences of humiliation have some similarities to embarrassment but people do not openly share their humiliations. How are these two concepts related to each other and how are they different?

Similarities

Some research places humiliation and embarrassment on the same continuum. Supposedly, humiliation is just down the road from embarrassment, a road leading toward greater intensity of pain or shame. How do these two concepts end up on the same scale? It may be due to the common denominator of both concepts sharing an involvement with some form of interpersonal interaction. The experiences of humiliation and embarrassment typically occur when a person is interacting with another person. There is more implied relationality in the concepts of humiliation and embarrassment than there is in the concepts of shame or guilt. It will be helpful to understand the dynamics of embarrassment as they intersect with the dynamics of humiliation.

A second similarity between humiliation and embarrassment is in how people respond to these events. If a person is humiliated or embarrassed s/he is likely to exhibit similar reactions such as reduced eye contact, blushing, speech disturbances, or a desire to be hidden from view. Humiliation and embarrassment can easily be confused. They both produce similar responses which can be identified by outside observers.

An additional shared aspect of humiliation and embarrassment is that some people alter their behavior due to a fear of either of these experiences (Edelmann, 1985; Klein,

1991b). There are several studies examining how individuals alter their behavior based on their risk of experiencing a greater level of embarrassment. Brown (1970) showed that individuals will give up economic rewards to "avoid looking foolish or ridiculous in the eyes of the audience" (p. 268).

R. S. Miller (1992) attempted to create a catalogue of embarrassing events by gathering data from 350 high school and college students. He found that the "learned desire to avoid embarrassment may be substantial indeed, generalizing far beyond situations in which one has been actually punished for misconduct" (p. 197). This implies that one does not have to experience embarrassment to fear embarrassment. In a similar manner, Klein (1991b) points out that people do not have to experience humiliation to fear humiliation. Fear of humiliation and fear of embarrassment may act as underlying influences on behavior.

Some of the research on fear of embarrassment could offer clues about fear of humiliation. In one study, Jackson & Latane (1981) used face-saving behavior as an indicator of embarrassment. Face-saving behavior is that which an individual uses to prevent another person from observing actions that would make her/him appear foolish. They found that individuals engage in more face-saving behavior when being observed by others who they perceived as competent rather than incompetent or as evaluators rather than non-evaluators. If the observers were viewed as more competent or as evaluators, the subject exhibited more behaviors to protect her/himself from embarrassment. The attributes of competency and evaluator gave the observers a higher degree of power-over the subject in the interaction. Power differentials are also an essential part of humiliation. As a result, one might suspect that individuals would engage in more self-protective behavior in situations where a more powerful other could cause the individual to feel embarrassed or humiliated. This self-protective behavior might include withdrawal, face-saving behavior, hypervigilance, and/or self-consciousness.

Differences

Despite the fact that both humiliation and embarrassment are associated with interpersonal activity, there are important differences between these two concepts. Goffman (1956) believes that embarrassment occurs when an individual's desired public image is discredited in front of others. Modigliani (1968) states that *"embarrassment is the psychological state associated with a loss in situational-self-esteem that is caused by loss in situational-subjective-public-esteem"*. Thus, an individual may become embarrassed whenever he feels his situational-public-identity is threatened" (p. 315-316). Manstead & Semin (Manstead, 1981; Semin & Manstead, 1981; Semin & Manstead, 1982) suggest that embarrassment arises out of an unintentional violation of social norms which interplay with the individual's intended self-image. Recently, Babcock (1988; Babcock & Sabini, 1989) has taken the position that embarrassment does not depend on an interactive experience but occurs as a result of an individual responding in a way that is inconsistent with his or her persona.

However, the primary issue in humiliation is not discredited self-image, loss of public-self-esteem, the violation of a social norm, or an inconsistency of persona. *The central issue is power*. For an experience of humiliation to occur a person must feel forced into an inferior position by a more powerful other. This can result in a discredited self-image, loss of public-self-esteem, or an inconsistency of persona but these are not primary factors in humiliation. Embarrassment can occur without the presence of the power-over dynamic. A person can experience embarrassment along with humiliation, humiliation without embarrassment, and embarrassment without humiliation but ultimately for humiliation to be perceived one must feel relegated to a lesser position before a more powerful other.

Another significant difference between embarrassment and humiliation is that embarrassment is involved with some aspect of a person's behavior or persona. Behavior

and persona are mutable; we can make changes in these areas. This may be the reason we can recall an experience of embarrassment with humor because we understand we can readily change the precipitating behavior and avoid a similarly embarrassing event. Humiliation, on the other hand, involves the whole self. It is an attack on who we are as a person. The individual is made to feel entirely worthless and that sense of self is not readily changeable. Embarrassment seems to occur on the surface of personal experience while humiliation strikes at the very essence of the individual's sense of being.

The technological mishaps of computer systems offer an analogy for understanding the difference between embarrassment and humiliation. Embarrassment is like a "bug" in the system that occasionally disrupts the function of an operating program. The effects of this "bug" can be irritating but it can be corrected. Humiliation is like a "virus" in the computer. It attacks the computer system as a whole; it can function passively in the system until a time when it actively causes a great deal of damage; once it is in the system it is difficult, if not impossible to repair.

Summary

Humiliation and embarrassment share an interactive quality. Studies on embarrassment are, therefore, potentially useful to the study of humiliation. The greatest differences between the experience of humiliation and the experience of embarrassment are differences related to power and the depth of the impact on the victim. Humiliation involves a power dynamic and it attacks an individual at the core of his or her identity.

The most curious aspect of reviewing the literature on embarrassment and humiliation is that the experience of embarrassment has been researched more often than the experience of humiliation. Given the destruction and damage that can be associated with humiliation, it is difficult to understand why humiliation has been overlooked as a topic of research and embarrassment has been well documented. Perhaps embarrassment has been studied more often because it is a less threatening topic of discussion. It is easier

for people to discuss a time when they felt they had committed an impropriety rather than a time when they were made to feel powerless and were placed in a degraded position.

Humiliation and Guilt

Guilt and humiliation are not as closely related as the concepts discussed thus far. We know the experience of humiliation has to do with the dynamic of unequal power; of one person being assigned a lowered position by a more powerful other. Guilt is quite different. According to Kugler and Jones (1992) "Guilt may be defined as the dysphoric feeling associated with the recognition that one has violated a personally relevant moral or social standard" (p. 318). Robertiello (1990) describes guilt as self-blame about a specific act. Often the experience of guilt is associated with a specific situation, however this is not always the case.

Otterbacher and Munz (1973) separate the experience of guilt into two types. First, the guilt-state is the affective state that a person experiences as a result of recognizing that s/he has violated a specific moral or social standard of behavior. The second type of guilt is the experience of guilt as a trait. Otterbacher states that "this relationship proposes that a person's G-Trait (generalized self-concept) is determined by the subjective averaging of various past guilt" (p. 117). In other words guilt can be accumulated; the accumulated guilt affects the whole self.

The distinction between state and trait guilt is interesting but what does guilt have to do with humiliation? First, humiliated fury and guilt have been identified by Lewis (1971, 1987) and Scheff (1987) as part of the sequence of emotions that are triggered by the experience of shame. This sequence involves shame followed by humiliated fury followed by retaliation and guilt. We could substitute humiliation at the start of this sequence followed by humiliated fury leading to retaliation which may also lead to guilt. Individuals may experience guilt after they have engaged in retaliatory behavior in response to being humiliated.

But there is an even stronger connection between humiliation and guilt.

Humiliation involves powerlessness before another. If my personal standard is that I should be able to protect myself from powerlessness, then I will feel guilt for not being able to protect myself when I'm humiliated. I may blame myself for not having the resources to overcome the humiliator even if I understand the impossibility of the task. This aftereffect of guilt can remain as a chink in the armor of my defenses. This internalized guilt makes me more vulnerable to future humiliations.

Also, instilling guilt in a victim is a powerful tactic used by the humiliator. If the humiliator can make the victim believe that s/he has violated some standard of behavior then the humiliator feels justified in inflicting humiliation. Guilt makes the impact of humiliation more devastating. If the victim brings his or her guilt to the situation, then s/he is less resistant to the humiliation that is inflicted.

Finally, it's possible that over time trait guilt could be the result of powerlessness in the face of humiliation. Children who have grown up in abusive families where they have been humiliated, often feel a sense of generalized guilt despite the fact they were not responsible for their situation. Perhaps feelings of guilt are a coping mechanism that allows one to think s/he can do something to change a situation. Perhaps feeling guilty is better than feeling powerless.

Humiliation, Learned Helplessness, and Trauma

It has been stated that humiliaton involves one person being made to feel inferior by a more powerful other. The victim feels powerless; it is a precondition for the experience of humiliation to occur. If the victim would have had the sense of necessary power, s/he would not have been humiliated. In related experiences powerlessness may play a part, but powerlessness is central to the experience of humiliation.

Humiliation and Learned Helplessness

The powerlessness of humiliation is associated with feeling helpless. Seligman and many others (Abramson, Seligman, & Teasdale, 1978; Klein, Morse, & Seligman, 1976; Maier & Seligman, 1976; Overmier & Seligman, 1967; Peterson & Seligman, 1983; Seligman, 1975; Seligman & Maier, 1967; Seligman, Maier, & Solomon, 1971) have investigated the impact of learned helplessness on animal and human behavior. They determined that learned helplessness occurs when an individual is subjected to inescapable events. The consequences of learned helplessness produce two major behavioral symptoms: lowered motivation and diminished ability to learn that responding will produce a positive result (Klein, et al., 1976).

In the moment, humiliation is an inescapable event. If humiliation is experienced with enough intensity, frequency, or duration it seems reasonable to suspect that it would result in effects similar to learned helplessness: lowered motivation and reduced ability to learn that responses to humiliation will make a difference. This point seems particularly important when considering the on-going societal humiliation of minority groups and women. When living in an environment with many forms of inescapable humiliation, members of oppressed groups may lose their motivation to create responses to humiliation that would make a difference in their lives.

Powerlessness and Trauma

Another way of examining how humiliation creates powerlessness comes from the literature on trauma, specifically trauma that is inflicted by one person on another. Humiliation can be a form of trauma and trauma can be a form of humiliation. Like humiliation, trauma can cause a person to feel powerless. Herman (1992) speaks of how powerlessness is a critical part of trauma:

Psychological trauma is an affliction of the powerless. At the moment of trauma, the victim is rendered helpless by overwhelming force . . . When the force is that of other human beings, we speak of atrocities. Traumatic events overwhelm the

ordinary systems of care that give people a sense of control, connection, and meaning. (p. 33)

Like trauma, a humiliating event causes the victim's ordinary strategies for self-care to be overwhelmed. Following the event the individual may have coping skills that recognize his/her humiliation is not deserved and s/he may develop techniques to prevent the humiliation from occurring again. These strategies might include the same strategies that trauma victims employ to prevent further trauma such as: hypervigilance, dissociation, isolation, and lasting changes in emotion, cognition, and memory (Herman, 1992). These alterations in behavior following trauma or humiliation reflect the individual's perception that s/he is no longer safe in the world. Herman states, "The traumatic event thus destroys the belief that one can *be oneself* in relation to others" (Ibid., p. 53).

Bulman is even more specific about the reasons people feel powerless as a result of trauma (Bulman, 1979, 1985, 1992; Bulman & Frieze, 1983; Bulman & Wortman, 1977). She proposes that most individuals initially operate in the world according to three assumptions: (1) the world is benevolent, (2) the world is meaningful, and (3) the self is worthy (Bulman, 1992). When an experience of trauma occurs, it "shatters" an individual's operating assumptions about the world. This experience calls into question the individual's view that people can be trusted and brings them face to face with their own powerlessness. Bulman explains how survivors of other-induced trauma differ from survivors of traumas such as natural disasters and illnesses:

Survivors are likely to engage in a great deal of self-questioning, and the self-focus is underscored by the sense of powerlessness and helplessness at the hands of another human being. When an individual is victimized in a natural disaster or is diagnosed with a serious illness, powerlessness and helplessness are also experienced. Yet these are felt in the face of impersonal forces, a situation that forces a recognition of the weakness and powerlessness of people in general rather than in oneself in particular. Victimizations that do not involve perpetrators are apt to be humbling, whereas human-induced victimizations are more appropriately characterized as humiliating. (Ibid., pp. 24-25)

Trauma that occurs at the hands of a malicious other belongs on the continuum of events that are humiliating.

Prior to being humiliated or traumatized, individuals operate with what Langer (1975) calls an "illusion of control" which is an exaggerated sense of ability to control outcomes in their lives. This illusion of control helps people establish a feeling of security. Trauma, and possibly humiliation, erodes this illusion making a person feel vulnerable. When a traumatic event or humiliation happens, s/he may feel "uniquely vulnerable" (Perloff, 1983) in the world because this event did not happen to others.

Witnesses to humiliation, like witnesses to trauma, may believe that the victim deserves his or her humiliation. This may occur because people tend to blame the victim (Ryan, 1971) or because people have a bias for believing that good things happen to good people and bad things happen to bad people. This theory is called "The Just World Theory" developed by Lerner (1980). If witnesses believe that humiliation happens to bad people, and they aren't bad, they feel that it won't happen to them. This may be one of the reasons humiliation has been neglected in the literature. Perhaps people consciously or unconsciously believe victims of humiliation somehow deserve their experience. This is as ludicrous as believing women somehow deserve the trauma of rape because they were wearing the wrong clothes.

Summary

The literature on learned helplessness and trauma shows us that humiliation may cause severe consequences in the lives of its victims. Repeated or intense experiences of humiliation may lead a person to feel helpless and deeply insecure in the world. Humiliation can shatter our beliefs about the goodness of others and our safety. It may cause individuals to adopt exhausting and distracting protection strategies.

The literature on trauma suggests that witnesses may want to deny an incident of trauma because it threatens their sense of security. This may also be true for witnesses of

humiliation. The witness may want to blame the victim or believe the victim deserved his or her humiliation. It would be useful to research the connection between humiliation and trauma as well as the reactions of witnesses of humiliation.

Summary of the Review of Literature

Humiliation is a complex dynamic that has been scarcely addressed in the literature. Fortunately, those who have explored this topic have drawn attention to a multitude of social and individual importunate maladies associated with this form of human interaction. These disturbances include academic failure, low self-esteem, social isolation, marital conflict, delinquency, abuse, discrimination, depression, social disruption, torture, and even death. Despite the links between humiliation and these disturbing problems, empirical research on this topic has been almost nonexistent. One goal of this paper is to begin to rectify this situation.

Rationale for Research

Humiliation derives great power from the fact that it is unacknowledged. By naming and discussing it, we acknowledge the fact that we do experience humiliation, that both deliberately and inadvertently we humiliate others, that the experience is well-nigh universal, and that we fear having humiliation inflicted upon us. By doing so, we take the first step towards de-potentiating the dynamic, enabling us to make choices about whether, when, and how to use and respond to this dynamic. (Klein, 1991a, p. 88)

As long as researchers neglect humiliation as a topic of study, the impact of humiliation will remain mystified. Mystification permits humiliation to pervade our society without question. As Klein suggests, naming and discussing this topic are the first steps in disarming this damaging form of behavior. The next step is to begin exploring this experience through empirical research. Developing an assessment instrument to evaluate the experience of humiliation provides scholars with a tool for empirical research. Using this tool is one method of investigating the impact of this behavior.

In psychology, objective measurement is seen as essential for verifying the existence of a phenomenon. When a particular human behavior is quantified, it gains credibility in the field. While humiliation may be accurately studied utilizing a variety of methodologies, an assessment tool which produces reliable results will appease the scientific community's bias for quantitative data. Although this is not my primary reason for designing a scale of humiliation, it is an important reason. My primary intent is to stimulate additional research and dialogue on this topic among behavioral scientists.

Another purpose for designing a scale is to provide individuals with a personal analysis of their experience of humiliation. Many assessments are designed to diagnose and label individuals for professional mental health purposes. This assessment will affirm and empower respondents through acknowledging the significance of their experience. At the same time it will enhance people's awareness of the humiliation dynamic in this society. Their awareness will be increased by completing the assessment.

Why Hasn't a Scale Been Designed?

If humiliation is a wide spread experience, why hasn't anyone designed an assessment tool in the past? There are many reasons. One reason is the difficulty of measuring humiliation. It has certain characteristics that don't fit into the predominantly intrapsychic paradigm of psychology. While humiliation is an interpersonal experience, it does have an intrapsychic impact on individuals. It is difficult to measure intrapsychic phenomena and it is difficult to measure interpersonal events. Yet, this does not mean that humiliation can not be measured. It only means that there are many factors to consider when designing an effective measurement instrument.

A second characteristic that makes humiliation difficult to measure is its uniqueness for each individual. Humiliation has many forms, intensities, and it appears in a variety of contexts with all types of people. One person may be damaged by the

humiliation of physical assault while another may be damaged by the criticism of a teacher. Yet another may be affected by his or her fear of humiliation without ever having experienced it directly. Nathanson (1987) suggests an "idea" for a scale in which the uniqueness of a humiliating event for each individual is considered. He refers to his idea as a "humiliation index." The following is a description of his proposal:

If you assign, on a scale of 1 to 10, the intrinsic embarrassment value of the thing exposed (an unzipped fly means much more to an adolescent than revelation of his academic grades); and multiply that number by the value assigned (the degree of cathexis on a similar scale) to the person before whom one's secret is revealed, you will derive the humiliation index for the situation in question. (p. 293)

While Nathanson's idea might have potential, it would be difficult to establish the reliability and validity of such an instrument. To overcome the difficulty of individual uniqueness and produce an assessment that has sufficient psychometric properties, it may be necessary to design an instrument that transcends the specifics of humiliating experiences and focuses on the impact of humiliation.

Humiliation may not have been assessed previously because it is not taken seriously. Most of us remember the saying: "Sticks and stones may break my bones, but names will never hurt me." Children are taught this saying so they won't take name calling seriously. Today, we know that name calling is harmful; it has escalated into verbal abuse. Sticks and stones have been exchanged for knives and guns as tools of violence and humiliation. We can no longer afford to discount the impact of humiliation in our society. It has reached crisis proportions!

Finally, the most disturbing reason humiliation has not been measured may be its usefulness. People in power use humiliation as a means of social control. The powerful know that humiliation or the threat of humiliation silences opponents, squelches resisters, disempowers challengers, frightens accusers, and immobilizes aggressors. They also know that perpetrators of humiliation typically elude confrontation and accountability. There are no prison sentences for attacking people psychologically. People who confront

perpetrators of sexual harassment realize they risk humiliation. Anita Hill overcame enormous humiliation and threat of humiliation when she exposed her harasser (Bingham & Wolfberg, 1992). Too often humiliation is a socially accepted form of leverage used to manipulate people. As a former teacher, I realize that educators often use some form of humiliation or threat of humiliation to manage their students. On the national level, "Right to Life" activists put a doctor's picture on "wanted" posters hoping to humiliate the doctor and her or his family. Recognizing humiliation as a destructive and damaging element of human behavior would require us to rethink our interactions with people at almost every level of our society.

Parameters of Research

Humiliation is a complex topic. One could spend a lifetime exploring the many facets of the humiliation dynamic in an effort to develop a measurement tool. Humiliation could be measured from the perspective of the victim, the humiliator, or the witness. The precipitating event could be evaluated in relation to, or separated from, its impact on the victim. Humiliation could be examined in terms of its intensity, frequency, duration, or cumulative effect. One could assess a single experience of humiliation, multiple experiences, or one could study humiliation in various contexts and settings such as at school, at home, and at work.

Humiliation is too complex to be evaluated as a whole, but it is reasonable to attempt to assess a specific aspect of humiliation. In this paper humiliation will be evaluated from the perspective of the victim rather than the perspective of the humiliator or witness. Humiliation will be conceptualized as a transactional process which triggers an internal experience. My goal is to construct a reliable instrument for measuring the internal experience of humiliation from the victim's perspective. The following chapters will explain the process of developing this scale and the results of its use with research participants.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Defining the Construct to be Measured

Developing a definition of the construct to be measured is one of the most challenging steps in designing a scale. A definition must be sufficiently broad to include all relevant characteristics of the construct, yet specific enough to distinguish it from other constructs. Also, it is important to note the perspective from which the definition is generated. The construct of humiliation could be defined from the perspective of the victim, the humiliator, or the witness (Klein, 1991b). While it might be equally enlightening to define the construct from the perspective of the humiliator or the witness, the definition utilized in this research was developed from the perspective of the victim.

In addition to understanding the perspective from which the definition of humiliation is generated, one must understand that the word humiliation can refer to two different forms of experience. Webster's Unabridged Dictionary of the English Language (1989) offers two definitions of humiliation: "1. the act or an instance of humiliating or being humiliated. 2. the state or feeling of being humiliated; mortification" (p. 692). As this definition demonstrates, the word humiliation is used to describe an external event (i.e., where an individual is ridiculed or subjected to some form of degrading treatment) and an internal state. When the word is used to identify an external event an individual might describe the experience as "s/he humiliated me." When the term is used to refer to the internal experience of humiliation an individual might say "I felt humiliated." The

construct of humiliation defined in this paper refers to the internal state of humiliation from the victim's point of view. Considering this, along with an extensive review of the literature, the following definition of the construct was developed: *Humiliation is the deep dysphoric feeling associated with being, or perceiving oneself as being, unjustly degraded, ridiculed, or put down—in particular, one's identity has been unjustly demeaned or devalued.*

This definition addresses a number of characteristics of humiliation which are evident in the literature. The phrases "deep dysphoric feeling" and "one's identity" relate to the extent to which the experience of humiliation impacts an individual. The literature suggests that humiliation affects victims at the core of their identity (Griffin, 1991; Klein, 1991a, 1991b, 1992; Lazare, 1987; Stamm, 1978; Swift, 1991). This is unlike the feeling associated with embarrassment which typically affects the victim on a more superficial or behavioral level. People can usually change their behavior to avoid embarrassment; people can not readily change their core identity to avoid humiliation. Some experiences are both embarrassing and humiliating because they involve some aspect of the individual's behavior and some aspect of his/her identity. These two constructs are closely associated and often confused. The depth of impact is a characteristic which distinguishes humiliation from embarrassment and other constructs.

The second aspect of this definition implies that the internal experience is associated with an external interaction. According to the literature, an interaction which triggers this dysphoric feeling can occur in a variety of forms (Klein, 1991b). It may be an interaction between the victim and a humiliator, a victim and witnesses, or a victim and self. It may be an interaction between an individual and another individual, an individual and a group, an individual and a community, and an individual and a society. For example, an individual might feel humiliated due to the ridicule of an employer, the degrading practices of an organization, or the discriminatory traditions of a

society. The internal experience of humiliation can also be the consequence of an interaction between groups of individuals.

Finally, the definition of humiliation used in this paper identifies the quality of the interaction which triggers the internal experience. Humiliation occurs when individuals are, or feel they are, unfairly forced into a lowered position through some form of put down, ridicule, or degrading treatment. This characteristic, like the interactional quality, occurs in multifarious forms. It can be in the form of direct attacks on the victim such as being called derogatory names, or it can occur through indirect events such as being excluded from some experience or opportunity because of one's race. Regardless of the form of external interaction, it is critical to note that the depreciation of the victim's core identity is experienced as unjustified. A lack of justification is the quality that distinguishes humiliation from the closely related construct of shame. The experience of shame may be the result of inappropriate behavior on the part of the victim; therefore, shame may be justified. Humiliation, on the other hand, is not warranted by the victim's behavior.

The qualities and characteristics identified in the definition of the construct of humiliation were used to develop items for evaluating this experience. Each item was written to reflect an aspect of this definition.

Goals of the Scale

Along with defining the construct to be measured, it is important to specify the goals of the scale. The first goal is to evaluate the internal experience of humiliation. This internal experience can be divided into two categories: (a) a subjective experience triggered by a humiliating event and (b) the fear of being humiliated. Klein (1991b) suggests that fear of humiliation is at least as significant as the internal experience triggered by a specific event. He states: "The fear of humiliation appears to be one of the

most powerful motivators in individual and collective human behavior" (p. 96). This scale will ask individuals to evaluate their subjective experience of past humiliating experiences and their degree of concern about being humiliated in the future.

A review of the literature suggests that humiliation is a central and pervasive form of human behavior; therefore, a second goal in developing a measurement tool is to ensure its appropriateness for use with a broad population. Ideally, this measurement instrument would be useful for evaluating the experience of men and women, high school age and older, from diverse ethnic, socioeconomic, religious, and political perspectives. While it is beyond the scope of this project to explore the application of this instrument with all these groups, developing this measure through rigorous test construction methods may increase the likelihood that the instrument will warrant further research with diverse populations.

The third goal of the test is to find a balance between parsimony and reliability. To make this test useful to clinicians and researchers, it is important to design a scale which is relatively simple to administer without compromising the quality of the instrument. Shorter instruments are more convenient, but longer instruments are more reliable. The test developer must work through these two opposing aspects of test construction until an optimal test length is achieved.

Finally, the fourth goal is to develop a reliable, internally consistent measure of the construct. Nunnally (1978) states that high internal consistency is a prerequisite of high validity. To achieve internal consistency, test items must correlate with each other to indicate they are measuring the same latent variable. Coefficient alpha is the best measure of internal consistency (Kline, 1993). A test should be constructed with an alpha coefficient of .70 or higher. While an alpha of .70 is acceptable when using an instrument for research purposes, for clinical applications it is preferable to have an alpha coefficient of .90 or greater. If, in the process of development, it is discovered that the scale items have an alpha coefficient less than .90, items should be eliminated to achieve a higher alpha

level. To achieve the goal of an internally consistent measure of humiliation, test reliability will be evaluated and items that do not contribute to high reliability will be eliminated. Additionally, factor analytic methods will be used to explore empirically the number of latent variables that underlie the set of test items (Dawis, 1992; DeVellis, 1991). Statistical analyses of the scale will continue until high internal consistency and reliability are achieved.

Generating an Item Pool

Criteria for Items

Developing items for a new scale is a demanding task wrought with numerous pitfalls and challenges. Combining suggestions by Osterlind (1989) and DeVellis (1991), the following criteria were developed for the construction of this test:

1. There must be a high degree of congruence between the test items and the overall goals of the test.
2. The content of each item should primarily reflect the construct of interest.
3. Ideally, the item pool should include an adequate sample of the universe of items relating to the construct of interest.
4. Items should be clear, concise, and unambiguous.
5. To avoid response sets, items should be offered in positive as well as negative wording.
6. Items must be well written, conforming to established rules of grammar, spelling, punctuation, and syntax.
7. The format of the items must be suitable to the goals of the test.
8. Items must be constructed to avoid any legal or ethical infringements.

These criteria were considered throughout the process of developing scale items.

Item Content

The content of the items on the scale was derived through a variety of methods. First, a review of the literature identified multiple events that are associated with triggering an internal experience of humiliation. These experiences include ridicule, discrimination, harassment, abuse, objectification, exploitation, put downs, being ostracized, and other forms of unjustified mistreatment. A second method used to generate items was to meet with individuals in small groups to discuss the meaning of humiliation and personal experiences of feeling humiliated. These discussions augmented and enhanced the account of humiliation described in the review of literature. A third method was to examine scale items from measurement instruments which evaluate constructs related to humiliation such as guilt, embarrassment, shame, and powerlessness (Fischer & Corcoran, 1994; Good & Good, 1973; Neal & Seeman, 1964; Rotter, 1966; Snyder, 1974; Snyder, 1979; Tangney, 1990, 1992). The fourth method used to generate items was to discuss the item pool with experts who have investigated the experience of humiliation (Klein, 1991a, 1991b, 1992; Swift, 1991).

The information obtained through these four methods was shaped into individual test items. These items reflected two aspects of the internal experience of humiliation: (a) the cumulative impact of past humiliation and (b) the fear of humiliation.

Scale Format

As DeVellis (1991) points out, the format of the scale should be determined in the initial phases of generating an item pool. The developer must simultaneously consider item content along with the manner in which items and response options will be presented. Kazdin (1992) suggests the selection of a simple format as long as it does not compromise the goals of the test. The Likert scale format was selected as an appropriate format for evaluating the experience of humiliation. In this format, items are composed of a stem with a number of response options. This format is commonly used to evaluate attitudes,

beliefs, and opinions and is used to measure constructs which share similar qualities as the experience of humiliation. For example, the Achievement Anxiety Test (Alpert & Haber, 1960) utilizes a five-point scale indicating the degree of reaction the respondent has experienced to a specified event associated with academic achievement anxiety. A five-point response scale (1-5) was selected because it offers a reasonable balance between having a sufficient range of choices for examinees to evaluate their experience and having an efficient format for determining the overall score. In addition, the Likert-type format facilitates the use of factor analysis. To define the meaning of the response options, word anchors were used at opposite ends of the five-point scale. The number one represents a response of "Not at all" while five represents extremely, very much so, or very seriously, depending on the wording of the item stem.

Refining the Items

After the item pool was generated, it was subjected to a readability evaluation to determine if the items were accessible to individuals with eighth grade reading ability. An analysis was conducted to determine the Flesch Reading Ease Score. The Flesch Reading Ease Score determines the number of words in a sentence and the number of syllables per word. A Flesch score between 60-70 indicates an estimated grade level between seventh and eighth grade. Utilizing a computer program to conduct this analysis (Writing Tools Group, 1993), it was determined that the item pool had a reading ease score of 60.2. This score indicated that the items were written at a reading level appropriate for the target population of individuals of high school age or older.

To further refine the items and the response options, the item pool was administered to three small groups. The individuals in these groups were encouraged to express their thoughts about the clarity of the items and the response options. These discussions facilitated additional revisions of the sentence stems. In addition, three experts on the topic of humiliation were consulted about their perception of the test items' content and

format. This led to further refinements until a total of 149 items were identified (see Appendix A).

The number of items in the final edition of the item pool should be twice the amount needed for the scale (Kline, 1993), although DeVellis (1991) suggests that a larger pool increases the likelihood of developing a reliable instrument. A large item pool allows the test developer some insurance against poor internal consistency. At the same time, having an excessively long item set may exhaust the respondents or it may require the test to be administered on more than one occasion. According to Kline (1993), an hour is the maximum amount of time that adults can be expected to maintain concentration while completing a scale. The 149 items in the pool were more than double the amount necessary for the scale and were a sufficient sample of the domain being evaluated. Respondents completed the item trial in less than one hour, typically 20 to 30 minutes.

Informed Consent and Demographic Data

Before an item pool can be administered to a development sample, it must include a statement informing the respondents of their rights as participants in the research project. An informed consent statement was developed according to the guidelines of the American Psychological Association's Ethical Principles of Psychologists and Code of Conduct (1992). The Ethical Standards require that the researcher explain in understandable language: (a) the purpose and nature of the research; (b) that participation is voluntary and participants are free to decline or withdraw at anytime; (c) the potential risks involved; (d) the extent of confidentiality; and (e) the procedures for obtaining additional information about the research. The following statement was developed:

Read this statement carefully before completing the questions on this form. These questions are part of a research project conducted by Linda M. Hartling, a doctoral student with The Union Institute Graduate School in Cincinnati, Ohio. The purpose of this project is to develop a questionnaire to measure individual perceptions of selected experiences. You will be asked to respond to a number of statements or

items concerning your feelings and experiences. An example of the type of question you will be asked to respond to is: Throughout your life to what extent have you felt frustrated (circle a rating between 1 - 5, 1 = not at all and 5 = extremely)? Approximately one-half hour will be needed to complete this questionnaire.

Participation is entirely voluntary. If you decide to participate, you are free to discontinue at any time without consequence. There are no foreseeable risks to you as a result of participating in this study. However, some questions might elicit unpleasant thoughts or memories.

Your answers will be kept confidential. You will not be asked to give your name or any identifying information on any of the questions. Instead you will be assigned a random number which is coded on your questionnaire. All questionnaires will be accessible only to the researcher, Linda M. Hartling, and will be destroyed upon completion of this study.

If you have any questions about the study, you should contact me, Linda M. Hartling, at [phone].

Completion and return of this questionnaire indicates consent to participate in this study.

In addition to the informed consent statement, questions were developed to gain information about the demographics of the development sample. The categories included age, sex, ethnic background, marital status, education, number of people in the home, and household income. The examinees identified their age by listing their date of birth. Sex was identified by: (1) female or (2) male. Respondents could choose from six options to describe their ethnic background: (1) Native American, (2) Asian, (3) Latino/Hispanic, (4) African American, (5) Caucasian, and (6) other. Marital status was presented in six categories: (1) Single, (2) Partnered, (3) Married, (4) Separated, (5) Divorced, and (6) Widowed. Education was divided into eight categories: (1) Eighth grade or less, (2) Some High School, (3) High School Graduate, (4) Technical School/some College, (5) College/University graduate, (6) Postgraduate or professional training, (7) Master's Degree, and (8) Ph.D. or some other doctoral degree. Respondents were asked to fill in the number of individuals living in the home. Finally, estimated yearly household (pre-tax) income was divided into eight responses: (1) No Income; (2) \$7,000 or less; (3) \$7,001 -

13,999; (4) \$14,000 - 19,999; (5) \$20,000 - 29,999; (6) \$30,000 - 49,999; (7) \$50,000 - 74,999; (8) \$75,000 or more.

Qualitative Data

While the goal of this research was to collect quantitative data, the development sample was given the opportunity to share their stories regarding the experience of humiliation. Respondents were provided with a blank paper which included a brief statement inviting them to write about their personal experiences.

Share Your Experience (Optional)

If completing this questionnaire reminds you of a specific experience you would like to share, describe your experience in the area below.

Item Trial Sample

An item trial was conducted with a total of 253 respondents, 170 (67.2%) females and 83 (32.8%) males. Respondents were recruited from a variety of academic institutions: 81 (32%) respondents were from a small, private, four-year college, 94 (37.2%) respondents were from a four-year university, 46 (18.2%) respondents were from a four-year high school, and 32 (12.6%) respondents were from a two-year technical school. The age of the respondents ranged between 15 and 51 with 86.4% of the sample between 16 and 22 years of age ($M = 20.66$; $SD = 5.06$). Two hundred and twelve (83.8%) of the respondents identified their marital status as single while 19 (7.5 %) were partnered, 14 (5.5%) were married, 4 (1.6%) were divorced, 2 (.8%) were separated, 1 (.4%) was widowed, and 1 respondent did not specify marital status. Two hundred and thirty six (93.3%) respondents were white, while the rest of the sample included 8 (3.2%) Native Americans, 6 (2.4%) Latino/Hispanics, 1 (.4%) Asian, 1 (.4%) African American, and 1 (.4%) unspecified

ethnic group. The majority of the respondents were students who received extra credit for their participation.

Evaluating the Items

Nunnally (1978) recommends that the first evaluation of an item trial be an item analysis and that a factor analysis be conducted on the refined and briefer sets of items. The process conducted in the development of this instrument follows Nunnally's recommendation. In the first phase of evaluation, item analyses were conducted to assess the items with sufficient correlation to the total score. DeVellis (1991) suggests that items with corrected item-total correlations below .30 should be discarded. In addition, the full scale should have an alpha reliability coefficient of .70 or higher (Nunnally, 1978). Item analyses were repeated until all items had corrected item-total correlations greater than .30 and the full scale alpha coefficient greater than .70.

In the second phase of evaluation, after the item pool was refined, a factor analysis was conducted on the remaining items. This analysis determined if one or more underlying variables could account for the overall scale variance. As stated earlier, items were written to evaluate two aspects of the internal experience of humiliation: (a) the cumulative experience of humiliation and (b) the fear of humiliation. It was hypothesized that the items would reflect these two aspects of humiliation. A factor analysis ascertained the accuracy of the hypothesis. To identify which factors were significant, two criteria were applied. The eigenvalue-one criterion states that eigenvalues greater than 1.00 should be retained and interpreted as meaningful (Kaiser, 1960). An additional criterion was the scree test (Cattell, 1966) where eigenvalues are plotted and examined for significant separations or breaks between values. After the primary factors were identified, factor loadings were examined to determine the items which load sufficiently

on the remaining factors. Factor loadings greater than .40 can be considered significant (Hatcher, 1994). Items loading below .40 were disregarded.

In the final phase of item evaluation, the remaining items were subjected to an item and reliability analysis to determine if the remaining items meet the criteria for item-total correlations and high reliability coefficient. The remaining items were examined to determine if the written characteristics of each item were congruent with other items. As additional items were discarded, item analyses were conducted until the remaining items meet the criteria and retain the alpha coefficient. Once the final items of the scale were identified, mean scores and standard deviations of the full scale and any subscales were determined. This information was utilized to conduct exploratory analyses.

Exploratory Analyses of Demographic Data

Exploratory analyses were conducted to examine the differences in mean scores among the various demographic groups in the development sample. A one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) was performed to evaluate the difference in mean scores among individuals categorized by gender, ethnic background, highest level of education, marital status, incomes, and data source. Where appropriate, post hoc tests were used to identify statistically significant differences among levels of demographic categories.

Analyzing Qualitative Data

Full scale scores were computed for respondents who provided qualitative data. The qualitative sample was divided into three groups based on a comparison of their full scale scores with the development sample's full scale mean score. Individuals who scored one standard deviation above the mean or greater were identified as high scorers. Individuals who scored one standard deviation or lower below the mean were identified as low scorers. Finally, individuals who scored within one standard deviation below or above the mean

were grouped as moderate scorers. The qualitative responses of these individuals were read and analyzed within the context of their assigned groups. Analyses of these data involved identifying common characteristics or themes expressed in the qualitative responses.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

Item Evaluation

In the first phase of item evaluation an item analysis was performed on the responses to the 149 items in the item pool. The corrected item-total score correlations were examined to determine which items correlated with the full scale score at a minimum level of .30 (DeVellis, 1991). The initial analysis identified 137 items which had corrected item-total correlations at .30 or greater. This item set had an alpha reliability coefficient of .97. When a scale has an alpha coefficient greater than .90, DeVellis (1991) recommends shortening the scale to optimize the length of the instrument. Therefore, items with a corrected item-total correlation below .50 were discarded reducing the item set to 43 items. Another item analysis was conducted on the remaining 43 items. These items had an alpha coefficient of .96. Items with a corrected item-total below .50 were discarded. This left 40 items which had corrected item-total correlations of .50 or higher and an alpha reliability coefficient of .96.

It was hypothesized that the 40 remaining items would represent two factors: one factor corresponding with items concerning the cumulative experience of humiliation and the other factor corresponding with items related to the fear of humiliation. Responses to the remaining 40 items were subjected to a factor analysis using squared multiple correlations as prior communality estimates. While the factor analysis identified five factors meeting the criterion of eigenvalues greater than 1.00 (Kaiser, 1960), there was a

significant difference between the eigenvalues of the first factor, the second factor, and the last three factors. A scree test (Cattell, 1966) graphically revealed a break between the first factor and the second factor and a break between the first two factors and the last three factors. The first factor had an eigenvalue of 17.305, the second factor had an eigenvalue of 4.163, and the last three factors had eigenvalues of 1.839, 1.517, and 1.232, respectively. Cattell recommends retaining as meaningful the factors prior to the last large break (Ibid., 1966); therefore, two factors were retained. A review of the items associated with each factor revealed that factor one corresponded with items involving the fear of humiliation and was labeled "fear of humiliation." Factor two corresponded with items involving the cumulative experience of humiliation and was labeled "cumulative humiliation." The factor analysis supported the two-factor hypothesis of scale items.

Next, the two factors were subjected to an oblimin (oblique) rotation which is conducted in two steps. In the first step a varimax (orthogonal) prerotation was performed followed by an oblimin (oblique) rotation which results in correlated factors. The factor loadings of the correlated factors were examined. Factor loadings of .40 or greater can be regarded as significant (Hatcher, 1994). All 40 items loaded on either factor one or factor two at a level greater than .40. To further refine the scale, an item was retained if its factor loading on one factor was .60 or greater and was less than .20 on the other factor. Items with factor loadings of less than .60 and items loading on both factors at .20 or greater were discarded.

This left 36 items which were subjected to an item analysis. This analysis identified one item with an item-total correlation below .50 and it was discarded. Another item analysis was conducted utilizing the responses to the remaining 35 items. Again, one item was eliminated for having an item-total correlation below .50. An item analysis of the remaining 34 items confirmed that all items had item-total correlations of .50 or greater.

A factor analysis using an oblimin rotation was performed on the 34 item set. As a result, one item was discarded because its factor loading was below .60. Following this factor analysis, another item analysis was conducted utilizing the responses to the remaining 33 items. This analysis determined that the alpha reliability coefficient for this set of items remained high ($\alpha = .96$). After reviewing all items, one item was eliminated because it was not consistent with the written characteristics of the other 32 items. A final item analysis confirmed that each of the 32 items had corrected item-total correlations of .50 or greater. Table 1 presents the corrected item-total correlations for the final scale which will be referred to as the Humiliation Inventory (HI). The items are listed in the order they appear on the final inventory.

Table 1

Humiliation Inventory - Final Items and Corrected Item-Total Correlations

Humiliation Inventory Items	Item -Total Correlations
Subscale 2 - Cumulative Humiliation	
Throughout your life how seriously have you felt harmed by being...	
(1.) ...teased? .....	.5751
(2.) ...bullied? .....	.5577
(3.) ...scorned? .....	.5788
(4.) ...excluded? .....	.6250
(5.) ...laughed at? .....	.6086
(6.) ...put down? .....	.6574
(7.) ...ridiculed? .....	.6768
(8.) ...harassed? .....	.5985
(9.) ...discounted? .....	.6241
(10.) ...embarrassed? .....	.5840
(11.) ...cruelly criticized? .....	.6095
(12.) ...called names or referred to in derogatory terms? .....	.6148
Subscale 1 - Fear of Humiliation	
At this point in your life, how much do you fear being...	
(13.) ...scorned? .....	.6380
(14.) ...bullied? .....	.6505
(15.) ...ridiculed? .....	.7154
(16.) ...powerless? .....	.6105
(17.) ...harassed? .....	.6643
(18.) ...put down? .....	.7387
(19.) ...excluded? .....	.6963
(20.) ...laughed at? .....	.7457
(21.) ...cruelly criticized? .....	.7487
(22.) ...cruelly disciplined? .....	.5694
(23.) ...made to feel like an outsider? .....	.7187
At this point in your life, how concerned are you about being...	
(24.) ...teased? .....	.6796
(25.) ...embarrassed? .....	.6425
(26.) ...treated as invisible? .....	.6474
(27.) ...discounted as a person? .....	.6907
(28.) ...made to feel small or insignificant? .....	.6954
(29.) ...called names or referred to in derogatory terms? .....	.6416
(30.) ...unfairly denied access to some activity, opportunity, or service? .....	.5532
How worried are you about being...	
(31.) ...viewed by others as inadequate? .....	.6582
(32.) ...viewed by others as incompetent? .....	.5692

A final factor analysis demonstrated that all 32 items loaded at a level of .60 or greater on one factor but below .20 on the other factor. Subscale 1, which will be referred to as the Fear of Humiliation Subscale (FHS), accounts for 46% of the scale variance. Subscale 2, which will be referred to as the Cumulative Humiliation Subscale (CHS), accounts for an additional 12% of the scale variance. Both subscales account for 58% of the scale variance. Table 2 presents the factor loadings from the rotated factor pattern matrix and the factor structure matrix for each subscale. The items are listed in the order they appear on the final inventory.

Table 2

Factor Loadings for Factors 1 and 2 from Rotated Factor Pattern Matrix and Factor Structure Matrix of Subscale Items

CHS	Factor Loadings				FHS	Factor Loadings			
	Factor Pattern		Factor Structure			Factor Pattern		Factor Structure	
	1	2	1	2		1	2	1	2
1.	-.01	.77	.41	.77	13.	.73	-.02	.72	.39
2.	-.05	.77	.38	.74	14.	.66	.07	.70	.44
3.	.00	.76	.41	.75	15.	.74	.07	.77	.47
4.	.05	.77	.48	.80	16.	.71	-.02	.69	.37
5.	-.05	.87	.43	.84	17.	.72	.04	.74	.44
6.	-.03	.88	.46	.87	18.	.80	.03	.81	.47
7.	.00	.87	.48	.87	19.	.69	.10	.75	.48
8.	-.04	.84	.42	.82	20.	.77	.07	.80	.49
9.	.13	.71	.52	.78	21.	.82	.01	.82	.46
10.	.05	.68	.42	.71	22.	.61	.02	.62	.35
11.	.00	.78	.43	.78	23.	.77	.03	.79	.46
12.	.10	.73	.50	.78	24.	.68	.09	.73	.37
					25.	.72	.00	.72	.40
					26.	.76	-.05	.73	.37
					27.	.78	-.02	.77	.41
					28.	.85	-.10	.80	.38
					29.	.76	-.02	.75	.40
					30.	.63	.00	.63	.35
					31.	.76	-.04	.74	.38
					32.	.69	-.07	.65	.31

Note. CHS = Cumulative Humiliation Subscale; FHS = Fear of Humiliation Subscale.

Reliability

From the very beginning the 149 item pool had a high alpha reliability coefficient ($\alpha = .97$). This allowed the total number of items to be reduced in an effort to optimize the length of the test. The final 32 item HI has an alpha coefficient of .96 which indicates high internal consistency. This level of reliability was achieved through retaining items with corrected item-total correlations of .50 or greater. The high alpha coefficient would suggest that the HI is a unifactorial scale, yet a factor analysis identified two factors which account for 58% of the variability in the scale. How can this be explained? An examination of the items associated with the two factors offers an explanation of this discrepancy. The full scale items could be viewed as evaluating the construct within two different time frames. The CHS evaluates the internal experience of humiliation from the past to the present. The FHS evaluates the fear of experiencing humiliation in the future. The construct, in a sense, is being evaluated over a period of time. In other words, the subscales are distinct but related.

To further explore the relationship between the two subscales, the scores from these scales were subjected to a correlational analysis. The subscales produced a Pearson product-moment correlation of $r = .57$ ($p < .01$) indicating that an individual's score on the CHS was moderately, but significantly correlated with his or her score on the FHS. The result of this analysis confirms the relationship between the subscales and it is consistent with the theory that the scales are measuring the same construct within two time frames. This theory would explain the high alpha reliability of the full scale along with the high reliability of the two subscales. The FHS, which includes 20 items, had an alpha reliability coefficient of .95 and the CHS, which includes 12 items, has a reliability coefficient of .94.

Validity

The validity of the HI is indicated by two methods of analyses. Prior to item evaluation, the researcher anticipated that scale items would depict two dimensions of the

internal experience of humiliation: one dimension represented by items associated with cumulative humiliation and the other dimension represented by items associated with fear of humiliation. A factor analysis of scale items was consistent with these groupings. The 32 item HI has two factors, each with factor loadings of .60 or greater (see Table 2). This provides evidence of factorial validity (Comrey, 1988). Scale validity is also suggested through item analysis. All 32 items of the HI correlate with the total score at a level of .50 or greater. This is evidence of internal consistency which is relevant to construct validity.

The Exploratory Analyses of Demographic Data

After the items for the HI were finalized, the responses to these items were used to explore the differences in means across levels of seven demographic categories. Subscale and full scale scores were computed for each respondent. A frequency analysis revealed that five demographic categories included response levels that were endorsed by fewer than 10 respondents. To create more symmetry among these groups, levels were collapsed in four of the seven categories. Age was collapsed into three levels: (1) 15 to 17 years old ($n = 41$); (2) 18 to 22 years old ($n = 174$); and (3) 23 to 51 years old ($n = 30$). Ethnic background was collapsed into two levels: (1) nonwhite ($n = 16$) and (2) white ($n = 231$). Highest level of education was collapsed into three levels: (1) high school graduate or less ($n = 89$); (2) technical school/some college ($n = 121$); and (3) college/university graduate or greater ($n = 36$). Estimated highest level of household income was collapsed into six groups: (1) \$0 - \$7,000 ($n = 33$); (2) \$7,001- \$19,999 ($n = 21$); (3) \$20,000 - \$29,999 ($n = 29$); (4) \$30,000 - \$49,999 ($n = 50$); (5) \$50,000 - \$74,999 ($n = 48$); and (6) \$75,000 or more ($n = 34$). Marital status was not collapsed because there were no logical alternative groupings. Instead, three levels were eliminated because they contained less than 10 respondents in each group. The mean scores of the remaining levels were compared.

A one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) procedure was used to compare means within each demographic category. Table 3 presents the resulting *F* statistics.

Table 3

One-Way Analysis of Variance of Scale Means by Demographic Categories

Demographic Category	df	CHS	FHS	Full Scale
		<i>F</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>F</i>
Age	2, 242	.96	2.48	2.29
Gender	1, 245	5.92*	19.37**	16.95**
Ethnic Background	1, 245	.41	.26	.39
Marital Status	2, 236	.01	.95	.41
Highest Level of Education	2, 242	1.39	.43	.91
Estimated Household Income	5, 209	1.46	.42	.55
Sample Source	3, 243	.60	2.01	1.20

Note. CHS = Cumulative Humiliation Subscale; FHS = Fear of Humiliation Subscale.

p* < .05. *p* < .001.

These analyses indicate that, with the exception of one category, there were no significant differences in means scores within demographic categories. Gender was the only demographic category identified as having significantly different mean scores. Mean scores of female respondents on the two subscales and the full scale were significantly higher than mean scores for males. Table 4 summarizes the mean scores and standard deviations for gender on both subscales and the full scale.

Table 4

Summary of Subscale and Full Scale Means and Standard Deviations by Gender

Scale	Females (n = 166)		Males (n = 81)		One-Way ANOVA
	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>F (df = 1,245)</u>
CHS	33.23	10.50	29.90	9.94	5.92*
FHS	49.67	17.86	39.43	15.60	19.37**
Full Scale	82.90	25.33	69.25	22.51	16.95**

Note. CHS = Cumulative Humiliation Subscale; FHS = Fear of Humiliation Subscale.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .001$.

Qualitative Data

Of the 253 respondents in the item trial sample, 26 respondents wrote statements about personal experiences relating to questions in the item pool. This group, which will be referred to as the qualitative sample, was comprised of 21 females and 5 males with 25 respondents identifying themselves as white and one identifying herself as Native American. In addition to examining their written statements, subscale and full scale scores for these individuals were computed. The qualitative sample was divided into three groups based on a comparison of their full scale scores with the item trial sample's full scale mean score ($n = 247$, $M = 78$, $SD = 25$). Individuals who scored one standard deviation or greater above the mean were identified as high scorers ($HI \geq 103$, $n = 4$). Respondents who scored within one standard deviation above or below the mean were grouped as moderate scorers ($53 < HI < 103$, $n = 18$). Finally, respondents who scored one standard deviation below the mean or lower were identified as low scorers ($HI \leq 53$, $n = 4$). Responses of these individuals were read and analyzed within the context of their assigned groups. In the following discussion of these data, each respondent will be identified by

their coding number along with descriptive information, i.e., gender, age, race, and their HI score.

Before reviewing the results, it must be noted that all the individuals in this sample were responding to the original item pool. Some individuals wrote in response to items omitted from the final scale. As a result, it is important to understand that the items which motivated each subject's written response may or may not have contributed to his or her scores on the final inventory. It is conceivable that a respondent could have written about intense experiences of humiliation, but received moderate scores on the scales because s/he endorsed items that were discarded in the item evaluation process or visa versa. With this limitation in mind, the qualitative responses were examined.

High Scorers

These four people described specific experiences of being put down, degraded, or abused. Their experiences ranged in intensity from commonplace childhood teasing about personal appearance to sexual assault. The highest scoring subject, Respondent 111 (female, age 20, white, HI = 140), implied that not having her opinion valued as much as her male peers was part of her experience of being demeaned: "Most professors seem to respect the opinions of males—maybe b/c [because] most profs I've had are male."

Three of the four people in this group wrote about the lasting impact the experience of humiliation had on their lives. This impact involved the individual's sense of self or self-esteem. Respondent 111 explained: "Most teasing and treatment of that nature occurred in elementary school, but I think that carried over to present life in self-esteem and paranoia that people are teasing me etc." Even when the experience of being humiliated ceased, cues in the environment triggered uncomfortable memories about the event which continued to haunt the affected individual. According to Respondent 037 (female, age 18, white, HI = 118):

I was continuously teased about my red hair as a child. It made me very nervous and overall self-conscious. As I grew up people started to like my hair, but I never did because it always brought back memories.

Some interactions which seemed to be inspired by honorable intentions had the potential to become degrading. Respondent 046 (female, age 18, white, HI = 105) described how her parents' pressure on her to succeed in school was destructive and demeaning.

My parents had very strong beliefs about school. They felt that I should be getting A's. Anything less was inadequate. They would tell me I was worthless and would never graduate high school and get into college—I did! They said I was stupid and I wasn't trying hard enough. I was and didn't get all A's. It was horrible. I cried almost every day especially my Jr. and Sr. yrs. in High School.

The respondents in this group had one characteristic in common. The damage of their experience remained unreconciled. The wounds of mistreatment have not healed; they continue to impact their lives. Respondent 182 (female, age 17, white, HI = 132) expressed the most dramatic example of an unresolved experience:

I didn't realize, until I was in the eighth grade that I was sexually abused by my best friend and my cousin. My neighbor was my only friend for a long time. She would come over to my house and ask me if I wanted to play. Most of the time, if it was warm out, she wanted to play doctor. I, of course was the patient and she examined me. She would do the basic stuff etc. temperature but she would only give me candy medication if she could check out my vagina. She is only two years older than me but it is/was still wrong and has emotionally changed me because of my realization of this. (This happened until I moved in the 4th grade)

My cousin is 5 years older than me. It started before I was eight yrs. old and stopped by the end of my freshman year. He would bring me to a back room upstairs at Grandma's house or in the cellar where it's dark. At first he would only kiss me, I didn't like it but he was older and bigger. He never had sexual intercourse but he would feel my entire body. I told a few years after it started but no one believed me. I would tell now but it would rip my innocent family apart. I started saying no more often and he persisted less. Since then, most of my boyfriends have taken advantage of me in many ways. I have tried my hardest to stay a virgin, I am able to block out the pain (emotional and physical) the most I can but then it became too great to handle I started uncontrollably crying and shaking. It's hard to trust anyone for me now and a lot of people say that I should have gotten over it by now but it lingers and always will.

Moderate Scorers

The eighteen respondents with moderate scores described specific situations where they had been put down, exploited, or teased. Six expressed concern about the continuing effect of their experience. Respondent 186 (female, age 21, white, HI = 86) says:

...even today it is hard for me to take compliments from people especially older ones because like when I was a child I often got teased for that very same thing.

Even though this individual's circumstances have changed and she is no longer threatened, her previous experience of ridicule has left a lasting impression which inhibits her enjoyment of present interactions. Her experience is imprinted on her mind. In another case, a respondent continues to suffer from her humiliating experience, but the suffering is associated with a continuing threat. Respondent 105 (female, age 19, white, HI = 100) writes: "I still hate going to my home town in case I see him because every time he sees me he bullies me."

While this group identified a variety of degrading experiences, nine of them wrote about achieving some form of reconciliation with their experience. For example, after listing the many challenges she had faced in her life, Respondent 131 (female, age 41, Native American, HI = 92) stated that participation in this study reminded her that "I've overcome a lot of my fears." Reconciliation of degrading experiences appeared to occur in two forms: (a) a personal insight that transformed the individual's perception of his or her experience or (b) a change in environment that eliminated the threat of degrading interactions. It appears that some individuals achieved an insight which allowed them to realize their worth despite their experience, while others removed themselves from a demeaning environment. Respondent 045 began to believe she deserved her mistreatment until she became aware it was unjustified. She (female, age 19, white, HI = 85) states:

When I was a freshman in High School, I fell in love with a boy who did not love me. He enjoyed calling me a dog and telling me I was worthless. After 3 yrs. I started to believe it until I recently woke up.

Respondent 073 (female, age 19, white, HI = 70) explained how her life has changed since she removed herself from a degrading environment.

Since I have been away from this treatment, my life has improved considerably. I now believe I am actually worth something. It is nice not to have to wake up every day and feel like you have to walk on egg shells all day to avoid punishment."

Finally, Respondent 151 (male, age 24, white, HI = 68) described how he transformed his experience into a personal value: "From this experience I realize that no one should be put down because of gender, race, handicap, or anything else."

Low Scorers

Four respondents scored one standard deviation below the mean of the development sample. In theory, the lower scores of these individual's would represent less accumulated humiliation and less fear of humiliation. It is impossible to determine if this theory is correct because scores might have changed if respondents completed only the 32 items retained for the final inventory rather than the 149 item pool. All the respondents in this group wrote short statements about their experience. One respondent described a specific experience which triggered humiliation. Respondent 172 (female, age 22, white, HI = 47) wrote, "I always get picked on b/c [because] of my height. Actually my friends just think its very funny that I'm small. People call me shorty." Another respondent described her fear of being discriminated against. Respondent 053 (female, age 19, white, HI = 52) stated: "I am concerned that I will be discriminated against because of my gender and my aggressive style of leadership." Discrimination belongs on the continuum of humiliating experiences.

Two respondents wrote about some of their positive characteristics. Respondent 092 (female, age 18, white, HI = 44) said, "It just reminds me that I am a very content, confident person." Respondent 103 (male, age 19, white, HI = 34) related that a change of environment contributed to the development of his self-confidence.

I feel that being in college the people are much more inclusive. I think that since I've gone to college and people have matured, it has helped me to become much more self-confident and made me much more willing to be myself around others.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

The Humiliation Inventory

Humiliation has been identified in the literature as a pervasive experience in our society, yet it has remained relatively unexamined by empirical research. The purpose of this research project was to develop a reliable, internally consistent instrument to evaluate a specific aspect of this experience, the internal experience of humiliation. Through a process of item analysis and factor analysis, a 32 item self-report scale with a 5-point Likert response format was developed. This inventory was designed to evaluate two aspects of the internal experience of humiliation: (a) cumulative humiliation and (b) fear of humiliation. A factor analysis confirmed that the scale items corresponded with these two factors. The 20 items which loaded on factor one became the Fear of Humiliation Subscale (FHS) and the 12 items which loaded on factor two became the Cumulative Humiliation Subscale (CHS). The full scale is composed of the items from each subscale. The final instrument is called the Humiliation Inventory (HI, see Appendix B).

A reliability analysis of the HI indicated that it is a highly reliable instrument. This appeared to suggest that it is a unifactorial test, yet a factor analysis identified two dimensions accounting for the majority of scale variability. As stated in the previous chapter, the HI could be viewed as evaluating the internal experience of humiliation over a period of time. The CHS asks respondents to summarize their internal experience of humiliation from the past to the present. The FHS evaluates an individual's concern about

experiencing humiliation which could occur in the future. This view of the relationship between the full scale and the subscales is supported by an examination of the items on both scales. All the items on the CHS appear in a slightly altered form on the FHS. The difference between these two sets of items concerns their orientation in time. The items on the CHS share a sentence stem which is written to imply a period of time up to the present: "Throughout your life how seriously have you felt harmed by..." The sentence stems for the FHS use the words fear, concern, and worry about the potential of experiencing humiliation. These words suggest a future orientation to the construct being evaluated. Viewing the HI as a scale which evaluates the internal experience of humiliation over a period of time explains the high reliability of a full scale which is composed of two factors.

The two subscales of the HI are distinct but related. The oblique solution of the factor analysis suggests that the subscales are correlated. A correlational analysis of subscale scores demonstrated that there was a moderate, but significant relationship between an individual's score on the CHS and his or her score on the FHS. While there is a significant relationship between the subscales, the moderate Pearson correlation coefficient ($r = .57, p < .01$) indicates that the scales are distinct. This evidence supports Klein's observation, "that one doesn't have to be an actual victim of humiliation to develop a desire to avoid it" (1991b, p. 96). It is possible for an individual to score low on the CHS and score high on the FHS. Klein suggests individuals may learn to fear humiliation through witnessing humiliation or through participating in the humiliation of another person. It is also possible to score high on the CHS and have a low score on the FHS. An individual who has a high score on the CHS but a low score on the FHS may have resolved his or her past internal experience of humiliation in such a way that he or she maintains a reduced fear of humiliation. This type of person might be characterized by the aphorism, "What doesn't kill you makes you stronger." On the other hand, an individual who has experienced a great deal of humiliation may have developed strategies to dissociate from

their fear of humiliation. They may be able to block out their fear through psychic numbing in order to survive a chronically threatening situation or environment.

There are eight items which appear on the FHS which do not have corresponding items on the CHS, although corresponding items were included in the original item pool. The eight corresponding items, which could have been included on the CHS, were eliminated during the item evaluation phase of scale development. An examination of the eight eliminated items suggests they may have been difficult to respond to. It might be difficult to determine if one has been harmed by being viewed as incompetent or inadequate over a lifetime. It might be difficult to rate to what degree one has been harmed by being treated as invisible, insignificant, or like an outsider. Evidence of being harmed by these forms of humiliation may not be obvious or concrete making them difficult to rate. The eight corresponding items which were retained for the FHS do not appear to suffer from this difficulty. It is possible for an individual to rate his or her fear of experiencing the events identified by the eight items. Individuals can rate their fear of being treated as invisible or treated as insignificant. This may explain the difference in items between the subscales for the HI.

Finally, limited analyses were conducted to explore the construct validity of the HI. It was predicted that the HI would reflect a two dimensional model of the internal experience of humiliation: (a) cumulative humiliation and (b) fear of humiliation. A factor analysis confirmed that scale items correlated with these two factors. This provided evidence of factorial validity. In addition, item analyses demonstrated that subscale items correlated with subscale scores at .60 or greater. This evidence of internal consistency suggests construct validity.

Exploratory Analyses

Exploratory analyses compared mean scale scores for the HI across levels of demographic categories. These categories included gender, ethnic background, marital status, highest level of education, household income, and data source. Except for gender, all categories had nonsignificant differences. A number of factors may have affected these results. The lack of significant differences in six of seven demographic categories may be due to the homogeneity of the development sample that primarily consisted of single white college students, 18 to 22 years of age, from one region of the United States. With the exception of gender, the sample did not adequately represent all levels within each demographic category. In addition, the responses utilized in these analyses were extracted from each subject's responses to the 149 item pool. Different results may be obtained if the 32 item HI is administered to a sample sufficiently representative of all demographic groups. Finally, while the analyses of gender differences included an adequate number of men and women, the sample represents mostly white men and white women. Further analyses are necessary to determine if differences in mean scores would be significant between all men and women. With these limitations in mind, we can proceed to discuss the differences in mean scores distinguished by gender.

Women scored significantly higher than men on the two subscales and the full scale. The difference was particularly salient on the FHS. These results were not surprising. Good and Good (1973) developed a scale which evaluates the fear of appearing incompetent. Their scale shares some similar characteristics with the Fear of Humiliation Subscale and may have an indirect relationship. During development, Good and Good found that women scored significantly higher than men on fear of appearing incompetent. After completing their research, they theorized:

It may be that relatively more situations are potentially threatening to women in the sense of losing face or appearing incompetent—an explanation which would account for the higher mean scores by women on the present authors' measure. On the other hand, women may merely be less defensive than males in admitting on a paper-and-pencil test to the kinds of fears and worries surveyed by the inventory. (p. 1078)

This reasoning could be used to explain the differences in women's and men's mean scores on the HI. One interpretation of these data is that women genuinely experience more humiliation and fear of humiliation than men. This is a reasonable theory because the women in this sample live in a society where it has been the tradition for women to be subordinate to men. This inferior status may put them at risk for being humiliated or being threatened with humiliation by the dominant group. Silver et al. (1986) points out that it is to the advantage of the dominant group to humiliate the subordinate group. Humiliation undermines the identity of its victims by making them feel powerless and, therefore, easier to control. Humiliation can be used as a form of social control to gain and maintain power over subjugated individuals. It is possible that women experience more humiliation because they are living in a society where the dominant group uses humiliation or the threat of humiliation as a form of social control.

An example of how humiliation is manifested against women in this society comes from an examination of media messages. The media teaches women about their potential for humiliation on a daily basis. They are bombarded by a multitude of messages reminding them that every detail of their appearance and behavior is subject to evaluation, most typically by members of the dominant group (Ussher, 1989). Advertisements suggest that women risk humiliation for being too fat, too ugly, too old, too flabby, too pale, too dark, too plain, too masculine, too feminine, too career oriented, too dependent, too passive, too loving, too smart, too outspoken, too powerless, too powerful, too premenstrual, too menopausal, and, in the words of most advertisers, that's not all. Generally, the criteria for what is acceptable is determined by the dominant group. Women are offered the opportunity to escape ridicule by meeting these standards, but it is profitable for those in

power to set standards which are nearly impossible to achieve. The beauty industry illustrates this situation. It profits by persuading women they need a particular product to attain the image of beauty defined by those in ascendent positions (Wolf, 1991). For women who do not achieve these narrowly defined standards, humiliation is a constant threat, if not an inevitable outcome.

The demeaning impact of media messages is facilitated by women's socialization which teaches them to equate their value with their appearance. Research suggests that women's self-esteem is related to their satisfaction with their bodies (Allgood-Merton, Lewinsohn, & Hops, 1990; Harter, 1993; Jackson, Sullivan, & Rostker, 1988; Stake & Lauer, 1987). Ellen Kaschak (1992) explains this situation:

Every aspect of the female body is considered to say something about a woman's value as a person and as a woman. She is her body and her face. But it is her appearance that is judged, not her strength, health, or ability to act effectively, not her body's speed or agility but its size and shape, its pleasingness and conformity to masculine standards of the feminine. If her appearance is deemed desirable, then so is she and she is treated accordingly. If not, then she is worth less. She may then be ridiculed or attacked; after all, by her very appearance she is asking for it. It is assumed that she has chosen to be unattractive and deserves to be treated badly for it. (p. 96)

Those who wish to degrade or humiliate women have a convenient avenue of attack. A woman's appearance is readily available for scrutiny and evaluating women by their mien is socially sanctioned (Miss America Contests). It is not surprising that women are socialized to think that their appearance is the critical indicator of their value. It gives the dominant group a powerful and effective weapon to maintain their position of control. Ridicule of a woman's appearance can undermine her self-esteem making her vulnerable and easier to manage or manipulate. While the dominant group originally set the impossible standards which underlie women's humiliation and fear of humiliation, they portray themselves as the woman's savior because they are providing products which will help her overcome her deficiencies and spare her from future humiliation. Perhaps, if

women were encouraged to base their sense of self on something other than appearance, their self-esteem would not be so readily open to the threat of humiliation.

Humiliation becomes an even more effective tool when the victims internalize the messages of their humiliator. External messages of ridicule and threat of humiliation are absorbed internally and used against the self. An extreme example of this, related to women's appearance, is seen in individuals who have developed eating disorders. These women have learned from their humiliators how to constantly degrade themselves for not having the perfect body, not being able to absolutely control their eating, not being able to perform Herculean feats of exercise. Once the humiliator's message has been successfully absorbed by the victim, the humiliation process is self-sustaining.

In addition to the daily exposure to potential humiliation, women have a higher risk than men of experiencing the humiliation of being a victim of emotional and physical violence (Browne, 1993; Fitzgerald, 1993; Goodman, Koss, Fitzgerald, Russo, & Keita, 1993; Koss, 1993). We can include sexual harassment, sexual assault, incest, rape, battering, and murder. Senator Joseph R. Biden described the experience of women in this society by saying "Every day, every hour, indeed every minute, a woman in the United States suffers the pain and violence of physical attack" (1993, p. 1059). As stated in the review of literature, all of these experiences belong on the continuum of events which are humiliating. Sadly, these events are often perpetrated by the very individuals women care for and love: husbands, lovers, fathers, brothers, and friends. To add insult to injury, when women attempt to seek justice they often find themselves degraded and rehumiliated by a court system that questions their motives, their actions, and their integrity.

To a degree, men are subject to some of the same risks of humiliation as women. Advertisers are beginning to find it profitable to persuade men that they may be humiliated for being too fat, too short, too bald, too weak, too gray, too feminine, too passive, etc. But, for various reasons, men, particularly white-privileged men, may experience less

humiliation. Their membership in the dominant group allows them to participate in setting standards by which subordinate groups are evaluated and ridiculed. Additionally, men have been socialized to base their self-esteem on such things as independence or self-sufficiency (Jordan, 1994). A man's independence and self-sufficiency are not as readily available for evaluation and ridicule as a woman's appearance. Lastly, men are socialized to challenge their humiliators. The adage "act like a man" connotes acting with strength and power. If men do not subscribe to this standard they will be the target of humiliation. Men must challenge their humiliators or be humiliated. A woman is told to "act like a lady" which means conforming to a passive role. Women become the target of humiliation if they exhibit behaviors which fall outside of their traditional role assignment, even if they are defying a humiliating experience. Women may be taught to fear humiliation, but they are discouraged from challenging it.

Another interpretation of the difference between men's and women's mean scores on the HI may be that men are socialized not to admit their humiliation or their fear of humiliation. As W. I. Miller says, men may "type themselves as feminine if they admit to being humiliated" (1993, p. 169). Admitting that one has been humiliated or fears humiliation is admitting a weakness. In this society, men are not allowed to admit they are vulnerable. On the other hand, it may be that men have developed what Taylor calls "positive illusions" about their experience of humiliation or fear of humiliation (Taylor, 1989; Taylor, Wood, & Lichtman, 1983). A positive illusion is an adaptive pattern of cognition which involves the individual developing a self-enhancing bias or unrealistic optimistic perception of events. Men may be socialized to have positive illusions which prevent them from recognizing their humiliation or fear of humiliation.

Finally, some psychologists believe that women are more willing than men to endorse test items with negative personal connotations (Adler, 1993). This may be due to women's realistic perception of their experiences. They may endorse items in response to

an accurate impression of being humiliated. Then again, women may be socialized to be excessively sensitive to negative interpersonal experiences. This may cause them to amplify their perceptions of alleged humiliations and endorse items negatively.

These are only a few theories which might explain the difference between women's and men's mean scores on the HI. Future studies must be conducted to determine if these results are valid and if other theories should be considered. If studies reveal that women actually experience more humiliation or fear of humiliation, action can be taken to explore and perhaps reduce this problem. Continuing research must look at the structures in society that allow or support the humiliation of women.

Qualitative Analyses

While qualitative research was not the primary purpose of this study, it became an important component of understanding the experience of humiliation. The respondents ($n = 26$) who wrote about their experiences of humiliation personified abstract scale scores with personal stories which described the circumstances and the impact of their experiences. The qualitative respondents were divided into groups of high, moderate, and low scorers and their responses were analyzed within the context of their group designation.

The high scorers in the qualitative sample described degrading experiences which continue to resonate in their lives as a source of pain and suffering. It appeared that these experiences remained unresolved. As a result, the high scorers continued to experience symptoms of distress. One individual described her present paranoia about being teased which she attributed to her experience of being ridiculed in elementary school. Another reported feeling "very nervous and overall self-conscious" due to childhood teasing. Still another reported, "I cried almost every day especially my Jr. and Sr. yrs. in High School." She associated her distress with the criticism she endured from her parents. The paranoia,

anxiety, and depression described by these respondents confirms the consequences of humiliation described by Klein (1991b).

One of the highest scorers in the qualitative sample graphically described her recurring experience of sexual abuse, her attempt to get help, her alienation from a family that wouldn't believe her, her exploitation by boyfriends, and her struggle with symptoms of depression. Her narrative suggests that humiliation can become a cyclical experience. As stated earlier, humiliation appears to undermine an individual's identity by making her/him feel powerless. If an individual has not been able to restore a sense of self and personal power, s/he may be at greater risk of future humiliation. This may explain a part of the dynamic experienced by battered women (Walker, 1984, 1994). A battered woman's sense of identity and personal power may be completely undermined by the humiliation inflicted upon her by an abusive partner. This process may be so gradual that the woman does not realize the damage being incurred on her self-esteem as she becomes economically or psychologically dependent on her batterer. The woman may get caught in a cycle of escalating forms of humiliation which erode her resistance to her humiliator. Silver et al. (1986) talk about this in their discussion of torture: "...persistent humiliation robs you of the vantage for rebellion" (p. 280). These theorists believe humiliation is the goal of torture because it gives the humiliator complete control of the victim. Perhaps humiliation is the goal of the batterer in his effort to gain complete control of his partner.

The moderate scorers from the qualitative sample described a variety of specific situations where they had been put down or demeaned. These experiences included being teased, harassed, cheated, exploited, verbally abused, physically abused, sexually abused, degraded because of social class, and degraded because of family income. The narratives of the moderate scorers continue to support the descriptions of humiliation discussed in the literature (Griffin, 1991; Kirshbaum, 1991; Klein, 1991b, 1992; Silver, et al., 1986; Stamm, 1978; Swift, 1991). As a result of their experiences, respondents spoke of feeling in some

way diminished as a person. They made comments such as: "I can't take compliments anymore" and "this considerably affected my self-esteem." This supports the notion that humiliation has an enduring impact.

Five respondents in the sample used the word "teased" to refer to their experience. Teasing, as defined by the Webster's Dictionary (1989), means: "to irritate or provoke with persistent petty distractions . . . or other annoyance, often in sport" (p. 1458). This inspires the question: When does teasing become humiliation? Perhaps teasing becomes humiliation when the victim experiences the interaction as an attack on his or her sense of self or value as a human being. Unfortunately, people who tease can not necessarily determine when they have crossed the line between teasing and humiliation. The respondents who describe being teased may be describing an experience which evolved into humiliation. On the other hand, their experience might have been humiliation disguised in the more socially acceptable form as teasing. Due to the lack of understanding and research on humiliation, individuals may not recognize or label their experience as humiliation.

Nine of the moderate scorers suggested they had achieved some form of reconciliation with their experience. They appeared to accomplish this by either acquiring a personal insight which allowed them to view their experience from a different perspective, or by removing themselves from a humiliating environment. These two strategies may offer clues about the resolution of humiliation. Perhaps some individuals can achieve an internal understanding from which they can restore their sense of personal power and secure their self-esteem. This may be an example of what Finkel calls a "trauma-stren conversion" (Finkel, 1974, 1975; Finkel & Jacobson, 1977). Through personal insight, some individuals may be able to reinterpret their humiliating experience in a way which acknowledges their strength or ability to cope with a difficult situation. Other individuals may need to leave degrading environments to find more nurturing

surroundings in which they can reestablish their internal sense of well-being. It is noteworthy that none of these resolutions were the result of confrontation with the victim's humiliator. Perhaps this is because many of these humiliating events occurred in the past and the victim no longer has the option of confronting the attacker. It is also possible that time and maturity alter one's perception of past experiences of humiliation. This suggests that future research should explore generational differences related to this phenomenon.

The low scorers' responses were brief and did not offer clear themes. Despite this limitation, it is of interest that two of the low scorers described positive personal characteristics. One of the respondents described feeling "content" and "confident." The other described feeling "self-confident" and "willing to be myself around others." While this information involves only two respondents, it seems reasonable that individuals who have low scores on the HI would have self-confidence, feel content, and be more willing to be themselves. They are living without the fear of humiliation.

The most salient information derived from the qualitative data is that the internal experience of humiliation is associated with a spectrum of degrading interactions or external events. An event which may seem trivial to one person may be traumatic to another. This suggests that it may be difficult to evaluate humiliation by examining the external event. One could attempt to quantify the duration, the intensity, and the frequency of degrading events, but would that accurately represent the nature of the experience? How would one evaluate the external experience without understanding the meaning of that experience to the individual? How would one evaluate the external experience of humiliation without understanding the context in which the event occurred? These are questions which must be addressed in future research. However, while it may be difficult, examining the "objective" occurrence of external events would be useful for evaluating an individual's interpretation of a humiliating experience. By partitioning the objective and

subjective components of humiliating events it might be possible to identify which individuals react more intensely or are more damaged.

The inclusion of qualitative data in this study augmented and enriched the data gathered through quantitative methods. Perhaps a qualitative component should continue to be included in the administration of the HI. Hines (1993) recommends linking qualitative and quantitative methods in cross-cultural survey research to understand "the underlying thought processes that govern ways members of different cultural and ethnic groups construct their world view" (p. 742). Giving examinees the opportunity to provide qualitative information may help us understand the thought processes and world views of those who have been victims of humiliation.

Future Implications

The development of the HI is intended as an antecedent to future dialogue and research investigating the humiliation dynamic. This would include further development of the HI, exploration of other aspects of the humiliation dynamic, and continued dialogue on how humiliation is manifest in our society.

HI Development

The HI remains in the early stages of development and further research is necessary to insure the reliability and validity of the instrument. DeVellis (1991) states: "One point to keep in mind at this juncture is that the validity of a scale is not firmly established during scale development. Validation is a cumulative, on going process" (p. 113). Future studies should examine convergent and discriminant validity. Convergent and discriminant validity could be determined by administering HI along with other scales to a sample group. The HI should positively correlate with scales evaluating similar or related constructs such as social alienation, fear of appearing incompetent, academic performance anxiety, shame, embarrassment, guilt, and powerlessness. It

should not correlate with scales evaluating unrelated or dissimilar constructs. Also, future analyses should demonstrate that the HI is measuring a unique construct which is not measured by any other scale.

The exploratory analyses for this paper identified significant differences between mean scores of males and females on the HI, but nonsignificant differences among all other levels of demographic categories. The nonsignificant results may be due to the homogeneity of the development sample which was primarily single white college students. Future cross-validated research should explore and determine if gender differences are consistent in all populations. It should also determine if significant or nonsignificant differences exist within other demographic groups.

The known-group method might be employed to validate the HI. This method would determine if the HI can distinguish between a comparison group and a group of individuals who are known to have a higher level of the construct. Groups having higher levels of internal humiliation might include victims of domestic violence, people who are incarcerated in prisons, and survivors of sexual assault.

Once enough research supports the validity of the HI, efforts to standardize the instrument can begin. Since the HI was developed to be useful with individuals of high school age or older, a standardization sample should be sufficiently large to represent the general population of individuals 15 years old or older. The process of standardization will lead to the development of norms which will be useful in test interpretation.

Investigating the Humiliation Dynamic

Beyond analyzing the HI, research is needed to explore other aspects of the humiliation dynamic. The research in this paper is limited to examining humiliation from the perspective of the victim. While the victim's perspective should continue to be investigated, future studies should explore humiliation from the view of the witness and the

humiliator. An endless number of question could be generated to explore these two perspectives such as:

1. What motivates an individual to humiliate another person?
2. What is the impact of being a witness to humiliation?
3. Are there individuals who are more likely to become humiliators?
4. Is a witness a necessary component of the humiliation dynamic?
5. If there is collective humiliation (Klein, 1991b), can there be collective humiliators?
6. What are the social conditions which facilitate the development of individuals who humiliate others?
7. What, if any, are the beneficial consequences of humiliation to individuals or society?

In addition to studying humiliation from multiple perspectives, various theorists have suggested concepts associated with humiliation which should be investigated. Lazare (1987) identified the phenomenon of counterhumiliation. Counterhumiliation occurs when an individual who has been humiliated attempts to restore his or her sense of power or dignity through humiliating the original attacker or a suitable substitute. A tragic example of this behavior might be seen in the events which led to the death of Amy Biehl in South Africa (Associated Press, 1994b). Ms. Biehl was an American student in South Africa researching women's rights and helping with voter education as a way of fighting apartheid. A group of black South Africans killed her. This may have been in retaliation for the humiliation imposed on them by white South Africans who have upheld apartheid. Understanding the dynamics of counterhumiliation may help us devise strategies for assisting individuals who have been humiliated to restore their personal power and dignity without resorting to further acts of humiliation.

The concept of prosocial humiliation, identified by Klein (1991b), is also worthy of investigation. Typically this phenomenon involves the process by which an individual

endures humiliation or indignities to be accepted by a group. Examples of this behavior can be found in fraternity and sorority initiation rites. Michael Davis, a 25-year old journalism student at Southeast Missouri State University, died as a result of a beating he received during such an initiation process (Associated Press, 1994a). Additional examples of this type of behavior may occur when an individual begins a new job, enlists in the military, or joins a competitive team. Research in these areas could identify the positive and negative consequences of this form of humiliation.

During the process of developing the HI, I came to suspect the existence of another type of humiliation which I call *latent humiliation*. This form of humiliation occurs when individuals have experiences which, at a later date, they come to recognize as humiliating. While they might detect some discomfort or a feeling that something is not right, they may not have realized at the time of the event that they were being demeaned or degraded. Later, they experience an insight or revelation which alters the meaning of the previous experience in such a way that they realize they were unjustly put down or assigned a lower position. Individuals who are born under oppression may not have a way of recognizing that the behavior expected of them by the oppressors implies that they are members of an inferior group. This is because their oppression is the only reality they have known. A specific example of latent humiliation may be the experience of a woman socialized to assume a traditional gender role, but eventually coming to recognize that being expected to clean up after capable others, being paid less for comparable work, and having her choices restricted because she is born with a certain anatomy is humiliating. Imagine the pain of individuals realizing they have been the victims of humiliating treatment throughout their lives! Humiliation is a tool of oppression and in developed societies oppressors find surreptitious ways of utilizing this tool. It is to the advantage of oppressors to keep their tools hidden from the victim's awareness. If research broadened people's understanding of the humiliation dynamic, more people might come to recognize their latent humiliation.

Finally, if humiliation is a pervasive and pernicious form of human behavior what can be done about it? What alternatives are there for preventing humiliation of individuals, groups, organizations, and nations? What interventions can be employed when humiliation occurs? What can people do to heal the wounds which result from being humiliated? Are some people more resistant to humiliation than others? If so, what makes them more resistant? These are consequential questions which must be addressed with future research.

Humiliation in Society

"Ridicule is man's most potent weapon." - Saul Alinsky

In 1971, when social activist Saul Alinsky recognized the power of ridicule (1971, p. 128), he probably did not realize his words were presaging one of the most flagitious social tools to be utilized in the last decade of the twentieth century. Today, ridicule has not only become commonplace; for some, it has become fashionable. One has only to turn on the radio to find a popular talk-show host disparaging individuals and groups who hold opposing viewpoints (cultural elitists, feminazis, rednecks, etc.)—all in the name of entertainment. People who seek to participate in positions of political or social leadership must consider their risk of being crucified by the barrage of personal attacks which have become the initiation ritual for those wishing to assume a position of influence in our society. Women and their families continue to run an increasingly dangerous gauntlet of ridicule and abuse to gain access to legal reproductive services. If ridicule is only one of the manifestations of the humiliation dynamic, it is unnerving to consider to what extent humiliation impacts our society in alternative forms.

In the introduction of this manuscript, it was stated that the practice of humiliation has become woven into the fabric of our society in such a way that it remains unidentified, minimized, neglected, or ignored. The purpose of this paper has been to contribute to the

process of revealing and untangling the threads of humiliation which negatively affect individuals and relationships as seen in our families, schools, businesses, government, entertainment, social organizations. It is becoming clear that no one can evade entanglement in the web of humiliation which permeates our social structure. No one can avoid being involved in the humiliation dynamic either as a victim, a witness, or a humiliator, and, at some point in our lives, almost all of us will be the target of humiliation. Today, no one is protected from humiliation: no child, no parent, no adult, no teacher, no political leader, no religious leader, no president, not even a Queen can escape the dynamics of humiliation.

It is time we recognize humiliation as a pervasive and pernicious form of human behavior which has an enormous impact on people. While the research in this paper attempted to develop an instrument to begin to assess the internal impact of humiliation, it will take years of research to understand the psychological and social consequences of humiliation which include wasted energy, squelched creativity, underachievement, social isolation, abuse, anxiety, anger, paranoia, depression, delinquency, and even self-assassination. Sadly, these consequences have been cloaked by a conspiracy of silence which protects, perpetuates, and empowers the practice of humiliation in our society. As the practice escalates, we can no longer afford to minimize or deny its existence. The development of the Humiliation Inventory is one step in reifying the humiliation dynamic and bringing it out of the shadows and into the light of understanding. Understanding is our only hope of identifying and disabling this opprobrious form of human behavior.

APPENDIX A

Item Trial Instrument

Informed Consent Statement

Demographic Questions

149 Item Pool

Qualitative Form

Please Read

Read this statement carefully before completing the questions on this form. These questions are part of a research project conducted by Linda M. Hartling, a doctoral student with The Union Institute Graduate School in Cincinnati, Ohio. The purpose of this project is to develop a questionnaire to measure individual perceptions of selected experiences. You will be asked to respond to a number of statements or items concerning your feelings and experiences. An example of the type of questions you will be asked to respond to is: Throughout your life to what extent have you felt frustrated (circle a rating between 1 - 5, 1 = not at all and 5 = extremely)? Approximately one-half hour will be needed to complete this questionnaire.

Participation is entirely voluntary. If you decide to participate, you are free to discontinue at any time without consequence. There are no foreseeable risks to you as a result of participating in this study. However, some questions might elicit unpleasant thoughts or memories.

Your answers will be kept confidential. You will not be asked to give your name or any identifying information on any of the questions. Instead you will be assigned a random number which is coded on your questionnaire. All questionnaires will be accessible only to the researcher, Linda M. Hartling, and will be destroyed upon completion of this study.

If you have any questions about the study, you should contact me, Linda M. Hartling, at (414) 496-9008.

Completion and return of this questionnaire indicates consent to participate in this study.

Please read and complete the following information.

Today's Date.....

Date of Birth.....

Sex.. (1) Female
 (2) Male

Number of People Living in Your Home... ..

Please put a check in the space next to the best answer.

Ethnic Background...

- _____ (1) Native American
- _____ (2) Asian
- _____ (3) Latino/Hispanic
- _____ (4) African American
- _____ (5) Caucasian
- _____ (6) Other

Current Marital Status...

- _____ (1) Single
- _____ (2) Partnered
- _____ (3) Married
- _____ (4) Separated
- _____ (5) Divorced
- _____ (6) Widowed

Highest Level of Education...

- _____ (1) Eighth grade or less
- _____ (2) Some High School
- _____ (3) High School graduate
- _____ (4) Technical School/some College
- _____ (5) College/University graduate
- _____ (6) Post-graduate or professional training
- _____ (7) Master's Degree
- _____ (8) Ph.D. or some other doctoral degree

Estimated Yearly Household (pre-tax) Income...

- _____ (1) No Income
- _____ (2) \$7,000 or less
- _____ (3) \$7,001 - 13,999
- _____ (4) \$14,000 - 19,999
- _____ (5) \$20,000 - 29,999
- _____ (6) \$30,000 - 49,999
- _____ (7) \$50,000 - 74,999
- _____ (8) More than \$75,000

CONTINUE ON THE NEXT PAGE...

This part of this questionnaire asks you to summarize your feelings about the following questions. Please read each item below carefully and circle the rating that best describes your feelings.

Example: Throughout your life to what degree have you felt...

...happy? Not at all Extremely
.....1 2 3 4 5

Throughout your life to what degree have you felt...

	Not at all			Extremely
(1.) ...respected?	1	2	3	4 5
(2.) ...empowered?	1	2	3	4 5
(3.) ...powerless?	1	2	3	4 5
(4.) ...appreciated?	1	2	3	4 5
(5.) ...unappreciated?	1	2	3	4 5
(6.) ...accepted for who you are?	1	2	3	4 5
(7.) ...comfortable being who you are around others?	1	2	3	4 5

Throughout your life to what degree have you felt...

	Not at all			Very Much So
(8.) ...treated honorably?	1	2	3	4 5
(9.) ...treated with dignity?	1	2	3	4 5
(10.) ...unjustifiably disgraced?	1	2	3	4 5
(11.) ...appropriately recognized for your work?	1	2	3	4 5
(12.) ...treated with respect by those who have power over you?	1	2	3	4 5
(13.) ...pressured into participating in some degrading activity to be accepted into a group?	1	2	3	4 5

Throughout your life to what degree have you been made to feel...

	Not at all			Extremely
(14.) ...capable?	1	2	3	4 5
(15.) ...incapable?	1	2	3	4 5
(16.) ...adequate?	1	2	3	4 5
(17.) ...inadequate?	1	2	3	4 5
(18.) ...worthless?	1	2	3	4 5
(19.) ...worthwhile?	1	2	3	4 5
(20.) ...significant?	1	2	3	4 5
(21.) ...insignificant?	1	2	3	4 5
(22.) ...like an outsider?	1	2	3	4 5
(23.) ...like a valuable person?	1	2	3	4 5
(24.) ...ashamed when you didn't deserve it?	1	2	3	4 5

Throughout your life how seriously have you felt harmed by being...

	Not at all			Very Seriously
(25.) ...teased?	1	2	3	4 5
(26.) ...bullied?	1	2	3	4 5
(27.) ...scorned?	1	2	3	4 5
(28.) ...excluded?	1	2	3	4 5
(29.) ...laughed at?	1	2	3	4 5
(30.) ...put down?	1	2	3	4 5
(31.) ...ridiculed?	1	2	3	4 5
(32.) ...harassed?	1	2	3	4 5
(33.) ...discounted?	1	2	3	4 5
(34.) ...embarrassed?	1	2	3	4 5
(35.) ...cruelly criticized?	1	2	3	4 5
(36.) ...cruelly disciplined?	1	2	3	4 5
(37.) ...treated as invisible?	1	2	3	4 5
(38.) ...taken advantage of?	1	2	3	4 5
(39.) ...called names or referred to in derogatory terms?	1	2	3	4 5

Throughout your life how seriously have you felt harmed by...

	Not at all			Very Seriously
(40.) ...sexual abuse?	1	2	3	4 5
(41.) ...physical abuse?	1	2	3	4 5
(42.) ...emotional abuse?	1	2	3	4 5
(43.) ...being treated like an object rather than a person?	1	2	3	4 5
(44.) ...being unfairly denied access to opportunities you deserve?	1	2	3	4 5

To what degree have you felt mistreated, put down, or ridiculed because...

	Not at all			Extremely
(45.) ...you have conformed to traditional expectations of behavior for your gender/sex?	1	2	3	4 5
(46.) ...you have not conformed to traditional expectations of behavior for your gender/sex?	1	2	3	4 5
(47.) ...you practice behaviors which are traditional for your race/ethnic group?	1	2	3	4 5
(48.) ...you do not practice behaviors which are traditional for your race/ethnicity?	1	2	3	4 5

CONTINUE ON THE NEXT PAGE...

To what degree have you felt mistreated, put down, or ridiculed because of your...		Not at all		Extremely	
(49.)	...age?	1	2	3	4 5
(50.)	...gender?	1	2	3	4 5
(51.)	...weight?	1	2	3	4 5
(52.)	...height?	1	2	3	4 5
(53.)	...income?	1	2	3	4 5
(54.)	...appearance?	1	2	3	4 5
(55.)	...social class?	1	2	3	4 5
(56.)	...race/ethnicity?	1	2	3	4 5
(57.)	...national origin?	1	2	3	4 5
(58.)	...way of speaking?	1	2	3	4 5
(59.)	...religious beliefs?	1	2	3	4 5
(60.)	...physical handicap?	1	2	3	4 5
(61.)	...mental disability?	1	2	3	4 5
(62.)	...sexual orientation?	1	2	3	4 5
(63.)	...level of education?	1	2	3	4 5
(64.)	...way of earning a living?	1	2	3	4 5

To what degree have you felt mistreated, put down, or ridiculed because of a family member's...		Not at all		Extremely	
(65.)	...illness?	1	2	3	4 5
(66.)	...income?	1	2	3	4 5
(67.)	...appearance?	1	2	3	4 5
(68.)	...social class?	1	2	3	4 5
(69.)	...national origin?	1	2	3	4 5
(70.)	...race/ethnicity?	1	2	3	4 5
(71.)	...way of speaking?	1	2	3	4 5
(72.)	...religious beliefs?	1	2	3	4 5
(73.)	...physical handicap?	1	2	3	4 5
(74.)	...mental disability?	1	2	3	4 5
(75.)	...level of education?	1	2	3	4 5
(76.)	...sexual orientation?	1	2	3	4 5
(77.)	...way of earning a living?	1	2	3	4 5

This part of this questionnaire asks you to describe your feelings about the following items. Please read each item below carefully. Then circle the rating that best describes your feelings.

At this point in your life, how much do you fear being...		Not at all		Very Much	
(78.)	...scorned?	1	2	3	4 5
(79.)	...bullied?	1	2	3	4 5
(80.)	...ridiculed?	1	2	3	4 5
(81.)	...powerless?	1	2	3	4 5
(82.)	...harassed?	1	2	3	4 5
(83.)	...put down?	1	2	3	4 5
(84.)	...excluded?	1	2	3	4 5
(85.)	...laughed at?	1	2	3	4 5
(86.)	...cruelly criticized?	1	2	3	4 5
(87.)	...cruelly disciplined?	1	2	3	4 5
(88.)	...made to feel like an outsider?	1	2	3	4 5

How anxious are you about...		Not at all		Extremely	
(89.)	...losing face?	1	2	3	4 5
(90.)	...being taken advantage of?	1	2	3	4 5
(91.)	...others looking down on you?	1	2	3	4 5
(92.)	...being expected to perform in front of others?	1	2	3	4 5
(93.)	...stating your ideas and thoughts in front of strangers?	1	2	3	4 5

To what degree do you fear being mistreated, put down, or ridiculed because...		Not at all		Extremely	
(94.)	...you have conformed to traditional expectations of behavior for your gender/sex?	1	2	3	4 5
(95.)	...you have not conformed to traditional expectations of behavior for your gender/sex?	1	2	3	4 5
(96.)	...you practice behaviors which are traditional for your race/ethnic group?	1	2	3	4 5
(97.)	...you do not practice behaviors which are traditional for your race/ethnic group?	1	2	3	4 5

CONTINUE ON THE NEXT PAGE...

At this point in your life, how concerned are you about being...

	Not at all			Extremely	
(98.) ...teased?	1	2	3	4	5
(99.) ...embarrassed?	1	2	3	4	5
(100.) ...treated as invisible?	1	2	3	4	5
(101.) ...treated like an object?	1	2	3	4	5
(102.) ...discounted as a person?	1	2	3	4	5
(103.) ...made to feel small or insignificant?	1	2	3	4	5
(104.) ...called names or referred to in derogatory terms?	1	2	3	4	5
(105.) ...unfairly denied access to some activity, opportunity, or service?	1	2	3	4	5

At this point in your life, how confident are you that you will be...

	Not at all			Extremely	
(106.) ...treated as significant?	1	2	3	4	5
(107.) ...respected by others?	1	2	3	4	5
(108.) ...treated with decency?	1	2	3	4	5
(109.) ...accepted for who you are?	1	2	3	4	5
(110.) ...treated like a valuable person?	1	2	3	4	5
(111.) ...comfortable being yourself in front of strangers?	1	2	3	4	5
(112.) ...appropriately acknowledged for the work you do?	1	2	3	4	5
(113.) ...at ease with people in authority or who have power over you?	1	2	3	4	5

How worried are you about being...

	Not at all			Extremely	
(114.) ...exploited?	1	2	3	4	5
(115.) ...sexually abused?	1	2	3	4	5
(116.) ...physically abused?	1	2	3	4	5
(117.) ...emotionally abused?	1	2	3	4	5
(118.) ...discriminated against?	1	2	3	4	5
(119.) ...unjustifiably disgraced?	1	2	3	4	5
(120.) ...viewed by others as inadequate?	1	2	3	4	5
(121.) ...viewed by others as incompetent?	1	2	3	4	5

How concerned are you about being mistreated, put down, or ridiculed because of your...

	Not at all			Extremely	
(122.) ...age?	1	2	3	4	5
(123.) ...gender?	1	2	3	4	5
(124.) ...weight?	1	2	3	4	5
(125.) ...height?	1	2	3	4	5
(126.) ...illness?	1	2	3	4	5
(127.) ...appearance?	1	2	3	4	5
(128.) ...social class?	1	2	3	4	5
(129.) ...family's income?	1	2	3	4	5
(130.) ...race/ethnicity?	1	2	3	4	5
(131.) ...religious beliefs?	1	2	3	4	5
(132.) ...physical handicap?	1	2	3	4	5
(133.) ...mental disability?	1	2	3	4	5
(134.) ...sexual orientation?	1	2	3	4	5
(135.) ...level of education?	1	2	3	4	5
(136.) ...way of earning a living?	1	2	3	4	5

How concerned are you about being mistreated, put down, or ridiculed because of a family member's...

	Not at all			Extremely	
(137.) ...illness?	1	2	3	4	5
(138.) ...income?	1	2	3	4	5
(139.) ...appearance?	1	2	3	4	5
(140.) ...social class?	1	2	3	4	5
(141.) ...national origin?	1	2	3	4	5
(142.) ...race/ethnicity?	1	2	3	4	5
(143.) ...way of speaking?	1	2	3	4	5
(144.) ...religious beliefs?	1	2	3	4	5
(145.) ...physical handicap?	1	2	3	4	5
(146.) ...mental disability?	1	2	3	4	5
(147.) ...level of education?	1	2	3	4	5
(148.) ...sexual orientation?	1	2	3	4	5
(149.) ...way of earning a living?	1	2	3	4	5

If completing this questionnaire reminds you of a specific experience you would like to share, describe your experience in the area below.

This image shows a single sheet of white paper with horizontal ruling lines. The lines are evenly spaced and run across the width of the page. There are no margins, text, or other markings on the paper.

APPENDIX B

Humiliation Inventory

This part of the questionnaire asks you to answer carefully and to circle the feeling that best describes you.

Example: Throughout your life, how often have you felt happy?
happy?
.....

Throughout your life how serious have you felt about the following?

- (1.) ...teased?
- (2.) ...bullied?
- (3.) ...scorned?
- (4.) ...excluded?
- (5.) ...laughed at?
- (6.) ...put down?
- (7.) ...ridiculed?
- (8.) ...harassed?
- (9.) ...discouraged?
- (10.) ...embarrassed?
- (11.) ...cruelly criticized?
- (12.) ...called names or referred to by names?

At this point in your life, how often have you felt the following?

- (13.) ...scorned?
- (14.) ...bullied?
- (15.) ...ridiculed?
- (16.) ...powerless?
- (17.) ...harassed?
- (18.) ...put down?
- (19.) ...excluded?
- (20.) ...laughed at?
- (21.) ...cruelly criticized?
- (22.) ...cruelly disciplined?
- (23.) ...made to feel like an outsider?

At this point in your life, how often have you felt the following?

- (24.) ...teased?
- (25.) ...embarrassed?
- (26.) ...treated as invisible?
- (27.) ...discouraged as a person?
- (28.) ...made to feel small or inferior?
- (29.) ...called names or referred to by names?
- (30.) ...unfairly denied access to things?

How worried are you about being viewed by others as the following?

- (31.) ...viewed by others as a person?
- (32.) ...viewed by others as a person?

HI

This part of this questionnaire asks you to summarize your feelings about the following questions. Please read each item below carefully and circle the rating that best describes your feelings.

Example: Throughout your life to what degree have you felt...

Not at all Extremely

...happy? 1 2 3 4 5

Throughout your life how seriously have you felt harmed by being...

Not at all Very Seriously

- | | | | | | | |
|-------|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (1.) | ...teased? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| (2.) | ...bullied? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| (3.) | ...scorned? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| (4.) | ...excluded? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| (5.) | ...laughed at? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| (6.) | ...put down? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| (7.) | ...ridiculed? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| (8.) | ...harassed? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| (9.) | ...discounted? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| (10.) | ...embarrassed? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| (11.) | ...cruelly criticized? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| (12.) | ...called names or referred to in derogatory terms? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

At this point in your life, how much do you fear being...

Not at all Very Much

- | | | | | | | |
|-------|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (13.) | ...scorned? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| (14.) | ...bullied? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| (15.) | ...ridiculed? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| (16.) | ...powerless? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| (17.) | ...harassed? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| (18.) | ...put down? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| (19.) | ...excluded? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| (20.) | ...laughed at? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| (21.) | ...cruelly criticized? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| (22.) | ...cruelly disciplined? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| (23.) | ...made to feel like an outsider? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

At this point in your life, how concerned are you about being...

Not at all Extremely

- | | | | | | | |
|-------|--|---|---|---|---|---|
| (24.) | ...teased? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| (25.) | ...embarrassed? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| (26.) | ...treated as invisible? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| (27.) | ...discounted as a person? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| (28.) | ...made to feel small or insignificant? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| (29.) | ...called names or referred to in derogatory terms? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| (30.) | ...unfairly denied access to some activity, opportunity, or service? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

How worried are you about being...

Not at all Extremely

- | | | | | | | |
|-------|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (31.) | ...viewed by others as inadequate? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| (32.) | ...viewed by others as incompetent? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

If completing this questionnaire reminds you of a specific experience you would like to share, describe your experience in the area below.

4

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