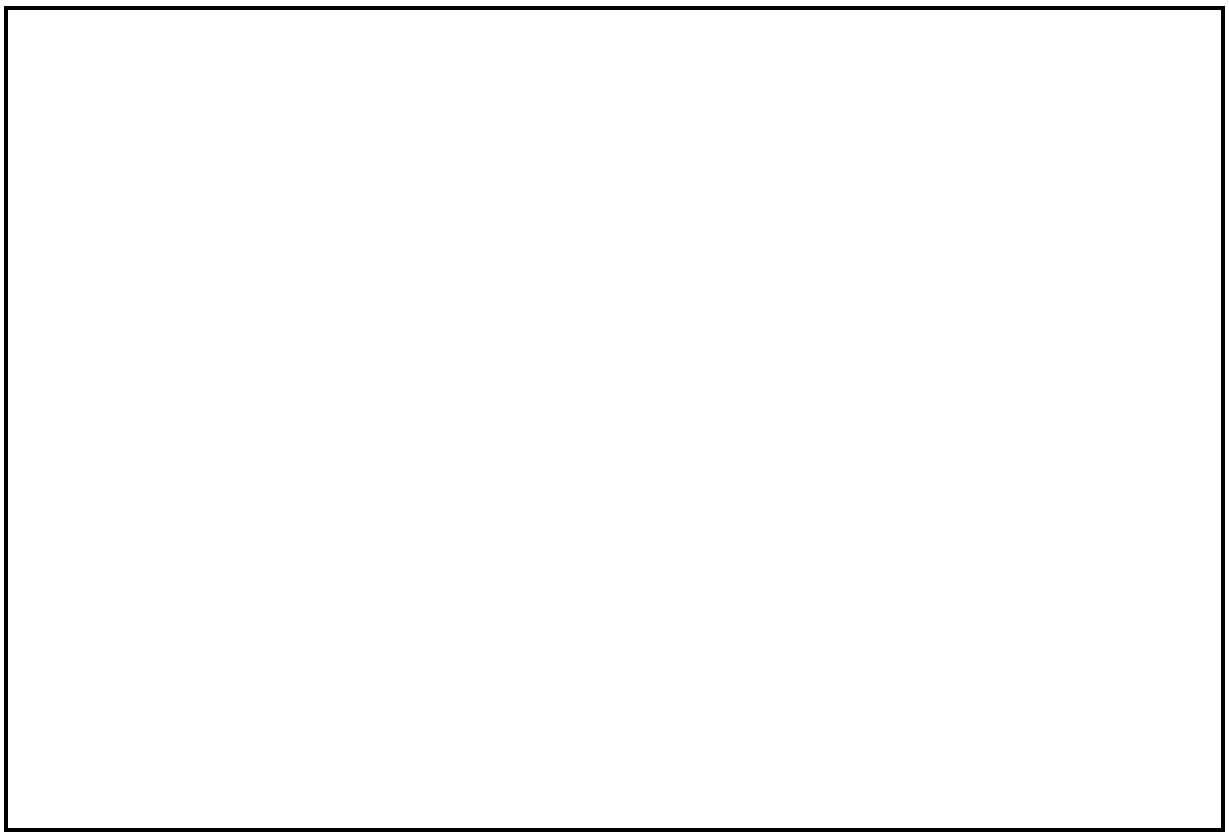
FACILITATING THE EXPRESSION OF SUBPERSONALITIES THROUGH THE USE OF MASKS: AN EXPLORATORY STUDY



MICK COOPER

I hereby declare that this thesis has not been submitted, either in the same or different form, to this or any other University for a degree.

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PREFACE

Whilst this thesis is wholly the original work of the author, there are a number of people whose time and support have been instrumental in bringing it about. Special thanks go to Dan Burningham, for his wisdom, passion and challenge; to Brian Bates, my supervisor, for his continual encouragement and ever-open door; to my parents, Kitty and Charles Cooper, for all their love, support, and care; to my partner, Helen Cruthers, for her help, commitment, and support throughout the workshops, for her critical comments on my draft chapters, for putting up with our mask-covered walls, and for holding me when I was at my lowest, most frightened, ebb. Special thanks also go to John Rowan, for his valuable comments and his book loans; to David Hitchin and James Sanderson, for their computer support; to the Inter-Library Loan department at the University of Sussex, for their dedication, patience and friendliness; to Richard Inskipp, at the Sussex University Multimedia Unit; and, finally, to all my workshop participants and interviewees, for their time, commitment and courage.

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SUMMARY

Over recent decades, polypsychic models—in which the mind is conceptualised as a cluster of 'subpersonalities'—have achieved increasing prominence in a variety of psychological fields. With these theoretical developments, however, has come a growing need to find methods whereby these subpersonalities—often at an unconscious or 'covert' level of functioning—can be brought to the light of consciousness. The purpose of this thesis is to explore the mask's potential to fulfil this function, to examine the types of subpersonalities and contexts with which it might be most effective, and to investigate the psychological processes that may underlie these qualities.

The thesis begins by introducing the concept of the mask and establishes the study's methodological foundations: exploratory, predominantly humanistic, and predominantly qualitative. The polypsychic model is then outlined, and substantiated through a review of empirical and observational material. The thesis goes on to review current techniques for facilitating the expression of subpersonalities, and argues that they operate by 'hooking' the subpersonality with one element of the subpersonality-complex. The following chapter reviews the psychology of the face, and argues that the face—and hence the mask—has the potential to function as a powerful subpersonality-hook. This hypothesis is then illustrated through six literary examples; and subsequently explored through four cross-cultural case studies of ritual and ceremony, focused interviews with mask-using therapists and personal growth facilitators, and a controlled experimental study. From this research it is concluded that the mask has the potential to act as a powerful means of facilitating the expression of subpersonalities, and may be particularly effective at bringing up the 'deeper' and more disowned aspects of the psyche: shadow, vulnerable child, critical parent, and 'naughty child'. It is also concluded that the mask is a highly versatile tool, particularly suited to interactive contexts.

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CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

> Man is least himself when he talks in his own person. Give him a mask, and he will tell the truth. (Oscar Wilde, quoted in Sorrell, 1973, p.13)

1.1 AIMS

Recent decades have seen the steady emergence of a psychological model that may radically transform contemporary perceptions of intrapsychic dynamics. 'Polypsychism'—the contention that the mind consists of multiple 'subpersonalities'—has evolved in fields as diverse as psychotherapy, hypnosis, psychiatry, social psychology and neuropsychology (see chapter 2). With these theoretical developments, however, has come a need to find methods whereby these subpersonalities—often at a covert or unconscious level of functioning—can be brought to the light of consciousness, and hence made accessible to therapeutic or experimental inquiry. The purpose of this thesis is to explore the extent to which the mask might be capable of fulfilling this function.

To hypothesise that the mask may facilitate the expression of subpersonalities[1] is not altogether original. Over the last twenty years, a handful of writers have suggested—often in passing—that the mask may fulfil this function. Larsen and Larsen (1981), for instance, have written: 'When one enters "concealment" behind the mask, there is a paradoxical freeing of behaviour. A transformation of character may take place, as hidden or suppressed parts of the self come to the fore. Ultimately, the transformation is revealing rather than concealing. There is a glimpse of the inner cast of characters which inhabits each one of us' (p.78). Therapists Pollaczek and Homefield (1954), Saigre (1989), Landy (1984, 1985), Jennings (1990), Minde (Jennings and Minde, 1993), and Brown (1988) have also hinted that masks may bring out aspects of the self (see chapter 7). Brown (1988) for instance, writes: 'The new face which the mask presents is a means of expressing a different side of one's being' (p.7). Subsequent focused interviews with mask-using therapists, dramatherapists, and personal growth facilitators (see chapter 7) suggest that the use of mask to facilitate the expression of aspects of the self—though not necessarily subpersonalities—is quite common amongst elements of the therapeutic community.

[1] The phrase, 'facilitate the expression of...' is somewhat cumbersome, and terms such as 'elicit' or 'bring out' would certainly have been more succinct. These terms, however, under-emphasise the individual's active participation in expressing a subpersonality. This thesis is not concerned with what masks can 'do' to people; but what people can do through the use of mask.

Consequently, where this thesis aims to make an original and unique contribution to psychological and psychotherapeutic knowledge is in three respects. First, it aims to locate the mask's potential to facilitate the expression of subpersonalities within a detailed review and analysis of contemporary psychological literature and research. Second, it aims to explore the mask from a number of different research bases, hence accumulating a multifaceted perspective on the mask's ability to facilitate the expression of subpersonalities. Third, it aims to assess, not just, 'Can the mask facilitate the expression of subpersonalities?', but also the 'What?' 'Where?' and 'Why?' I.e., What type of subpersonalities, if any, might the mask be most effective at facilitating the expression of? In what conditions, if any, might the mask be most effective at facilitating the expression of subpersonalities? and, finally, Why might the mask facilitate the expression of subpersonalities, or why might it be particularly effective at facilitating the expression of certain subpersonalities, and in certain conditions?

1.2 THE MASK

What is a mask? The *Oxford English Dictionary* gives five definitions: '1. A covering for the face, worn either as a disguise or for protection.... 2. *fig.* a. A "cloak", disguise, pretence; esp. in phr. *under the mask of, to put on, assume, throw off, pull off,* or *drop the mask (of),* etc.... 3. A masked person; a person wearing a mask or in masquerading dress: a masker.... 4. Various technical uses.... 5. *attrib.* and *Comb.*, as *mask-maker, mask-like* adj.; mask-ball, a masked ball, masquerade; mask-crab....' (p. 200-1). For the purposes of this thesis, the first definition is of most relevance: 'A covering for the face, worn either as a disguise or for protection.' Such a definition is similar to the one presented in *The New Collins Dictionary and Thesaurus* (1987): '1. any covering for the whole or a part of the face worn for amusement, protection, disguise, etc.' (p.614); and in the *Microsoft Encarta '95* CD-Rom dictionary: 'A covering worn on the face to conceal one's identity.' Central to each of these definitions are two elements: one structural, the other, functional. Structurally, a mask is an object which covers the face—generally a sizeable proportion. Hence, make-up would not be considered a mask because it is applied *to* the face rather than covering it; equally, glasses would not be considered a mask because they cover only a small proportion of the face. Functionally, however, a mask must also serve some purpose—predominantly one of disguise, protection or transformation. Hence, for instance, if an individual were to hold a piece of paper over her face to read it, it would

not be considered a mask; should the same piece of paper be used to hide the individual or protect her[2] from the sun's rays, however, then the term 'mask' might become more appropriate.

With respect to the other *Oxford English Dictionary* definitions, the word 'mask' will not be used in its figurative sense, nor in its technical usage. With respect to the third definition, 'a person wearing a mask', Tonkin (1979) uses the capitalised 'Mask', and this denotation will be used throughout the thesis.

Earliest recordings of the mask date back over 20,000 years to the Trois-Frère and Lascaux caves of Southern France, in which a wall-painting depicts a shamanic-like being with the head of a stag. Over the last two millennium, masks have been sculptured and embodied in virtually every region of the world, most notably southern and eastern Asia, western Africa and the Congo region, central and southern Europe, central and northern America, and the islands of Oceania. Today, masks and masking can still be observed in parts of Asia and central America, as well as in the carnival and masquerades of the developed and developing world (see chapter 6). Masks have also played a central role in the development of both western and eastern theatre—in particular, the *Commedia d'elle arte* of Europe and the *Noh* theatre of Japan—and continue to be used by playwrights, improvisers, and drama teachers to the present day.

Given this cross-cultural and trans-historical prevalence, academic explorations of the mask are surprisingly limited. What work there is tends towards the predominantly descriptive, either ethnographically (e.g., Lommel, 1972; Malin, 1978; Underwood, 1952), or theatrically (e.g., Smith, 1984; Sorrell, 1973). Where theoretical perspectives are adopted, the mask tends to be used as support for a wider anthropological model, rather than as an object of theoretical inquiry in its own right. Frazer (1922), for instance, who first explored the mask from a theoretical perspective, used it to support his concepts of 'imitative' and 'contagious' magic, arguing that masked actors, 'sought to draw down blessings on the community by mimicking certain powerful superhuman beings and in their assumed character working those beneficent miracles which in the capacity of mere men they would have confessed themselves powerless to effect' (vol. 6, p.241). Harley (1950) developed this hypothesis, and, through an analysis of north east Liberian masking, argued that masks were indeed a means of 'drawing down' the power of the gods, but more for the means of a small minority—particularly the male secret societies—than the community as a whole. More recently, Lévi-Strauss (1982) and others (de Mott, 1982; Gell, 1975) have used cross-cultural analyses of masking as

[2] For the purpose of simplicity, the female pronoun will be used throughout this thesis to denote both male and female.

support for a structural anthropological framework, demonstrating that masks and masking can only be understood within a complex, interdependent matrix of structural opposites.

Psychologically, the dearth of material on masks is even more substantial. Apart from the few mask-based therapeutic papers discussed earlier, perhaps the only significant psychological exploration of the mask is Johnson's (1981) *Impro*. This book, primarily a guide to masked-based dramatic improvisations, presents some detailed insights into the phenomenological and experiential dimension of mask-wearing, and emphasises the mask's ability to induce trance-like states and altered states of consciousness. Neither specific psychological processes or underlying theoretical concepts, however, are discussed.

1.3 METHODOLOGY

In researching the mask's ability to facilitate the expression of subpersonalities, a central question is one of methodology: Should the research be quantitative, qualitative, descriptive, inferential, nomothetic, etc.? In approaching this question, a number of key factors come to the fore. First, this area of research is greatly under-explored. Not only is this the first study to assess the mask's ability to facilitate the expression of subpersonalities *and* the first study to explore the psychology of the mask, but it is also the first study to assess *any* means of facilitating the expression of subpersonalities. Hence, not only is there no prior research to develop this study on, but no standard, accepted methodology on which the research design can be based. Second, given the enormity of developing and testing a new technique for facilitating the expression of subpersonalities, the aim of this study is not to 'prove' that the mask can fulfil this function; rather, the aim of this study is to gain a preliminary sense of the mask's potential (or lack of potential), which might subsequently serve as the basis for more systematic research and therapeutic exploration. Fourth, whilst there is a general hypothesis around which the research is orientated, there are few predictions as to the wider possible outcome of the study—particularly in regard to the types of subpersonalities and contexts with which the mask might be most effective. Hence, there is a desire to make the research as open as possible to new insights, and to provide space whereby new hypothesis can be generated. Fifth, given the therapeutic orientation of the study, there is a desire to make the research, method of analysis, and presentation of findings as appropriate to this field as possible.

Based on these factors, a methodological design was adopted that can be described as exploratory, predominantly humanistic, and predominantly qualitative.

Exploratory designs are most appropriate for unknown or unfamiliar areas (Adams and Schvaneveldt, 1985). In contrast to other approaches, exploratory research tends towards the unstructured and flexible, with a focus on process and activity, a desire to 'ask the creative questions', a willingness to change and redefine the problem, and an openness to serendipity (Adams and Schvaneveldt, 1985). Exploratory studies are designed to discover the most general information about a research problem, to generate new hypothesis, to assess phenomena in a different perspective, to maximise new insights and ideas, and to ask: 'I wonder what would happen if...' (Adams and Schvaneveldt, 1985, p.104). Hence, the purpose of exploratory research is not to arrive at definite conclusions but: '(1) to satisfy curiosity, (2) to build methodology that might be used in later, more tightly designed research, and (3) to make recommendations regarding the likelihood of continuing with additional research on the topic' (Adams and Schvaneveldt, 1985, p.103). The flexibility inherent in exploratory research, however, does not imply an absence of direction to the inquiry. Rather, 'the flexibility means that the focus is initially broad and becomes progressively smaller as the research goes on' (Adams and Schvaneveldt, 1985, p.106). Hence, whilst the initial research chapters of this thesis are predominantly unstructured and open-ended, there is a narrowing down towards the more structured and specific end of the exploratory spectrum as the thesis develops.

The methodology adopted for this study can also be described as predominantly humanistic. This would seem to be the most appropriate methodology for an exploration of subpersonalities: a concept which is primarily located within the field of humanistic psychology (e.g., psychosynthesis, transactional analysis, voice dialogue therapy, etc.). Within a humanistic approach, knowledge is considered holistic and multiply-caused (Mitroff and Kilmann, 1978). Hence, there is more concern with designing studies to ascertain a number of complex, inter-related factors, than with isolating a single, statistically 'significant' variable. A humanistic approach also tends to transcend the positivistic notion of 'value-free' knowledge, and—as with post-modernistic methodologies—sees 'data' as inevitably political, subjective and value-constituted (Mitroff and Kilmann, 1978). As Denzin (1994) writes, 'the age of "objective" description is over. We are...in the age of inscription. Writers create their own situated, inscribed versions of the realities they describe' (p.505). Within humanistic research, therefore, there is less emphasis on minimising researcher bias, and a greater acceptance that the researcher is inevitably, 'bound within a net of epistemological and ontological premises which—regardless of ultimate truth or falsity—become partially self-validating' (Bateson, 1972, p.314).

Such rejection of positivistic 'objectivity', however, does not entail a return to the naive subjectivism of 'primary process' awareness (Reason, 1994). Rather, humanistic inquiry requires a 'critical

subjectivity', a self-reflexive awareness of one's perspective and biases, and an ability to articulate them in one's research (Reason, 1994). Hence, as Graham (1986) writes: 'humanistic psychologists recognize that their approach demands the development of an awareness or empirical attitude towards the self—an inner empiricism—which is as rigorous as that which empirical science provides in respect of outer data' (p.103). In terms of this 'inner empiricism', perhaps the greatest need is an awareness of when one is opportunistically 'exampling' (Glaser and Strauss, 1967): looking for 'facts', cases, quotes and examples which 'fit' and confirm a theory, whilst avoiding any material that might challenge or contradict it. Not only is such an approach a logically inadequate means of testing a hypothesis; but—in finding what she sets out to find—it can also limit the researcher's own creative ability to generate new ideas and hypothesis. Hence, whilst exampling does take place in this thesis, I hope to have labelled it as such, and to have highlighted its preliminary and anecdotal nature. Moreover, where possible, I have attempted to steer away from exampling, and find cases, quotes, and instances which maximise the opportunity for a critical examination of the theories at hand.

A humanistic approach also tends to place considerable importance on the nature of the experimenter-subject relationship: emphasising reciprocity, respect, co-operation and openness. The 'subject' is seen as an intelligent, decision-making adult, and not as a deterministically-controlled respondent[3]. Moreover, where possible, research is designed to maximise the participants' own learning and self-development—what Kvale (1983) calls 'catalytic validity'. At the same time, there is an encouragement within humanistic psychology for the researcher to abandon the role of 'external observer', and to take an active and experiential participation in the research field (over 200 hours of mask-workshops were attended as part of the research for this thesis).

Finally, in contrast to more 'objective', 'value-free' positivism, the ultimate and explicit aim of humanistic research is, 'To promote human development on the widest possible scale' (Mitroff and Kilmann, 1978, p.76). Research is valid to the extent that it furthers human well-being. Altheide and Johnson (1994) call this 'validity-as-standards', whereby, 'validity should be relevant and serviceable for some application of knowledge: Is knowledge useful? Does it, for example, liberate, or empower?' (p.488).

It is important to note, however, that the term 'predominantly' has been used to describe the humanistic orientation of this research. For, whilst efforts have been made in this study to move towards a more creative, 'subject-friendly', self-reflexive approach, there are aspects of this research which accord less well with a humanistic methodology. First, the thesis is set up to explore a specific,

[3] For the remainder of this thesis, the word 'subject' will be replaced by either the term 'interviewee' or 'participant'.

logically-deduced theory; whilst a more humanistic (e.g., Rowan, 1981a) or post-positivistic methodology (e.g., Grounded Theory, Glaser and Strauss, 1967), would begin with the raw data, and only subsequently—and inductively—derive substantive or formal theory. Second, because the thesis is partially interested in exploring covert and unconscious aspects of the psyche, there is little by way of phenomenological inquiry (e.g., Colaizzi, 1978; Hedegaard and Hakkarainen, 1986). Third, because of time factors, the researcher-subject relationship is still some way off from the wholly cooperative (Heron, 1981), dialectical relationship, which Rowan (1981b) locates at the non-alienating end of the research methodology spectrum. Fourth, in contrast to what Mitroff and Kilmann (1978) call the 'Particular Humanist' approach—concerned with, 'capturing and describing the uniqueness of particular individual human beings' (p.94)—this study adopts a primarily nomothetic, 'Conceptual Humanist' approach. As Mitroff and Kilmann's (1978) terms suggest, both approaches can be considered humanistic; yet Particular Humanism, with its concern for individual uniqueness, is, perhaps, closer to the humanistic ideology than a more nomothetic approach.

Given the exploratory and predominantly humanistic nature of this study, it follows that the methodology should also be predominantly qualitative. Not only does such an approach maximise the possibility of exploring new insights and generating new hypothesis; but it accords well with a humanistic interest in complex and creative knowledge ('thick descriptions', Geertz, 1973), a transcendence of 'value-free' positivism, and a non-reductionist respect for participants' experiences. Moreover, as Smith (1995) writes in a recent issue of *The Psychologist*—an issue dedicated specifically to qualitative methodology—'There is currently something of an explosion of interest in qualitative approaches amongst psychologists, particularly in the UK' (p.125). This view is shared by Henwood and Nicolson (1995), who write, 'in recent times, there has been a move towards an arguably more radical break with empiricism, inspired by the interrelated intellectual currents of post-structuralism and post-modernism' (p.110).

In contrast to positivistic empiricism, qualitative research also emphasises multiplicity in method. The qualitative researcher, as Denzin and Lincoln (1994) write, is a '*bricoleur*', a 'Jack of all trades', adept at performing a wide range of tasks, from interviewing to observing to intensive introspection. Rather than adhering to one particular method, the researcher-as-*bricoleur* deploys, 'whatever strategies, methods, or empirical materials at hand.... If new tools have to be invented, or pieced together, then the researcher will do this' (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994, p.2). Central to the *bricoleur's* research, however, is the tool of triangulation: 'a process of using multiple perceptions to clarify meaning' (Stake, 1994, p.241). Hence, in this thesis, a number of different approaches and methods have been used to explore the mask's ability to facilitate the expression of subpersonalities:

illustrative examples, case studies, interviews, and questionnaires. This thesis also uses quantitative, inferential statistics (which is why the methodology is defined as *predominantly* qualitative). Through this process of triangulation, it is hoped to get a better 'fix' on the matter in hand (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994), to view the mask from a variety of different angles. Moreover, in terms of further research, a multifaceted approach may help to identify the most effective means of future inquiry.

1.4 OUTLINE

This thesis has been structured with a sequential logic in mind. Having outlined the aims, methodology and concept of 'mask' in this introduction, chapter two lays the theoretical foundations for the study: reviewing the concepts of subpersonalities and polypsychism from a number of psychological fields, defining these terms, describing their nature and properties, and presenting empirical support for the polypsychic model. Chapter three establishes the more immediate context for the present study, reviewing contemporary techniques for facilitating the expression of subpersonalities. Chapter three also examines the psychological mechanisms by which these techniques function, and this analysis is incorporated in to chapter four, which hypothesises that the face—and hence the mask—might also be an effective means of facilitating the expression of subpersonalities. Chapter five provides a preliminary exploration of this hypothesis, presenting six illustrative examples from literature in which the mask is used either to symbolise aspects of the psyche, or to express sides of the protagonists' personalities. Chapters six, seven and eight all explore the mask's ability to facilitate the expression of subpersonalities, through an analysis of ritual and ceremony, mask-based therapy, and controlled experimental conditions respectively. Chapter nine concludes by exploring some of the common themes that have emerged through this research, and suggests possible therapeutic developments, along with new avenues of exploration.

Whilst the research for this thesis has attempted to explore the most significant areas of masking, one domain not explored is that of the mask in dramatic improvisation: Japanese *Noh* Theatre, European *Commedia d'elle arte*, and the works of Stanaslawski, Copeau, LeCoq, Grotowski, Johnson (1981), Appel (1982), the Trestle Theatre Company, and the many other directors and drama teachers who use mask-based improvisation as an integral part of their theatrical training. An exploration of mask-work in this domain—perhaps through the use of focused interviews (Merton et al., 1956)—would undoubtedly add significantly to an understanding of the mask's ability to facilitate the expression of subpersonalities. Unfortunately, due to limitations of space and time, such an exploration has been omitted from this study.

CHAPTER 2. POLYPSYCHISM AND SUBPERSONALITIES: A REVIEW

> We think that if a man is called Ivan he is always Ivan. Nothing of the kind. Now he is Ivan, in another minute he is Peter, and a minute later he is Nicholas, Sergius, Matthew, Simon. All of you think he is Ivan. You know that Ivan cannot do a certain thing. He cannot tell a lie for instance. Then you find he has told a lie and you are surprised he could have done it. And, indeed, Ivan cannot lie; it is Nicholas who lied. And when the opportunity presents itself, *Nicholas cannot help lying*. You will be astonished when you realise what a multitude of these Ivans and Nicholases live in one man. If you learn to observe them there is no need to go to a cinema. (Ouspensky, quoted in O'Connor, 1971, p.48-9)

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Polypsychism is the psychological foundation of this thesis. It is an ancient philosophy of the mind, yet in recent years it is rapidly returning to psychological vogue. Ellenberg (1970) defines polypsychism—in contrast to 'monopsychism' or 'dipsychism'—as: 'a notion of the human mind as a cluster of subpersonalities' (p.145), and traces the term's origins to the 'magnetiser' Durand (de Gros), who claimed that the human organism consisted of anatomical segments, each of which had a psychic ego of its own, and all subject to an ego-in-chief—our everyday consciousness. The notion of a multifaceted psyche, however, stretches back through human history. Over ten thousand years ago, Siberian shamanic cultures of the late Pleistocene era believed in the existence of a 'second self', a part of the person that moved about at night and visited places in their dreams. Illness, lethargy and death were attributed to the loss of this 'soul' or its detention by evil spirits (Ellenberg, 1970). In classical times, Plato (1988) wrote in the *Phaedrus* that the mind was divisible into three parts, like a charioteer and two horses. Whilst one of the horses was a lover of honesty, modesty and temperance, the other was a crooked, lumbering animal, a creature of pride, insolence and instinctual desires. Saint Augustine (1952) also contemplated the multiplicity of the psyche: 'Am I not myself, O Lord, my God. And yet, there is so much difference betwixt myself and myself within the moment wherein I pass from waking to sleeping or return from sleeping to waking' (p.81).

Over the years, various terms have been used to denote these parts of the self (see table 1). Most recently, however, the term 'subpersonality' seems to have gained increasing popularity, and is now used by a wide variety of psychologists, psychotherapists and psychiatrists (Rowan, personal communication). Perhaps this is because, in contrast to 'ego-state' or 'small mind' etc., the term 'subpersonality' is not tied down to any one theoretician or discipline. As Redfearn (1985) writes: 'a generic, not too controversial word is necessary at this stage in the working concepts which psychotherapists use' (*xii*). Hence, the term 'subpersonality' will be used throughout this thesis to denote parts of the psyche.

Not all parts of the psyche, however, are subpersonalities. Semantic memory, neurone transmitters, and guilt are all intrapsychic entities, yet they do not constitute parts of the self in the same way that the 'inner child' or 'critical parent' might. Hence, it is essential to have a clear definition of subpersonalities. Assagioli, who first coined the term in 1907, stated that: '(1) subpersonalities are states of awareness; (2) subpersonalities contain fused intellectual and emotional elements; (3) the energy of subpersonalities is self-contained in powerful concentrations; and (4) subpersonality function can be observed in external action' (quoted in Sliker, 1992). More recent definitions have condensed but maintained the essential aspects of Assagioli's terminology. Brown (quoted in Rowan, 1990) defines a subpersonality as: 'a pattern of feelings, thoughts, behaviours, perceptions, postures, and ways of moving which tend to coalesce in response to various recurring situations in life' (p.8). Vargiu (1974) defines it as: 'a synthesis of habit patterns, traits, complexes, and other psychological elements' (p.60). Cullen and Russell (1989) adopt a similar perspective, defining a subpersonality as: 'a complex of actions, feelings, thoughts, strengths, weaknesses. When you are in a subpersonality, you act, feel and think in a certain way. You have certain motivations' (p.109). Rowan (1990) uses a slightly different terminology, defining a subpersonality as: 'a semi-permanent and semi-autonomous region of the personality capable of acting as a person' (p.8).

Whilst the focus and terminology of each of these definitions varies, a number of shared themes emerge. First, and perhaps most significantly, a subpersonality is considered a complex constellation of behavioural, phenomenological, motivational, cognitive, physiological and affective components. Second, a subpersonality is considered capable of acting as a person, *it has the appearance of a person*, and displays much of the holism and complexity that an individual exhibits. Third, subpersonalities are considered to have some degree of psychic autonomy. Fourth, subpersonalities are considered to have some degree of permanence (Shapiro (1976) and Rowan (1990) suggest that individuals have only four to nine subpersonalities, whilst Berne (1961) hypothesises the existence of five key ego-states). Finally, subpersonality are seen as coalescing and emerging in response to various 'life situations'.

This chapter begins by reviewing psychotherapeutic concepts of polypsychism and subpersonalities. The chapter then presents empirical and observational support for these working hypotheses through a discussion of hypnosis, dissociated identity disorder (D. I. D.), possession, social psychology, and neuropsychology.

Due to lack of space, developmental perspectives on polypsychism have not been covered. This chapter also omits critiques of polypsychism. There are two basic reasons for this. First, direct

critiques of polypsychism within the psychological literature are virtually non-existent. Second, this chapter is not an attempt to present a detailed evaluation of polypsychism; rather, what this chapter wishes to demonstrate is that polypsychism has *sufficient* therapeutic, empirical and theoretical validity to serve as the basis for this thesis.

Assagioli (1965)	Subpersonalities
Beahrs (1982)	Hidden Observers
Berne (1961)	Ego-states
Federn (1952)	Ego-states
Hermans et al (1993)	Voices
Mahrer (1978)	Potentials
Martindale (1980)	Subselves
Moreno (1972)	Roles
Ornstein (1986)	Small minds
Redfearn (1985)	Sub-personalities
Rowan (1990/1993)	Subpersonalities
Shapiro (1962, 1976)	Subselves
Stone and Winkelman (1989a, 1989b)	Subpersonalities/Selves/Energy Patterns (terms used interchangeably)
Watkins (1990)	Ego-states

Table 1: Synonymous terms for 'subpersonalities'

2.2 PSYCHOTHERAPY[4]

Polypsychic concepts reach back to the earliest psychotherapeutic models. In the 1890s, Janet's 'psychological analysis', 'contended that certain hysterical symptoms can be related to the existence of split parts of personality (subconscious fixed ideas) endowed with an autonomous life and development' (Ellenberg, 1970, p.361). Freud (1923) developed Janet's ideas, and from his initially dipsychic conscious/unconscious model of the mind, proposed the tripartite id, ego and superego. However, whilst Redfearn (1985) suggests that these intrapsychic entities are subpersonalities, Freud's model could not be considered truly polypsychic. Whilst ego and superego both meet the second subpersonality-defining criterion in that they have the appearance of and are capable of acting as a person, this is not true of the id: 'a chaos, a cauldron of seething excitement…it has no organisation and no unified will' (Freud, 1933, p.104). Whilst Freud's model is based on the concept of defence mechanisms, with ego pushing out of consciousness the primary processes of the id; polypsychic models emphasise the importance of 'dissociation'—'A disturbance or alternation in the normally integrative function of identity, memory or consciousness' (DSM-III-R 1987, p.269)—whereby aspects of the psyche—quite possibly functioning at an equivalent level of secondary and primary processes—struggle to force the other out of consciousness. Hilgard (1970) suggests the need

[4] Throughout this thesis, the word 'psychotherapy' will be used to denote both psychotherapy and counselling.

to differentiate between ‘horizontal splitting’, evident in the process of dissociation; and ‘vertical splitting’, evident in the process of repression. Whilst these processes are by no means mutually exclusive, it is important to distinguish between what is pushed to one side and what is pushed down.

Many post-Freudian psychoanalysts, however, have moved towards a more polypsychic model. Fairbairn, for instance, formulated a theory of a tripartite ego, consisting of the libidinal ego (seeking the exciting and fulfilling object), the anti-libidinal ego (the critical internal saboteur or persecutory object), and the central (observing and experiencing) ego (Clarkson and Gilbert, 1988). Federn (1953), too, hypothesised that the ego could be divided into a number of ‘states’ like a nation, with various ego-levels co-existing in the individual, unconsciously acting and reacting upon one another (p.93). Central to these post-Freudian developments has been Ferenczi’s (1952) notion of ‘introjection’, whereby, ‘the neurotic helps himself by taking into the ego as large as possible a part of the outer world, making it the object of unconscious phantasies’ (p.47-8). This concept of ‘internal objects’ was developed by Klein and the object relations school, who asserted that people not only react and interact with an actual other, but also with an internal other: a psychic representation of that person (Greenberg and Mitchell, 1983). In this sense, internal objects are similar to subpersonalities. Klein, however, also emphasised the child’s ability to introject ‘non-person’ objects such as the mother’s breast and father’s penis—internal object that would not meet the subpersonality-defining criterion of being ‘capable of acting as a person’. Hence, an internal object could become a subpersonality, but the two phenomena are not necessarily synonymous.

Jung’s analytical psychology could be considered equally neo-polypsychic. From an early age, Jung was well aware of his divided sense of identity—the nervous, difficult child that he was in contrast to the prominent, eighteenth century intellect that he fantasised himself to be (Sliker, 1992)—and his concepts of the ‘archetype’ and ‘complex’ have been termed ‘subpersonalities’ by both Redfearn (1980) and Ellenberg (1970). Yet it is more ambiguous, from Jung’s writings, as to whether archetypes and complexes can really be considered ‘capable of functioning as a person’. Jung made it clear that the archetypes themselves are un-representable (Jacobi, 1959), revealing themselves through dreams, mythology, and guided visualisations in the way that the molecular structure of a mineral reveals itself in the crystals it produces. An individual can therefore never be ‘in’ an archetype in the way that she can be ‘in’ a subpersonality—unless she is suffering severe mental delusions. As to complexes (a concept borrowed from Janet’s ‘fixed subconscious ideas’ (Ellenberg, 1970)), Jung (1936) writes that they, ‘behave like independent beings’ (p.121); yet also writes that, ‘Complexes are objects of inner experience and are not to be met in the street and in public places’ (1934, p.100). Hence, even with complexes, an ambiguity remains. Perhaps, as with internal objects,

archetypes and complexes can be considered possible sources of subpersonalities, but not subpersonalities in themselves. Or, to put it another way, ‘If the sub-personality is said to have a universal human behaviour or attitude as its basis, it is referred to as an archetype’ (Redfearn, 1985, p.88).

Psychosynthesis can probably be considered the first truly polypsychic psychotherapy, developed by Assagioli in the early twentieth century, and still one of the most prominent forms of humanistic therapy today. Psychosynthesis not only coined the term ‘subpersonalities’, but was the first psychotherapy to consider subpersonality-work as an essential aspect of psychological growth. In contrast to more contemporary approaches to subpersonalities (e.g., Rowan, 1990; Stone and Winkelman, 1989a, 1989b), however, psychosynthesis tends to see subpersonalities as inherently problematic—split off parts of the psyche that need to be integrated for the individual to achieve a more fully functioning level of actualisation and harmonisation.

According to Vargiu (1974), this process of harmonisation consists of five phases: recognition, acceptance, co-ordination, integration and synthesis. Recognition begins by identifying the most salient subpersonalities in a client’s life, and proceeds to exploring their characteristics, personalities, needs and wants. To facilitate this process, the client is often encouraged to dialogue with their subpersonalities, through such techniques as ‘guided imagery’ or ‘chair-work’ (see chapter 3). The client’s next goal is acceptance of her subpersonalities, a process that might be particularly difficult if she encounters highly undesirable parts of herself: e.g., an inner demon, an inner victim. This process is helped, however, by the assumption within psychosynthesis that, ‘No matter how many layers of distortion may surround it, the basic need, the basic motivation, is a good one’ (Vargiu, 1974, p.82). An inner victim, for instance, may seem whiny and pathetic, but when explored, the client may come to realise its fundamental need for affection and safety. Through this process of recognising and accepting her subpersonalities, the client can begin to step back from them, to experience her subpersonalities from the vantage point of an ‘objective observer’. Being equally accepting to all her subpersonalities, this observer can serve an important function in the third phase of subpersonality work: ‘co-ordination’—finding acceptable ways in which each of the subpersonality’s needs can be satisfied and fulfilled. The fourth phase, ‘integration’, develops this co-ordination process through such techniques as ‘time sharing’; and the final phase, synthesis, brings about a complete fusion of the subpersonalities.

With the development of humanistic psychology in the 1950s and 1960s, other polypsychic models have entered the psychotherapeutic fray. Transactional analysis (T. A.) is probably the most

prominent and sophisticated of these, based primarily on Federn's concept of the ego-state. An ego-state, as suggested earlier, is essentially synonymous with a subpersonality, described, 'phenomenologically as a coherent system of feelings related to a given subject, and operationally as a set of coherent behaviour patterns; or pragmatically, as a system of feelings which motivates a related set of behaviour patterns' (Berne, 1961, p.17). As with psychosynthesis, T. A. emphasises the need for harmonious relationships between the ego-states, and the importance of an 'observer' (in T. A.'s case, the 'Adult') which is aware of and can mediate between the other subpersonalities. In contrast to psychosynthesis, however, T. A. proposes the existence of a number of universally shared ego-states (see table 2). T. A. also rejects the notion that all subpersonalities are inherently negative, and sees ego-states as being inevitable and irradicable, with the potential for both positive and negative qualities.

Gestalt therapy, which arose around the same time as T. A., also highlighted the multifaceted nature of the psyche. Perls, its initiator, argued that all the parts of a client's dreams, paintings, etc. represented aspects of their psyche, and that through putting these different parts on different chairs, the individual could be encouraged to enact a dialogue between these intrapsychic entities (Perls, Hefferline & Goodman, 1951). To what degree, however, 'parts of the psyche' equate to subpersonalities is questionable. Whilst some, such as 'topdog' and 'underdog' (see table 2), are clearly identifiable as subpersonality complexes; others, like 'my anger' or 'my need for reassurance', would, in themselves, not meet the subpersonality criterion of being complex constellation of characteristics capable of acting as a person.

A polypsychic perspective has also been adopted by many psychodramatists (Moreno, 1972; Moreno, 1975; Pitzele, 1991); and dramatherapists (Gordon, 1987; Landy, 1993). Moreno, the founder of psychodrama emphasised the psyche as being 'many' rather than 'the one' (Pitzele, 1991). Moreno (1972), Landy (1993) and Pitzele (1991) call these aspects of the self 'roles', but in Landy's (1993) definition of them as: '1. A unit of personality. 2. A container of thoughts and feelings....' (p.8), they come as close to the notion of subpersonalities as they do to the sociological concept of roles (see section 2.6). Moreover, psychodramatists and dramatherapists tend to work with roles in a way almost identical to subpersonality-based therapy, invoking them, naming them, playing them out and exploring these sides to the self (Landy, 1993). In contrast to other polypsychic therapies, however, in dramatherapy the role is not necessarily identified with the client's intrapsychic dynamics. Rather, the client may be given dramatic license to act out a fictional role, and only later in the therapeutic process might the role be related to everyday life (Landy, 1993). Landy (1985) and Jennings (1990) term this process 'dramatic distancing'.

Over the last twenty years, a number of further therapeutic approaches have sprung up which focus exclusively—or predominantly—on encouraging clients to enact a 'dialogue' between their subpersonalities (Mahrer, 1978; Sasportas, 1987; Satir, 1978; Shapiro, 1976; Shorr, 1983; Stone & Winkelman, 1989a; Watkins, 1978). The three most comprehensive of these have been subself therapy (Shapiro, 1976), ego-state therapy (Watkins 1978), and voice dialogue work (Stone and Winkelman, 1989a). Whilst cross-referencing between these three therapies seems non-existent, they are virtually identical, combining elements of both psychosynthesis and T. A. Like psychosynthesis, all three highlight the need for recognition, acceptance and co-ordination of the subpersonalities, each posits the need for an 'objective observer' as a tool for the effective co-ordination of the subpersonalities, and each uses chair-work as a central technique by which dialogue between the subpersonalities can be facilitated. Like T. A., both subself therapy and voice dialogue work highlight the existence of certain 'trans-individual' subpersonalities (see table 2), though in neither as prescriptive or definitive terms.

Recent years have also seen the emergence of the recovery movement and 'inner child' work (e.g., Bradshaw, 1990) which focuses specifically on the need to explore and dialogue with the 'inner child'. The concept of subpersonalities has also been incorporated in to Ryle's (1990) cognitive-analytic therapy, one of the more modern, short-term, clinically-based therapies.

Through an exploration of these polypsychic psychotherapies, I would like to suggest six further dimensions of subpersonalities that can be added to the five characteristics stated earlier.

First, all therapeutic work with subpersonalities seems to involve three stages: recognition, acceptance and co-ordination. For each of the polypsychic psychotherapies, a central aspect of these stages is also the development of an 'observer'/'witness': a part of the individual that can stand back from the subpersonalities, and hence facilitate the therapeutic process.

Second, given that the first step of subpersonality-work is recognition, there is an implication that a subpersonality can either be known or not known to consciousness. As Redfearn (1985) puts it: 'If all one's sub-personalities were spread out like a map or landscape, or a vast world of happenings and relationships, there would be places or scenes which were often visited by the conscious "I", and others which would never have been visited, or have even been avoided' (p.117).

Following on from this, it would seem that subpersonalities can manifest themselves at varying levels of overtness. Erskine (1988), for instance, writes, 'ego state function can be observed both *actively*

and as an intrapsychic *influence*' (p.18). Hence, subpersonalities have the capacity to manifest themselves overtly as behavioural phenomenon, but can also manifest themselves at a more covert, intrapsychic or somatic level. A 'nurturing parent' subpersonality, for instance, might manifest itself behaviourally as hugging and stroking, intraverbally as reassuring thoughts, or somatically as warm and tender feelings of love.

These two dimensions of subpersonalities—awareness and overtness—are clearly related, yet they are not necessarily synonymous. An individual is likely to be aware of a subpersonality that manifests itself at a behavioural level, but in certain instances, as in the case of disassociated identity disorder (see section 2.3), it is not always the case. Furthermore, an individual can be more or less aware of subpersonalities that manifest themselves at intraverbal and somatic levels. She may be aware, for instance, that she has a voice in her head that tells her, 'You are a good person'; but the voice that says, 'You are a pathetic, selfish, fool,' may be entirely blocked from consciousness.

Following on from the fact that subpersonalities can exist at an intraverbal—as well as behavioural—level, a fourth dimension of subpersonalities would seem to be that they can be either internally or externally-orientated. A critical subpersonality, for instance, may manifest itself behaviourally as blaming and aggressive behaviour towards other individuals; but it may also be orientated internally: as a self-critical and self-persecutory voice.

These three dimensions lead on to a fifth quality of subpersonalities: that more than one subpersonality can be manifested at the same time. It may be, for instance, that the individual is expressing one subpersonality covertly and another overtly; or that one subpersonality is internally-orientated whilst the other is directed outwards. On a behavioural, overt, and externally-orientated level, for instance, an individual may be 'in' her 'nice person' subpersonality; whilst on a semi-conscious, intraverbal, and internally-orientated level, she may be manifesting her 'nasty side': 'Why are you always such a phoney?' 'Why do you always do what people tell you to?'

A sixth characteristic of subpersonalities that seems to emerge from the polypsychic psychotherapies is the suggestion that some may be 'trans-individual'. Whilst some polypsychic models believe that subpersonalities are highly idiosyncratic (e.g., psychosynthesis), other approaches (e.g., analytical psychotherapy, T. A.) suggest that all individuals share the same subpersonalities. A middle ground between these two positions, held by most polypsychic theorists, is that certain types of subpersonalities are frequent across individuals, whilst other are highly unique to the persons concerned.

The exact nature of these trans-individual subpersonalities varies from theorist to theorist. A brief examination of the various taxonomies, however, suggests a significant degree of overlap. Hence, it might be possible to construct a 'meta-taxonomy'—grouping together similar hypothesised trans-individual subpersonalities into superordinate categories. In table two, I have attempted such a goal.

From the table, the most frequently suggested trans-individual subpersonality seems to be of a critical parent type. This is a subpersonality that is seen as reflecting the norms and values of society (Shapiro, 1976), criticising those—often the individual, herself—when they/she fail(s) to live up to these standards. T. A. calls a subpersonality of this type the 'critical' or 'prejudicial' Parent: 'manifested as a set of seemingly arbitrary non-rational attitudes or parameters, usually prohibitive in nature' (Berne, 1961, p.76). Gestalt Therapy refers to it as a 'Topdog': 'righteous, bullying, punishing, authoritarian and primitive. Top Dog commands continually with such statements as "you should," "you ought to," and "who don't you?"' (Perls, 1975, p.77). Stone and Winkelman (1989a, 1989b) suggest that there are a number of these critical subpersonalities: the 'Protector/Controller' is the one that ensures individuals act in accordance with social expectations and is often responsible for the repression of less acceptable subpersonalities; the 'Critic' is responsible for giving people a hard time when they make mistakes; the 'Pusher' subpersonality is always egging people to do more than they are capable of; and the 'Perfectionist' demands the highest of quality from everything an individual does.

After the critical parent, the second most commonly suggested trans-individual subpersonality is of a 'central' type. Subpersonalities in this category are seen as rational, objective, decision-making: 'an open, calm, quiet psychological space focused on the immediate' (Sliker, 1992, p.77). In T. A., the central subpersonality is called the 'Adult', 'characterised by an autonomous set of feelings, attitudes,

	critical parent	nurturing parent	central	free child	adapted child	vulnerable child	shadow
Freud (1923)	Superego		Ego				
Fairbairn (1952)	anti-libidinal ego		central ego	libidinal ego			
Perls (1975)	Topdog				Underdog		
Berne (1961)	critical Parent	nurturing Parent	Adult	free Child	adapted Child		
Shapiro (1976)	Evaluative Parent	Nurturing Parent	Central Organizing	Natural Child	Good, Socialized, Adapted Child		
Stone & Winkelman (1989a)	protector/controller pusher critic perfectionist power brokers neg. father neg. mother	good mother good father	aware ego	playful child magical child	pleaser	vulnerable child	demonic selves
Capacchione (1988)	Critical Parent	Nurturing Parent Protective Parent		Creative Child Spiritual Child Angry Child		Vulnerable Child	
Cullen & Russell (1989)	saboteur critic supposer	helper				wounded child victim	
Rowan (1993)	Protector/controller Critic Pusher Perfectionist Power brokers		Central Organising	Natural Child	Good, Socialized, adapted child		Shadow

Table 2: A meta-taxonomy of subpersonality-types[5]

and behaviour patterns which are adapted to the current reality.... the Adult is noted to be organised, adaptable and intelligent' (Berne, 1961, p.77). Psychoanalysis also posits a central subpersonality in the form of the ego, 'the co-ordinated organisation of mental processes in a person' (Ellenberg, 1970, p.516).

Third in prominence comes subpersonalities of a 'free child' type. Subpersonalities in this category are considered: 'sensuous, affectionate, uncensored, curious, impulsive, self-indulgent and self-centred, creative and spontaneous, and exhibiting the primitive impulses for sex, aggression, grief and desire for food' (Price, 1975, p.242). In this respect, free child subpersonalities are considered manifestations of the pre-socialised self: hedonistic and fun-loving, with no time for the critical parent's 'shoulds' and 'oughts'.

Another commonly suggested trans-individual subpersonality is the nurturing parent. In contrast to the critical parent, the nurturing parent is often seen as the 'positive' side of the parent, 'in charge of supporting, giving love, care, attention, praise, and positive reinforcement' (Shapiro, 1976, p.34). Stewart and Joines (1978) write, '[sometimes] my parents were caring for me or looking after me. Mother might cuddle me. Father might read me bedtime stories. When I fell and cut my knee, one of my parents would comfort me and bring the bandages. When I replay the behaviours my parents showed me when they were looking after me, I am said to be in nurturing parent' (p.25).

A fifth commonly suggested trans-individual subpersonality is that of an inhibited, conforming, 'adapted' child type. In contrast to the free child, those subpersonalities under the heading of adapted child are seen as having learnt to comply with external authorities. 'The *adapted* Child is manifested by behaviour which is inferentially under the dominance of the Parental influence, such as compliance and withdrawal' (Berne, 1961, p.76). Gestalt therapy's 'Under Dog' can also be loosely categorised as an adapted child subpersonality. Unlike T. A., however, gestalt therapy emphasises the manipulative aspect of this seemingly powerless part of the self: 'Under Dog develops great skills in evading Top Dog's commands. Only half-heartedly intending to comply with the demands, Under Dog answers: "yes, but...," "I try so hard but next time I'll do better," and "manana." Under Dog usually gets the better of the conflict' (Perls, 1975, p.77).

The cross-theoretical prevalence of these five trans-individual subpersonality-types no doubt derives from their prominence within T. A. There are, however, two further types of subpersonalities, not emphasised within T. A., that exhibit some degree of commonality amongst theorists. The first of these is of a vulnerable, open, childish subpersonality type, seen as embodying the individual's sensitivity, fear and fragility. Subpersonalities under this vulnerable child heading are believed to be particularly sensitive to abandonment, loneliness, abuse, despondency and hurt (Capacchione, 1991), 'It is analogous to how we felt as a child in the face of a critical or abusive parent.... of being discounted, ignored, unloved, unwanted, etc.' (Cullen and Russell, 1989, p.120). Like the free child, the vulnerable child is often considered to have a primal, pre-socialised quality to it: 'It is often preverbal and may sit quietly or cry. In its initial emergence, it may curl up in a foetal position, cover its head, and weep with great sobs' (Stone and Winkelman, 1989a, p.152).

A final subpersonality that is frequently considered trans-individual is the shadow. Stone and Winkelman (1989a) write that, 'The disowning of "the seven deadly sins" results in a particular

[5] As illustrated in the table, some authors use capitals to denote subpersonalities, some use lower cases, and some use capitals for the second word but not the first. For the purposes of this thesis, lower case will be used throughout.

build-up of instinctual energies in the unconscious that we call demonic energies' (p.33). According to Stone and Winkleman (1989a), pride, covetousness, lust, anger, gluttony, envy and sloth all come together to form a highly repressed subpersonality of what we would least like to be. Shadow subpersonalities of this type clearly relate to Jung's shadow, 'the dark, unlit, repressed side of the ego complex' (Booth, 1975, p.1); yet it seems important to distinguish between *a* shadow subpersonality and *the* shadow archetype. Whilst a shadow subpersonality can take the form of a person and act as such, the shadow archetype is a region of the psyche, 'a "mythological" name for all that within me of which I cannot directly know' (Booth, 1975, p.2). In this sense, then, a shadow subpersonality may be part of the shadow archetype, but so might a free child or vulnerable child subpersonality.

2.3 HYPNOSIS

The field of psychotherapy presents a rich and detailed model of polypsychism and subpersonalities. In itself, however, it provides little empirical support for these hypothetical concepts. A client may 'discover' that she has various subpersonalities, but then, if a therapist has been encouraging her to identify these aspects of her psyche, this may be more a product of demand characteristics than 'real' intrapsychic structures. Experimental and observational support, however, does comes from a number of related psychological disciplines.

One of the earliest of these is hypnosis. When Franz Anton Mesmer (1734-1815), a physician born in the small German town of Iznang, first provoked an artificial 'crisis' in his patients, he demonstrated that part of the psyche could be encouraged to act independently of normal waking consciousness. This hypnotic dissociability fascinated many nineteenth century thinkers and practitioners, and by the end of the nineteenth century, the likes of Janet, Charcot, Freud and Prince were still exploring the divisible psyche through hypnosis. Janet (cited in Hilgard, 1977), for instance, hypnotised his subject, Lucie, and instructed her to write a letter once she awoke. He also told her she would not be aware of writing this letter. On awakening, she carried out a casual conversation and wrote:

> Madam,
>
> I shall not be able to come Sunday as I had intended. I pray you will forgive me. It would give me great pleasure to come to you but I cannot accept for that day.
>
> Your friend
>
> Lucie. (p.7)

Later, when Janet showed Lucie the letter, she was unable to understand how she could have written it and claimed that the doctor had copied her signature. Hence, Janet's experiment demonstrates that the psyche is not always a unity, but can be divided into mutually amnesiac components.

In recent years, hypnosis has continued to demonstrate the divisible nature of the psyche, most significantly in the work of Hilgard, discoverer of the 'hidden observer'. This psychological entity was first revealed during a class demonstration on hypnotic deafness. The hypnotised subject, given the suggestion to become deaf to all sounds, showed no reaction when large wooden blocks were banged close to his head or when asked questions—as predicted. A fellow student, however, wondered whether there was some part of the subject aware of what was going on. The instructor tested this by asking the subject to raise a finger if there was a part of him listening and processing the information. 'To the surprise of the instructor, as well as the class, the finger rose!' (Hilgard, 1977, p.186).

When the subject's hearing was restored, he was asked what he remembered: 'I remember your telling me that I would be deaf at the count of three, and could have my hearing restored when you placed your hand on my shoulder. Then everything was quiet for a while. It was a little boring just sitting here, so I busied myself with a statistical problem I have been working on. I was still doing that when I suddenly felt my finger lift' (p.187). However, when the instructor re-hypnotised the subject and asked to talk to the part that had lifted the finger, the subject's recollection of the hypnotic experience was very different: 'After you counted to make me deaf you made noises with some blocks behind my head. Members of the class asked me questions to which I did not respond. Then one of them asked if I might not really be hearing, and you told me to raise my finger if I did. This part of me responded by raising my finger' (p.187). Hilgard concludes: 'This unplanned demonstration clearly indicates that a hypnotised subject who is not aware of a source of stimulation (in this case auditory) may nevertheless be registering this information coming from the stimuli. Further, he may be understanding it.... For convenience of reference, we speak of the concealed information as available to a "hidden observer"' (p.188). Subsequent studies revealed that other subjects were equally adept at demonstrating this hidden observer phenomenon.

The significance of Hilgard's work is its demonstration that two distinct states of consciousness can co-exist within a single psyche: one, dutifully following the instructions of the hypnotist; the other, the hidden observer, watching and recording events as they unfold. Hilgard's study shows that the memory banks of these two states are different, as are their personality characteristics. Whilst the hypnotised part is compliant and 'unaware', subjects report that the hidden observer is detached and

rational: ‘watching, mature, logical’; ‘analytical, unemotional, business-like’; ‘The hidden part doesn’t deal with pain. It looks at what is, and doesn’t judge’ (Hilgard, 1977, p.209-10).

But is it possible that hidden observers and ‘second selves’ are merely artefacts created by the demand characteristics of the hypnotic situation? To test out this possibility, Piccione (cited in Watkins & Watkins, 1979-80) asked non-hypnotised subjects how they would behave in the Hilgard study if they wanted to ‘fool’ the instructor into thinking they were being hypnotised. Whilst eight out of the ten subjects said they wouldn’t flinch if loud blocks were banged behind their ear—suggesting that the hypnotic deafness may be a product of demand characteristics—only one of the ten subjects said that they would lift their finger when the instructor asked to talk to the part that was listening and processing the data. The other nine subjects thought that this was probably a trick to see if they were *really* hypnotised. Hence, the appearance of the hidden observer runs against the expectations of the subjects—as well as against the initial expectations of the researchers—and cannot be explained in terms of the subject trying to ‘please’ the experimenter or pretend she is hypnotised. Furthermore, when Zamansky and Bartis (1985) modified the original hidden observer technique to correct for possible distortions—giving hypnotisees no prior practice in dissociation before assessment of the hidden observer, introducing hidden observer information only after the stimulus was no longer present, and using independently verifiable stimuli—hidden observers were still found in 90% of hypnotisees.

On the basis of Hilgard’s studies, Beahrs (1982) concludes that: *co-consciousness must be present in all normal waking life’* (p.184). Beahrs (1982) defines co-consciousness as: ‘the existence within a single human organism of more than one consciously experiencing psychological entity, each with some sense of its own identity or selfhood relatively separate and discrete from other similar entities, and with separate conscious experiencing occurring simultaneously with one another within its human organism’ (p.182). His logic is straightforward: if co-consciousness is the rule in normal hypnotic states—as empirically demonstrated by Hilgard; and if, ‘Hypnosis cannot be separated from non-hypnotic waking states without logical absurdity’ (p.184); then ‘What is applicable to hypnosis must in some meaningful sense also be applicable to non-hypnotic waking states, and vice versa’ (p.184). Hence: ‘Hidden observers must be present in all non-hypnotic waking as well as in hypnotic experience’ (p.184).

But are hidden observers the same as subpersonalities? Anecdotally, it is interesting to note that an ‘observer’ or ‘witness’ subpersonality is often talked about in polypsychic models (see section 2.2), and, as Beahrs (1982) suggests, may be the passive aspect of the central subpersonality (as opposed to

the active, decision-making aspect). More detailed research into the connection between the hidden observer and subpersonalities, however, was carried out by Watkins and Watkins (1979-80). Having elicited hidden observers using Hilgard's technique, they then went on to ask the hidden observer questions such as: 'Tell me about yourself', 'What is your function?', 'What is your name?' (p.9). Watkins and Watkins found that seven out of the ten hidden observers could give substantial specific content about their state; six had a name for themselves (e.g., 'ear', 'little part', 'me'); and eight could describe their function in the 'psychic economy' (e.g., 'I tell her what to do', 'I make him outwardly calm'). More significantly, when Watkins and Watkins subsequently asked the hypnotised subject to raise their finger if there was some *other* part able to hear, seven out of the ten subjects produced a *second* hidden observer, each with characteristics different to the first.

To confirm whether these hidden observers corresponded to the subjects' subpersonalities, Watkins and Watkins (1979-80) conducted a second study in which hidden observers were elicited in five former 'hypnoanalytic ego-state therapy' patients. During their earlier course of treatment, these subjects had already identified a number of discrete subpersonalities/ego-states. Watkins and Watkins found that, out of the ten hidden observers activated in the five subjects (two per subject), 'Eight of these proved to be known 'ego states' with which we had dealt previously in therapy' (p.16).

2.4 DISSOCIATED IDENTITY DISORDER (D. I. D.)

Along with hypnosis, D. I. D. (formerly known as multiple personality disorder (M. P. D.)), constitutes, perhaps, 'the firmest evidence for the existence of subselves' (Martindale, 1980, p.205). Documented cases of D. I. D. go back as far as 1791 (Ellenberg, 1970). One of the most famous of these was the case of Mary Reynolds, published by the Rev. William S. Plumer. Reynolds, who lived in Pennsylvania during the early part of the nineteenth century, and alternated between two distinct personality states for much of her life: 'The differences between the two personalities were quite striking. In her first state Mary was a quiet, sober and thoughtful person with a tendency to depression, a slow thinker devoid of imagination. In her second state she was gay, cheerful, extravagant, fond of company, fun, and practical jokes, with a strong propensity for versification and rhyming' (Ellenberg, 1970, p.128).

Historically, the credibility given to cases of D. I. D. has waxed and waned. By the end of the nineteenth century, many of the top psychologists of the day—Janet, James, Prince—were researching and documenting case-histories. With the rise of behaviourist and psychoanalytical

paradigms at the turn of the century, however, interest in multiple personalities rapidly declined. In the ten years between 1947 and 1956, only two articles with 'dissociation' in the abstract were indexed in Psychological Abstracts (Hilgard, 1977). Academic scepticism towards D. I. D. remained throughout the twentieth century until the publication of Hilgard's *Divided Consciousness* in 1977, which, along with several other factors (a growing awareness of sexual abuse, the return of traumatised soldiers from Vietnam) led to a rapid resurgence of interest in M. P. D. In 1980, M. P. D. was given diagnosis status in DSM-III, expanded in 1987 to the following criteria:

> A. The existence within the individual of two or more distinct personalities or personality states (each with its own relatively enduring pattern of perceiving, relating to, and thinking about the environment and self).
>
> B. At least two of these personalities or personality states recurrently take full control of the person's behaviour. (p.272)

Meanwhile, diagnosed cases of D. I. D. increased exponentially throughout the eighties—from 500 in 1979 to 5000 by 1986. In 1988, *Dissociations*, a journal of M. P. D., was launched. In 1989, Ross wrote: 'Within a span of ten years, we may evolve from extreme underdiagnosis of M. P. D. to a situation in which the major problem is false positive diagnosis' (p.77). Few psychiatrists would now seem to question the reality of dissociated identity disorders.

Parallels between D. I. D. and polypsychism are obvious: the existence within an individual of two or more discrete personality states. Given that D. I. D. is a neurotic rather than psychotic condition (i.e., one not caused by neurological dysfunction), a number of theorists (e.g., Ford, 1991; Larsen, 1990; Ornstein, 1986; Prince, 1905; Redfearn, 1985; Rowan, 1993; Ryle, 1990; Sliker, 1992; Spiegel, 1990; Watkins and Watkins, 1979-80, 1982) have suggested that cases of D. I. D. are, as Redfearn (1985) puts it, 'only extreme examples of an essentially normal and normally essential de-integrative dynamic' (p.129).

The view that multiple personality 'alters' are an extreme manifestation of subpersonalities is strengthened by six less obvious parallels between the two. First, both can exist in either overt or covert states. Whilst D. I. D. patient's 'manifest' personalities appear and develop spontaneously (c/f overt subpersonalities), 'latent' personalities appear only under the influence of hypnosis or in automatic writing (c/f covert subpersonalities) (Ellenberg, 1970).

A second similarity is the aetiology of both multiple personality alters and subpersonalities. Increasing evidence suggests that D. I. D. is almost always the result of massive childhood traumas, generally sexual or physical abuse (Ross, 1989). Ross (1989) reports one story, for example, where a

father entered his daughter's room dressed in a woman's clothing and stuffed live spiders into her vagina before intercourse (p.42). 'M. P. D.', writes Ross, 'is a little girl imagining that the abuse is happening to someone else' (p.128). The child 'splits' because she cannot accept that the people she loves would do these things to her. In terms of subpersonalities, Rowan (1990) charts a similar developmental process:

> The event which happens must be one which produces panic. I seem to be invaded by some aggressive force. It could objectively be said that I am being abused.... It seems as if I am faced with extinction, annihilation. In desperation, I split in two. I turn against my original OK self, and put in its place a self which has lost the notion of being perfect and whole. So now there is an OK-me (distanced and disowned) and a not-OK-me (fostered and put forward as the answer to the insult). This is the basic split. (p.122-3)

Third, therapeutic approaches to D. I. D. show considerable similarity to the types of therapeutic work with subpersonalities discussed earlier; indeed, Watkins ego-state therapy actually arose out of his work with D. I. D. clients. As with subpersonality-work, treatment for D. I. D. involves encouraging the client to acknowledge and identify her various personalities, to accept them, to understand their psychological roots, and to ultimately integrate them into a unified being (Ross, 1989; Watkins, 1982). D. I. D. treatment also frequently encourages the development of a 'central'-like personality, such that this alter can be aware of and unify the other personalities.

Fourth, multiple personalities frequently exhibit the same degree of complex intrapsychic relationships that has been hypothesised to exists between subpersonalities—though often of a far more overt and explosive kind. In the case of Rhonda (Watkins and Rhonda, 1982), for example, a persecutor personality, Mary, delighted in inflicting pain on the 'host' personality: cutting wrists, taking pills, burning herself with cigarette butts, and cutting herself in the stomach. A tape recorder left with the patient picked up the following dialogue:

> Mary: ...I want you to feel lousy. I want you to suffer what I suffer. You know, I go through a lot of pain for you. Every time you get hurt it hurts me. But I'm more powerful than you are, and I can destroy you slowly by slowly and end up getting you locked up in an institution forever.
>
> Rhonda: I don't want that.
>
> Mary: I know you don't want that, (laughing) but you deserve it.
>
> Rhonda: What did I do to deserve it?
>
> Mary: You're just dumb, Rhonda. You're just dumb.... (p.13)

Though is vastly exaggerated form, this external dialogue between Mary and Rhonda resembles, in many ways, the covert, intrapsychic dialogue between critical parent (c/f Mary) and vulnerable child (c/f Rhonda) subpersonalities that has been documented in many non-D. I. D. individuals.

This interaction is also a good demonstration of the fifth parallel between subpersonalities and D. I. D. alters: that many D. I. D. alters fit surprisingly well in to the trans-individual subpersonality categories outlined in section 2.2. In a study of 236 cases of M. P. D., Ross, Norton and Wozney (1989) found that child personalities were present in 86% of patients, protector personalities in 84% of patients, persecutor personalities in 84% of patients, and demonic personalities in 28.6% of patients—paralleling the categories of child (free, adapted and vulnerable), nurturing parent, critical parent, and shadow subpersonalities respectively. Anecdotal evidence also supports this analysis. Like the vulnerable child subpersonality, for instance, Ross (1989) writes that child alters are often frightened and untrusting: 'The child may cower in the corner, curl up in a foetal position, suck her thumb, call for Mommy, or simply ask, "Who are you?"' (p.112).

Finally, it should be noted that D. I. D. patients, on their way to integration, often go through a stage in which their multiple personalities act exactly like subpersonalities. Amnesia barriers are broken down and violent conflicts are resolved, but the personalities still have their separate identities and personality styles. 'Covert ego states can develop into overt multiple personalities and vice-versa. It is simply a matter of their relative energising and the permeability of the separating boundaries' (Watkins, 1978 p.140).

2.5 POSSESSION

Like D. I. D., possession, 'The invasion of an individual by some alien thinking entity' (Crabtree, 1985, p.97) is a clinically identifiable, empirically 'observable' phenomenon (though only since 1992 has psychiatry considered a category of possession disorder (Suryani and Jensen, 1993)). Unlike, D. I. D., however, possession is a syndrome that traverses historical and geographical boundaries. As early as the Pleistocene era, inhabitants of western Asia had developed the notion of 'spirit intrusion', a belief that metaphysical beings invaded the body causing illness and disease. Healing through exorcism, mechanical extraction and transference of the spirit from patient to healer or animal were seen as the most effective methods of cure (Ellenberg, 1970). Cases of possession have also been documented in a myriad of early cultures—Mesopotamian, Babylonian, Assyrian, Egyptian, Greek, and Jewish (Oesterreich, 1966)—and continued in to biblical times:

> And as soon as he stepped out of the boat a man from the tombs came to meet him....
>
> Jesus asked him, 'What is your name?'

> 'Legion,' he said, 'there is a host of us.' And they begged him earnestly not to send them out of the country. (Mark, v; 2-10)

Demons, as this case illustrates, are one of the most common and powerful of possessing entities. Those possessed by demons will often go through periods of swearing, blaspheming for hours on end, screaming, shrieking, and acting in every conceivably anti-social manner. In medieval Europe—and up until the nineteenth century—devout, 'virginal' young women were frequently the victims of demonic possession, displaying the most sacrilegious sexual and aggressive behaviour. Yet demons are not the only possessing entities. Possession by gods stretches back to the times of the Delphic oracles, and even today, many religious fundamentalist talk of being 'entered' by the spirit of Jesus or the Holy Ghost. Possession by ancestral spirits is also a common phenomenon, particularly in parts of Africa where the worship of ancestors is a common form of religion.

In relation to subpersonalities, Redfearn (1985) regards, 'religious experiences, in the first instance at least, as part of the "non-I" part of the Self entering or becoming known to, the "I" part' (p.48). Few other psychologists and psychotherapists, however, have explored the relationship between possession and subpersonalities. A number of psychologists, however, *have* suggested that possession is simply a special case of D. I. D., in which the possessing entity is actually a dissociated part of the possessed individual's psyche, functioning in much the same way as a D. I. D. patient's alter (James, 1890/1981; Ross, 1982; Adityanjee and Khandelwal, 1989). James (1890/1981), for instance, writes: 'Mediumistic possession in all its grades seems to form a perfectly natural special type of alternate personality' (p.372).

If possession, then, is a form of D. I. D.; and D. I. D. exists on a continuum with subpersonalities, then possession must do the same. As with D. I. D., there are certain clear parallels between possession and more everyday polypsychism. As with switches between subpersonalities, possession brings about changes in a person's behaviour, mannerisms and voice, and is marked by sudden onset and termination (Yap, 1960). Possessing entities, like subpersonalities, often act out repressed, shameful or split off desires (Suryani and Jensen, 1993); need to be recalled into consciousness if they are to recede (Suryani and Jensen, 1993); and can be manifest at both covert ('lucid') and overt ('somnambulistic') levels (Ellenberg, 1970). It is also interesting to note that possessing entities, like D. I. D. alters, often take the form of the trans-individual subpersonalities: the shadow, in particular, but also the critical or nurturing parent in the form of possessing ancestors.

Neither possession nor D. I. D. 'prove' the existence of subpersonalities. What they do suggest, however, is two things. First, that the phenomenon of subpersonalities shows a striking resemblance

to two phenomenon that have been clinically validated and observed across centuries and cultures. This does not imply that subpersonalities are therefore real, but it does suggest that the notion of subpersonalities may not be as eccentric as some people might assume. Second, it is clear that for some individuals—i.e., those possessed or with D. I. D.—subpersonalities are an observable and phenomenological reality. And, given that, as stated before, there is little evidence to suggest that D. I. D./possession is a product of physiological abnormalities, it seems unlikely that only a small number of individuals are polypsychic, whilst the remainder are strictly monopsychic. What seems more likely, is that polypsychism, like anxiety or depression, is a 'personality variable', a phenomenon which all individuals exhibit, though to greater or lesser degrees. As Watkins and Watkins (1979-80) state: 'individuals range on a continuum from highly unified personality structures with few states (and these with very permeable boundaries), through intermediate conditions, to the extreme on the other end of this continuum as represented by the true and relatively "pure" multiple personalities' (p.6).

2.6 SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY

Since its inception, many social psychologists have advocated the notion of a multifaceted psyche. William James (1890/1981), one of the earliest psychologist to address social/group issues, argued that the self was divisible into four parts: the material self, the social self, the spiritual self, and the pure ego. The social self, argued James (1890/1981), was divisible further:

> Properly speaking, *a man has as many social selves as there are individuals who recognize him* and carry an image of him in their mind.... Many a youth who is demure enough before his parents and teachers, swears and swaggers like a pirate among his 'tough' young friends. We do not show ourselves to our children as to our club companions, to our customers as the laborers we employ, to our own masters and employers as to our intimate friends. From this there results what practically is a division of man into several selves. (p.282)

In latter-day social psychology, James's notion of multiple social selves closely equates the concept of 'roles', as advocated by Goffman (1959), Merton (1957) and numerous others. According to Goffman, each of us adopts a variety roles, depending on what we consider most appropriate to a particular situation. The surgeon, for instance, may play a high status, reserved, professional in the operating theatre, but in the squash court he may play the role of an agile, extroverted competitor.

Few people would question the existence of roles, but are roles the same as subpersonalities? Returning to the criterion presented in section 2.1., both the second criterion (a subpersonality is

capable of acting as a person), and the fifth criterion (subpersonality coalesce and emerge in response to various life situations) are clearly met by roles. As to the other criterion, however, it would seem that a role *can* be a subpersonality, but would not necessarily be as such. Not all roles, for instance, would meet the first subpersonality criterion: a constellation of behavioural, phenomenological, motivational, cognitive, physiological and affective components. Many roles, for instance, are manifested at the purely behavioural level, with no phenomenological, affective, etc. components. A man may play at being a surgeon, for instance, but that doesn't necessarily imply the existence of an 'inner surgeon', with all the feelings, cognitions and physiological changes that are part of a subpersonality complex. Moreover, not all roles will meet the third criterion, that subpersonalities have some degree of psychic autonomy. The surgeon's role, for instance, may be something that the surgeon chooses to move in or out of, but, in itself, the role has little power to determine its own existence. Finally, as James suggests, roles can come and go from person to person and situation to situation, whilst, as the fourth criterion stipulates, subpersonalities do not come and go from minute-to-minute, but have some degree of permanence. Hence, a role is clearly not identical to a subpersonality, though it has the potential to develop in to one.

Given, then, that roles are not synonymous with subpersonalities, the existence of roles does little to support or negate the existence of subpersonalities. An area of social psychology, however, that does seem to provide more empirical and theoretical support for the notion of subpersonalities is that of 'self' psychology. With the decline of behaviourism, social psychologists have shown an increasing interest in the role and function of the self-concept in everyday life. Whilst the self was originally conceived as a unified entity, work by Gergen (1967) and Mair (1977) emphasised the diversity of self-structure. Writes Gergen (1967), for instance, 'The popular psychological notion of the self-concept as a unified, consistent, or perceptually "whole" structure is possibly ill-conceived. A review of the construct of self seems in order, and such a revision might well be directed towards a theory of *multiple* selves' (p.24). By 1987, Markus and Wurf declared, 'What began as an apparently singular, static, lump-like entity has become a multidimensional, multifaceted, dynamic structure that is systematically implicated in all aspects of social information processing' (p.301).

Empirical research has followed in the wake of these theoretical developments. Lester (1992) presented the following question to 44 students: 'Almost all people feel there are different sides to their personality. We have different roles or different selves depending on the situation or on our mood. I want you to take some time to think about your different selves. How many can you identify and what are their characteristics? Give each a name/title and describe it in three or four adjectives' (p.947). Lester found that 84% of undergraduates were able to describe several subselves in their

mind, with a mean of 3.46 selves per student (range: 2-6 selves). Perhaps, however, this is not surprising, given the demand characteristics inevitably evoked by the sentence, 'Almost all people feel there are different sides to their personality.'

An earlier, more complex, and less demand-biased study by Rosenberg and Gara (1985), however, arrived at ostensibly the same conclusions. Like Markus and Wurf (1987), Rosenberg and Gara (1985) argued that individuals have a number of different 'personal identities', identity being defined as: 'an amalgam of features—personal characteristics, feelings, values, intentions and images—experienced by the individual' (p.90). To test this hypothesis, professional women were asked to describe, in their own terms, from 20 to 50 of their personal identities e.g. as 'psychologist', 'historian', 'overeater'. Responses were entered into a two-way matrix and then subjected to a constrained Boolean factor analysis, such that an identity structure could be determined for each woman. As hypothesised, the traits by which the women described themselves varied enormously from personal identity to personal identity. In contrast to the haphazard spread of personal-definitions from identity to identity that might be predicted from a situationist perspective, however, Rosenberg and Gara found that the personal identities tended to cluster around a small number of higher order identities, which the authors termed 'major identities'.

The multiple nature of personal identities has been further investigated by McAdams (1989) in his work on imagoes: 'an idealized and personified image of self that functions as a main character in an adult's life story' (p.116). Using the concept of 'prototypes'—exemplars of a class that occupy a central position in the knowledge structure (Cantor and Mischel, 1979)—McAdams suggests that imagoes qualify as 'self-prototypes' (Rogers, 1981). McAdams asked subjects to think about their life as a book, and to divide it up into chapters, describing the content of each chapter. McAdams found that many of the subjects described two or more imagoes, and that often these idealized images of themselves were in direct conflict. McAdams' imagoes seem to bear a close relationship to Markus and Nurius's (1987) 'possible selves' which, 'represent the individual's ideas of what they might become, what they would like to become, and what they are afraid of becoming.... the cognitive manifestations of enduring goals, aspirations, motives, fears and threats' (p.157-8). Through their study of female child abusers, Markus and Nurius (1987) have shown the therapeutic and educational value of working with possible selves, encouraging the women to develop and cognitively elaborate positive parental possible selves.

Related to these studies is the work of Hermans et al (1993), who have experimentally—but idiographically—explored the polyphonic, 'dialogical self': 'a dynamic multiplicity of relatively

autonomous “I” positions in an imaginal landscape’ (p.215). Two women, each of whom had had contact with an imaginal figure from a young age on, were asked by the researchers to perform a self-investigation from the perspective of both the familiar ‘“I” position’, and from the perspective of the imaginal ‘other “I” position’. The results showed remarkable differences—with a degree of constancy—in the content and organisation of the valuations from the different ‘I’ positions (p.225), suggesting that the imaginal others were semi-permanent and semi-autonomous aspects of the women’s psyche. ‘[T]he imaginal figures were indeed endowed with a voice as if they were persons with their own story to tell about their own past, present, and future’ (p.231).

A multiple identity, imago, possible self, or imaginal figure is clearly not the same as a subpersonality. Whereas a role tends to lack any internal characteristics, the obverse could be said of these entities—that they lack any behavioural or external manifestations. Nevertheless, given that self-identity: ‘is the point of orientation for the individual’s every behaviour’ (Combs and Snygg, 1959, p.145), and the, ‘set of *cognitive structures* that organize, modify, and integrates functions of the person’ (Markus and Sentis, 1982, p.42), different self-identities, imagoes, etc. are likely to be related to different constellations of behaviour, affect, phenomenological stance, etc. Hence, given that the salience of particular self-identities are likely to vary over time, the individual is likely to move between a variety of ‘self-identity constellations’/subpersonalities. Perhaps the strongest example of this is in the case of depression, where, as Beck (1967) has shown, a negative self image can bring with it a vast gamut of affective and behavioural consequences.

One final area of social psychology, of interest from a polypsychic perspective, is the concepts of ‘private self’ and ‘public self’ (Buss, 1980; Carver and Scheier, 1981; Tedeschi, 1987). Like roles, identities, imagoes, etc., neither of these concepts can be considered synonymous with subpersonalities. Indeed, according to Buss (1980) the private self is simply those aspects of the self that can be only observed by the experiencing person; whilst the public self are those aspects that are entirely overt. Nevertheless, in more recent years, the private self has also come to be seen as that aspect of the person that responds to private needs (Carver and Scheier, 1981); whilst the public self responds to self-presentational needs (Carver and Scheier, 1981), and acts in the interest of the community (Tedeschi, 1987). In this respect, both public and private selves—like roles, identities, imagoes, etc.—have the potential to become fully-constellated subpersonalities, the one centred around personal needs and motivations; the other around interpersonal needs and motivations. Hence, in their private self subpersonality, an individual might behave quietly, feel isolated, and show little emotion; whilst in their public self subpersonality behave extrovertly, feel highly aroused, and show as much emotion as they think others would appreciate. And, of course, like other subpersonalities,

public and private selves could be in conflict: the individual overtly acting friendly but covertly wishing they could go home. Or, conversely, the private self might be overt, with the individual sitting at home; whilst the covert public self is intraverbally nagging the individual to go out and make some friends.

2.7 NEUROPSYCHOLOGY

A final area which provides some—albeit tentative—support for polypsychism is that of neuropsychology. In recent years, a number of theorists (Gazzaniga, 1985; Moore, 1988; Ornstein, 1986) have used advances in neuropsychological understanding as a basis for their polypsychic models of the mind. Moore (1988), for instance, uses MacLean's (1973) concept of the triune brain—with its distinctions between reptilian, mammalian and neomammalian systems—as the neurological principle underlying a multifaceted psyche, arguing that, 'Subpersonalities are natural manifestations of the human brain system' (p.1). This view is shared by Ornstein (1986), who uses the brainstem/limbic/cortex divisions in the brain as the basis for his theory of 'small minds': 'The brain developed over a period of more than 500 million years. It is composed of quite separate structures that seem to be laid on top of each other, like a house being remodelled. So we do not have one single brain but a multilevel brain, built in different eras for different priorities' (p.33).

Gazzaniga (1985) also uses neuropsychological evidence to advance a polypsychic perspective. His research on split-brain patients (predominantly those with a severed corpus callosum as a result of treatment for severe epilepsy) has highlighted the modular nature of the brain. In one study, for instance, he used an 'eye-tracking' device to expose only the right half of his patient's brain to a 'terrifying' fire safety film. He hypothesised that, because the speech-processing module is in the left half of the brain, the patient would be unable to verbalise the content of the film she has seen. This was indeed the case:

Gazzaniga:	What did you see?
Patient:	I don't really know what I saw. I think I just saw a white flash.
Gazzaniga:	Were there people in it?
Patient:	I don't think so. Maybe just some trees, red trees like in the fall. (p.76)

Intriguingly, however, the patient was still aware of an affective response brought about by the film, and Gazzaniga suggests that this was due to the activation of an emotional, non-verbal module.

Gazzaniga	Did it make you feel any emotion?
Client	I don't really know why but I'm kind of scared. I feel jumpy. I think maybe I don't like this room, or maybe it's you. You're getting me nervous. (p.76-7)

Hence, it would seem that different modules within the brain perform very different—and potentially dissociated—functions. As Gazzaniga concludes: 'Consciousness is not an indivisible unitary process. Instead, what appears to be personal conscious unity is the product of a vast array of separate and relatively independent mental systems that continually process information from both the human internal and external environment' (p.28).

2.8 CONCLUSION

Polypsychism, a philosophy of the mind that stretches from ancient times to the present day, asserts that the human mind consists of several 'subpersonalities'. The five criterion for these subpersonalities is that they are a constellation of characteristics, are capable of acting as a person, have a degree of autonomy, have a degree of permanence, and emerge in response to various situations. A review of psychotherapeutic polypsychism reveals the significance of subpersonalities within a variety of therapeutic approaches, and its increasing acceptance within therapeutic circles. Central to therapeutic work with subpersonalities—across the various approaches—is the importance of recognition, co-ordination, and acceptance between the subpersonalities. The therapeutic review of polypsychism also reveals five further characteristics of subpersonalities: that they exist along a conscious-unconscious dimension, that they exist along a covert-overt dimension, that they can be internally or externally orientated, that more than one subpersonality can be manifested at the same time, and that there may be a number of trans-individual subpersonalities: critical parent, nurturing parent, central, free child, adapted child, vulnerable child and shadow. The next five sections presented empirical and observational support for the polypsychic model. Studies with hypnosis have revealed the mind's capacity for co-consciousness; clinically validated and observable cases of D. I. D. and possession show striking parallels to the hypothesised nature of subpersonalities, and suggest that the psyche may be inherently polypsychic; research within social psychology suggest that individuals have multi-faceted roles and self concepts; and neuropsychological research suggests that the brain may be inherently modular.

The concept of subpersonalities, however, does not deny the existence of other intrapsychic entities and dynamics. Despite being a psychology of dissociationism, polypsychism is, perhaps, one of the most integrating of psychological models. Internal object, archetypes, roles, can all be incorporated—

though not subsumed—within a polypsychic model; as can concepts like the ‘real self’ and holism. Ultimately, even monopsychism would seem to be acceptable within a polypsychic framework. As Rowan suggests (personal communication) it is not a question of the mind being *either* a multiplicity or unity, but that the mind can be seen as *both* multiplicity and unity.

CHAPTER 3. FACILITATING THE EXPRESSION OF SUBPERSONALITIES: A REVIEW AND ANALYSIS OF TECHNIQUES

> Contacting each part of the individual in a respectful manner, we can find out what each wants and believes and from this how things are going wrong. Just as in international diplomacy, progress is more likely to result if the unique needs of all the parts are given adequate attention and respect. (Beahrs, 1982, p.9)

3.1 INTRODUCTION

As Vargiu (1974) suggests, the first step in therapeutically-orientated subpersonality-work is 'recognition' of the subpersonalities. Without knowing their nature, the chances of acceptance and co-ordiation, are slight. For some clients—and for some subpersonalities—this process of recognition will involve simple self-observation and self-assessment. For other clients and other subpersonalities, however, this process may need some assistance. Within polypsychic-based psychotherapies, this is the role of the therapist: to help the client develop a conscious awareness of non-conscious or partially conscious subpersonalities. To facilitate this process, the therapist needs to find ways whereby these subpersonalities can be expressed—brought from the depths of the client's psyche and in to the inquiring candour of the therapeutic relationship. Once expressed, not only can the client begin to recognise their subpersonalities, but, through dialogue, exploration, and catharsis, begin to move on to the stages of acceptance and co-ordination.

Finding ways to facilitate the expression of subpersonality is also central to the research psychologist who wishes to explore the structure and function of mind from a polypsychic perspective.

Over the last century, several techniques have been devised to facilitate this expression of subpersonalities, and this chapter presents a review and analysis of these approaches[6]. To do so, I have created three categories into which each of the techniques can be classified: descriptive/analytical, projective and experiential. Some overlap exists between these three categories, and few practitioners work with techniques from only one category—even in the same session—yet there is a degree of commonality within each of these categories that makes this discrimination a useful one. The chapter explores each of these categories in turn, describing the techniques and illustrating them with examples and case-studies. The final section of this chapter

explores the psychological mechanisms behind these techniques, and suggests three further dimensions along which they can be assessed. Through this review and analysis, this chapter hopes to achieve four goals: first, to present a review—the first in the psychological literature—of the different techniques that have been used to facilitate the expression of subpersonalities; second, to establish a context within which the mask's ability to facilitate the expression of subpersonalities can be understood; third, to understand the basic psychological mechanism by which the expression of subpersonalities can be facilitated; and fourth, to outline the dimensions along which these techniques can be assessed, such that the mask's ability to facilitate the expression of subpersonalities can be effectively evaluated.

3.2 DESCRIPTIVE/ANALYTICAL TECHNIQUES

Descriptive/analytical techniques, as the name suggests, are those approaches in which the expression of an individual's subpersonalities are facilitated through verbal or written description and analysis. In contrast to experiential techniques, descriptive/analytical techniques are concerned with talking or writing *about* subpersonalities—as if from the standpoint of an 'objective' observer—rather than encouraging the client to 'be' a particular subpersonality.

At its most basic, a descriptive/analytical technique may simply involve asking an individual to describe her different selves. Rowan (1993), for instance, suggests: 'Write a list of all your subpersonalities, those you are aware of at a conscious level right now. Give each a name, and write about five lines describing that one...' (p.12). Markus and Nurius (1987) use a similarly direct approach in asking people to describe their 'possible selves'. An alternative approach is the 'evening review', in which an individual is invited to review the different people they have been throughout that particular day (Ferruci, 1982). McAdams (1985) develops this further (see section 2.6): experimental subjects are asked to think about their life as a book, dividing it into chapters and describing the content of each chapter. McAdams then looks for 'personalised and idealised images of self'—'imagoes'—that fit the following seven criterion: an origin myth, a significant other person, a set of personality traits, personal goals and wishes, behavioural incidents, supporting evidence from subject's philosophy of life, and existence of opposing of an anti-imago.

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[6] This chapter only reviews those techniques specifically applied to subpersonalities. To include neo-polypsychic techniques in this review (i.e., psychoanalysis, analytical psychotherapy, gestalt therapy, etc.) would be far beyond the capacity of this thesis.

Within many polypsychic therapies (e.g., Schwartz, 1987; Shapiro, 1976; Sliker, 1993; Redfearn, 1985; Rowan, 1990), basic descriptive and analytical procedures are used throughout the therapeutic process as a way of facilitating the expression of subpersonalities. The therapist may ask a client to describe their subpersonalities directly; more usually, however, they will gain a sense of the client's salient and problematic subpersonalities through discussion, dialogue and exploration of the client's life. This process is sometimes called 'psychic mapping' (Assagioli, 1975; Stone and Winkelman, 1989a; Watkins and Watkins, 1979); and in some cases, diagrammatic 'maps' of the client's intrapsychic structures and dynamics are actually drawn out (Ryle, 1990, Shapiro, 1976; Stewart and Joines, 1987; Stone and Winkelman, 1989a). Psychic mapping can then serve as the basis for subsequent projective and experiential work with subpersonalities.

Alternatively, as in the classical school of T. A. (Berne, 1961), the therapeutic process may remain predominantly at the analytical and descriptive level. In T. A., four basic diagnostic tools are used to help identify the client's subpersonalities: behavioural, social, historical and phenomenological (Berne, 1961). The first and most important of these, behavioural diagnosis, examines the client's words, tones, gestures, postures, and facial expression. Harris (1973) gives an example of this tool:

> A thirty-four-year-old woman came to me for help with a problem of sleeplessness, constant worry over 'what am I doing to my children', and increasing nervousness. In the course of the first hour she suddenly began to weep and said, 'you make me feel like I'm three years old.' Her voice and manner was that of a small child.... At another point in the hour her voice and manner again changed suddenly. She became critical and dogmatic: 'After all, parents have rights, too. Children need to be shown their place.' During one hour, this mother changed to three different and distinct personalities. (p.17)

The three other techniques of ego-state diagnosis are used less frequently. 'Social diagnosis' refers to the observation, not of the individual's behaviour, but of the behaviour she elicits in others. 'Historical diagnosis' involves an exploration of the client's past. Hence, once a client's ego-state is observed behaviourally or socially, its authenticity can be checked by examining its roots. Finally, 'phenomenological diagnosis', like the experiential approaches (see section 3.4), encourages clients to re-experience their ego-state in its full intensity.

Another widely used descriptive/analytical approach to facilitating the expression of subpersonalities is the 'Who am I?' technique. Here, the individual is asked to write down on separate pieces of paper as many answers to the question 'Who am I?' as they can: roles, personal qualities, physical characteristics, areas for growth, names and nick-names etc. Cullen and Russell (1982) suggest that the individual should then choose a particular role that they like and identify with (or one that they dislike and would rather not identify with), and, closing their eyes, imagine themselves in a scene where they are taking on this role—observing their behaviours, postures, verbalisations, feelings,

thoughts, and needs. Alternatively, Shapiro (1976) and Rowan (1993) suggests that the client should look through the pieces of paper and try to pile together those answers that 'go together', hence compiling a smaller number of superordinate identities. Rosenberg and Gara (1980) adopt a similar approach but in a more empirical vein, encouraging their subjects to describe each of the personal identities, and then subjecting these responses to a detailed statistical analysis, such that a number of superordinate selves can be established (see section 2.6). Rosenberg and Gara (1980) also used this approach to identify literary writer's subpersonalities, statistically analysing the characters in Wolfe's *Look Homeward, Angel*, to identify Wolfe's superordinate identities.

3.3 PROJECTIVE TECHNIQUES

Projective techniques are based on the concept of 'projection', 'whereby the individual "projects" something of himself or herself into everything he or she does' (*The Oxford Companion to the Mind*, 1987, p.646). Projective techniques facilitate the expression of subpersonalities by encouraging the client to transfer them from an intrapsychic level on to a more overt, observable medium—hence becoming more accessible to conscious exploration. In contrast to descriptive/analytical techniques, however, the individual is not asked to directly describe her subpersonalities. Rather, she is encouraged to express them indirectly through images and metaphor. In contrast to experiential techniques, however, projective techniques do not actually encourage the individual to 'be' her subpersonality.

The most widely used projective technique to facilitate the expression of subpersonalities is that of 'creative visualisation' (also known as 'guided visualisations', 'guided imagination', 'active imagination', 'guided daydreams', etc.). Creative visualisation is based on the assumption that characters of imaginative invention are: 'aspects of the self or of the self's experience which are projected outward by the self and given personified form' (Watkins, 1983, p.13). Ferruci's (1982) guided visualisation is typical, and begins by asking individuals to consider one of their prominent traits, attitudes or motives. They are then asked to close their eyes, become aware of this part of them, and then let an image spontaneously emerge representing it. Getting in touch with the general feeling emanating from this image, they are then encouraged to let the image talk and express itself, before noting down the characteristics of the subpersonality and giving it a name. A similar visualisation might also begin by asking the individual to consider an animal, someone who is significant to them, a figure coming out of a cave, or a particular subpersonality (i.e, the nurturing parent) (Rowan, 1993). Alternatively, they may imagine their subpersonalities coming through a door (Cullen and Russell,

1982; Shapiro, 1976; Vargiu, 1970), stepping off a bus (Rowan, 1990), performing on a stage (Satir, 1978) or meeting as a board of directors/committee (Rowan, 1993; Sliker, 1992). Once these subpersonalities have emerged, the visualisation process can then be used to explore the relationships between the various subpersonalities: What happens once all the subpersonalities emerge? How will they get on? Which subpersonality will dominate? etc.

Whilst guided visualisations are frequently used as a first step towards facilitating the expression of subpersonalities, in many cases, they are also used as an integral part of the on-going therapeutic process. Ferruci (1980), for instance, gives the example of a young doctor, Robert, who felt he was blocked by an inner rigidity which interfered with his relationships and was otherwise a nuisance. Robert identified this rigidity as part of a critic subpersonality, which consistently judged and attacked whatever he or anyone else did or said. 'When he deliberately evokes this quality and tries to let an image emerge, Robert sees a bespectacled, old-fashioned priest, grim, stern, and dressed entirely in black. As soon as he can see the image clearly, he also discerns the outlines of the rigidity which has been controlling him. While before he would feel this as a vague discomfort and merely endure it, now for the first time he is able to shake it off' (p.49).

A more extrapsychic medium on to which subpersonalities can be projected is that of art (e.g., Capacchione, 1993; Shapiro, 1976; Turner, 1988). As Zinker (1977) writes: 'painting is a projection of myself, a part of my inner life superimposed on a surface' (p.239). In her book, *Recovery of your Inner Child*, Capacchione (1993) encourages readers to draw pictures of their various subpersonalities (vulnerable child, protective parent, etc.) using a variety of coloured pens and crayons (p.44)[7]. Turner's (1988) 'Parent-Adult-Child Projective Drawing Task' (PAC-D) also uses figure drawing as a means of eliciting an individual's ego-states. Clients are given the instructions to draw three figures: one who looks like a parent, one who looks like an adult, and one who looks like a child. 'The essential assumption of the PAC-D is that clients will project into the drawings of each figure the individual character of their own three primary ego states' (p.61).

Alternatively, art-work can be used as part of an on-going therapeutic process. Helene, a client of Sliker's (1992), for example, had identified four subpersonalities whilst appraising a confusing house-hunting situation: 'a Pragmatist ("Its probably the best house you can get"), an Idealist ("You can make a good relationship anywhere"), a Pleaser ("If he likes it, I like it"), and an Assassin

[7] Capacchione (1993) also encourages individuals to draw and write down their subpersonality's words with their non-dominant hand. This, she argues, directly accesses the right brain hemisphere, hence encouraging more creative and less consciously dictated functioning. Capacchione also suggests that the awkwardness and lack of control experienced when writing with the non-dominant hand actually puts individuals in to their inner child state (p.36).

(having found several further houses, the Assassin insisted she look further, which only would add confusion' (p.46). In one session, she arrived with three drawings of her subpersonalities: 'The Idealist she drew as an upward spiral. The Pleaser was loops around circles in all directions with no centre. The Saboteur—she was not clear if the Saboteur was equivalent to the Assassin or a different subpersonality—was a coffin in a tornado' (p.46). Sliker suggests that, by expressing her subpersonalities through art-work, Helene had an opportunity to further explore and understand these parts of herself. By observing, for instance, that her Pleaser had no centre, Sliker suggests that Helene could see its lack of substance and stability. The Idealist's upward spiralling, on the other hand, may have revealed to Helene this subpersonality's optimism yet lack of grounding in reality (p.46).

Another projective techniques that has been used to facilitate the expression of subpersonalities is story-telling—a psychodiagnostic tool which stretches back to the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT) (Murray, 1944), in which subjects are presented with a series of cards and asked to construct a narrative around each picture. Whilst the TAT, based on Murray's principles of needs and presses, does not interpret the stories in terms of polypsychism, Ford (1991) has integrated the TAT with the Lowenfeld World Construction Test (1935) as a means of investigating an individual's subpersonalities:

> Each participant was presented with a set of 16 small, plastic figures of male and female animals. The participant was then asked to tell a story using at least six of the figures and giving a name to each figures used. They were asked to include both likeable and unlikeable characters in the story. After the story, I asked for elaboration as necessary to help the participant describe her characters and their story fully. This included questions such as 'How does that character feel about what just happened?' or 'What is the relationship of this character and that character like?' or (if the story was very short) 'What happened after that? (p.58-9)

Once the subject's had completed their story and interview, they were asked to fill out an Interpersonal Checklist (Leary, 1951) for each of their characters, which were taken as expressions of the subject's subpersonalities. In this way, Ford suggests she was able to elicit quantitative measures for each of the subpersonalities.

Landy (1993) also uses story-telling to help his client express their subpersonalities. Working with a young man, Michael, for instance, who had raised fears around psychologically merging with his sister, Landy asked him to make up a story about a boy and a girl. Michael produced the following tale: 'A little boy and a little girl are alone in the house. The boy needs the girl to protect him from the monsters and the abuses of his mother. He is afraid' (p.60). Landy suggests that these two characters represent subpersonalities—the boy/victim and the girl/helper—who played a significant role in Michael's subsequent therapeutic development.

One final projective technique for eliciting subpersonalities—though it can not really be considered a 'technique' given its spontaneous nature—is that of dreaming. Perls (1975), for instance, writes: 'Each fragment of the dream, be it person, prop, or mood, is a portion of the patient's *alienated* self. Parts of the self are made to encounter other parts. The primary encounter, of course, is between Top Dog and Under Dog' (p.78). This view is shared by Federn (1953): 'a dream may, to some extent, be conceived or as a mental duologue between two parts of the ego, the adult and the infantile' (p.93). According to these authors, then, subpersonalities are projected on to dream characters and elements in the same way that they are seen as being projected on to visualised characters, story figures, or art objects.

3.4 EXPERIENTIAL TECHNIQUES

Experiential approaches attempt to facilitate the expression of subpersonalities by encouraging the client to actually 'become'—behaviourally, cognitively, affectively, physiologically, etc.—that part of herself. The most basic and direct experiential techniques is simply to ask the client to act out a particular subpersonality. This approach is used in the 'redecision' and 'cathexis' schools of T. A., where the client is encouraged to regress to their child ego state (Stewart and Joines, 1987). In most polypsychic psychotherapies, however, the 'lead-in' to an experiential expression of subpersonalities is a little more gentle, and less specific about the type of subpersonality to be expressed. Shapiro (1976), for instance, suggests individual should have a few chairs handy, and then, sitting in one of the chairs, begin with a concern, decision, issue, problem, or feeling that they want to deal with. Giving a voice to that situation, they should then let it express itself, before moving to another chair, listening to the message, and then responding in any way that feel appropriate. The individual is then encouraged to continue the dialogue between these two chairs/subpersonalities, or move to new chairs as new subpersonalities emerge. Finally, finding an 'observer'/central chair, the individual is asked to try and hold a 'meeting' of their subpersonalities.

This chair-based 'voice dialogue' technique is almost identical to the one used by Stone and Winkelman (1989a), and Watkins and Watkins (1979), and no doubt derives from gestalt therapy's 'chair work' (Perls, 1975). In all these therapies, as the client moves from chair to chair, she is encouraged to act out her various subpersonalities, moving at times to an observational position where she can get a more 'objective', 'central' perspective. This process of moving from subpersonality to subpersonality to centre can also occur with the client remaining in one chair (Vargiu, 1970; Watkins, 1991).

At the other end of the spectrum, in psychodrama and dramatherapy (Hawkins, 1988; Landy, 1993; Moreno, 1975; Pitzele, 1991), the process of moving between subpersonalities and centre is given more dramatic license. The individual(s) may be encouraged to improvise a scene with their role, act out a story or play, develop monologues (Landy, 1993), or soliloquies (Pitzele, 1991). As Pitzele (1991) writes: 'each member of the internal world of the protagonist in a psychodrama takes his or her turn at centre stage, each needing his or her speech' (p.23). These soliloquies can then be worked in to a group psychodrama. Alternatively, the client may be encouraged to act out her subpersonality through the medium of a theatrical role or character, rather than as a directly personalised aspect of herself (Landy, 1993). Such a techniques combines elements of both projective and experiential approaches—projecting a subpersonality on to a character, and then identifying with this projected aspect of the self. This, as Landy (1993) suggests, is the paradox of the dramatic process, 'of being oneself and not oneself at the same time' (p.48).

Where a therapist is facilitating chair-work or other experiential approaches, Stone and Winkelman (1989a) suggest that she should be empathetic and non-judgmental, ask questions where appropriate, or simply listen if a voice happens to be particularly garrulous (p.56). Rowan (1990) lists a number of questions which he believes are of most value in making subpersonalities concrete and explicit:

> What do you look like?
>
> How old are you?
>
> What situations bring you out?
>
> What it your approach to the world?
>
> What is your basic motive for being there?
>
> What do you want?
>
> What do you need?
>
> What have you got to offer?
>
> What are your blocks to full functioning?
>
> Where did you come from?
>
> When did you first meet (name of person)? What was going on?
>
> What would happen if you took over permanently?
>
> What helps you to grow?
>
> How do you relate to men/women/children? (p.198)

Whilst Shapiro's (1976) chair-work begins with a decision, issue, problem, etc., other entities can also be used as a starting point: astrological signs, tarot cards, dream characters (Rowan, 1993), or

subpersonalities elicited through psychic mapping (Shapiro, 1976; Stone and Winkelman, 1989a; Watkins and Watkins, 1979). In psychosynthesis, it is common to develop dialogues with subpersonalities elicited through guided visualisations. As with the voice dialogue therapies, clients are encouraged to take on the persona of the subpersonalities, and then at some point to 'stand back' and take a more observational, or 'centred', approach.

An alternative means of experientially facilitating the expression of subpersonalities—particularly appropriate in the absence of a therapist—is the use of written dialogue, either between the adult individual and a subpersonality (Capacchione, 1993), or between two subpersonalities themselves (Rowan, 1993; Shapiro, 1976). Capacchione (1993) combines written dialogue with art-work, inviting her readers to talk with and talk *as* the subpersonality-images that they have drawn: 'How do you feel?', 'What do you like?', 'What do you want from me?' (p.59). Such an approach offers the individual an opportunity to express themselves from a particularly subpersonality, but in a manner less direct and 'total' than if they were acting it out. Nevertheless, the written dialogue can still express strong feeling, as the following example of a dialogue with an angry child subpersonality demonstrates:

Adult: Hi.

Child: Hi.

Adult: What do you want to tell me?

Child: I'm here.

Adult: I want to know you.

Child: Fuck off.

Adult: Why are you so angry?

Child: Nobody took care of me.... (p.97)

Dialogue, however, is not an essential part of experientially expressing a subpersonality. Landy (1993), for instance, encourages his clients to focus on one part of their body, and then allow a movement to extend from that source; 'for example, a prominent belly may lead to a slow and heavy movement' (p.47). Once the movement has extended to the whole body, suggests Landy, the invocation of the subpersonality is complete. Capacchione (1991) and Rowan (1993) also proposes that parts of the body can form a useful starting point for eliciting subpersonalities. Through focusing on areas that are tense, sore or painful, Capacchione suggests that the vulnerable child can be invoked, and subsequently expressed through dialogue or movement (p.85).

To facilitate the experiential expression of subpersonalities, Watkins and Watkins (1979) suggest the use of hypnosis: 'This is like zeroing in with a magnifying glass on a small part of an object for the purpose of examining its structure and function most minutely while simultaneously excluding from the field of vision other surrounding and distracting features.... When all energies are concentrated through hypnotic suggestion on a single ego state, the others are suppressed and temporarily deactivated' (p.185). To facilitate the expression of a subpersonality through hypnosis, Watkins and Watkins first put their clients in to a trance state, and then call upon a part that is responsible for a particular symptom, function or behaviour. Working with a client, for instance, who said that she has felt 'drawn' towards a bar she had not intended to enter, the therapist first hypnotised the client, and then asked, 'May I speak to whoever or whatever impelled Mary (the entire patient) to go into that bar?' (p.196).

3.5 THE PSYCHOLOGY OF FACILITATING THE EXPRESSION OF SUBPERSONALITIES

On a manifest level, each of these descriptive/analytical, projective and experiential methods of facilitating the expression of subpersonalities may seem very different. Yet, I would like to suggest that a closer analysis reveals a shared underlying premise. Each method begins with one element of the subpersonality complex (or a symbol of one aspect of the subpersonality complex): e.g., a role, a prominent trait, a character, etc.; and then, through a particular medium—e.g., putting pieces of paper in to piles, story-telling, verbal expression, etc.—it is hoped that associated aspects of the subpersonality complex will be constellated around it. This process of facilitating the expression of subpersonalities, then, is somewhat akin to angling: a 'hook' is dropped into the psyche, in the hope that it will attract to it and fish out a particular subpersonality. As Watkins and Watkins (1979) write: 'the entire pattern can be activated by focusing attention on one of its behavioural or experiential elements' (p.196).

To take an example: In Ferruci's (1982) guided visualisation the individual begins with a prominent trait, attitude or motivation, allows an image to emerge representing it, and then lets the image talk and express itself. Here, the trait, attitude or motivation is acting as the initial hook. Through the medium of imaginative visualisation, the individual then clusters around that hook associated images and verbalisations, until a fully formed constellation of behavioural, phenomenological, motivational, cognitive, physiological and affective components is attained. This constellation—having begun with a prominent quality—is then taken as the re-constitution of a prominent intrapsychic subpersonality.

Despite a shared underlying premise, however, I would like to suggest three dimensions along which these techniques vary. First is the 'size' of the hook. In some cases, where the starting point is a sandtray figure, a part of the body, or a prominent attitude, there is little of immediate significance with which to attract a subpersonality (a small hook). On the other hand, where the starting point is a role, a term such as 'the vulnerable child', or a previously identified subpersonality, then much of the subpersonality is already known (a large hook). Both small and large hooks have advantages and disadvantages. A small hook, being only a minor aspect of the subpersonality, has the advantage that there is much of the subpersonality left to uncover. Hence, there is more chance of facilitating the expression of non-conscious or partially conscious subpersonalities. Perls, for instance (in Rowan, 1993), would put in the empty chair such small hooks as 'your smirk' or 'the old man you saw when you were five and a half'. '[A]ll these things could be talked to and talked back. And as they did so, they turned into subpersonalities—sometimes quite familiar subpersonalities and sometimes new and surprising subpersonalities (p.127). With a small hook, on the other hand, there is no guarantee that what is being expressed will actually be a subpersonality. A smirk or an old man *might* elicit a subpersonality, but there is no evidence to suggest that this will always be the case. With a large hook, however, because more of the subpersonality has already been established, there is more certainty that what is actually being expressed is a subpersonality. Moreover, there is far greater control over the type of subpersonality to be expressed. If a client is known to have 'difficulties' with her vulnerable child, for instance, it may be more expedient for her to use 'her vulnerabilities' or 'her scared side' as a hook, rather than commencing with a more open-ended starting point.

There are also important differences between those techniques in which the process of re-constellating is predominantly deliberate and conscious, and those in which it is predominantly spontaneous and non-conscious. If the individual is made aware, for instance, that the exercise is designed to elicit a subpersonality (e.g., Rowan, 1990; Shapiro, 1976), she is likely to be more guarded in her response than if she only finds out the purpose of the exercise at a later time (e.g., Ferruci, 1982; Landy, 1993). Equally, the category of technique is likely to have a large influence on how deliberate or spontaneous the process is. Descriptive/analytical techniques probably operate at the most conscious level: the individual is likely to be fully aware of the associations they are making and the subpersonalities they are expressing. Projective techniques, on the other hand, probably operate at the least conscious level—associations and subpersonalities having the chance to 'emerge' rather than being deliberately chosen. As Rowan (1993) writes of guided visualisation, for instance, 'the images have a life of their own and develop according to their own logic. This method enables conversations to take place with contents of the unconscious' (p.115). Moreover, because the individual is projecting her subpersonalities on to another medium and only fully 'owning' them at a

later time, she is less likely to be guarded about the associations and subpersonalities that she allows to emanate. In the experiential techniques, the associations and subpersonalities that emerge are also more likely to be spontaneous than in the descriptive/analytical techniques. Because, however, the individual is directly identified with their subpersonalities (except in dramatherapy), they may be more aware and conscious of the elicitation process than if they were projecting their subpersonalities on to another medium. Moreover, of all the techniques discussed, those in which the individual has to act out their subpersonality may evoke the strongest feelings of self-consciousness and embarrassment.

Techniques in which the individual is consciously expressing a subpersonality have the advantage that she is in full control, and can choose to express only those sides of herself that she wishes too. The disadvantage, however, is that the subpersonalities and associations expressed are likely to be heavily influenced by self-presentation concerns: both to the therapist/experimenter and to herself. Associations between traits may be distorted, and some subpersonalities may never be expressed for fear that they are 'unacceptable'. Where subpersonalities are expressed spontaneously, there is more chance that they are going to present an accurate picture of the individual's psyche rather than how the individual would like their psyche to be seen. However, there is also the possibility that the client may feel manipulated and undermined by the surreptitiousness of the process.

A final difference between these techniques is the extent to which the subpersonality is overtly manifested. Whereas in the descriptive/analytical and projective techniques, used exclusively, the subpersonality is only talked or drawn *about*; in the experiential techniques, the subpersonality is actually manifested at an overt level. The advantage of this overt manifestation is that the individual can get a sense of their subpersonality from the 'inside', can identify and empathise with it more fully, and can cathart any strong emotions that may be associated with it. The disadvantage of this overt manifestation, when used exclusively, however, is that the individual may find it difficult to stand back from their subpersonality and to observe it from the 'outside'. Moreover, in cases where the subpersonality is severely damaged, psychotic or vulnerable, it is questionable how useful it is to 'become' this part of the self—especially when the individual is regularly immersed in this subpersonality anyway.

3.6 CONCLUSION

This chapter has reviewed techniques for facilitating the expression of subpersonalities, categorising them into descriptive/analytical, projective and experiential approaches. It then explored the underlying principles behind these techniques, suggesting that they work by hooking the subpersonality with one of its constellated elements (or a symbol of one of its elements). Finally, the chapter suggests that these techniques can be distinguished along three further dimensions: the size of the hook, the degree to which the individual is conscious of expressing a subpersonality, and the degree to which the subpersonality is expressed overtly.

From this review, it would seem that there already exists a rich variety of techniques to facilitate the expression of subpersonalities. Hence, any new technique would need to show, not only that it can facilitate the expression of subpersonalities, but that it can do so in a way which makes it more effective and appropriate—at least in some situations—than any of the pre-existing techniques. As it is, as Graham (1986) writes, 'if method is synonymous with technique humanistic psychology suffers an embarrassment of riches' (p.88). At the same time, however, having identified the premises on which the pre-existing techniques are based, there is a clear possibility of developing improved and more efficacious means of facilitating the expression of subpersonalities. In particular, a technique which could further combine the safety and spontaneity of the projective techniques with the immediacy of the experiential techniques could be a useful development.

CHAPTER 4. USING THE FACE AND MASK TO FACILITATE THE EXPRESSION OF SUBPERSONALITIES: A REVIEW AND ANALYSIS

Over the years I have caught glimpses of you
in the mirror, wicked;
in a sudden stridency in my own voice, have
heard you mock me;
in the tightening of my muscles felt the pull
of your anger and the whine
of your greed twist my countenance; felt your
indifference blank my face when pity was called for.
You are there, lurking under every kind act I do,
ready to defeat me. (Landstrom, in O'Connor, 1971, p.35-36)

4.1 INTRODUCTION

As the last chapter suggested, facilitating the expression of subpersonalities requires two conditions: a hook, and a constellating medium. This chapter suggests that the mask may be capable of acting as a hook, and hence as a means of facilitating the expression of subpersonalities. To develop such a hypothesis, this chapter begins with the face. First, through a review of face-psychology literature, the chapter suggests that the face is fundamental to how individuals both express aspects of themselves and how they perceive others. Following on from this, through a review of the 'facial feedback effect', the chapter suggests that the face is an integral aspect of the individual. This is developed in the next section, arguing that the face must therefore be an integral aspect of a subpersonality, and hence a potential hook. The second part of this chapter extends this argument to the mask, and argues that, not only can the mask facilitate the expression of subpersonalities in the same way as the face, but, through its ability to disguise, its flexibility, its fixidity, and its metaphorical value, may be even more effective at doing so.

4.2 THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE FACE

Since the days of ancient Greece, western philosophies have tended to minimise the psychological significance of the face and physical form. The body, according to Plato, was a, 'distorting medium, causing us to see as through a glass darkly, and as a source of lusts which distracts us from the pursuit of knowledge and the vision of truth' (quoted in Russell, 1961, p.150). Such a view was proliferated by Christian essentialism, and sustained by Cartesian dualism, which emphasised a qualitative

distinction between soul and body (Russell, 1961). Today, the minimal significance attributed to the face remains embedded in popular culture and language, where terms such as ‘face value’ (as opposed to real value) and ‘saving face’ (i.e., maintaining our public façade) highlight the superficial and non-essential qualities attributed to the face. According to *Roget’s International Thesaurus* (1992), ‘face’ is synonymous with ‘sham’, ‘fakery’, ‘pretence’, ‘false front’, ‘deception’, ‘exterior’ (p.283).

Paradoxically, however, psychological studies suggest that the face is an integral and salient aspect of human being-ness—both in terms of the way individuals express themselves, in the way they perceive others, and in the way they experience themselves.

4.2.1 Facial expressions

Argyle (1975) suggests that facial expressions are used in three different ways: to express emotions, to express interaction signals, and to express personality characteristics (1975). The first of these, the face’s ability to express affective states, has been most vigorously researched. According to Tomkins (1963), ‘The face is as primary an organ of affect as the hand and its fingers is a primary organ of manipulation and exploration’ (p.224). In other words, smiling behaviour is as intimately related to expressing happiness as grasping behaviour might be to expressing curiosity. This relationship between face and affect, according to Fridlund et al (1987), is part of humankind’s evolutionary heritage. Whilst in non-primates, they suggest, ‘the facial musculature takes the form of a broad sheet or “platysma.” The progression along the phylogenetic tree is accompanied by a specialisation of platysma toward expression and display, with humans showing the most differentiated facial expressions’ (p.152).

Substantial empirical research supports this Darwinian proposition. Cross-cultural studies (Ekman and Friesen, 1971; Izard, 1971), for instance, show that the expression and recognition of key emotional expressions—happiness, surprise, fear, sadness, anger, disgust/contempt—is constant across a number of literate and pre-literate societies, even when there has been no or minimal contact. Studies with deaf-and-blind-born children (Eibl-Eisenfeldt, 1973)—who could not have visually or cognitive ‘learnt’ how to express emotions—show that they produce almost identical facial expressions (smiling, laughing, crying in distress and anger, frowning, pouting, surprise reactions) to children who are not audially or visually impaired. Finally, foetuses (Oster and Ekman, 1977) show a

highly developed facial muscularate, and by birth are capable of reproducing virtually all adult facial movements, from smiling to brow-knitting to pouting.

Facial expressions, however, do more than just express specific, innately associated emotions. Whilst Ekman's (1971) 'neuro-cultural' model argues that there is an innate 'facial affect programme' that 'links each primary emotion to a distinctive patterned set of neural impulses to the facial muscle' (p.216); he also hypothesises the existence of culturally-determined 'display rules', which specify, 'who can show what behaviour to whom' (Oster and Ekman, 1987, p.237). Ekman (1971) suggests that display rules can alter the expression of emotion in four ways: attenuation, exaggeration, concealment (i.e., adopting a neutral face), and substitution (for another emotion); and already by two months a child is beginning to develop voluntary control over their facial muscularate (Fridlund et al., 1987). An interesting demonstration of this co-determinant nature of emotional expression comes from a study of Japanese and American subjects, who were asked to watch a particularly gruesome film whilst their facial expression were being surreptitiously recorded (Ekman, 1971). During the film, both groups of subjects displayed an equal amount of emotional expression—as predicted by a 'universalist' approach; but when later questioned about their feelings towards the film in the presence of the experimenter, the Japanese subjects were less facially expressive than the American—as predicted by a culturally-based model of facial expression.

Given that individuals can use facial expressions as a means of consciously communicating specific information, Birdwhistle (1971) suggests that facial expressions are akin to a language. He writes, for instance, that, 'the mouth movement is a segment of a structure that can be used as part of a code and that it is not specifically meaningful in and of itself' (p.36). In terms of emotions, few people would accept such a culturally-determined, abiological model; yet there are many facial expressions that clearly transcend the affective level and closely parallel linguistic form. A head scratch, for instance, can signify, 'I don't understand'; sticking one's tongue out can signify, 'I don't like you'; whilst winking can signify, 'I find you sexually attractive'. Argyle (1988) terms these gestures 'interaction signals'.

Argyle (1988) also suggests that the face can be used to express personality characteristics. Male long hair, for instance, can signify 'laid back-ness'; a pierced eyebrow can signify rebelliousness, whilst an unshaven face might signify aggressiveness. Whilst little research has gone in to this area, perhaps the billions of pounds spent on cosmetics and cosmetic surgery world-wide best attestifies to the face's ability to express aspects of the personality. Interestingly, the art of expressing one's personality through the face stretches back thousands of years. Skull shaping was practiced in

Neanderthal times, tattooing was in vogue by Neolithic times, and make-up was applied by women in ancient Egypt, Babylonia and China (Landau, 1989).

4.2.2 Perceiving faces

But the face is not just significant to how individuals express themselves; it is also fundamental to how individuals are perceived. As with the expression of emotions, there seems to be some biological, pre-cultural basis to the significance of the face within interpersonal perception. Both Dziuraweic (1987) and Goren, Sarty and Wu (1975), for instance, have shown that infants only minutes old found a normal schematic face more salient than a 'scrambled symmetric' or 'scrambled asymmetric' schematic face, both of which were more salient than a blank oval. Equally, Bushnell et al (1989) found that neonates as young as 12.5 hours were able to distinguish between the face of their mother and that of a stranger; whilst Meltzoff and Moore (1977) showed that babies between 12 and 21 days of age, and possibly as young as 60 minutes, were capable of imitating adult facial gestures. Young-Browne et al (1977) found that three month old infants could discriminate between sad, happy and surprised facial expressions; whilst Haviland and Lelwica (1987) found an ability to distinguish between happy, sad and angry faces in two months olds.

These studies suggest that humans may be born with an innate attraction to the face, and an instinctual ability to recognise and imitate it. Such abilities may have arisen for evolutionary reasons: 'An innate attentiveness to faces would help both in...beginning the build-up of information on which the baby will base its own subsequent attachment to and recognition of its caretakers' (Ellis and Young, 1989, p.5). Support for this evolutionary hypothesis comes from studies of 'prosopagnosia', a rare form of brain damage in which the individual is capable of recognising everything apart from faces. One sufferer, for instance, could only identify his daughter's picture by her blackened front tooth. When presented with pictures of other young women with blackened front teeth, he mistook them for his daughter (Bodamer, 1947/1990). Such a disease suggests that there is a particular part of the brain that deals with facial recognition, a contention supported by the discovery of certain cells in the temporal lobes of Rhesus monkeys that respond only to facial images. As Green (1990) writes: 'There is now good evidence that face learning in the infant is guided by some innate specifications of what faces look like, in the same way as young birds possess an innate representation of the visual properties of hens' (p.360).

Whether or not humans have an innate attraction to faces, there are good reasons why the face should provide the most probable configuration for the infant's first visual schema (Vine, 1973). First, as Vine suggests, it is typically presented by the mother both frequently and for fairly long periods, probably more during the first weeks and months than is any other visual stimulus; second, 'the face has characteristics of mobility, brightness contrast, coloration etc. which makes it an attractive and salient object for the very young infant' (p.252); finally, the reflex action made by the young infant in order to maximise sound reception in both ears will bring it face-to-face with the mother.

The importance of the face in perceiving emotions is substantiated by the weight with which observers tend to bestow on it. According to Argyle (1975), individuals gaze at others' faces approximately 75% of the time whilst listening to them and 40% of the time whilst talking. Moreover, studies of the 'visual dominance' phenomenon—the tendency of visual information from an object to dominate perceptual and memorial judgments (Howard and Templeton, 1966)—show that greater attention tends to be paid to the face during interpersonal communication than to any other channel. Mehrabian and Ferris (1967), for instance, asked subjects to rate the degree of positivity when presented with photographs of positive, negative, or neutral facial expressions, in combination with positive, negative or neutral vocalisations of the word 'maybe'. The experimenters found that facial expression accounted for over 40% of the total variance in subject's ratings, whereas judgment for voice accounted for only 19%. Facial expressions also tend to dominate over contextual cues. Watson (1972) presented her subjects with photographs of sad, happy, angry or neutral faces, in combination with verbal descriptions of sad, happy, angry or neutral situational contexts (e.g., 'He is told that a close friend, stricken with leukaemia, has died' for sad). Watson found that subjects were over twice as likely to base their assessment of the individual's emotional state on their faces as their situation. As Bull (1983) concludes: '[W]hen facial expression is set in conflict with the emotion people expect someone to experience in a particular situation, then the facial expression will predominate' (p.55).

It is not only emotions, however, that are perceived in the face. Just as interaction signals and personality characteristics are 'spoken' through the face, so they will be 'read'. Such is the significance of the face, however, in how individuals perceive others, that what is read in it may not have necessarily been written. Secord et al (1959), for instance, presented people with photographs of anonymous men and then asked them to try and describe their personalities. People had few inhibitions about making judgments. Those with shallow set eyes, light eyebrows and bright eyes were considered carefree, easy-going, cheerful, humorous, honest, and warm-hearted. Those with younger faces were judged energetic, conscientious, patient, honest, warm-hearted, friendly,

intelligent, responsible, kind, trustful, and easy-going. Older faces with thin lips were seen as distinguished, intelligent and refined, whilst those with averagely thick lips were judged meek and studious. Dark complexions and oily and coarse skin were judged hostile, boorish, sly, quick-tempered, and conceited.

The notion that an individual's personality is expressed through their face stretches back to classical times. Aristotle, who first augmented the 'science' of physiognomy—'the art or practice of judging character from facial features' (*Collins Dictionary and Thesaurus*, 1986, p.744)—adopted an 'analogical' perspective, theorising that people with facial features resembling a particular animal had analogous characters. An individual with a bull dog jaw, for instance, would be considered tenacious (Landau, 1989). Physiognomy remained popular up until the nineteenth century, where practitioners such as Varley (1828) wrote that: '[E]very quality of the mind, temper, and disposition, is correctly expressed by the features of the face...a part of nature generally discloses, or at least indicates, the combination of the whole' (p.56). In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, a number of criminologists also turned to physiognomy. Lombroso (1911), for instance, suggested that criminals had disproportionately large and asymmetrical faces, a narrow forehead, and a strongly developed and ape-like jaw. Today, a number of popular books such as *Secrets of the Face* (Young, 1985), and *How to Read Faces* (Davies, 1989) continue to promote physiognomy as a means of deciphering an individual's personality.

Such is the strength of personality attributions based on the face, that the way an individual is reacted to can be radically altered by their facial appearance. Perhaps the best illustration of this comes from studies of 'attractiveness'. At work, for instance, managers and employers are more likely to hire good-looking men and women (Cash et al., 1977), to pay them more, and to promote them more quickly (Dipboye et al., 1977). Psychologically-wise, attractive people are seen as more mentally healthy (Barocas and Vance, 1974), less likely to be diagnosed schizophrenic, remain in hospital for shorter times, and be visited more frequently by friends and relatives (Farina et al., 1977). Therapists spend more time with good-looking clients (Katz and Zimbardo, 1977), try harder, and with greater effect. Teachers, too, have their prejudices. Clifford and Walster (1973) presented nursery school teachers with a child's file. Along with it was a bogus picture of either an attractive or unattractive child. Despite the child's files being identical, the teachers assumed that the 'cute' children were more intelligent, that their parents were more interested in their education, and that they were more likely to get advanced degrees. Dion (1972) found that when adults were asked to evaluate reports of rather severe disruption in classes, their attribution of blame depended on the attractiveness of the children. If they were good looking then a blind-eye was turned with comments such as, 'like anyone

else, a bad day can occur'. However, when the child was physically unattractive, comments were more likely to be in the order of, 'I think the child would be quite bratty and would probably be a problem to teachers'.

As the above quote suggests, 'ugly' people are often seen as being more asocially inclined. Bull (1979), for instance, showed that ratings of dishonesty increased with the number of scars on someone's face. Even a woman with a port-wine stain collected less money for charity than when the experimental stain was removed. Unattractive people are more likely to get caught in illicit activities (Mace, 1972), if caught more likely to be reported (Deseran and Chung, 1979), and, if going to court, more likely to have a severe sentence (Sigall and Ostrove, 1975). This equation between ugliness and evil is particularly salient for those facially disfigured. As Graham and Klingman (1985) point out, 'If a person has a stroke, a heart attack, or has asthma or arthritis, he gets sympathy and help. If he has a skin disease, he will be thought of as disgusting, frightening and even dangerous...The stigma of skin disfigurements embodies the deeply rooted notion of something blameworthy and shameful' (*ix*). Individuals with congenital craniofacial malformations, 'without exception', have described teasing in childhood and social ostracism (Pertschuk and Whitaker, 1982). 'Compared to mothers of normal infants, mothers of facially deformed infants manifested a consistent pattern of less nurturant behaviour' (Barden et al., 1989, p. 821). This association between goodness and beauty, and badness and ugliness—which Synott (1990) refers to as 'facism'—stretches back throughout history to the times of the ancient Greeks. As Francis Bacon (1984), for instance, wrote: 'Deformed persons are commonly even with nature, for as nature hath done ill by them, so do they by nature; being for the most part (as the Scripture saith) void of natural affection; and so they have their revenge of nature' (p.156).

Ultimately, though, the face is more than just a means through which a person's individuality is perceived. Rather, the face is a *symbol* of their individuality, a 'calling card' by which they are identified and experienced (Landau, 1989). The face is an internal representation of that individual that others carry around in their heads. Indeed, as Landau suggests, 'In the mind's eye, face and identity are one and the same' (p.33). When sighted people think of someone, for instance, they tend to conjure up an image of their face. In a sense, the face and the person are seen as one; and, where a face changes dramatically—as in the case of disfigurement or substantial plastic surgery—it can be difficult to believe that this is the same person, far more so than if the body, name, or voice changes. In cases where accurate identification of an individual is essential—as in passports or identity parades—the face becomes the most important means of establishing an individual's identity. Moreover, the face's role as a symbol of identity is not limited to western cultures. Writes Cordry

(1980), for instance, 'In Mexico, as in other areas, Indian groups regarded the face as the representation and the centre of an individual's personality' (p.147). Such a perspective can even be extended to inanimate objects. The Kwakiutl Indians of west coast Canada, for instance, see all objects in the world as having faces: rocks, seaweed, winds, etc. Thus, the face becomes the symbol and the centre of every object within the universe. As Landau (1989) writes: 'because faces are a "preferred pattern" we tend to discover them everywhere—even when they don't exist' (p.58).

4.2.3 The facial feedback effect

The two previous section have highlighted the significance of the face in expressing and perceiving individuals, yet both sections suggest a unidirectional relationship between individual and face. That is, a feeling, cognition, or need arises in the individual, is expressed in their face, and is then perceived by the psyche an observer (diagram 1).

Diagram 1: The unidirectional individual-face relationship

Over the last twenty years, however, it is becoming increasingly clear that the relationship between an individual and their face is not unidirectional but bi-directional. That is, an individual may begin with a specific feeling, cognition or need, but the way that that entity is expressed through the face may modify the initial intrapsychic element (diagram 2).

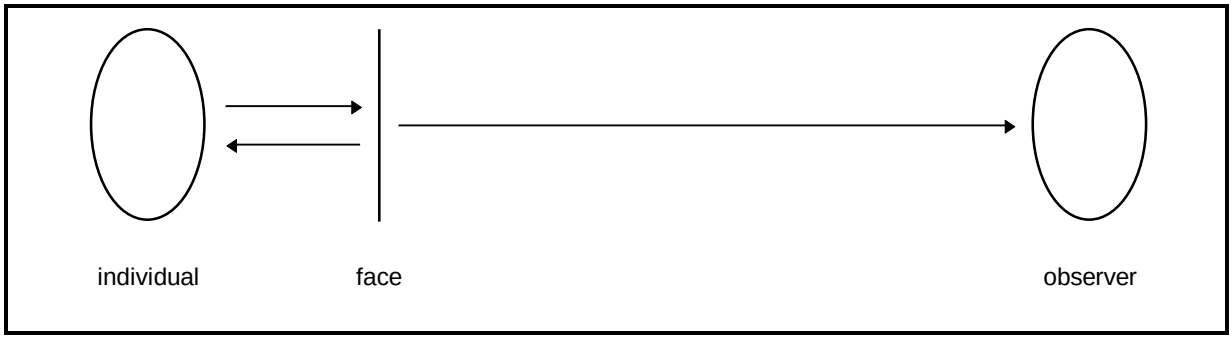

Diagram 2: The face's ability to modify intrapsychic states

Alternatively, a facial expression may actually induce a particular intrapsychic feeling, cognition or need in the individual (diagram 3). These last two processes have become known as the 'facial feedback effect' whereby, 'facial expression provide feedback to the expresser that is either necessary or sufficient to affect emotional experience' (Matsumoto, 1987, p.769).

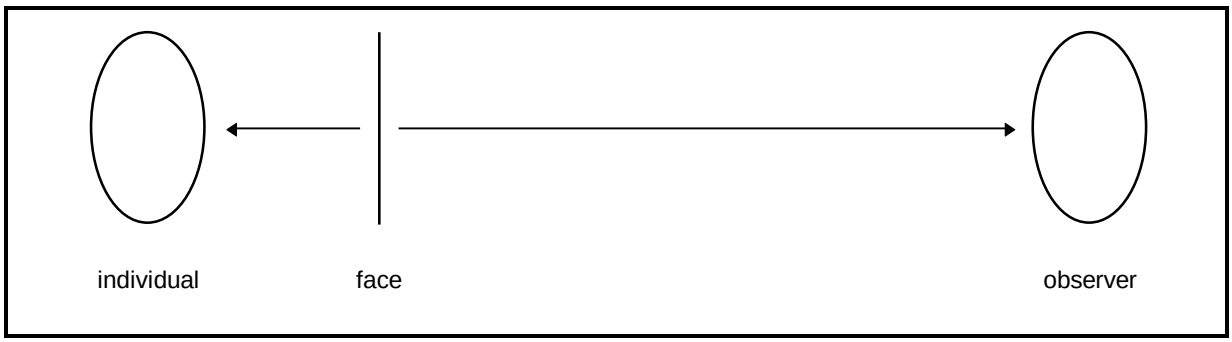

Diagram 3: The face's ability to induce intrapsychic states

The power of the face to transform the mind was advocated by both Darwin and James. Darwin, (1872/1965) for instance, wrote: 'The free expression by outwards signs of an emotion intensifies it. On the other hand, the repression, as far as this is possible, of all outward signs softens our emotions. He who gives way to violent gestures will increase his rage; he who does not control the signs of fear will experience fear in a greater degree' (p.365). Similarly, James (1890/1981) stated: 'Smooth the brow, brighten the eye, contract the dorsal rather than the ventral aspect of the frame...and your heart must be frigid indeed it if does not gradually thaw!' (p.1078).

In recent years, psychological studies have provided more empirical support for this facial feedback effect (e.g., Laird, 1974; Laird and Crosby, 1974; McArthur et al, 1980; Rhodewalt and Comer, 1979; Strack et al, 1988; Zajonc et al, 1989). In the first of these studies (Laird, 1974), subjects were told to hold the muscular contractions of either a smiling or a frowning face. They were then shown a series of pictures and asked to rate their feelings towards these images. The experimenters found that those who smiled whilst looking at the pictures rated their levels of happiness higher and their levels of aggression lower than the subjects who were frowning. Verbal comments from the subjects highlighted the facial feedback process: 'When my jaw was clenched and my brows down, I tried not to be angry but it just fit the position. I'm not in any angry mood but I found my thoughts wandering to things that made me angry, which is sort of silly I guess. I knew I was in an experiment and knew I had no reason to feel that way, but I just lost control' (p.480). More recent studies have used less obtrusive tests of the facial feedback effect. Zajonc et al (1989), for example, gave two sets of experimental subjects two different stories to read. The subjects were then asked to rate how much they enjoyed them. The stories were almost identical, except that one was about Peter who wanted

Hunde und Katzen (dogs and cats) for his birthday, and the other about Jürgen who wanted Füchse und Hühner (foxes and hens). Zajonc and his colleagues hypothesized that the greater number of 'ü' phonemes in the second story would force the reader to continually grimace and therefore like the story less. This is what they found. They then went on to ask their subjects to repeat a number of vowel sounds and rate their respective moods. They discovered that the order of good-mood inducing vowels was as follows: 'Ah', 'O', 'E', 'A', 'I', 'U', 'Ü'. As the authors predicted, sounds that required a smiling face increased ratings of pleasure, whilst sounds that required a frowning face increased ratings of displeasure.

In explaining the facial feedback effect, psychologists have tended to adopt a predominantly physiological analysis. James (1922), for instance, saw facial feedback as part and parcel of his wider theory of emotions, whereby: 'the bodily changes follow directly the perception of the exciting fact, and that our feeling of the same changes as they occur in the emotion' (p.13). In other words, the individual knows how they are feeling through an awareness of their bodily responses: they know they are scared because they experience themselves running away; they know they are aroused because they feel their heart beating faster; they know they are happy because they feel themselves smiling. James placed only minimal importance on the role of the face in this feedback process, but in the 1960s, Tomkins (1963) argued that it was primarily the face which fed information back to the individual about their emotional state. Central to his hypothesis were three points. First, the face is the most sensitive and dominant part of the body, with a high density of neural representations and firings. Second, facial muscles lack a fascial cover that binds muscles everywhere else in the body together into groups; thus, in the face, similar muscle portions or even muscle bundles may contract independently of the rest of the muscle in a variety of complex patterns. Third, involuntary facial responses are highly resistant to habituation.

More recently, Zajonc et al (1989) have proposed a vascular explanation for the facial feedback effect, hypothesising that by moving muscles in their faces, individuals inhibit or facilitate the amount of blood and air that enters their brain, and in so doing affect their emotional state. Smiling, for instance, widens the nostril aperture and thus lets more air in to cool the brain, which, according to Zajonc, creates a pleasurable sensation. A down-turned mouth, on the other hand, reduces the size of the nostril aperture and thus produces the opposite affect.

No doubt, these physiological explanations have some validity, but what they fail to explain is the existence of a facial feedback effect—though not necessarily of emotions—in the absence of direct physiological changes. After a one hour make-up session, for instance, a group of older women saw

themselves as more physically attractive and healthy looking, more assured in appearance, and, consequently, having a more positive outlook on life (Graham and Jouhar, 1984). Typical comments were, 'I feel more confident with make-up on', 'I feel better about myself with make-up on'. Clearly, such findings can not be attributed to physiological feedback processes. Neither can findings that cosmetic surgery on women with facial blemishes can significantly reduce levels of depression and psychasthenia over a three month period (Wright et al, 1970); that cosmetic surgery on criminals can reduce their rate of recidivism by up to half (Spira et al, 1966); or that plastic surgery of Down's Syndrome sufferers can help them feel better about themselves (Katz and Kravetz, 1989).

Anecdotal evidence also supports the notion that facial feedback can occur in the absence of direct physiological feedback. At the age of eighteen, for instance, James Partridge's Land Rover skidded out of control and burst into flames. Partridge suffered horrific burns and spent many months in hospital convalescing and undergoing intensive plastic surgery. He was left with a face which he describes simply as 'a mess'. What is clear from the account of his experiences, *Changing Faces* (1990), is that the transformations of his face had a powerful effect on his state of mind. 'It is not just your body-image that will change,' he writes, 'but also the way that you conduct and speak about yourself...your personal evaluation of your own worth may well be threatened: it will be hard for you to maintain your self-respect because your face is now so blemished and battered' (p.60).

An equally powerful example of non-physiological facial feedback is the story of John Howard Griffin, author of *Black Like Me* (1961). Griffin, a white American journalist who specialised in race issues, decided that there was only one way to fully understand the nature of racism—by becoming a black man himself. On November the seventh, 1959, after weeks of ultra-violet treatment and pigmentation medication, Griffin took a first look at his new identity:

> I stood in the darkness before the mirror, my hand on the light switch. I forced myself to flick it on.
>
> In the flood of light against white tile, the face and the shoulders of the stranger—a fierce, bald, very dark negro—glared at me from the glass. He in no way resembled me.
>
> The transformation was total and shocking. I had expected to see myself disguised but this was something else. I was imprisoned in the flesh of an utter stranger, an unsympathetic one with whom I felt no kinship. All traces of the John Griffin I had been were wiped from existence.
>
> Even the senses underwent a change so profound it filled me with distress. I looked into the mirror and saw reflected nothing of the white John Griffin's past. No, the reflections led back to Africa, back to the shanty and the ghetto, back to the fruitless struggle against the mark of blackness...
>
> The completeness of this transformation appalled me. It was unlike anything I had imagined. I became two men, the observing one and the one who panicked, who felt negroid even into the depths of his entrails.
>
> I felt the beginnings of a great loneliness. (p.15-16)

Given that the facial feedback experienced by Griffin and Partridge can not be explained by proprioceptive or vascular processes, how might they be explained? In both instance, it would seem that the individuals are perceiving themselves much like an observer might—inferring personality characteristics from their facial appearance. In the same way, then, that an observer might devalue and stigmatise Partridge for his disfigured face, so he comes to devalue and stigmatise himself. Such a feedback process is akin to Bem's (1972) theory of self-perception whereby:

> Individuals come to 'know' their own attitudes, emotions, and other internal states partially by inferring them from observations of their own overt behaviour and/or the circumstances in which the behaviour occurs. Thus, to the extent that internal cues are weak, ambiguous, or uninterpretable, the individual is functionally in the same position as an outside observer, and observer who most necessarily rely upon those same external cues to infer the individual's inner state. (p.2)

Laird (1974, 1984) has already hinted that Bem's self-perception theory might explain much of the facial feedback effect. 'In this view, we are in the same position as any observer of us, who must infer our psychic states from observations of our actions and the circumstances in which we act' (1984, p.911). Hence, an individual who is smiling asks herself: 'What must my attitude be if I am willing to behave in this fashion in this situation' (Bem, 1972, p.21), and infers that she is happy; just as a man with a disfigured face might ask, 'What must I be like to look like this?' and infers a weakness of character and low self-value.

Hence, it would seem that the face is capable of feeding back to the psyche on two channels: the first, physiological and primarily associated with affect; the second, cognitive and primarily associated with personality characteristics. What both processes demonstrate, however, is that physiognomic changes are capable of altering the psyche. Moreover, the existence of both facial feedback processes suggest that the face is not at the end-point of a unidirectional 'expressing continuum', with 'internal' elements at the beginning and physiognomic externalisation at the end. Rather, the face is one element in a complex, multidirectional web of emotions, needs, cognitions, behaviours, and physiological states.

4.2.4 Face and subpersonality

Given, then, the face's integratedness and significance within the individual; and, given that, a subpersonality, 'is considered capable of acting as a person, it has the appearance of a person,' (section 2.1), then facial characteristics should also be an important and integrated aspect of a subpersonality-complex. A sad, childish face, for instance, should be a pivotal aspect of a vulnerable

child subpersonality; just as an aggressive, demonic countenance should be a central part of a shadow subpersonality. Few authors have highlighted this fact. Indeed, the description of a subpersonality as a, ‘constellation of behavioural, phenomenological, motivational, cognitive, physiological and affective components’ (see section 2.1) does little to emphasises the physiognomic aspect.

Nevertheless, from a number of sources, it is clear that facial characteristics can be a significant aspect of the subpersonality complex. Stone and Winkelman (1989a), for instance, write: ‘Each subpersonality...has a distinct facial expression’ (p.62), whilst Berne (1961) gives the example that, ‘Thoughtful concentration, often with pursed lips or slightly flared nostrils, are typically Adult’ (p.72). The significance of the face is vividly illustrated when an individual switches between subpersonalities. Stone and Winkelman (1989a), for instance, describe how, ‘A captain of industry, a man with a taut jaw, dull eyes, and furrowed brow, may suddenly transform himself, appearing to us as a young child. His eyes will widen and sparkle, his furrowed brow will smooth miraculously, his jaw will relax, and his smile will turn from a grimace to an infectious grin’ (p.49). Physiognomic aspects of the subpersonality may even emerge when the subpersonality expresses itself covertly: ‘The Child may be active alongside the Adult, and show itself in unconscious gestures and intonations. The movement of a single group of facial muscles no more than a few millimetres may suffice to betray this form of activity’ (Berne, 1961, p.206).

That ‘each subpersonality has a distinct facial expression’ is even more vividly illustrated in the case of possession and D. I. D. Oesterreich (1966), for instance, suggest that physiognomical changes are the first of three external signs that all individuals manifest when becoming possessed (p.18). A victim of demonic possession at Loudon, for instance: ‘became completely unrecognisable, her glance furious, her tongue prodigiously large, long, and hanging down out of her mouth, livid and dry to such a point that the lack of humour made it quite furred (Aubin, 1673, p.226). The same dramatic physiognomic shifts have been noted in D. I. D. In the case of child personalities, for instance, Ross (1989) writes that their faces usually have a childish quality; whilst in *The Three Faces of Eve* (Thigpen and Cleckley, 1957) shifts in personalities were closely related to shifts in Christine’s physiognomic characteristics. Whilst trying on a dress, for instance: ‘She noticed her own face in the mirror and it seemed particularly ugly to her. She felt nauseated, closed her eyes, and when she opened them again, she was another person. Her face contorted with fury’ (quoted in Crabtree, 1985, p.73).

Indeed, given that the face, in many respects, is the symbol of an individual’s identity, it could be argued that the face is not only one aspect of the subpersonality complex, but its very symbol. In

other words, when individuals call to mind a particular subpersonality, it may be that they call to mind it's physiognomic characteristics—the face of the subpersonality acts as a representation of the whole. This possibility is hinted at by Tomkins (1963), who suggests that the negative affects—anger, shock, disgust, disappointment—reflected in the face of the parents, constitute the negative facets of conscience (p.220-1); i.e., the critical parent. These faces, however, are matched by a set of smiling, loving, admiring, interested faces (p.221); internalised representations, perhaps, of a nurturing parent subpersonality.

If physiognomic characteristics are an integral and important element of the subpersonality-complex; and if, as argued in chapter three, facilitating the expression of subpersonalities requires one aspect of the subpersonality-complex to act as a hook, then the face should be one means of facilitating the expression of subpersonalities. By holding a particular facial expression, feedback along both physiological and cognitive channels should trigger associated emotions and self-perceptions, and ultimately facilitate the expression of a fully re-constellated subpersonality. Moreover, if the face is a significant aspect of the subpersonality-complex, then it should be capable of acting as a relatively 'large' hook (see section 3.7), affording both client and facilitator considerable control over the type of subpersonality to be expressed. Hence, asking a client to make a serious, mature face might be a means of facilitating the expression of a central subpersonality; whilst asking a client to make a silly, playful face might be a means of helping to bring out the free child.

Anecdotal evidence supports this possibility. As part of a recent series of mask, face and dance workshops that I ran, participants were asked to hold specific faces (smiling, sad, angry, grotesque) and then to let these faces 'lead' them around the room. The exercise seemed to tap in to surprisingly high levels of energy and enthusiasm. Indeed, when grotesque-faced participants were asked to find a noise for their face, the resulting cacophonies of shrieks, groans and howls were almost deafening. Subsequently, participants reported that they felt the exercise liberating—allowing them to 'be' in ways they rarely allowed themselves to. As one participant succinctly put it: 'When I held the different faces it felt like I was bringing out different sides of myself'.

4.3 MASK AND SUBPERSONALITY

Exploring the face's potential to act as a means of facilitating the expression of subpersonalities would be a fascinating and important study in itself. The final section of this chapter, however,

argues that the mask, like the face, has the potential to facilitate the expression of subpersonalities by feeding back along both physiological and cognitive channels. Moreover, it suggests four further reasons why the mask might be substantially *more* effective at facilitating the expression of subpersonalities: disguise, plasticity, fixidity and metaphorical value.

4.3.1 Mask and feedback

Physiologically, when individuals put masks on, they tend to match their facial features accordingly. An individual wearing a happy clown mask, for instance, will tend to contract their major zygomatic muscles into a smile. This may be due, either to specific directions from the mask-work facilitator (see chapter 7), or as a spontaneous, unconscious process (Landau, 1991). Sturtevant (1983), for example, tells the story of a Seneca Indian whose grotesque 'false face' mask fell off whist he was dancing. As Sturtevant's informant remarked, '"He was making the awfullest face in behind there. I guess he was thinking about how he was looking or something"' (p.44). Either way, by inducing a particular facial expression, asking an individual to wear a certain type of mask is effectively the same as asking them to hold a certain type of facial expression—and hence has the potential to hook in to subpersonalities along the same physiological feedback channels as the face.

More significantly, however, may be the mask's ability to hook in to intrapsychic elements through the cognitive, self-perceptual channel. Just as an individual receives feedback through a cognitive awareness of her own face; so an individual looking at her masked face in the mirror (or simply being aware that her face is masked) will receive feedback about her 'personality', emotions, etc. from its physiognomic characteristics. Given that the individual knows that the mask is not her 'real' face, this process is unlikely to be as powerful as those instance (e.g., Partridge, Griffin) where there is a real physiognomic transformation. Nevertheless, because of the strength of the physiognomically-based self-perceptual process, the individual may still be inclined to internalise the features expressed in her countenance—and hence tap in to a particular subpersonality. Hence, for instance, an individual wearing a demonic mask might begin to perceive herself as demonic, and therefore evoke the associated aspects of that subpersonality-complex.

4.3.2 Disguise

In contrast to the face, the mask—by definition (see section 1.2)—has the ability to disguise the individual. Given that individuals often feel inhibited about expressing their subpersonalities—

particularly those of a covert, repressed, or asocial nature—this disguising quality may be particularly efficacious: helping individuals to express those sides of themselves that, un-disguised, they would be too embarrassed, ashamed, or guilt-ridden to express.

Such a hypothesis is indirectly supported by a variety of social psychological research. Empirical studies, for instance, shows that individuals do tend to be less morally-inclined when masked. In a now classic study, Zimbardo (1969) found that hooded, lab-coat-clad subjects gave twice the duration of shocks than did identifiable subjects in a Milgram-like 'learning experiment' paradigm. 'If others can't identify or single you out, they can't evaluate, criticise, judge, or punish you; thus, there be no concern for social evaluation.... The loss of identifiability can be conferred by being "submerged in a crowd," disguised, masked, or dressed in a uniform like everybody else, or by darkness' (p.255). According to Zimbardo, this state of 'deindividuation', as Festinger et al (1951) termed submergence in a crowd, will tend to facilitate the expression of an individual's more hidden sides: 'Such conditions permit overt expression of antisocial behaviour, characterised as selfish, greedy, power-seeking, hostile, lustful and destructive. However, they also allow a range of "positive" behaviours which we normally do not express overtly, such as intense feelings of happiness or sorrow, and open love for others' (p.251).

Zimbardo's findings have been replicated by a number of further studies. Mathes and Guest (1976) found that subjects were significantly more willing to carry a sign around campus saying 'Masturbation is Fun' when given the opportunity to wear a knitted ski mask as opposed to 'bare-faced'. Solomon et al (1982) found that subjects is a sack-type cloth hood were less likely to help a confederate who had 'fainted on his desk with a groan and crash of falling books' (p.288). Miller and Rowold (1979) found that masked Halloween trick-or-treaters were twice as likely as unmasked children to violate a 'you may only take two candies' rule.

In recent years, theories of deindividuation have converged with theories of objective self-awareness (Duval and Wicklund, 1972) and self-regulation (Carver and Scheier, 1982). In the deindividuated state, the individual is considered to have lower levels of both public and private self-awareness. Hence, they are less likely to be regulating themselves with respect to either external or internal behavioural standards. In this respect, the mask may function in direct antithesis to the mirror—the tool used throughout the work on self-regulation to heighten feelings of self-awareness. Instead of focusing attention on the self, the mask, by disguising the face, inhibits the individual from becoming objectively self-aware. Thus, rather than attempting to live up to internal and external standards, as

the mirror encourages people to do, the mask may lessen people's desire to achieve moral and behavioural norms.

Such an explanation, however, fails to account for one particular finding in the deindividuation research: in certain cases, anonymity will lead subjects to behave in more pro-social manners. Gergen et al (1973), for instance, found that subjects with guaranteed anonymity in a darkened room were more affectionate and intimate with co-subjects. Whilst such a finding may be explained by an inherent—but repressed—human desire for intimacy, the findings of Johnson and Downing (1979) are more problematic. Hypothesising that the greater aggression in the deindividuation studies was not due to anonymity *per se* but due to the implicit aggressive meaning of the Klu Klux Klan-like lab coats and Halloween masks, the experimenters tried out the Zimbardo paradigm with anonymous nurses' uniforms as well as anonymous lab coats. In support of their hypothesis, subjects dressed in nurses' uniform were less aggressive than those in the non-anonymous control condition, as well as those in the lab-coats.

In a sense, then, whilst disguised individuals may self-regulate less than non-disguised individuals, they are not self-regulation-less. Rather, instead of regulating themselves according to their usual standards, they tend to regulate themselves with respect to the characteristics expressed in their disguise—as suggested in the earlier discussion of Bem's (1971) self-perception theory. Hence, 'Deindividuation does not necessarily lead to destructive of antisocial behaviour but does release the person from both the societal norms and personal standards that normally influence behaviour' (Diener, 1980, p.213).

Moreover, it is not always the case that a disguised individual will feel less deindividuated. A masked individual at a masked ball, for instance, may be highly deindividuated amongst a masked crowd; but a masked individual walking down the street at noon is likely to be highly salient, both to himself and others. Hence, a mask may decrease objective self-awareness, but it can also increase objective self-awareness and make an individual more keen to live up to internal and external standards if she is masked alone.

With respect to subpersonalities, then, masks may indeed help individuals to express the more hidden and inhibited sides to themselves. With less concern for public or private standards, the individual's normal defence mechanisms may be relaxed. This hypothesis, however, must be qualified by the fact that, as Johnson and Downing's (1970) study shows, the nature of the disguise will determine the type of material expressed: an angelic or nurturing mask is unlikely to bring up a shadow

subpersonality. Such masks, however, may bring up pro-social sides to the individual that can lay as deeply repressed as the anti-social ones. This discussion of anonymity also suggests that the disinhibiting effect of the mask may be greatest in a group of masked individuals, rather than when the individual is masked alone.

4.3.3 Plasticity

In contrast to the face—fixed within certain structural limitations—the mask can take on an infinite variety of forms. It can be a terrifying demon, a small child, an image of one's mother, a symbolic shape, a god, a beautiful person, an enormous animal, etc. Hence, the plasticity of the mask may make it particularly appropriate for symbolising—and therefore hooking in to—certain subpersonalities that the face is incapable of representing. A human adult face, for instance, can do little to take on the facial representation of a vulnerable child subpersonality. It might be able to take on a scared expression, but the adoption of a child-like visage are beyond its structural possibilities. A mask, on the other hand, can be constructed to be an exact replica of a vulnerable child face: with child-like features, frightened wide eyes, crying mouth, etc. It could even have tears, scars, or wounds to symbolise the vulnerable child's inner hurts. Hence, the mask has the potential to be an extremely powerful symbol of—and hence an extremely powerful hook in to—specific subpersonalities.

4.3.4 Fixidity

Whilst the mask is structurally plastic, once it is made, it is fixed in a particular face and expression. The mask, unlike the face, cannot change. This may make it, however, particularly effective at encouraging individuals to 'stay with' the expression of a particular subpersonality. If an individual is expressing an angry subpersonality through their face, for instance, they may find it too embarrassing or too tiring to maintain an angry grimace for long. With a mask, on the other hand, they are fixed in that angry grimace, and hence have more opportunity to 'work through' any psychological or physiological blocks to expressing that subpersonality. The fixidity of the mask may also provide the wearer with a certain safety, a 'shell' within which to express their more vulnerable or chaotic characteristics.

4.3.5 Metaphorical value

The closer an object comes to symbolising subpersonalities, the more effective it will be at hooking these aspects of the psyche. And there are certain qualities of the mask that make it, *per se*, a particularly powerful representation of these inner people. Like subpersonalities, the mask has the appearance of a person, yet it is not a person. It lacks the multidimensionality of the human face, just as subpersonalities lack the multidimensionality of the human personality. Moreover, the mask, as suggested above, is fixed, and hence is an excellent symbol for the semi-permanent, semi-fixed subpersonalities. Like a critical parent subpersonality, for instance, a critical parent mask is scowling whatever the context: it scowls when things go right, it scowls when things go wrong, it scowls when it can't think of what else to do. Furthermore, a mask, like subpersonalities, can be trans-individual: something that a number of different people can share. In contrast to the human face, a mask is not tied down to any one specific individual.

From a more psychosynthesis perspective, the mask is also an excellent metaphor for those parts of an individual that cover their 'true' personality. Like subpersonalities, the mask is something worn over an individual's real self (i.e., their true face), it is something that protects individuals, it is something that can be taken on or off or swapped around, and it is something that allows individuals to 'be' someone else. Indeed, such is the prevalence of this metaphor, that it is not uncommon to hear people speak of an individual's 'mask' when referring to the public self they present to the world.

4.4 CONCLUSION

This chapter has shown that the face is a significant aspect of how individuals express themselves and perceives others, and, through a discussion of the facial feedback effect, has gone on to show that the face is a significant and integrated aspect of the individual. Following on from this, the chapter has argued that the face must therefore also be a significant and integrated aspect of a subpersonality-complex; and hence a potential hook for facilitating the expression of subpersonalities. The final section of this chapter has extended this discussion to the mask, arguing that the mask, too, may be capable of hooking subpersonalities; and that its therapeutic potential is increased for four further reasons: disguise, plasticity, fixidity, and metaphorical value.

CHAPTER 5. MASK AND SUBPERSONALITY IN LITERATURE: SIX ILLUSTRATIVE EXAMPLES

> One's outer life passes is a solitude haunted by the masks of others; one's inner life passes in a solitude hounded by the masks of oneself. (Eugene O'Neill, 1961, p.117)

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Having suggested that the mask may facilitate the expression of subpersonalities, and a number of reasons why this might be the case, this chapter aims to provide some preliminary support for this hypothesis. In doing so, I have turned to the field of literature. Not only is this one of the areas in which the mask has been most prolific—since 1896, the mask has been incorporated into over 225 plays written for the western stage (Smith, 1984)—but, as Polkinghorne (1989) suggests, 'Literary data often offer deeply penetrating descriptions, and they allow the researcher access to protocols from a variety of historical and geographical settings' (p.50). Hence, as a first step in this exploratory study, literary sources may provide a rich, vibrant and varied means of establishing some preliminary support for the prevailing hypothesis.

The methodology for this study is essentially one of exampling (see section 1.3). Six illustrative examples from literature are presented: W. B. Yeats's *At the Hawk's Well*, Leonid Andreyev's *The Black Maskers*, Eugene O'Neill's *The Great God Brown*, Max Beerbohm's *The Happy Hypocrite*, The Batman, and *The Mask*. The first three of these examples illustrate how the mask can be used to symbolise aspects of the psyche—though not necessarily subpersonalities. Whilst this does not directly demonstrate the mask's ability to facilitate the expression of subpersonalities; if the mask is capable of symbolising aspects of the psyche, it should, as suggested earlier, have the potential to function as a large and powerful subpersonality-hook. The second three examples illustrate—in dramatic form—the mask's ability to facilitate the expression of a protagonist's subpersonalities. Given the fictional nature of this material, again, it can not directly demonstrate the mask's ability to facilitate the expression of subpersonalities. Nevertheless, if authors and playwrights are proposing that masks can bring out sides of the self, it suggests that there may be some substance to this hypothesis. These six examples also illustrate the reasons why the mask might be able to facilitate the expression of subpersonalities: its ability to disguise; its plasticity; its fixidity; its metaphorical value; and its ability, like the face, to express emotions, interaction signals, and personality characteristics. Given the limitations of exampling (as discussed in section 1.3), there is no intention in this chapter

to suggest that all masks—literary or otherwise—facilitate the expression of subpersonalities. Rather, it is merely to show that in some cases, with some masks, it seems to be a particularly efficacious means of fulfilling this function.

5.2 *AT THE HAWK'S WELL*, W. B. YEATS

> I call to eye of the mind
> A well long choked up and dry
> And boughs long stripped by the wind, (p.208)

With these three opening lines, Yeats (1982) sets the scene for *At the Hawk's Well* (illustration 1), the first of his four masked plays. The play, written in 1917, begins with a Young Man—clearly identifiable as Cuchulain, the mythological Irish hero—searching for the waters of everlasting life in the highlands of west Scotland. '[C]limbing up to a place/The salt sea wind has swept bare' (p.208), he discovers a dry well and an Old Man, 'as dried up as the leaves and sticks' (p.215), who is bitterly berating the mysterious 'Guardian of the Well'. Cuchulain introduces himself to the Old Man and explains his quest, but the Old Man, whilst acknowledging that Cuchulain has indeed found the fount of everlasting life, can muster only antagonism and resentment: 'Why should that hollow place fill up for you,/That will not fill for me? I have lain in wait/For more than fifty years, to find it empty' (p.213).

'I shall stand here and wait', replies Cuchulain, with all the optimism and arrogance of youth, 'For never/Have I had long to wait for anything' (p.213). The Old Man begs Cuchulain to leave. The Guardian of the Well is beginning to shiver, to become possessed, and the Old Man knows that this is a sign that the waters are about to bubble forth. 'I am old,' he pleads, 'And if I do not drink it now, will never' (p.216). Cuchulain offers to take the waters in his hand that they can share it, but as the Old Man implores, 'swear that I may drink it first,' (p.216), the Guardian of the Well throws off her black coat to reveal a hawk-like dress and begins to dance. The Old Man is coaxed into sleep; but Cuchulain tells the hawk that he is not afraid of her. Yet, as the dance progresses, Cuchulain, 'grows pale and staggers to his feet' (p.217). 'Run where you will,/Grey bird,' he shouts, 'you shall be perched upon my wrist' (p.217). Turning around, he can see the waters of everlasting life 'plash' into the well, but he has a more heroic task to concern himself with, and, dropping his spear, pursues the

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Overleaf:
Illustration 1 (above): Scene from *At the Hawk's Well*, The Abbey Theatre, Dublin, Ireland 1978, (from Smith, 1984)
Illustration 2 (below): Scene from *The Great God Brown*, Greenwich Village Theatre Production, (from Smith, 1984)

hawk-spirit off-stage. ‘He has lost what may not be found’, sing the musicians, ‘Till men heap his burial-mound/And all the history ends’ (p.217).

Despite the simplicity of the plot, it is clear from Yeats’s esoteric and psychological writings that *At the Hawk’s Well* is not merely the story of two specific individuals. Rather, it is primarily intended as a dramatisation of intrapsychic conflicts. Like Jung, Yeats believed all human experience was a warring of opposites (Taylor, 1984), and *At the Hawk’s Well* would seem to express the struggle—as expressed through the masked characters—between disillusionment and idealism (Moore, 1977, p.207). The Old Man, crushed by disappointment, is pessimistic, sarcastic, fearful, selfish and pathetic. In contrast, Cuchulain, who has never ‘had long to wait for anything’, is optimistic, adventurous, brave, generous and heroic. Faced with the ever-frustrating waters of eternal life—a metaphor, perhaps, for the ever-frustrating search for joy and happiness—the old man is bitter and resigned, but desperately clinging on to what he knows he can never have. Cuchulain, meanwhile, has little concern for ever-lasting happiness, and soon switches his attention to the far more exciting struggle ahead. Intrapsychically, then, the Old Man would seem to represent the part of the psyche that pleads for happiness and contentment in a frustrating world; whilst Cuchulain would seem to represent the part of the psyche that is prepared to meet frustration head on, with little regard for happiness and contentment: ‘Who but an idiot would praise/Dry stones in a well?’ (p.219).

Whilst *At the Hawk’s Well* could clearly be performed mask-less, the use of masks is essential to the dramatisation of this intrapsychic conflict. Prior to writing the play, Yeats had come in to contact with the masked traditional Noh theatre of Japan through his assistant Ezra Pound; and *At the Hawk’s Well*—along with Yeats’s other masked plays—was an attempt to appropriate the format and philosophy of Noh theatre to the dramatisation of Irish mythology. In particular, Yeats was attracted by the anti-realism of Noh, its focus on one specific human relation or emotion whilst carefully excluding, ‘all such obtrusive elements as mimetic realism or vulgar sensation might demand’ (Pound and Fenollosa, 1959, p.59). For this purpose, the mask was ideal, ‘whose artificiality gives personality the “stillness” needed to reveal its depths’ (Bohlman, 1980, p.50). As a fixed object, the mask goes beyond the animation and variety on the surface of life, and symbolises the comparative stability to be found at the centre of experience (Moore, 1977): the semi-permanent subpersonalities.

Moreover, by replacing the actor’s own face by an impersonal visage, the mask highlights the point that the play is about universal rather than specifics. Yeats (1959) writes: ‘A mask will allow me to substitute for the face of some commonplace player...the fine invention of a sculptor’ (p.155); and goes on to say that: ‘what could be more suitable than that Cuchulain...a half-supernatural legendary

person, should show to us a face not made before the looking-glass by some leading player' (1917). The use of masks, then, makes it clear that *At the Hawk's Well* is not the story of a specific meeting between one particular Old Man and a young hero. It is the portrayal of something deeper and more universal. Masks, as Taylor (1976) suggests, insist on the presence of archetypes rather than realistic characters in action (p.135).

As suggested in the previous chapter, then, the fixidity of the mask makes it a powerful metaphor for intrapsychic elements. A face could neither convey the deep-rooted constancy of the inner Cuchulain and inner Old Man, nor their trans-individuality. Through the mask, Yeats is able to dive beneath the waves of surface turmoil, and bring to life a conflict that lies in the deeper, stiller waters of the human psyche.

5.3 *THE BLACK MASKERS*, LEONID ANDREYEV

Written in 1907, *The Black Maskers* (1926) is one of Andreyev's best known plays. The haunting drama, set in a gothic, Poe-esque castle, commences as the preparations for a masquerade ball are under way. As servants hurry from place to place exchanging fleeting smiles, '*The gayest of all...is young Lorenzo, the reigning Duke of Spadaro. Well formed, refined of feature, a little languid in manner, but courteous and kindly toward every one'* (p.4). As the guests for the ball begin to arrive, however, Lorenzo's boyish anticipation turns towards apprehension, for he realises he is unable to recognise any of his visitors beneath their heavy, close-fitting carnival masks. He chides them for trying to deceive him, but the maskers only respond with laughter, cackles and bizarre assertions: 'Do you not recognise me, Lorenzo?' asks a Red Masker, a hideous black snake twined around her body, 'I am your heart' (p.11). More maskers appear, increasingly grotesque and revolting in form. Among them are corpses, cripples, and deformed persons. On being challenged to identify themselves, many claim to be aspects of the Duke. A long-legged grey creature, coughing and groaning, tells Lorenzo that he has been awoken from a bed in the Duke's heart. A beautiful masker tells Lorenzo that she is his falsehoods. But worse is still to come. For as the first act draws to a close, the 'Black Maskers' have begun to appear in the hall: 'Hairy and black from foot to crown, some resembling orang-utans and others those uncouth hairy insects which in the night time fly towards the light' (p.34). These strange and deformed creatures, 'like a living fragment of darkness' (p.26), glance around timidly and suspiciously, wondering at everything new, strange and unfamiliar. The other guests, grotesque as they are themselves, are terrified by these new arrivals.

The play continues in the same apocalyptic vein. In scene two, located in the castle's ancient library, Lorenzo discovers that he is the illegitimate child of a drunken thief, only to be confronted by a second Lorenzo who demands that the 'impostor' remove his mask or else be run through on the spot, 'like a guilty dog' (p.32). The two Lorenzos fight and the second is victorious, but when the Duke returns to the crowded ball, he is accused by his guests of murdering the real Lorenzo. As the Duke struggles to prove his authenticity, heaving throngs of Black Maskers pour into the castle, extinguishing the light and heat and throwing the other masked guests into panic. In scene four, the Duke watches as his peasants and servants pay their last respects to his corpse; but later it is revealed that the masked ball and its concomitant events are only the schizophrenic delusions of Duke Lorenzo's deranged mind. In scene five, the insane Duke appears at the top of his marble staircase, but despite attempts by his wife, friends and servants to communicate with him, he remains absorbed in the schizophrenic hallucinations of the masquerade ball, pleading with his visitors to remove the grotesque masks that he imagines they are wearing. In the final act, Ecco, the jester, fires the tower; and as guests and servants flee from the blazing castle, Duke Lorenzo vows himself and his jester to God, remaining to perish in the inferno.

Whilst *The Black Maskers* is a play of inordinate complexity, the use of the masks to symbolise aspects of the psyche is explicit. Like Yeats, Andreyev was concerned with creating a theatre of the psyche, a 'panpsychic' theatre, in which: 'the problems that characterise the life of the soul, with its premonitions, its yearnings, and searchings, are brought in concrete form before the footlights' (Brusyanin 1926, *xii*). In the terrifying melee of Lorenzo's phantasy ball, the protagonist's heart, his thoughts, his falsehoods are all symbolised by Masks. Yet perhaps the most interesting creatures are the black maskers themselves. According to Andreyev, these beings represent, 'the powers whose field of action is the soul of man, and whose mysterious nature he can never fathom' (quoted in Brusyanin, 1926, *xxii*). By lighting up his castle—his soul—Lorenzo has invited in to consciousness the dark, unconscious aspects of his psyche, what Janet (1894) calls the, 'crowds of things which operate within ourselves without our will'; and, like a nightmarish therapeutic encounter, these unconscious elements have not only accepted the invitation to manifest themselves, but have swamped the very light of consciousness calling them forth. Engulfed by this abreaction of the unconscious, thrust into the darkness of schizophrenic psychosis, the ego's only defence is to self-destruct, and to hope that in its fiery absolution it may be reborn beyond the grasp of the unconscious instincts.

In contrast to Yeats, Andreyev gives no explicit reason for using masks in this play. Yet, *The Black Maskers* powerfully illustrates the value of the mask's plasticity in symbolising aspects of the psyche.

Through the mask, Andreyev was able to convey the grotesqueness, sinisterness, deformity, and 'a-human-ness' of parts of the psyche that a face—unless heavily made up—never could. Because of its plasticity, the mask was able to symbolise the most disowned, disassociated, and covert aspects of the personality—those parts that rarely reach a level of overt functioning, and hence have no 'real' human face of their own. As Woodward (1969) writes, through the mask, Andreyev, 'takes us into the misty regions of our inner selves, and by dint of convincing images...renders the abstract and, for us, inexpressible, into palpable reality' (p.101).

5.4 *THE GREAT GOD BROWN*, EUGENE O'NEILL

In *The Great God Brown*, completed in 1926, O'Neill uses masks to express the conflicts between his protagonists' public and private selves (Carpenter, 1979) (illustration 2). He does this in three main ways. First, throughout the play, each of the main characters consistently switch between masked and unmasked states, depending on whether they are expressing the public or private sides to their personality respectively. Second, as the play develops, each of the protagonists' masks transforms, reflecting the ontological development of their public selves. Finally, at the climax of the play, one of the character 'steals' another character's mask, to represent his appropriation of the other character's persona.

The play, like *The Black Maskers*, is somewhat complex. Billy Brown and Dion Anthony, sons of two acrimonious business partners, are both coerced by their overbearing parents to train as architects and enter their fathers' construction firm. Brown—compliant, well-behaved but passively aggressive—dutifully conforms to his parents' wishes and within a few years takes over as director of the family business. Anthony, meanwhile—creative, romantic, and cynical—drops out of college to travel, selling his share of the family firm to Brown. A few years later, Anthony returns home with his wife, Margaret, and their three children, to pursue an artistic career; but he has squandered his inheritance on alcohol and gambling, and, in a desperate attempt to save the family from destitution, Margaret is forced to ask her childhood admirer, Billy Brown, to give Anthony a job. Brown agrees, taking on Anthony as chief's draftsman. Anthony becomes the creative imagination behind Brown's architectural designs, but his alcoholism worsens. In the presence of the motherly prostitute, Cybel, he can find some comfort against the cruel ravages of the world; but his drinking has taken its toll, and he dies in the arms of Billy Brown. The narrative now takes a surreal twist, as Brown steals the mask that has fallen from Anthony's face, coveting with it Anthony's identity, his family and his creativity. Happier in the persona of Anthony, Brown attempts to rid himself of his own mask, but

when the police find the half-destroyed mask of Brown in his office, they believe that Brown has been murdered by Anthony. Tracking Brown down to Cybel's parlour, he is shot dead, still wearing the mask of Dion Anthony.

The distinction between private and public selves—as expressed physiognomically—is most evident in the character of Dion Anthony. At the commencement of the play, Anthony's face—'*dark, spiritual, poetic, passionately supersensitive, helplessly unprotected its childlike, religious faith in life*' (p.293-4)—is concealed by the mask of: '*a mocking, reckless, defiant, gayly scoffing and sensual young Pan*' (p.294). As the play develops, it becomes clear that Anthony's cynical pose is a means of protecting his vulnerable interior:

> One day when I was four years old, a boy sneaked up behind me when I was drawing a picture in the sand he couldn't draw and hit me on the head with a stick and kicked out my picture and laughed when I cried. It wasn't what he'd done that made me cry, but him! I had loved and trusted him and suddenly the good God was disproved in his person and the evil and injustice of Man was born! Everyone called me cry-baby, so I became silent for life and designed a mask of the Bad Boy Pan in which to live and rebel against the other boy's God and protect myself from His cruelty. And that other boy, secretly he felt ashamed but he couldn't acknowledge it; so from that day he instinctively developed into the good boy, the good friend, the good man, William Brown! (p.327)

Despite his construction of the 'Bad Boy Pan' mask, however, Anthony constantly yearns to find a safe space in which he can express his vulnerable side. His first attempt to unmask is with Margaret. 'I am not afraid!' He cries, on hearing of Margaret's love for him. 'She protects me! Her arms are softly around me! She is my skin! She is my armor! Now I am born—I—the I!—one and indivisible'. He glances at the mask triumphantly. 'You are outgrown!' He says in tones of deliverance, 'I am beyond you!' (p.300). But when Margaret sees the unmasked Dion, she shrinks away with a frightened shriek, unable to cope with his vulnerability and sensitivity.

'Who are you?' She says coldly and angrily, 'I don't know you' (p.300). Only when Anthony puts his creative, romantic mask back on does she recognise him once more. 'Oh, Dion,' she cries, 'I do love you!' (p.301).

Anthony can never show his real face to Margaret. Only the prostitute Cybel—'*a strong, calm, sensual, blond girl of twenty or so, her complexion fresh and healthy, her figure full-breasted and wide-hipped, her movements slow and solidly languorous like an animal's*' (p.312)—can provide Anthony with the 'unconditional positive regard' he needs to un-mask and reveal his vulnerable side. 'You're not weak,' she says to him, maternally stroking his hair, 'You were born with ghosts in your eyes and you were brave enough to go looking into your own dark—and you got afraid' (p.318).

Cybel, unlike Margaret, cannot bear Anthony's public self. 'Stop acting. I hate ham fats' (p.312), she says to him, on confronting his masked self. 'Haven't I told you to take off your mask in the house?' (p.320).

As Anthony matures, a growing dissociation between his vulnerable private self and his 'romantic' public self is reflected in the increasing physiognomic disparity between his face and mask. By the time he has returned from travelling, his mask has become, '*more defiant and mocking, its sneer more forced and bitter, its Pan quality becoming Mephistophelean*' (p. 303); and by the time of his death, it has: '*a terrible deathlike intensity, its mocking irony becomes so cruelly malignant as to give him the appearance of a real demon, tortured into torturing others*' (p.311). His face, on the other hand, becomes more selfless and pure, and on his deathbed: '*more spiritual, more saintlike and ascetic than ever before*' (p.232).

In contrast to Anthony, Brown represents 'Mr Average'—the conventional, unimaginative conformists—'those forces in society which crush and at the same time exploit the talent of the artist' (Falk, 1982, p.103). According to O'Neill, Brown symbolises: 'the visionless demi-god of our new materialistic myth—a Success—building his life of exterior things, inwardly empty and resourceless, an uncreative creature of preordained social grooves, a by-product forced aside into slack waters by the deep main current of life-desire' (quoted in Bogard, 1972, p.270). To reflect this lack of inner dynamism, Brown remains maskless for much of the play; his face expressing his 'all-American' disposition: '*blond and blue-eyed, with a likeable smile and a frank good-humoured face, its expression already indicating a disciplined restraint*' (p.291). Only when Brown usurps Anthony's mask does Brown undergo major physiognomic transformations; his face becoming ravaged and haggard, '*tortured and distorted by the demon of Dion's mask*' (p.338). In appropriating the romantic grandeur of Anthony's mask, Brown has also acquired its self-destructive bitterness and cynicism, the 'demon' that rapidly gnaws away at Brown's inner self. In contrast to Anthony, however, Brown's vulnerable self would seem to be a product rather than a cause of his Mephistophelean side. O'Neill seems to be suggesting that, not only can the private self determine the public mask, but that the public self individual's choose to adopt can also determine the person they become inside.

As with Andreyev, then, the plasticity of the mask allowed O'Neill to symbolise the public self's changing face (though make-up served equally well to express the private self's transformation). The mask, too, allowed O'Neill to symbolise the rapid switches between personality states, and the appropriation of one person's persona by another. Most significantly, however, the mask served as a powerful metaphor for an individual's public persona. Like the public self, the mask is something that

hides and protects the individual's 'true' face, that can be held up to others, and that can be taken off in the right environment. Through the mask, then, O'Neill was able to transfer intrapsychic and interpsychic conflicts to the dramatic stage. As he wrote in his *Memorandum on Masks*: 'I hold more and more surely to the conviction that the use of masks will be discovered eventually to be the freest solution to the modern dramatist's problem as to how—with the greatest possible dramatic clarity and economy of means—he can express those profound hidden conflicts of the mind which the probings of psychology continue to disclose to us' (1961, p.116).

5.5 *THE HAPPY HYPOCRITE*, MAX BEERBOHM

The previous three studies have demonstrated how the mask can be used to express and symbolise aspects of the psyche: archetypes, unconscious elements, public selves, and subpersonalities. In contrast, the mask in Beerbohm's *The Happy Hypocrite* (1920) is actually used as a means of facilitating the expression of a subpersonality—albeit fictionally. Written as a short story in 1896, the work was so successful that it was reprinted within a year of its initial publication, and inaugurated Beerbohm's literary career.

The protagonist of the play is the 'greedy, destructive and disobedient' (p.7), Lord George Hell—gambler, womaniser, and inveterate hedonist. 'It was true that his Lordship was a non-smoker', writes Beerbohm, 'but there the list of his good qualities comes to an abrupt conclusion' (p.11). Lord Hell's demonic disposition was reflected in his face: 'They say he was rather like Caligula, with a dash of Sir John Falstaff, and that sometimes on wintry mornings in St. James's Street young children would hush their prattle and cling in disconsolate terror to their nurses' skirts as they saw him come' (p.10).

Lord Hell's salvation arrives, however, through the youthful innocence of Jenny Mere, whom he watches perform in a tiny *al fresco* theatre. Falling hopelessly in love with the sylph-like actress, Hell abandons his Latin lover, La Gambogi, and proceeds backstage to beg Mere for her hand in marriage. He is unsuccessful. 'I can never be the wife of any man whose face is not saintly', she tells him. 'Your face, my Lord, mirrors, it may be true love for me, but it is even as a mirror long tarnished by the reflexion of this world's vanity' (p.24).

Disconsolate but not defeated, Lord Hell visits the mask-maker, Mr Aeneas, and buys the mask of a saint—'a perfect mirror of true love' (p.40). Once Mr Aeneas has clapped the waxen mask on Lord George's face, paring down the edges so that all traces of the 'join' are obliterated, Lord George sets

out to find his beloved. He stumbles upon Jenny Mere by the banks of a stream, who, entranced by his saintly countenance, stretches out her arms lovingly. 'Surely,' she says, 'you are that good man for whom I have waited' (p.49). That afternoon, Hell and Mere marry, Lord George signing himself, '"George Heaven," for want of a better name' (p.60). Buying a small cottage in the woods, Lord George decides to rid himself of his worldly possessions, distributing his wealth amongst those gambling comrades that he has impoverished.

In their small wooded cottage, Lord George and Jenny Mere live a life of joyful simplicity. Their happiness, however, is rudely shattered by the re-appearance of La Gambogi. Having tracked Lord George down to his woodland hideaway, she demands that he removes his mask and show her once more the face that she so adored. Lord George refuses, knowing that Jenny Mere could never love his demonic countenance. In a rage of fury, La Gambogi springs at Lord George, clawing at his waxen cheeks. As Jenny Mere desperately struggles to protect her lover:

> There was a loud pop, as though some great cork had been withdrawn, and La Gambogi recoiled. She had torn away the mask. It lay before her upon the lawn, upturned to the sky.
>
> George stood motionless. La Gambogi stared up into his face, and her dark flush died swiftly away. For there, staring back at her, was the man she had unmasked, but lo! his face was even as his mask had been. Line for line, feature for feature, it was the same. 'Twas a saint's face. (p.78)

Through the mask of a saint, Lord George Hell transformed into 'George Heaven'; and this personality alteration was reflected in his facial mutation. By expressing his covert inner goodness through a fixed, overt medium, Lord George managed to 'pull himself up by his bootstraps'—creating a public façade which his private self could then live up to. In this sense, then, as with *The Great God Brown's* characters, Lord George's mask can be seen as an expression of his public self. But, unlike O'Neill, Beerbohm seems to be suggesting that the construction and maintenance of a public mask can be a healthy part of an individual's psychological development. Such an approach was part and parcel of Beerbohm's 'doctrine of the mask', a part-Nietzchean, part-Dandyistic philosophy of personal development:

> according to which man's crude spontaneous self was merely a bundle of impulses without value or significance: he should therefore choose to assume a mask that represents his personal ideal, his conception of what, taking account of his capacities and limitations, he should aspire to be. Thus he will endue his life with beauty and meaning: if he retains the mask and consistently acts in character with it, he may even ultimately assimilate his nature to it, become substantially the personality he presents to the outside world. (Cecil, 1964, p.61)

Another aspect of Dandyism that infiltrates *The Happy Hypocrite* is the concern with appearance and the subsequent correlation between personality and facial characteristics: a man who looks like a

demon will act like a demon; but a man who can sanctify his countenance will act like a god, and if he does so, his real face will change accordingly. Yet Beerbohm was not the first author to express man's 'good' and 'evil' sides physiognomically, and it seems likely that Beerbohm based his work on two earlier sources. In 1886, Robert Louis Stevenson had written, *The Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde*, a psychologically incisive tale of one man's attempt to house the opposing sides of his personality in separate identities. The dispositional polarities of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde were reflected in their faces. 'Even as good shone upon the countenance of the one,' wrote Stevenson, 'evil was written broadly and plainly on the face of the other' (p.51). In contrast to Dr Jekyll's large and handsome face, Mr Hyde—'malign and villainous; his every act and thought centred on self' (p.53)—wore a countenance, 'pale and dwarfish', giving an impression of, 'deformity without any nameable malformation' (p.13).

Five years after the publication of *Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde*, Oscar Wilde's only novel, *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, appeared in print. Dorian Gray, like Lord George and Dr Jekyll, understands that 'Each of us has heaven and hell in him' (1890/1992, p.218); yet Wilde's novel is—ultimately—a scathing critique of the dandyism and aestheticism that Wilde, himself, was the arch-protagonist of—and ultimately its arch-victim. Sir Basil Hallward, the fictional painter of Dorian Gray's portrait and 1890s socialite, is a confirmed physiognomist: 'Sin is a thing that writes itself across a man's face. It cannot be concealed. People talk of secret vices. There are no such things. If a wretched man has a vice, it shows itself in the lines of his mouth, the droop of his eyelids' (p.208). Yet he is wrong. For whilst Dorian Gray indulges in scandal, adultery, drugs, and murder, his face remains as beautiful, youthful and innocent as when he first entered the social arena. Dorian Gray's sins *are* expressed physiognomically, but in the grotesque distortions that afflict his portrait, his 'mask of his shame' (p.133), scrupulously stowed away in an upstairs room. Like Beerbohm and Stevenson, Wilde expresses the 'evil' side of his protagonist physiognomically, but, in contrast, suggests that we do not always see this demonic countenance. Dorian Gray's portrait, then, like the masks of Andreyev and O'Neill, becomes a device whereby two sides of the minds can be concurrently expressed physiognomically—hence symbolising the co-conscious nature of the psyche.

In the *Happy Hypocrite*, then, Beerbohm illustrates how the fixed quality of the mask allows it to act as a powerful container of a 'covert subpersonality': holding on to George Heaven whilst George Hell struggles to live up to this side of himself. Moreover, the contrast between George Heaven's face and George Hell's—as well as between Dr Jekyll's and Mr Hyde's, and between Dorian Gray's and his portrait's—highlights the power of both face and mask to express and symbolise specific personality characteristics.

5.6 BATMAN

In contrast to the previous studies, Batman is not one play or novel written by a single author, but a veritable legion of comics, cartoons, television programmes and films, each with their own writers and directors. Batman, like most of his fellow superheroes—Spiderman, Captain America, The Flash, etc.—wears a mask; and, when masked, changes in to a distinctly different personality state. Like Zorro, on whom Batman was partially based (Kane, 1989), the unmasked Batman—Bruce Wayne—is effete, foppish and ineffectual; a 'wastrel playboy' who does little more than wine and dine beautiful women and attend Gotham city functions. As the masked Batman, on the other hand, he is dynamic, active and powerful; a grim, obsessive fighter dedicated to one single goal: the elimination of crime from Gotham city.

In recent years, with the growing complexity and maturity of Batman comics and films, writers are increasingly highlighting the disassociative nature of Batman/Bruce Wayne's personality. In a recent comic entitled 'Mask' (Talbot, 1992), a pseudo-psychiatrist attempts to convince Batman he has 'hysterical disassociative phenomena' (illustration 3). More recently, in *Batman Forever* (Schumacher, 1995), the film's major 'love interest', a young female psychiatrist specialising in multiple personality disorder, asks Batman about his dissociative state and hidden past. Later in the film, Batman tells her, 'I guess we're all two people: the one we keep in daylight and the one we keep in shadows'. Given, however, that there are no amnesiac barriers between Bruce Wayne and Batman, it would probably be more accurate to describe these modes as subpersonalities rather than as fully fledged dissociated personality states.

Nonetheless, as with most cases of D. I. D.—and, perhaps, subpersonalities (see section 2.4)—Batman's dissociative state seems to be the product of a severe childhood trauma. At a young age, Bruce Wayne watched his father gunned down in cold blood by a small-time hoodlum. His mother, suffering from a weak heart, died immediately of shock. Hence, as Kane (1989) writes: 'Batman is something of a schizophrenic (sic) with deep-rooted psychic scars caused by witnessing his parents' murder' (p.147). Batman, then, would seem to be a split off part of Bruce Wayne's psyche, a

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Overleaf:
Illustration 3: A pseudo-psychiatrist attempts to convince Bruce Wayne of his dissociative disorder, *Mask* (Talbot, 1992)
Following page:
Illustration 4: The masking of Batman, *Shaman*, Book 1 (O'Neill, 1989)
Following page:
Illustration 5: Two-Face, (from Barr and Staton, 1993)
Following page:
Illustration 6: The Joker, (from Moore, 1988)

subpersonality desperately struggling to ward off the terror and chaos of a childhood trauma. Dion Anthony hides his vulnerabilities through the mask of the bad boy Pan; Bruce Wayne hides it through the mask of an obsessive, insatiable, vigilante—fighting to re-assert his sense of control over a world that has evoked such emotional pain.

The mask's role in Bruce Wayne's transformation into Batman is central. As the pseudo-psychiatrist puts it: 'When you put on your mask, a different personality takes over' (see illustration 3). Later he says, 'I want you to meditate on this. I think it'll help **externalize** your "Batman" persona. It's your **costume**'[8] (illustration 3). In another story entitled, *Shaman* (O'Neil, 1990)—a shamanistic interpretation of the origins of Batman—Bruce Wayne is told by the shaman to, 'Wear the mask. Become the mask' (bk. *v*, p.12); to, 'Stop fighting, surrender and let its power transform you' (bk. *v*, p.24). Perhaps the most powerful illustration of this transformative process, however, is in illustration 4. As Batman puts on his bat-mask, so his face transforms into its characteristically vigilante expression. Without the mask, Batman is still Bruce Wayne. With the mask, Bruce Wayne becomes Batman.

Within the Batman 'universe', however, it is not only Bruce Wayne who experiences psychological change through physiognomic transformation. Dick Grayson, orphaned when his trapeze-artist parents were murdered by gangsters, also uses a mask to transform into Batman's intermittent sidekick, Robin. Many of Batman's enemies, too, experience psychological change through physiognomic transformation. Two-Face, for instance, was a leading attorney, Harvey Dent, until a gangland boss threw acid in his face from the court dock. Batman managed to divert some of the acid, but half of Dent's face was still horribly scarred (illustration 5). Like James Partridge (see section 4.2.3), Dent's physiognomic disfigurement led to a radical change of personality, transforming him into one of Batman's deadliest adversaries. Because, however, only half of Dent's face was ravaged, Two-Face's criminal mind is tormented by the side of his psyche that remains law-abiding and 'good'. 'Batman's dark side is cloaked under a mask and the mantle of justice. Harvey lives with his twin demons simultaneously' (Gaiman, 1989, p.10).

The physiognomic and psychological transformation of Batman's arch-enemy, however, is complete. Originally a failed comedian, the man destined to become the Joker (illustration 6) was hoodwinked in to raiding the Monarch Playing Cards Company by a local gang-leader. Caught mid-theft by Batman, he dived into a vat of chemical waste, and emerged with a cruelly contorted face: 'that

chemical vapor—it turned my hair **green**, my lips **rouge-red**, my skin **chalk-white!** I look like an **evil clown!** What a joke on me! (1988, p.63). Realising, however, that his face could terrify people, the Joker decided to put his disfiguration to good effect, and transformed—both internally and externally—into the most destructive, evil and fascinating of Batman's enemies.

Like *The Happy Hypocrite*, then, the myth of Batman suggests—in fictional form—that the mask (or facial changes) may bring out different sides of an individual's personality. And as with *The Happy Hypocrite*, the Batman 'universe' highlights the mask's and face's ability to express aspects of the self—right down to the two personalities of the facially-fissured Two-Face.

5.7 *THE MASK*

Originally conceptualised as a comic-book character in 1982, The Mask went on to feature in three graphic novels before reaching the cinema screens in 1994 in the popular New Line production, *The Mask* (Russell, 1994; novelisation by Perry, 1994). Like the Joker—on whom the character was partially based (Richardson, 1993)—The Mask is violent, sadistic, and outrageous, but not without a touch of humour or charisma. Unlike the Joker, however, the Mask is not the alter ego of one specific individual, but emerges from whoever wears an ancient wooden mask. As Arcudi, script-writer of the graphic novels explains: 'the mask possesses some kind of personality, spirit, whatever, that takes over a body.... It wants to exist for as long as it can, so it takes over and it turns that person into the antithesis of what that person really wants to be' (quoted in McMurray, 1995, p.37).

The film version of The Mask, however, suggests an interpretation that is less transpersonal and more in line with a polypsychic analysis: the mask transforms people, but it does so by bringing out hidden sides of their personality (with the addition of a few superpowers) rather than by imposing an alien spirit. Indeed, the psychological development of the film's protagonist, Stanley Ipkiss, mirrors, in many respects, the process of subpersonality-integration as outlined in psychosynthesis and other polypsychic psychotherapies.

At the commencement of the film, Stanley Ipkiss is a lame, pathetic, 'loser'; yet a man who knows there is more to him than the 'nice guy' he presents to the outside world. His hidden side, however,

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[8] This suggests that Batman's clothes might also be an important means of facilitating the expression of this aspect of his subpersonality. Unfortunately, their is insufficient space in this thesis to explore the relationship between clothing, costumes, and subpersonalities.

becomes expressed when he tries on the ancient green mask—fished out of the city's river. Ipkiss's transformation, however, is even more dramatic than that of Lord George or Bruce Wayne (illustration 7):

> Tendrils of wood shot out of the edges of the mask and wrapped themselves around his head like tentacles. He grabbed at his head and then suddenly, inexplicably, he began to spin. Like a top. Slowly at first, then faster....
>
> Had he been *tired* a minute ago? C'mon! He wasn't tired! He felt like a million bucks! Ten million! He wasn't dullhead Stanley anymore, by cracky, he was The Mask! He could dance all night! Leap tall buildings.... (p.66-8)

That night, Ipkiss terrorises his landlady, and wreaks havoc on two over-charging garage mechanics. The next night, having fallen in love with Tina Carlyle, night-club singer and girlfriend of 'neuvo-gangster' Dorian Tyrel, The Mask visits Tina's night-club, and sweeps her off her feet with a medley of 'S-s-s-nazzzzzy' (p.67) dance routines. The next morning, Stanley—unmasked—is late for work; but instead of presenting his usual cowering façade when confronted by the bank owner's son, Stanley warns him to back off. As in successful polypsychic psychotherapy, aspects of Ipkiss's repressed subpersonalities, having been expressed through The Mask, are now beginning to integrate themselves in to his everyday self. 'The rage that had simmered in Stanley all of his life, never escaping except when freed for a few hours by The Mask, blew out of him like Mount St. Helens freeing her deadly stone winds' (p.132).

Stanley makes a date with Tina, but is tricked in to taking off the mask by Dorian Tyrel, who is planning a take-over as gangland Godfather. In the climax of the movie, Dorian and his mob attempt to blow up Tina, the mayor, and the city's leading socialites and gang-land bosses. Stanley is left to save the day in a punch-out with Dorian; but, this time, he no longer needs the mask to express his previously hidden side. Mask-less, he gives Dorian a good thumping, saves the day, and then walks off with Tina into the sunset, throwing away the mask that is now redundant.

Of all the works discussed in this chapter, *The Mask* is probably the most simplistic and of least literary worth. Nevertheless, it is remarkable to find in this piece of popular entertainment a story which almost exactly replicates the kind of therapeutic mask-work being proposed in this thesis. By putting on a mask, a hidden side of Ipkiss's personality is brought to the fore. Through both catharsis and cognitive self-awareness, this covert subpersonality is then integrated in to Ipkiss's everyday existence. Ultimately, like Lord George Heaven, the mask is no longer necessary.

Overleaf:
Illustration 7: The masking of Stanley Ipkiss. *The Mask* (Arcudi and Mahnke, 1993)

There is one more interesting aspect of *The Mask*. When Stanley Ipkiss goes to visit Dr Arthur Neuman, author of *The Masks We Wear*, he discovers that the mask is actually the face of Loki, the ancient Norse God. Hence, not only does the mask bring out Stanley's covert side, but it also seems to bring out his inner 'Loki': the naughty, playful, mischievous part. In Jungian terms, this is clearly a manifestation of the trickster archetype, of which Loki is one of the foremost examples. Polypsychically, however, the inner Loki could also be seen as a manifestation of free child and shadow subpersonalities. In the following chapter, the masked expression of this inner Loki will be a recurrent theme.

5.8 CONCLUSION

These six illustrative examples have provided some preliminary support for the proposition that the mask might facilitate the expression of subpersonalities. Yeats, Andreyev and O'Neill have all demonstrated that the mask can be used to symbolise aspects of psyche: archetypes, subpersonalities, unconscious elements, public and private selves. If this is the case, then it follows that the mask may have the potential to function as a large and powerful subpersonality-hook: symbolising intrapsychic elements which can then draw out associated aspects of the subpersonality-complex. Moreover, Beerbohm, Batman, and The Mask have demonstrated that—within elements of the literary fraternity—there are those who believe that the mask can directly facilitate the expression of subpersonalities.

This chapter has also illustrated a number of reasons why the mask, as suggested in the previous chapter, might be an effective means of facilitating the expression of subpersonalities. As O'Neill, Beerbohm, Wilde, Stevenson, and Batman have demonstrated, physiognomic features—whether facial or mask-based—can be powerful representations of personality characteristics: from the asceticism of Dion Anthony's real face to the demonic deformities of Dorian Gray's portrait. In the case of Andreyev and O'Neill, the plasticity of the mask also allows it to symbolise otherwise unsymbolisable aspects of the psyche: from the dark terror of the black maskers to the disfigured agony of Dion Anthony's public self. For Beerbohm and Batman, the fixidity of the mask seems to be its most valuable quality, allowing it to contain the growing goodness of Lord George. Whilst for Yeats, the fixidity of the mask helped him to symbolise the semi-fixed, semi-permanent archetypes/subpersonalities in the still depths of the human psyche. Finally, for O'Neill, Beerbohm and Batman, the metaphorical value of the mask also seemed to be important, allowing them to

symbolise the public self: the part of the individual that is presented to others, protects the individual, and can be taken off.

CHAPTER 6. MASK AND SUBPERSONALITY IN RITUAL AND CEREMONY: FOUR CASE-STUDIES

> Poised on the mask are all the terrible experiences and fancies of mankind. Fallen heads are struck off and the humour of the brain is drunk. Beasts lord it over us. Mouths gape. Frightful eyes stare at us from every side. Since man began to shape and carve these things, he has freed himself little by little. (Gregor, 1961, p.23)

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter has illustrated, through literature, the potential ability of the mask to facilitate the expression of subpersonalities. But how does this theory extend to non-fictional settings? Moreover, how does this theory extend beyond exampling? To answer these question, it was decided to explore masks in their most customary and prevalent cross-cultural setting, ceremony and ritual, through the use of a multiple case studies methodology. In some respects, this is similar to the use of illustrative examples. Both assess a cluster of factors by focusing on a small number of cases (Adams and Schvaneveldt, 1985); both investigate a contemporary phenomenon within its real life context (Yin, 1989); and both enable, 'fresh insights into new and poorly structured problems,' collecting data that is, 'rich and interesting, rather than rigorous, and to generate ideas and hypotheses for further research' (Buchanan and Boddy, 1983, p.33). Unlike illustrative examples, however, a case study approach does not choose instances specifically to illustrate and support a hypothesis. Rather, instances are chosen which can be used to test and explore the hypothesis under evaluation—hopefully procuring findings that both support and challenge the prevailing hypothesis.

Ideally, case studies should be randomly selected. Such an approach minimises researcher-bias, facilitating a more balanced—and hence potentially more accurate—assessment of the phenomenon under study. Unfortunately, with a cross-cultural exploration of the mask, such a random sampling procedure is unattainable. To construct a truly random sample, each element of the population must have an equal chance of being chosen. Yet there are probably tens of thousands of masks that have never been described or observed by outside eyes. Hence, any randomly chosen sample would only be representative of known masks—and there may be a particular reason why certain masks remain unknown. Moreover, even if each and every cross-cultural mask could be identified, the lack of ethnographic and descriptive data would make it almost impossible to say anything significant about these masks. A random sample of known masks could be selected, but even here there would be the

problem of which books to sample from, and how much information on each masks would be required before they could be included in the sampling pool.

Hence, rather than attempting a random selection of masks, this chapter has chosen to focus on the masks of four specific cultures: the Singhalese of Sri Lanka, the *mande*-speaking people of north-east Liberia, the Zuni of New Mexico, and the Hindus of Bali. These cases have been chosen primarily on the sampling principle suggested by Stake (1994): 'opportunity to learn' (p.243). For each of these culture, there is a wealth of ethnographic and anthropological material describing each of their masking rituals and ceremonies. They have also been chosen, however, because they represent very different cultures—both geographically and ethnographically; and their masking practices—at a superficial level—appear very different. Hence, any common themes that emerge should be more representative and generalisable to other cultures than if the case-studies were of geographically and ethnographically proximate cultures that used masks is superficially similar ways. Nevertheless, because a nonprobability sample has been used, 'bias might be manifest in the very cases that were selected for study as well as the open ended nature of the case approach, which may allow the investigator to influence the nature of the case under study' (Adams and Schvaneveldt, 1985, p.114). Consciously or unconsciously, with nonprobability samples, the researcher is almost certainly going to tend towards selecting those cases which 'fit' current theorising—and the present study is no exception. Hence, it may be more accurate to state that the methodology for this study sits somewhere between case studies and illustrative examples: more rigorous and open to counter-hypothesis findings than the previous study, but still some way off from being a minimally biased assessment of the mask's ability to facilitate the expression of subpersonalities.

The use of cross-cultural case-studies also throws up the difficult question of how to assess the extent to which masks can facilitate the expression of subpersonalities, and the types of subpersonalities and situations with which it might be most effective? The first problem is one of how to assess whether or not subpersonalities are being expressed. It may be that the maskers—or members of their community—simply assert that sides of the personality are being externalised through the mask; but if they do not, it might be premature to conclude the research at this stage. It could be, for instance, that the masker and his[9] community see themselves as expressing gods, ancestors, and demons through the mask; whilst, from a secular psychological perspective, the same experience could be interpreted as an expression of intrapsychic elements. The most direct and respectful means of examining this possibility might be to explore the masker's own experience. Unfortunately, virtually

[9] Because, cross-culturally, mask-wearers are almost universally male, the masculine pronoun will be used throughout this chapter.

all the material on masking in ritual and ceremony tends towards the observational, descriptive and classificatory; away from the personal and phenomenological.

Another possibility, however, might be to use the trans-individual subpersonality categories proposed in section 2.2. If, as suggested in that section, a number of prevalent—or perhaps universally shared—subpersonalities exist, then a Mask resembling one of these trans-individual subpersonality types might be considered an expression of that aspect of the psyche. Hence, for instance, if an individual transforms into a loving, caring, protective, parental being when masked, it may be argued that he is expressing his nurturing parent. Clearly, such an approach can only be hypothetical—and assumes that the trans-individual subpersonalities are indeed trans-individual and cross-cultural—but it may give some interesting indications as to the constellation of characteristics—subpersonalities or not—that are most frequently expressed through the mask.

In assessing whether or not individuals are expressing subpersonalities through the mask, it may also be possible to explore their degree of possession. As suggested in section 2.5, the phenomenon of possession is qualitatively similar to the process of expressing a subpersonality—though, quantitatively, to a far greater degree. Hence, if individuals describe themselves or are reported as being possessed whilst masked, it may suggest that subpersonalities are being externalised. As Stone and Winkelman (1989b) write: 'Whenever someone feels "possessed" by another person or thing we know automatically that the person or thing is carrying projected disowned selves' (p.13).

A second problem, however, is one of identifying the mask's role in this process. Even if individuals do appear to be expressing a subpersonality when masked, this does not imply that the mask is facilitating the expression of subpersonalities. It may be, for instance, that the act of dancing or improvisation is bringing out a subpersonality, and the mask is merely an incidental element to this expression. Ideally, if one could compare similar masked and non-masked rituals, it might be possible to isolate the role of the mask, but ritual and ceremonial practices—in all their historical and cultural complexity—rarely conform to such neatly matched designs. Moreover, even if there did seem to be a correlation between the use of masks and the expression of subpersonalities, there may be no way of knowing the direction of causality. It may be, for instance, that the mask is facilitating the expression of subpersonalities; but it may also be that individuals who express a subpersonality decide to wear a mask.

Given these questions and problems, there are three elements to each of the case-studies presented. First, there is a simple description of the ritual(s) and ceremony(ies), and of the masks involved.

Second, there is an attempt to assess the extent to which subpersonalities are being expressed through the mask—based primarily on the Masks' approximation to trans-individual subpersonalities, but also the degree of possession. Third there is an attempt to explore the mask's role in this process.

To explore the generalisability of these case-studies, a discussion section goes on to assess the case-study findings within a wider, cross-cultural context.

6.2 MASKS OF THE SINGHALESE, SRI LANKA

According to Goonatilleka (1978), Sri Lankan masks exist in three distinctive contexts: *Tovil* exorcism and curative rituals, *Kolam* and *Sokari* dance-dramas, and a variety of theatrical spectacles. The most important and significant of these—in terms of masking practice—is the *Tovil* rituals, in particular, the *Sanni Yakum* cycle. According to Sri Lankan mythology (Kapferer, 1991), the demon, *Kola-sanniya*, emerged from the womb of his executed mother. Swearing revenge on those who had killed her, he created the eighteen *sanni* demons, each of these personifying a specific physical or psychological ailment: blindness, lameness, fever, etc. (Wirz, 1954). The demons caused havoc and committed great slaughter, until the Buddha drove the demons out. The Buddha told the demons that they could no longer kill people. They could continue to make people sick, but even this had to be terminated should the victim make the appropriate offerings and sacrifices.

According to folklore, these demons attack the psychologically isolated and vulnerable whilst the victims are alone at night, wandering along lonely paths or waiting at deserted cross-roads. 'Capturing' the victim in their malign gaze, the demons cause emotional, mental and humoural imbalance[10]. Symptoms of demonic illness include extreme emotional states (anger, envy, jealousy, over-attachment to the deceased, sexual longing, and, in particular, fear), disturbing dreams and nightmares (often populated by animals or frightening monsters with which the victim sometimes copulate), and unsettling experiences (unexpectedly smelling a foul stench, being startled by rocks falling, or being suddenly attacked by a dog). If the illness is unchecked, the symptoms are likely to worsen. Death is the final projected outcome.

In 1958, a study of Sri Lankan Singhalese villagers found that 94% still believed in the power of the demons to cause functional, psychogenic and psychosomatic disorders (Ryan, 1958). *Kola-sanniya*

[10] Traditional Sri Lankan medicine subscribes to a humoural view of human mental and physical well-being, emphasising the need for a balance between the three humours: wind, bile and phlegm.

and his eighteen *sanni-yakku*, however, are not the only demons who, according to Singhalese folklore, can cause disease and sickness. *Hiri-yakku*, the blood demon, *Maha-sohona*, the great cemetery demon, and others are all equally feared for their destructive, debilitating powers. An individual who suspects that he or she (and in most cases it is a she) has been attacked by one of these demons may approach a professional exorcist. Based on the symptoms, precipitating factors and demons which the exorcist suspects responsible for the disease, he will propose one amongst a number of possible exorcising rites. This may be as simple as the application of coconut oil and curative charms; but if the exorcist believes that one or more of the major demons are responsible—and if the simpler rites have been ineffectual—then he may declare the need for a time consuming and expensive[11] masked-exorcism ceremony.

These ceremonies can take a number of different forms, but the overall structure remains similar. They take place outside the patient's house, where the patient is sitting or lying on her porch, and can be divided into three parts: evening watch, midnight watch, and morning watch. In the *Sanniya-yakuma* ceremony (Wirz, 1954), the evening watch begins as darkness falls, with the 'evening appearance': a dance executed by three or four unmasked person who are supposed to represent the demons at their evening assembly. Offerings are then made to the demons and the exorcist now enters with a mat. Dancing briefly, he then lies down, and offerings to the demons are placed on and around him. As the exorcist chants mantras, the Great Cemetery Demon and, sometimes, the Blood Demon appear. The demon dancers' faces are painted or masked, and after some dialogue with the exorcist, they accept the offering and depart. The exorcist is then carried off like a corpse, in the hope that the demons will leave the body of the patient and follow the corpse of the exorcist into the ceremony. The two great demons then return and dance, and are followed by face-painted or masked dancers representing the other major demons.

The climax of the ceremony, the midnight watch, now begins. The main afflicting demon manifests himself, masked in a mouthpiece made from woven coconut leaves. His face is blackened and between his teeth he holds a burning double torch. This is a period of great anxiety for the patient. The demonic manifestation thrusts his face into the incense fumes, and then dances with increasing frenzy, working himself up into a state of extreme ecstasy until he finally breaks down exhausted and sometimes unconscious. To the audience, the dancer is now believed to be 'possessed' by the demon, and will take some time to recover. After a short pause, the *pela-paliya* (or 'dance-suite') begins.

[11] A Sanni-Yakuma ceremony can cost between 500 and 1000 rupees, well in excess of the monthly income of most of the victim's households.

Face-blackened dancers, representing various unspecified demonic soldiers and servants, appear, each one dialoguing with the drummer or clowning with the object they have brought to the ritual.

After this brief interposition, the morning watch begins, and it is now that the Masks make their most prominent appearance. But in contrast to the striking seriousness of the earlier proceedings—frenzy states, possession, 'fire-eating', and stylised dancing —the morning watch is characterised by its horseplay and humour (Obeyesekere, 1969). One-by-one, masked *sanni-yakku* appear (though rarely all eighteen) and engage in humorous/satiric dialogues with the drummers before finally accepting the offerings presented to them (illustrations 8 and 9). Departure of each of the *sanni-yakku* from the arena is a sign that they have left the patient's body. Each of the demons are distinguished by specific masks and qualities reflecting their 'infirmity'—insanity, blindness, vomiting—but the behaviour of the *sanni-yakkus* show little variation: they are comic, ludicrous, bizarre, confused, even psychotic (Obeyesekere, 1969). The demons breaks all manner of conventions. They are blasphemous and sacrilegious, insulting Buddha, Hindu Gods, priests, local politicians and villagers alike. They are without cultural knowledge. They steal ration books, defecate and urinate on temple grounds, fart as they stumble and drink pure water from the sacred pond, they confuse words and can't talk properly in Singhalese. When they do speak, it is crude and obscene, frequently revolving around genitals, anuses and excrement. The last demon to appear is *Kola-sanni* (illustration 10), as coarse and foolish as the others. He tries to approach the patient, but his way is blocked. Dejectedly he receives his offerings, and his departure signals the end of the ceremony.

To the indigenous people, the masked demons would seem to have little relationship to subpersonalities. As representation of transpersonal mythological spirits and intrapersonal afflictions, they are certainly not intended by the exorcist—or understood by the audience—as manifestation of intrapsychic entities. Yet a closer examination of the demons' characteristics—particularly those of the *sanni-yakku*—does suggest some kind of psychological resonance; for the maskers seems to be expressing everything through the demon mask that is most repressed in Singhalese culture. Whilst the Singhalese are expected to be giving, compassionate, respectful, unmaterialistic, even-tempered, and refined; the demon-masked Singhalese is selfish, thieving, disrespectful, materialistic, emotional and vulgar. Through the demonic mask, then, it might be argued that the dancers are expressing their shadow subpersonality: the aspect of their psyche that is most disowned within civilised Singhalese

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Overleaf:
Illustration 8: Mask of *sanni* demon, (from Lommel, 1972)
Following page:
Illustration 9: Mask of *sanni* demon, (from Goonatilleka, 1978)
Following page:
Illustration 10: Mask of *Kola-Sanniya* (surrounded by his eighteen *Sanni* demons), (from Lommel, 1972)

culture. Such a hypothesis is supported by the fact that the vast majority of mask wearers come from the *Berava* (drummer) class, who feature close to the bottom of the Singhalese caste order and are subject to overt discrimination. These inner demons, then, may be particularly prevalent in a caste who, 'are socially and politically fragmented by economic and political forces beyond their control. Demons are the terrors which prowl at the base of the hierarchy. But also, like the working class and peasant victims, demons are the contradiction of an order in which they are normally subjugated and are a hidden power waiting to break free' (Kapferer, 1993, p.51).

But it is not just the mask-wearer for whom these inner demons are externalised. Indeed, it is primarily the patient who is, 'confronted with a single and determinate property of the self, the demonic' (Kapferer, 1993, p.276). Victims of demonic attack frequently experience physiological and medical distress, but, as with western-style possession, the primary characteristic of Singhalese demonic possession would seem to be the eruption of socially repressed aspects of the personality. In the case of Sunil (Kapferer, 1993), a working-class eighteen year old, the onset of demonic possession was marked by accosting and insulting passers-by, babbling unintelligibly, and running wildly out of his house. But Sunil was also known as a member of a gang, notorious for pranks and unlawful acts: 'like *Mahasona* who possessed him, Sunil was widely seen in the neighbourhood as aggressive, bad tempered, occasionally violent and unruly (Kapferer, 1993, p.112). In the case of Indranie (Kapferer, 1993), an unmarried woman of 32, the inner demon manifested itself as erotic thoughts and severe sexual cravings. Like the victims of demonic possession in eighteenth century Europe, highly repressed sexual feelings had an outlet under the guise of demonic interference. The demonic ritual, then, allows the patient to vicariously and guiltlessly, 'participate in the scatological, urethral and sexual obscenities normally held in abhorrence, and never aired in public.... for it is not the patient but the demon who does all this' (Obeyesekere, 1969, p.206). Hence, the demon expresses, not only the masker's shadow, but the shadow of those that are observing him too.

But what is the role of the mask in this process? Is it an essential or incidental to this expression of the shadow? From the description of the *Kola-sanniya* ritual, it is clear that masks are not necessary for the representation of these inner demons. At the beginning of the ritual, the demonic imitators are mask-less, and for most of the evening and midnight watches the demons are represented through face paints or quasi-masks. Moreover, there is no clear relationship between masks and the degree of possession. The most entranced individual, the 'torch dancer', is wearing a partial mask, but his state of frenzied possession would seem much more a product of the incense and dancing than of his mask. Finally, a similar (though less popular) ceremony, the *Rata-Yakuma* (Wirz, 1954) is performed entirely without masks.

The mask, however, does seem to be related to the prevalence of anti-social behaviour. In the earlier demonic manifestations, the demons dance and accept offerings, but do little socially 'wrong'. It is only when the performers are masked that they start behaving in a distinctly sacrilegious manner.

Moreover, one of the most interesting aspects of the *Sanni-yakuma* ritual is that the demons become increasingly 'faced' as the ritual proceeds. In the initial dances, there is no attempt to present the demon's physiognomy. As the evening watch develops, the dancers are semi-masked, but their faces are blackened and mysterious, with no explicit features or physiognomic configuration. Only in the morning watch—when the *sanni-yakku* Masks arrive—does the true face of the demonic shadow emerge. And it is now the patient and audience can see the demons for what they really are. With their huge gleaming teeth and curving tusks, matted hair, 'faces' contorted and fixed, and general dishevelled appearance, they are clearly absurd, distorted and out of balance with themselves (Kapferer, 1993). Hence, the mask allows the patient to see her fears for what they really are, to transform something terrifying and overwhelming into something banal and idiotic. As with *The Black Maskers*, through the mask, the individual can symbolise—and hence face—her demons.

Such an intrapsychic analysis, however, does not seem to stretch to other forms of Sri Lankan masking: *Kolam/Sokari* dance-dramas, and theatrical spectacles. In the most significant and prevalent of these, the *Kolam* rural operas—which consist of a central theme and a series of episodes enacted by dancers wearing masks, culminating in the dramatic presentation of a story (Goonatilleka, 1978)—over a hundred distinctive mask-types exist. These masks represent character types or specific personalities: amongst them humans (e.g., the king, the policeman, the laundryman's wife, the money lender); supernatural beings (e.g., the goddess Giri, the Snake-prince, the *Gurulu Raksa* demon); and animals (e.g., the bear, the lion, the crocodile). Theoretically an in depth exploration of each mask might reveal some intrapsychic parallels, yet such a project would seem somewhat artificial. First, whilst some of the masked characters might exemplify subpersonalities, many of them bear little relationship to the distinctive subpersonalities outlined in chapter two: the cunning, miserly, Money Lender mask, for instance, with its pointed nose, penetrating eyes and half grin, would seem more a caricature than an expression of intrapsychic elements. Second, with such a wide variety of masks, it is difficult to envisage how each of them could express a subpersonality. Third, there is no suggestion that the maskers are possessed during their performance. Rather, it would seem that they are consciously acting out their parts, with a high level of technical and dramatic detail. Finally, even if the masks were expressing subpersonalities, the performances are little more than dramatisations of folk tales. Hence, the masks are expressing nothing that could not be expressed without their use.

From this case-study, then, it would seem that the expression of subpersonalities can be facilitated through the mask, though not all characters expressed through the mask are subpersonalities. Hence, an individual who puts on a mask will not necessarily express a subpersonality—this will depend on the context and nature of the ritual or ceremony. Nevertheless, it would seem that the mask can be particularly effective at facilitating the expression of more asocial aspects of the individual—in particular, the shadow subpersonality. This case study also suggests that the mask can be a powerful means of helping, not only the mask-wearer, but also the observers of the mask to symbolise, express and 'face' aspects of their psyche.

6.3 MASKS OF THE *MANDE*-SPEAKING TRIBES, NORTH-EAST LIBERIA

Apart from their name, the masked Bush Devils (illustrations 11 and 12) of the *mande*-speaking tribes of northern Liberia—*Mano*, *Gio* and *Gεh*—would appear to have had little in common with the *sanni* demons of Sri Lanka[12]. As incarnations of individual or cumulative ancestral spirits, the masked Bush Devils, or *gε*, were primarily pro-social authority figures, in direct contrast to the subversively asocial *sanni*.

The most powerful of these *gε* was *Gõ gε*, the Big Devil. *Gõ gε* was the highest authority in the community: he was supreme law-maker and judge, arbitrating over intra- and inter-clan disputes; he could start wars, stop wars, and severely punish those who breached the peace; he had the power to execute misdoers on the spot. His face/mask was 'terrible to look at'—his mouth stained with blood and reddish remains of chewed cola nuts as evidence of the sacrifices made to him. Underneath *Gõ gε* were several masked 'police' who enforced his judgments and laws. *Ma va*, for instance, would demand that a wife returned to her husband; whilst *Gba gε* would break up parties if people were dancing too much in the moonlight (Harley, 1950).

Perhaps the most important public function of the *gε*, however, was as instructors, officiates, and disciplinarians at the *Poro* cult's initiation school. During their early teens, young boys would be

Overleaf:
Illustration 11: Masks of *gε*, (from Harley, 1950)
Following page:
Illustration 12: Mask of *gε*, (from Segy, 1952)

[12] It is uncertain whether the *gε* masks still exist in this geographical region. The information for this study is predominantly based on the research of Harley (1950), which is now almost 50 years old, and was itself based on reminiscences and folk-lore rather than observation. At the time of Harley's work, it seemed that the *Gε* were slowly dying out, and for this reason I have chosen to discuss this case in the past tense.

whisked away from their homes and taken to the *Poro* bush, where they would be educated by the men—masked as *gɛs*—in tribal history and tradition, rules of polite conduct, and formal and ritual dancing. Traditionally, the boys stayed in the bush for several years, and were forbidden any contact with home or family. Those who did attempt to run away would be summarily executed by the *Poro gɛs*. Revealing the secrets of the *Poro* to outsiders, particularly women, was also punishable by death.

Harley (1941) described some of the masked *gɛs* involved in the *Mano* tribe's *Poro* school. *Tea bli si* stopped traffic on the roads to the Poro bush, and flogged those who had already been warned once. *T'to bli gɛ* administered the oath not to tell the women anything, not to see a woman, and not to run away, on pain of death. *Gɛ nangma* scarified the boys' neck and chests when they entered the bush. If one of the boys was 'unduly' hysterical after this, *Zai bo lu* teased him, and then forced him to swallow the moist ball of leaves that had been used to stop the bleeding. If a boy was badly infected and got blood poisoning, *Mi gli gɛ* called the boy to him, sent him for firewood, and then burnt the boy alive—thus preventing the infection from spreading.

'But it was not all blood and terror in the *Poro*' (Harley, 1941, p.16). *Dã ya bõa* was the guardian of the boys, treated their minor ills, and regulated their daily habits. The warrior *gɛs* taught the boys war songs, dances, and the tactics of primitive combat. Outside the *Poro*, too, there were *gɛs* whose predominant characteristic was not authoritarian: entertainers, minstrels, even clowns. Nevertheless, the function of the *gɛs* was predominantly autocratic. 'The *gɛs* had many faces and almost as many functions, but there were certain fundamental qualities shared by all.... In use, the *gɛs* exercised all the functions necessary for control of society on the religious, the executive, and the judicial levels' (Harley, 1950, p.42).

To what extent, then, are the *mande*-speaking people expressing a subpersonality through the *gɛ* mask? Clearly, in contrast to the *sanni* demons, what is being expressed is not an asocial side of the psyche. Indeed, it would seem that the tribesmen are expressing the converse: a side to the psyche that is repressive and domineering, that polices and punishes the expression of asocial and taboo behaviour. Like the *Poro*, to whom they are intimately linked, the *gɛ* stress: 'conformity to real or assumed models of behaviour and preservation of the institutions of the past. The basic emphasis is on the rights and powers of the elders and obedience to authority' (Roberts et al., 1972, p.152-3). Given these characteristics, one might argue that what is being expressed through the mask is essentially the maskers' critical parent. As incarnations of ancestral spirits, both *gɛ* and critical parent represent the sedimented voice of tradition, stretching back through the old generations and passed on

to the new. And, as with the punishment meted out by the critical parent, 'The final secret of the *Poro* was frightfulness' (Harley, 1941, p.7).

At the same time, however, whilst the *gɛ* may be pro-social at a cultural level; at an individual level, they may represent a particularly repressed side of the psyche. Punishing, judging and executing are behaviours that are likely to incur widespread censure and displeasure, particularly from those at the butt of the judgments. Hence the *gɛ* devils, whilst polarised in nature from the *sanni* demons, may express an equally hidden and disowned subpersonality.

Interpreting the *gɛ* mask as an expression of the critical parent is supported by the observation that the *gɛ* masker is always considered 'possessed'. 'When a member of the *Poro* wears a mask and the clothing that goes with it (a mask wearer is always completely covered), he is invested with the spirit; it is the spirit who acts' (Roberts et al 1972, p.149).

As with the *sanni* demons, however, it is not just the masker who objectifies a side of himself through the mask. For the young initiates, too, the *gɛ* represent the face of authority: a critical, punishing, parental power. But the *gɛ* not only incarnates a side to the self—it would also seem to play a central role in establishing it. From the anthropological data, the critical parent subpersonality of the *mande*-speaking people may well develop late. The *Gio*, for instance, do not begin to teach their children or make demands on them until they are six or seven years old (Schwab, 1947). Hence, the *Poro gɛ* may be the first truly authoritarian figures that the young boys encounter. Indeed, even before entering the bush, the boys will have been warned of the terrible punishments meted out by the *gɛ* to children who behaved badly and to those uninitiates who dared to spy on the *gɛs*' activities. In the same way, then, that a western child internalises parental mandates to form his critical parent, so the *mande*-speaking boy may internalise the *gɛ*. And when the young boy comes of age, and become a masked *gɛ* himself, it is this internal *gɛ* that he expresses through the mask.

But what is the role of the mask in this process? In contrast to the Sri Lankan *sanni*, the mask of the *gɛ* would seem to have both a necessary and sufficient role in the expression and transmission of this 'inner *gɛ*.' Without the mask, the *gɛ* could not be a *gɛ*. Indeed, '*gɛ*' means both spirit ancestor and mask, the two are not differentiated. To understand this, it is necessary to say something of the philosophy behind African sculpture and carving. Within African animistic thinking, all objects, whether animate or inanimate, possess vitality and are invested with indwelling souls. Hence, a statue, mask or fetish object can possess the spirit of an ancestor, and the power of this fetishised

spirit is often seen as more 'real' than that of a living human being. 'The sculpture does not represent an idea, as a statue of Christ may be said to symbolise divine grace. The African sculpture is the spirit itself' (Segy, 1952, p.19). Thus, the ancestral spirits—the *gɛ*—were not seen as dwelling in the mask-wearer, but in the mask itself. The mask-wearer was simply its 'carrier'—a term often used within African culture to denote the man behind the mask. 'During the dances it is the mask that is recognised, not the individual who wears it. The mask is the spirit, the mask has the power'(Segy, 1952, p.52). Hence, the mask becomes a powerful symbol and 'container' for the subpersonality, in this case, the critical parent. Through its fixidity it 'holds' this aspect of the personality, and allows the individual to inhabit or dis-inhabit it at will.

That the mask *is* the ancestral spirit may explain the reverence with which the *Poro* masks were treated. Within the tribes, it was the most feared object, and the death penalty was meted out to anyone desecrating or exposing it inappropriately. Such was the awe with which the *Gõ gɛ* mask was treated that it was customary to sacrifice one's eldest son on acquiring it.

Moreover, because the mask 'contained' the ancestral spirit, without a wearer, it is still sufficient to be an immensely powerful force. *Gõ gɛ*'s decision were often made with the mask lying on a cloth rather than worn; and when the initiates entered the bush for the first time, they were commanded to swear on 'the Great Mask' that they would never tell the women what they had seen inside the bush. Again, this mask was not worn, but rested on the ground just inside the school. Important men carried with them a small replica of this mask, a *mã*, which was fed and oiled, and turned to in times of difficulty, or when power and authority were required.

From this case study, then, the mask's ability to facilitate the expression of subpersonalities has again been demonstrated. The mask has the potential to act as a powerful—an immensely powerful—symbol and container for the voice of ancestral authority. Through wearing this symbol, a man can tap in to his own 'inner ancestor'; a part of himself that, on an individual level, may be predominantly covert. Moreover, as suggested in the previous case-study, the mask not only 'holds' the subpersonality for the mask-wearer, but for those observing the mask, too. It may even im-press the subpersonality in the first place. Hence, the relationship between mask and subpersonality has the potential to be more than simply a unidirectional dynamic. As the *mande*-speaking cultures demonstrate, mask and mind—like face and psyche—have the capacity to exist in a vibrant, bi-directional, dialectic: the mask expressing subpersonalities that it was originally instrumental in internalising in the first place.

6.4 MASKS OF THE ZUNI, NEW MEXICO

Amongst the Zuni of New Mexico, the most popular Masks are those of the mythological ancestors, the *katcina* (illustrations 13, 14, 15). Bunzel (1932) describes over 115 different *katcina*, appearing at ceremonies and rites throughout the year, dancing in public and private, performing a variety of rituals, and interacting with the *Zuni* townsfolk. Like the *Poro*, all men are expected to join the *katcina* cult; and, like *Poro* masking, *katcina* masking is a means of incarnating the principles of tradition and ancestry. The *Saiyataca katcina*, for instance, holds a position of great power and responsibility in the pueblo, and judges those who break the *katcina* taboos. *Hai'nawi*, meanwhile, carries a yucca whip in one hand and a knife in the other, and his face is red from the blood of those he has decapitated for telling the secrets of the *katcina*. *To'wa Tcakwena*, a third *katcina*, tells the people how they should behave through humorous verse: 'If your brother has touched a woman, you must never touch her or you will become your brother's enemy…. Little girls, do not play with the boys or you will menstruate soon and your breasts will get big' (Bunzel, 1932, p.1019).

As *To'wa Tcakwena* admonishments suggest, the authoritarian voice of the *katcina* is often directed at the young. Hence, as with the *gɛ*, the *katcina* gods burrow into the *Zuni* psyche at an early age. Young children who behave disobediently, for instance, are warned that *Atolshe*, the witch *katcina*, will come and get them. *Atolshe*, 'has a horrible countenance, is dressed grotesquely in a large mask with a huge mouth, great protruding eyes, and dishevelled hair and teeth, and carries a long sword in one hand and a cane in the other, while on its back is a basket in which naughty children are carried off' (Leighton & Adair, 1966, p.68).

The threat of a visitation from a *katcina* is more than just idle warning. During the winter solstice *Shalako* festival, Stevenson (1904) observed *Atolshe* and another *katcina* visit a number of households to see if the inmates were behaving well. In one house, where the mother complained that her daughter would not grind, *Atolshe* commanded the daughter to accompany her to the mills so that she could demonstrate the appropriate method. In another house, the *katcina* lectured a four year old boy. As he clung to his mother, his knees shaking, he replied to the questions of the gods. 'The fear of the child is great as the gods wave their stone knives above him and declare that if he is naughty they will cut off his head' (Stevenson, 1904, p.229).

Overleaf:
Illustration 13 (above): *Katcinas,* (from Scully, 1975)
Illustration 14 (below): *Katcina,* (from Scully, 1975)
Following page:
Illustration 15 (above): *Katcinas,* (from Bunzel, 1932)
Illustration 16 (below): *Koyemci,* (from Bunzel, 1932)

As with the *Poro gɛ*, this authoritarian role of the *katcina* seems to be at its zenith during the boys' initiation. Here, the young initiates—between the ages of five to nine—are first whipped by the *Sälimobiya katcina*, and then again by the *Sayalia*. Bunzel (1929) observes: 'The *Sayalia* stand in pairs facing each other, with the boy in the centre. They are very terrible looking and jump around all the time shaking their rattles, and the little boys are terribly frightened' (p.980). But the authoritarian role of the *katcina* doesn't end with the initiation rites. When *Atolshe* visited the children during the *Shalako* festival (Stevenson, 1904), she also inquired as to the behaviour of the men and women. One husband, accused by his wife of being lazy and unwilling to work, was brought up for judgment before the *katcinas*, and had to vigorously plead his case before being 'acquitted'.

Like the *Poro gɛ*, then, the *katcina* seem to be expressing—both to themselves and their audience—elements of the critical parent subpersonality. Indeed, when a man is sufficiently wealthy and wants a mask made for himself, he will approach the cult chief and say, 'I want my father to be made into a person' (Bunzel, 1932, p.849). That the masker is expressing a subpersonality is supported by the observation that the dancer is considered possessed by his altered state: 'He who wears the mask of a kachina believes he loses his personal identity and assumes that of a spirit' (Coze, 1957, p.219).

But, in contrast to the *Poro gɛ*, the *katcina* really are a lot more than 'just blood and terror'. Perhaps this is best exemplified by the *koyemci* clowns (illustration 16): the most important and constant element of the *Shalako* ceremony (Makarius, 1970) and probably the most significant masked *katcina* in *Zuni* ritual as a whole.

Mythologically, the nine *koyemci* were born of the incestuous union between two *Zuni* ancestors. From this 'mingling of too much seed', the *koyemci* emerged: deformed, cretinous and obscene. Their faces reflect their malformation: knobbled, warty masks of cotton cloth, both mask and body covered in pink mud (hence their nickname, 'mudheads').

The *koyemci* have many ritual functions, but most frequently they can be found clowning and gaming in the breaks between *katcina* dances. Cushing (1967) observed one such incident:

> Suddenly, the motionless, warty-headed figures sprang up, running against one another, crying out in loud tones, and motioning wildly with their long, naked arms. One moment they would all gather around one of their number, as if intensely interested in something he was saying, then as suddenly they would run confusedly about. They would catch up balls and pelt one another most vehemently, such as were struck making great ado about it. One of them discovered me. Immediately he stretched his fingers out and called excitedly to his companions, who pretended to hide behind him and the ladders, peering at me with one or the other of their black, wen-shaped eyes with the most frightened, and, at the same time, ridiculous look and expression. (p.5)

The *koyemci* are renowned for their obscene and vulgar behaviour. They burlesque sex, make constant allusions to phalluses and bestiality, and frequently play with faeces and urine. The *koyemci* also take great pleasure in insulting and ridiculing other members of society. Bunzel (1929), for instance, observed them standing before the houses of the other *katcina*, calling the inmates names by song, and twitting them for stinginess, laziness, domestic infelicity, and fondness for American ways (p.952).

Given the cultural significance of the *koyemci* clowns, What aspect of the *Zuni* psyche might they may be expressing? Given their vulgarity and irreverence, they seem closely allied to the Singhalese *sanni*, but what seems most psychologically salient about the *koyemci* is their distinctly childlike quality. Not only is this exhibited in their behaviour—as Cushing's observation illustrates—but also in *Zuni* descriptions: 'these children romp and play...and verily are like idiots, or to dotards and crones turned young again, inconstant as laughter, startle to new thoughts by every flitting thing around them' (quoted in Bunzel, 1932, p.949). Their childishness is also reflected in their asexuality, mythologically attributed to their incestuous birth; and, when impersonated, the *koyemci* dancer ties a cord around his penis to prevent erection. As children, the *koyemci* are also considered 'without shame'. When Bunzel (1932) inquired, for instance, as to why the *koyemci* often appeared naked, she was told that it was all right for them to take off their coverings, because they were just like children. In other words, the *koyemci* are considered pre-socialised. As Hieb (1969) writes: 'The *koyemci* represent a return to a state of being free of distinctions, accepted patters, and taboos, and they are characterised as being 'innocent' in terms of the Zuni creation myth' (p.187).

Given the childishness, playfulness, shamelessness, and innocence of the *Zuni koyemci*, it is tempting to suggest that the maskers' might be expressing a free child side to themselves from behind the *koyemci* mask. Interestingly, the *koyemci* mask-wearers tend to be the oldest maskers in the rituals—often into their seventies and beyond. Perhaps the *koyemci* mask gives them an opportunity to express that sides of themselves that would be seen as otherwise inappropriate for a man of their status and standing. The popularity of the *koyemci* mask within *Zuni* culture, however, might be more attributable to the fact that the *Zunis* are considered to have a highly developed superego, placing great emphasis on conscious control (Leighton & Adair, 1966). Rorschach studies show that the *Zuni* child is highly socialised and concerned with tiny details. More significantly, 'shaming' is the most important sanction used in the upbringing of the *Zuni* child—particularly when he displays emotions, spontaneity, asocial behaviour, anger or arrogance. Empirical studies show that young *Zuni* boys are far more sensitive to ridicule and embarrassment than boys from western backgrounds (Leighton & Adair, 1966). Hence, as with the Sri Lankan *sanni*, the shameless, ridiculous, emotional, formless,

asocial *koyemci* may express that side of the *Zuni* personality that is most repressed within *Zuni* culture; and this may be as true for the masker as it is for the audience. Writes Bunzel (1929): 'It is a society of strong repressions. Undoubtedly the great delight in the antics of the clowns springs from the sense of release in vicarious participation in the forbidden' (p.521n).

Like the *gɛ*, the mask seems to play a central role in this expression of intrapsychic elements. As Bunzel (1932) writes: 'What seems peculiar to the pueblos is the enormous fetishistic power imputed to the mask…' (p.902-3). As with the *gɛ*, the mask is not only a representation of the ancestor, but its very being: 'The mask is the corporal substance of the *katcina*, and in wearing it a man assumes the personality of the god whose representation he bears. The *Zuni* expression for this process of transformation is "to make him (the god) a living person"' (Bunzel, 1932, p.847-8). Given that the mask and ancestor are synonymous, it is no surprise that, like the *gɛ*, the *katcina* masks are treated with the utmost reverence. They are never placed on the floor, and never taken out of the house except for public ceremonies. Anyone who tries on a mask outside of ceremony is said to die. Moreover, if a dancer breaks an important masking taboo by being incontinent during the masked ritual, then the mask is said to surely stick on his face or choke him to death during the dance (Bunzel, 1932). *Zuni* masks are given offerings of food and tobacco at every mealtime, and regularly prayed to.

Without the mask, then, the masker could not be invested with the personality of the gods. Or, to put it psychologically, without the mask, Zunis do not express the parental and childish sides of their personalities in such a direct and unadulterated way. There is, however, an exception to this. In private, the *katcina* impersonators will sometimes danced unmasked—as will the *koyemci*. Here the magic is thought to reside in the face and body paints. Hence, as with the *sanni* demons, it may be that masks, face paints, and body coverings are points on a continuum rather than functionally distinct entities. Such an analysis is supported by the existence of the *Zuni newekwe*, a group of unmasked but face painted clowns who are as vulgar—and frequently more so—than the *koyemci*. During the rituals, the *newekwe* are renowned for their 'obscene' behaviour: competing to see who can drink the most urine, devouring the entrails of dogs, and eating human and animal excrement off the ground.

In public, however, *katcina* are always masked rather than face-painted. This emphasises the point, increasingly highlighted throughout this chapter, that the mask expresses intrapsychic entities as much to the audience as to the wearer. The mask is a specifically interpersonal object, it expresses things to and between people, an expression much more akin to 'communication' than 'catharsis'.

This case-study, then, has again demonstrated how the mask does seem to bring out subpersonalities—particularly of the critical parent and free child sort. But, as with the *gɛ*, the relationship between mask, masker, audience and subpersonality is far more complex than a unidirectional catharsis. The *Zuni* child grows up with the masks of *katcina* and *koyemci* imprinted on his psyche, and, when, as an initiated man he expresses these entities through the mask, he is expressing something which is both intra- and inter-psychic. Moreover, his relationship with the mask is an intriguing network of parenting and parented. When a man first blesses his mask, he says: 'Now I have given you life. We shall have one another as father' (Bunzel, 1932, p.851). The man has created his father, just as the mask fathers the man; man and mask are related in a vibrant, dynamic unity, irreducible to simplistic intrapsychic analysis.

6.5 MASKS OF THE BALINESE, INDONESIA

Bali, a small Hindu island in the Indonesian archipelago, is, perhaps, the most renowned and thriving masking region in the contemporary world. Slattum and Schraub (1992, p.12) categorise Balinese masked into four types: *Topeng*, *Wayang Wong*, *Calanarong*, and *Barong*.

Both *Topeng* and *Wayang Wong* are predominantly masked performances—with little or no audience interaction and involvement. *Topeng* theatre eulogises the exploits of ancient Balinese rulers, and is traditionally acted by one person switching masks. *Wayang Wong* dramatises the Hindu *Ramayana* myth and has developed from shadow puppetry. Like the Sri Lankan *Kolam*, both genres have a variety of standard masked characters. In *Topeng*, for instance, is the cunning prime minister, the charming queen, the town drunk, etc. Appearing in the *Wayang Wong* are the majestic *Rama* (illustration 17), his strong-willed wife *Sita*, the evil master of illusions, etc. (Slattum and Schraub, 1992). Like the Sri Lankan *Kolam*, then, it might be possible to interpret each of these characters as a subpersonality, but their relationship to dramatic personae and social types is far more explicit. Such a finding reinforces the point that masks do not necessarily facilitate the expression of subpersonalities.

Overleaf:
Illustration 17: Mask of *Rama*, (from Slattum and Schraub, 1992)
Following page:
Illustration 18: Mask of *Rangda*, (from Slattum and Schraub, 1992)
Following page:
Illustration 19: *Barong*, (from Slattum and Schraub, 1992)

The masked *Calanorang* and *Barong* performances, on the other hand, seem to present a very different dynamic. Here, the maskers are often entranced, the audience are heavily involved, and there is an air of 'danger' around the drama that suggests a deeper intrapsychic resonance. Indeed, as Bateson and Mead (1942) write of the *Calanorang*, 'This drama throws more light on Balinese character structure than any other' (p. 164). Slattum and Schraub (1992) differentiates between *Calanorang* and *Barong*, but there is such a degree of overlap that they are worth discussing together. In particular, the dramas share the same two central characters, *Rangda* (illustration 18) and *Barong* (illustration 19), the most important and sacred of Balinese masks.

Rangda is the Queen of the witches, a fierce, bloodthirsty cannibal who delights in causing terror and strife. Her movements are rough and crude, a loud, rasping voice, wild, erratic gestures, and leaping gait (Slattum and Schraub, 1992). Her appearance is everything most abhorred in Balinese women: pendulous breasts, sharp teeth, hirsute face and body. Like *Atolshe*, the scare *katcina*, *Rangda* carries a basket with which to abduct children. Balinese youngsters are warned that any misbehaviour might result in a visit from *Rangda*.

In direct structural opposition to *Rangda*, however, is the *Barong*. This mask can take many animal forms—pig, tigers, lions, cows, deer, dogs, horses, goats, quails, even caterpillars—but mostly he appears as *Barong Ketket*, a fantastical lion-like beast, the 'Lord of the Forest', whose appearance resembles that of a Chinese New Year Dragon. As a representative of white magic, the *Barong* is a healing and nurturing character, playful as a puppy at times, but ferocious and menacing when faced with the powers of evil.

The performance of the *Calanorang* varies from village to village and troupe to troupe, but its basic narrative remains the same: a witch is trying to fob off her daughter onto an unsuspecting bridegroom. The deception is discovered, and in her fury the witch transforms into her masked alter ego, *Rangda*, whilst the hero of the story reappears as *Barong*. There then follows the eternal conflict between good and evil, *Rangda* and *Barong* insulting each other, facing off, and physically fighting. There is a moment in the battle when the victory of *Barong* seems in doubt, and it is now that *Barong*'s followers, the unmasked and entranced *penoegdoeg*, rush at the witch, brandishing their curved kris daggers. As they try to approach her, however, the magical spells of *Rangda* overpower them, and they are forced to the ground, turning their krisses onto their own chests. By now the *penoegdoeg* are deep in trance, and as they writhe on the floor, violently attempting to stab themselves, it is the intervention of *Barong* brushing over them with his magical beard, that eventually revives them and brings them back to their feet.

Along with the *penoegdoeg*, it is not unusual for the *Rangda* and *Barong* maskers to fall into a state of possession during this performance. Coast (1954) gives a vivid description of one instance:

> In front of the incense arising from the charcoal brazier we could see the old white-robed priest getting to his feet, while attendants stood tensely, protectingly around him. All the while he kept muttering, and then a sentence of the old Kawi tongue, incomprehensible, would be flung out across the courtyard. Then came more mumbling, sometimes a deep-throated chuckle, ending in a laugh or snort. A weird, eerie act of ventriloquy in the night, it seemed to us, for the priest was carrying on conversations with himself in several voices.... [A] moment later a fierce altercation seemed to break out. Stormy voices were raised—all issuing from one throat. It was uncanny. Snarls, grunts, whines, imperious orders, poured through the old priest, who was swaying tempestuously around the yard, in the end facing the high altar where the sacred and powerful masks of *Barong* and *Rangda* lay displaced on top of the boxes in which they were normally stored.... And it was towards the mask of the terrible *Rangda*, flaming of tongue and sabre-toothed, that the priest was now clawing his way, a torrent of bestial growls bursting through his old lips. (p.49)

What aspect of the psyche, then, might *Rangda* be expressing? Mead (1970) suggests that there are close parallels between *Rangda* and the Balinese mother—in her more negative and persecutory aspects. For a start, the name *Rangda* literally means 'widow': a woman who has violated Hindu tradition by not joining her husband on the funeral pyre. *Rangda* also dances with the same shawl that is used to swaddle the children. Like *Rangda*, the Balinese mother frequently teases her child: pulling his penis and exciting him to climax before withdrawing, and making him jealous by playing with other babies (Bateson, 1970).

Mead (1970) argues that the *penoegdoeg* who attack *Rangda* are directly experiencing aspects of the mother-child relationship: approaching her, being repulsed/frustrated, and subsequently thrown into frenzy/tantrums. Young boys, too, can participate vicariously in this process: 'When his mother teases him in the eerie, dissociated manner of a witch, the child can also watch the witch in the play…watch her recurrent battle with the dragon, who in his warmer and puppy-like behaviour resembles his father. He can see the followers of the dragon attack the witch…. [and] go further than he will ever dare to go in showing hostility to his mother, in open resentment of her laughter' (p.203).

As this passage suggests, Mead goes on to draw close parallels between the *Barong* and the Balinese father. Like the *Barong*, the Balinese father is playful and indulges in rough-and-tumble, but is fiercely protective of his children when threatened.

Given, then, that parental subpersonalities are essentially introjections of external parents, it could be argued that *Rangda* and *Barong* express intrapsychic as well as extrapsychic entities. *Rangda,* it would seem, is an extreme version of the critical parent: punitive, judgmental and attacking. So extreme, in fact, that she is no longer considered good—as the *gε* and *katcina* are—but as the

epitomy of evil. *Barong*, on the other hand, would seem to fit well into the description of the nurturing parent: 'supportive of others, concerned, protective and nurturing, both in language and in non-verbal behaviour' (Price 1975, p.242).

But what is the role of the mask in this process? As with the *gɛ* and *katcina*, the Balinese see the mask as a receptacle for the spirit, and treat it with awe and respect. The older and more sacred *Barong* masks are considered to have immense protective powers, able to consecrate holy water, even to exorcise disease and death. Little pieces of the *Barong*'*s* hair are sometimes bought to make bracelets for the children—a charm to protect them from evil dreams. But the Balinese mask, alone, does not have the power of the mask worn. The Balinese say that the wood is the body of the mask, but the head is its spirit (Slattum and Schraub, 1992). Only through the coming together of wood and head can the mask be filled with divine energy.

Indeed, if possession is taken as a signal of altered ego states, then a closer examination of Balinese possession suggests that the link between subpersonalities and masking is a relatively weak one. For a start, the most possessed individual during the *Calanorang* ritual is unmasked—the *penoegdoeg*—and would seem to be expressing a subpersonality as adamantly as *Barong* or *Rangda*. Second, observations of Balinese masking and possession, such as Coast's earlier description of *Rangda*-possession, suggest that masking tends to proceed possession rather than precede it. That is, the individual does not become possessed through wearing a mask, but becomes possessed and then acquires a mask to express his internal state. Moreover, possession often continues for a short while after the mask is taken off (e.g., deZoyte & Spies, 1970; Suryani & Jensen, 1993). Again, this suggests that the causal relationship is one of possession inducing mask-wearing, rather than vice-versa. Third, there are numerous instances of Balinese possession in which masks are entirely absent. Balinese healers, *balian*, for instance, regularly become possessed by spirits, who offer psychological and medical advice through their human carrier.

Yet there are a number of interesting differences between masked and non-masked possession. First, non-masked individuals rarely become possessed by demons or malevolent spirits. The entities that possess the *balian* and the *penoegdoeg* are almost universally 'good', in contrast to the evil possessing *Rangda* and her witchly attendants. Perhaps the reason for this is that the mask provides some safety and control for the entranced individual—of particular importance when possessed by such dangerous spirits as *Rangda*. Because the spirit is primarily contained in their mask, the masker can 'take off' the possessing entity—a task that would be more difficult if there was no mediating symbol between possessor and possessed. The mask also helps the audience to make clear

differentiations between the masker and the spirit. Aggressive and infantile emotions can be projected onto the masked demon, without any fear of maligning or 'obliterating' its wearer. As Mead (1970) says of the young boys watching the *Calanorang*: 'He sees his possible destructive wish lived out before his eyes, but in the end, no-one is slain, no one is destroyed, no one is hurt.... [T]he play ends, the masks are taken off, the actors lay aside their golden garments for stained workday clothes' (p.203).

A second difference between masked and non-masked possession is that the mask is more likely to occur at public occasions, when the masker's possessing states needs to be vividly conveyed to a large group of people. Masks are rarely used at the one-to-one or small group level—at which the *balian* works. Perhaps, here, they would be too overwhelming. Rather, the mask's natural habitat seems to be at night, in the dark, at times of poor visibility. Here, the mask is a powerful and precise expression of a possessing spirit. Whilst the *Calanorang*'s *penoegdoeg*—by virtue of their numerical size—are a clearly identifiable group, it is difficult to imagine how the *Rangda* and *Barong* maskers could stand out—in their spiritual and magical magnanimity—without the use of masks.

Third, it is interesting to note that entranced masked individuals tend to use more non-verbal channels of communication than those unmasked. Whilst *Barong* and *Rangda* tend to express themselves through dance, movement, shrieks and cries, the possessing spirits of *balians* are physically static, and communicate exclusively through the spoken word.

This study of Balinese masking, then, suggests that masks do not necessarily express subpersonalities, and that subpersonalities do not necessarily need to be expressed through the mask. Nevertheless, it shows, once again, that masks can be a powerful means of 'fixing' the expression of subpersonalities, and of dramatising intrapsychic dynamics. The comparison between masked and non-masked possession also suggests three specific qualities of the mask: first, that they may be particularly effective at expressing demonic and 'evil' subpersonalities; second, that they may be specifically useful when conveying intrapsychic dynamics to a wide audience; and third, that they may be particularly appropriate to those subpersonalities that express themselves non-verbally.

6.6 DISCUSSION

Having studied four cross-cultural cases of masking, the relationship between masks and subpersonalities is by no means clear. However, a number of tentative themes do seem to emerge.

First, there appears to be some relationship between masks and possession. This association also holds in a number of other cultures, and is particularly true of African masquerade. As Bleakley (1978) writes: 'The dancer, when wearing the mask and accompanying regalia in the prescribed manner, is invested with the spirit of the mask and is effectively no longer human. The spirit of the mask will cause the dancer to carry himself with the gait of one possessed and speak with an altered voice' (p.3). This altered state is verified by the masker's frequent ability to perform extrahuman feats. False Face maskers of the north American Iroquois, for instance, handle burning pieces of coal, put them in their mouth, and display an insensitivity to the bitter cold, sitting around in ultra low temperatures in only a breech cloth (Makarius, 1983); *Kavat* maskers of New Guinea stamp on flaming sticks for hours; and Leopard maskers of the *Ngbe* tribe at *Mamfe* have heightened athletic and marital prowess (Thompson, 1974). Maskers have also claimed a feeling of heightened perception and sensitivity (Gell, 1975). John Nwamba, bearer of the *Onumonu Ezeugwuorie* mask during the 1984 *Nsukka Igbo* masquerade, gives an account of his altered perceptions:

> You know, it is not what you see in this world that you see, and it is not what you do in this world that you do (i.e., as a human). If I carry it, what I see other people do not see. And the character I display, other people do not, because if a gallon of palm wine is brought and put into my mouth, I can finish it, and another person cannot. And if you bring a tin of oil; I can take it and drink it, and another person cannot drink it. And there is nothing it will do to me. That is how I am different when I am in it. I understand people differently because when I look at them, my eyes will be spirit eyes (*enya ma*), not like people's eyes (*enya mmadu*). (quoted in Ray and Shaw, 1987, p.659)

That maskers are frequently possessed, however, tells little about the relationship between mask and possession. Is it that the mask brings about a state of possession, or is it, as was demonstrated in the case of *Rangda*, that the possessed individual will appropriate a mask to express his internal state? Given that possession occurs—unmasked—in cultures both with and without masks, how significant is the mask for this altered state? Perhaps the best way to answer this question would be to interview masked performers, to get some sense of their phenomenological process. Another alternative might be to compare masked and unmasked states of possession, as was attempted in the Balinese case study. Until such studies are conducted, however, the relationship between masking and possession will remain uncertain.

A less ambiguous outcome of the case studies, however, has been the finding that maskers tend to express asocial aspects of their personality through the masks, as exemplified in the Singhalese *sanni* and Zuni *koyemci*. These masks have been interpreted as shadow and free child subpersonalities respectively, but in their mutual mischievousness, playfulness, silliness, rudeness it may be more accurate to describe these Masks as expressions of something which combines yet transcends either of these categories. For want of a better name, perhaps this subpersonality could be called the

'naughty child': that part of the individual that wants to misbehave, ridicule, blaspheme, and break social taboos.

Cross-culturally and trans-historically, there are a striking number of masks through which a similar side of the personality seems to be expressed. Yaqui *Paskola* clowns, for instance, act like crazed fools, engage in debauched sex, play among themselves and with the deer, symbolically play with and eat faeces, mock the divinities, do the sign of the cross backwards, and betray each other's confidence. 'In short, they become models of what *Yaqui* should not be' (Lutes, 1983, p.85). *Capakobam* clowns, appearing in the Easter rites of the Sonora Indians, are similarly rebellious and mischievous, running around the church, squatting and defecating on the 'way of the cross', and burlesquing acts of intercourse on the church altar (Crumrine, 1969). *Booger* Masks of the Cherokee Indians, with names like 'Big Testicles', 'Sooty Anus' and 'Sweet Phallus', jostle women, chase spectators, emit resonant farts, and act like barbarians. At the other end of the globe, this naughty child can be found in the 'mud-heads' of New Guinea; whilst in Africa, the *dugaw* Mask of the *Kore* tribe consumes excrement and behaves provocatively and clownishly. The *gonde* Mask of the Sierra Leone *Mende* is another, clown-like figure which overturns all the conventions and decorum.

At its most extreme, the naughty child's uninhibited behaviour can take the form of violence. The behaviour of the *Kagle* Mask of the Dan tribe, for instance, is strongly reminiscent of a young child's tantrums: 'If he is offered a present, he beats the donor, or else throws himself on the ground, squirming like a spoilt child to obtain more.... He is all sugar to draw someone to his side, but only to beat him when he is sufficiently near. This is *Kagle*, and this is how we want him to be: the wilder he is, the happier we are. He must respect no one and nothing' (Himmelheber, 1960). The Kwaikiutl fool dancers, with enormous noses and bodies covered in snot, are even more excessive in their violent fits.

> The Nû'LMAL is filthy and acts as though he were out of his sense.... They do not dance, but, when excited, run about like madmen, throwing stones, knocking people down and crying. They turn to the right instead of the left, and make the circuit of the fire turning to the left.... They dislike to see clean and beautiful clothing. They tear and soil it. They break canoes, houses, kettles, and boxes; in short, act the madman in every conceivable way. (Boas, 1895, p.469)

A naughty child's affinity to name-calling and teasing is also found in Masks world-wide. In Mexico, clownish 'devil dancers' talk about people's weaknesses and local scandal with immunity, 'for whatever he says will be dismissed because it comes from the Devil' (Cordry, 1980, p.248). In African *Afipko* masquerades, 'The essence of the play is the direct ridicule and satirising of real persons and topical events, clothed in ritualised and superficially religious terms' (Ottenberg, 1975,

p.129). Leaders are attacked for putting personal gain before the interests of the community, strong men are told to speak out at group meetings, rich men are told to take many wives and titles, women who 'hen-peck' their husbands or who are overly interested in the secret society are ridiculed. Writes Ottenberg: 'Males are returning to a childhood activity that they experience intensively, with much delight and amusement' (p.136). In medieval France, companies of fools—the European equivalent of the sacred clown—insulted and annoyed everyone in the annual *fete de fous*. No-one—clergy, lords or kings—were safe from their stinging wit and incisive humour.

Indeed, expression of this naughty child through the mask seems as prevalent in the western world as it has been in non-western societies—and not only in the painted face of the clown. Over three thousand years ago, participants at the Dionysian revelries of ancient Greece masked themselves as the vine god's mythological troop of motley followers—*satyrs*, *sileni*, *centaurs* and *bacchanates*—and became notorious for their boisterous, mischievous and lustful behaviour. Drinking, dancing, shouting, singing, insulting and flirting rose to a crescendo of intoxicated orgiastic ecstasy. Throughout the centuries, western man has continued to use the mask as a means of expressing his uninhibited, anarchic qualities. During the mummeries of the first millennium, uncouth, illiterate mobs in animalistic and demonic masks congregated outside Christian churches, crying out for uncontrolled dancing (Sorrell, 1981). Masked carnivals also provided humans with an opportunity to express the spontaneity of their naughty child, involving, as they did: 'indecencies, jostling, provocative laughter, exposed breasts, mimicking buffoonery, a permanent incitement to riot, feasting and excessive talk, noise and movement' (Callois, 1962, p.131). Even today, throughout Germanic Europe and Greece, people put on masks made of goatskin or the hide of a wild animal, act unruly, and beat percussive instruments (Napier, 1986). Such is the importance of the mask in this communal disinhibition that when the Rio de Janeiro carnival was reaching a level of frenzy 'incompatible with the simple functioning of public services', the authorities were content with banning the mask alone (Callois, 1962).

Even in the most repressive environments, the mask seems capable of bringing out the naughty child. One of the most interesting examples of this was the masquerade balls of eighteenth century England, where, 'a distinctly ungenteel liberty was the goal: liberty from every social, erotic, and psychological constraint. In this search after perfect freedom—a state of intoxication, ecstasy and free-floating sensual pleasure—the eighteenth-century masquerade demonstrated its kinship, however distant, with those rituals of possession and collective frenzy found in traditional society' (Fox and Ribeiro, 1983, p.53).

The anonymity of the masquerade balls provided a particularly opportune environment for the ladies of upper and middle class society to indulge their sexual appetites without fear of censure (c/f victims of *sanni* demon possession). In contrast to the rigid social mores of eighteenth century England, women's masquerade costumes were frequently sexually explicit—sometimes even topless. The masquerades had an air of sexual danger and mystery, where sexual liaisons and illicit sexual contacts were made. As Castle (1986) suggests, they were a space for 'collective foreplay'. Above all, though, 'The masquerade was a playground' (Fox and Ribeiro, 1983, p.7). It was an opportunity to indulge in the pure childish delights of dressing up, to wallow in hedonistic pursuits, and to return to an uninhibited state of being. As Castle (1980) writes: 'Its energies, in Freudian terms, were oceanic, and recalled a state before civilization's repressive separations and taxing demands on the ego' (p.90).

In direct opposition to this naughty child, the mask would also seem to be closely related to expressions of the critical parent subpersonality. Ancestral masks, like those of the *gε*, are one of the most common world-wide, and often take a highly aggressive and punishing form. In the Dan of Africa, for instance, a condemned man is tied to a rock on a 300ft high cliff, and a masked executioner, suddenly rushing at him, projects him into space (Himmelheber, 1960). An executioner's mask—embodying, in most virulent form, the critical parent—was also worn by Western executioners until recent times. Judges, too, would place a black cloth over their head when sentencing death. Even today, judges wear wigs: a quasi mask, perhaps, symbolising and expressing both their own judgmental parent and that of their defendant's.

As purveyors of culture and tradition, masks also regularly feature in the initiation ceremonies of young boys. In the Acoma Indians, for instance, it is the role of *Tsitsünïts* ('Big Teeth') to cleanse and exorcise the evil that resides in the young boys (White, 1932). As the initiation ceremony reaches its climax, *Tsitsünïts* comes rushing down a ladder with his messengers and helpers, the *g'o'maiowic*, who run around the chamber crying, 'All you children are going to get a whipping.' The children then lean over, clasping the hands of their sponsors, and are struck four time by *Tsitsünïts's* soap-weed whip (White, 1932). Similar initiation whipping are found amongst the Saiahlia, Cochiti, and Laguna Indians.

Masks of the bad mother/witch can also be found across the world. As with *Rangda* and *Atolshe*, children of the west-coast Canadian Kwaikiutl Indians are warned that if they don't listen to their elders, *Tsonoquah*, the cannibal woman, will come and suck their brains out of their ears. Like *Rangda*, *Tsonoquah* bears all the physical characteristics that are abhorred in women: heavy

pendulous breasts that hang down to the ground, greasy black skin, and dark facial hair. Like *Rangda*, she carries a basket with which to abduct children. In central Europe, the equivalent Mask would seem to be that of Mrs *Perchta*, a dishevelled old woman with a wrinkled face, lively green eyes and a long hooked nose. Old Mrs *Perchta* was particularly active in the regions of Salzburg and Tyrol at Christmas time, keeping a sharp eye on the young female spinners, and smacking the fingers of those who were idle at the distaff (Frazer, 1922, vol. 6).

Along with the critical parent, nurturing parent Masks also have a degree of prevalence around the globe, often taking an animal form. The stag mask in the *Trois-Frères* cave painting has been described as that of a shamanic guardian animal. More recently, shamans of the Tlingit, Haida and Tsimshian tribes, as well as those of the Arctic Eskimos, have continued to use masks of their guardian animals as a way of contacting and communicating with these spirits.

Many of the healing Masks around the world can also be seen as expressions of the nurturing parent. The *Acoma k'oBictaiya* Masks, for instance, are beneficent spirits with the power to heal the ill and feeble. Before the *k'oBictaiya* ceremony, sickly little boys are taken out of the village and hidden in the fissures in the rocks, sitting nude on a sheep pelt wrapped in a blanket. As the *k'oBictaiya* come to the fissures where the small children are hiding they reach down and extract a naked boy, throwing a handful of cat-tail fuzz at the spot. People who are ill or weak also come to the *k'oBictaiya* to be given strength. As with the critical parent, the attention of the nurturing parent Mask is often directed towards the young. The *naljut* Mask of Labrador, Canada, visits the children at their houses, enquiring as to their past behaviour over the year. The children are then asked to sing a small song and given candy. A European version of the *naljut* Mask would seem to be the beard and whiskers of Father Christmas, who takes on the role of the beneficent and nurturing parent, handing out presents to the young children of the western world.

The distinction between nurturing and critical parent, however, does not hold for all masks. Some masks can be protective and friendly in one instance, but persecutory and critical the next. The Zuni say that a mask sometimes becomes 'dangerous'. Perhaps the intrapsychic categories of critical and nurturing parent, then, are more an artefact of western society than of inherent psychological structures. Whilst many in the west do tend to experience the dichotomy of a warm, nurturing mother and a cold critical father, this dissociation may not hold for all cultures. Indeed, exploring masks of these cultures may help facilitate an understanding of intrapsychic structures. Nevertheless, as Lommel (1972) writes: 'we may perhaps understand both the "ancestor mask" tradition and the

shamanistic idea of a spirit helper as expressing psychic forces released and activated through the medium of the mask' (p.215).

6.7 CONCLUSION

From this study of cross-cultural masking in ritual and ceremony, then, it would seem that the mask can facilitate the expression of subpersonalities, sometimes in an immensely powerful way. Through the masks of the *sanni, gε, katcina*, etc., aspects of the wearer's psyche are manifested, aspects which bear a close relationship to the trans-individual subpersonalities hypothesised in chapter two. What seems to make the mask most effective in expressing these subpersonalities is its ability to symbolise—and hence 'contain'—projections of the cultural unconscious. Through the mask, disowned subpersonalities are given form, brought to life, enacted and encountered by the indigenous peoples.

At the same time, however, this study has also shown that the mask does not always facilitate the expression of subpersonalities. In many cases of masking—like the Singhalese *Kolam* and Balinese *Wayang Wong*—one would be hard-pressed to argue that subpersonalities were being expressed. Hence, whilst masking can be a means of bringing deeply repressed material to the surface, this is not always the case. In some instances, it might simply be a means of representing dramatic characters or of having a bit of fun. As one Yaqui *paskolam* clown teacher put it: 'for some it is a thing of the heart, for others, just a way to catch the eye of a pretty, young girl' (Lutes, 1983, p.89). This would seem to make sense in terms of chapter three's distinction between large hooks and small hooks. When the mask is a large hook—e.g., symbolising the voice of authority—then it is likely to tap in to a specific subpersonality. Where the mask is a small hook, on the other hand—e.g., a character from a play—then there is less certainty that what is expressed through it will be a subpersonality.

From this study, it is also clear that subpersonalities do not come bursting to the fore the moment an individual puts on a mask. In the case of *Rangda*, the character was manifested *before* the mask was put on. Hence, in this case, the mask's role would seem to be more one of 'fixing' and symbolising the subpersonalities to others, rather than bringing about an immediate and dramatic transformation—a hook to hang the subpersonality on rather than a hook to fish it out.

One of the most interesting findings to come out of this study, however, is that mask-wearing seems to be particularly effective at facilitating the expression of certain types of subpersonalities: free

child, shadow, ‘naughty child’, and critical parent—in its most judgmental and punishing manifestation. Indeed, with the naughty child’, the cross-cultural prevalence is quite remarkable.

From this study, it would also seem that the mask is particularly suited to an interpersonal context. Not one of the cases of masking discussed took place in an individual setting. Moreover, the mask would seem to have a unique aptitude for expressing the observer’s subpersonalities, as well as those of the mask-wearer. Indeed, such is its ability to symbolise and communicate subpersonalities, that, in some cultures, it may actually be responsible for creating those subpersonalities in the first place. Hence, the mask would seem to have the potential to co-exist in a vibrant, dialectical unity with subpersonalities: creating, co-creating, and re-creating these beings at the depths of the psyche.

CHAPTER 7. MASK AND SUBPERSONALITY IN THERAPY AND PERSONAL GROWTH: FOCUSED INTERVIEWS WITH PRACTITIONERS

> It is the paradox of the mask that it both conceals and reveals. (Jennings, 1990, p.111)

7.1 INTRODUCTION

The three previous chapters have suggested that the mask can be used to facilitate the expression of subpersonalities, and have generated a number of ideas about the types of subpersonalities and contexts with which it might be most effective. In recent years, however, a body of mask-work has developed which provides a more direct means of assessing the mask's ability to facilitate the expression of subpersonalities: the use of masks within therapy and personal growth.

The first paper on the therapeutic use of masks was published in 1954 (Pollaczek & Homefield). Since then, a relatively small number of journal papers, book chapters and magazine articles have approached the subject. Much of this work has been written by dramatherapists (Baptiste, 1989; de Panafieu, 1982; Geffroy, 1986; Jennings, 1990; Jennings & Minde, 1993; Landy, 1984; Landy, 1985), indeed, as Jennings (1990) writes: 'No account of dramatherapy practice is balanced without an understanding of the use of masks' (p.108). However, Reichian therapists (Saigre, 1989), family therapists (Baptiste, 1989), humanistic psychotherapists (Brown, 1990); psycho/socio-dramatists (Pollaczek & Homefield, 1954), personal growth facilitators (Bidell, 1991) and even those in the field of osteopathy (Brigham, 1970) have written about the use of masks within a therapeutic context.

Much of this work, however, has little to say about the mask's ability to facilitate the expression of subpersonalities. Brigham's (1970), Geffroy's (1986) and Paneth's (1990) discussions of mask-work are fairly general and hypothetical; Baptiste (1989) applies the mask in a predominantly interpersonal context—helping family therapy clients to communicate and empathise more effectively with each other; Hiltunen (1988) sees the mask as an object for the projection of unconscious mental images (e.g., personality traits, conflicts, wishes etc.) and as a means of facilitating catharsis; and de Panafieu (1982) uses the mask predominantly to help his clients increase bodily awareness.

Other material, however, does suggest masks can be used to facilitate the expression of subpersonalities, though the term 'subpersonalities' has never been directly used. Pollaczek &

Homefield (1954), a clinical psychologist and speech pathologist respectively, used masks as an adjunct to role-playing in socio- and psycho-drama, offering children with speech impediments a chance to try out alternative ways of being: 'For the child who has a negative self-image, the opportunity to test out different rôles offers tempting possibilities' (p.299). The researchers found that, when masked, the children adopted different roles rapidly and easily—roles in which their speech impediments were consistently brought to a minimum. The masks also brought about 'remarkable' changes in bodily movements: 'One child, for example, when playing the rôle of an authoritarian figure and using a mask, banged his fists and jumped up and down, stamping his feet as we had never seen him do without the mask' (p.302).

Saigre's (1989) approach to mask-work, though radically different from Pollaczek and Homefield's (1954), also suggests that masks may be used as a means of accessing subpersonalities. Coming from a background of 'analytical psychodrama', Saigre uses masks to 'short-cut' the client's defense system and, '*favorise une* régression massive *qui met de plein-pied, de manière quasi immédiate avec notre part psychotique*'[13] (p.1020). Clients are given an opportunity to make and wear their own mask, displaying it to other people, '*qui sont à même de faire découvrir au sujet des aspects de sa personnalité qu'il ignore*'[14] (p.1020). Clients are also encouraged to psychodrama with sets of pre-made masks that correspond to specific childhood problems: e.g., the child fearing desertion, the rejecting mother, the absent father; the castrated child, the castrating mother, the phallic father; autistic and schizophrenic masks; death, devils, and demons; etc. Through these masks, Saigre seems to be giving his clients an opportunity to act out some of their childhood roles, whilst at the same time externalising the internal objects which may be associated with them.

The mask's ability to facilitate the expression of subpersonalities is more directly suggested by Landy (1985): 'The therapeutic masquerade or drama of masks aims to unmask the self through masking a part of the self that has been repressed or seen dimly by the client' (p.51). In exploring these sides of the self, Landy (1985) suggests that the individual might work with masks of her family members and roles; or, alternatively, with masks that are positively, negatively and neutrally charged (1984). In contrast to Saigre, however, Landy doesn't use the mask to help clients immerse themselves in the primary phantasies of the personal unconscious. Rather, he uses the mask as a means of helping clients achieve a balance between acting and observing—'dramatic distance'—such that they can re-experience a problem of their life without being overwhelmed by the conscious awareness of it.

[13] 'encourages massive regression, putting us directly and almost immediately in touch with the psychotic parts of us.'
[14] 'who can help the subject to see aspects of his personality of which he was unaware.'

A similar approach to mask-work is taken by Jennings (1990, 1993), who, perhaps more than any other writer, has highlighted the mask's ability to express sides of the self. Jennings uses masks to help her clients express many psychological entities: public self, private self, ideal self, past selves, possible selves, etc. In her writing, she gives numerous examples of her approach. Working with a woman who had severe infertility problems, for instance, Jennings (1990) asked her to make masks of her public and private selves. Whilst the public self mask was smiling, self-controlled and neatly made up, the private self mask revealed the client's sadness and desperation, an open mouth crying for help: 'No-one can help me—not even the doctors. I feel quite desperate—I must have a baby—I'll do *anything* to have a baby—I'm a mess—I hate being like this' (p.115).

Like Landy, however, Jennings (1990) emphasises the importance of 'dramatic distance', frequently working with myths, folk-tales and plays—and often 'group masks'—in which direct references to the individual's own 'material' are replaced by collective archetypal representations.

> We may choose to use the masks so that a person may explore different aspects of themselves. [Or] We may decide to work through dramatic distance with a story, myth or play, where masks represent different elements, the forces of nature, constellations, mythic characters and so on. People get in touch with various aspects of themselves in both modes. What we need to remember is that the nearer we work to a person's own life, i.e. the more proximity, the more limitations we impose on the exploration of their life story. The greater the dramatic distance we create, the greater the range of therapeutic choices possible. (p.111)

An example of Jennings' work with clients suffering from eating disorders illustrate both the direct and dramatically distanced approaches. Working on a personal level, Jennings might ask the client to make mask images of themselves now, of their ideal/past/present self, or of their relationship to food. Alternatively, working through dramatic distance, Jennings might choose a scene or story for the clients to work with. In *Dramatherapy with Families, Groups and Individuals* (1990) she gives an example of using a Northumbrian folk tale, *The Laidley Worm*, in which a young princess is turned into a voracious worm by a wicked step-mother, and proceeds to devour the countryside. Eventually, the villagers, on the advice of a wise-person, feed her the milk of seven beautiful cows and bring her brother back home from oversees, transforming her back into a beautiful princess and the witch into a toad. Clients choose which part they would like to play, make a corresponding mask, and then act out the play through masked improvisation. Through this process, the clients have an opportunity to represent various sides of themselves in the masks—the voracious 'worm' side, the wicked 'stepmother' side, the wise side, etc.—and to stand back, explore and 'heal' these intrapsychic entities.

Like Saigre, Jennings (1990) emphasises the power of the mask to evoke deep intrapsychic material. 'I am of the belief that some feelings can only be expressed through masks—feelings that are too anti-social, dangerous or depressing to be shown in other ways' (p.116). Unlike Saigre, however, Jennings places enormous importance on the need to work with masks gradually, carefully and vigilantly, without diving straight into intensive 'trance masking' and primary phantasies. Jennings (1990) suggests a number of firm guidelines concerning mask-work: therapists should never work with masks unless they've worked with them themselves; masks should never be used early in a group's development (except for simple diagnostic work); client should never be left in masks for more than a few minutes; and time should always be allowed for distancing and disengaging from the mask. Jennings (1990) also suggests that mask-work should begin with pole-puppets, fan masks, head bands and eye masks, and only later progress to half and full masks (p.111-2).

A final author who has used masks to explore different aspects of the self is Brown. Though not a mask-using therapist herself, her self-development project for the IDHP course at Surrey University—as described in *Human Potential Magazine*—is an interesting example of how masks can be used to express a wide variety of subpersonalities. For her project, Brown (1989) made a series of masks that documented her process of individuation throughout the year. Many of these masks can be seen as subpersonalities that had been salient at particular times. The first mask, for instance, a happy, smiling sun, 'like a ray of sunshine', embodied the adapted child that dominated Brown's initial behaviour on the course:

> I had been reared to be the perfect little girl by parents who used the recipe, 'sugar and spice and all things nice, that's what little girls are made of'. Only nice, kind, loving feelings were allowed from me, anger and confrontation were not acceptable, so I learnt to hide my feelings, not to show my pain.... My mask shows me acting in this way—eyes, nose, ears and antennae picking up what was going on with people and between people, and all the while wearing my warm, sunny persona. (p.7)

Brown went on to make ten more masks: amongst them a Shy Gentle Child to express the side of her that is naive, trusting, loving, and wondrous; a Broken Child mask to express a regressed state of infancy; a Psychic Witch mask to symbolise her sense of power and wisdom; and finally a Moon/Sun mask to represent a growing sense of groundedness, calmness and completion.

From this review of published material, then, it would appear that some of the ideas developed in the previous two chapters have already been substantiated within the therapeutic arena. The mask, it would seem, can be used to help bring out aspects of the self. Given, however, that little of this published material directly assesses the mask's ability to facilitate the expression of subpersonalities—or addresses the types of subpersonalities and situations with which the mask

might be most effective, and the reasons why—directive interviews with these published practitioners would seem to be a useful means of developing a clearer understanding of the mask's ability to facilitate the expression of subpersonalities. Moreover, many mask-using practitioners have probably never written about their work. Hence, interviews with both published and non-published practitioners—specifically focused on the mask's ability to facilitate the expression of subpersonalities—should be a significant means of developing this thesis further.

7.2 METHOD

7.2.1 Interviews

The methodology adopted for this study was one of 'focused interviews'. This interview technique, devised by Merton et al (1956), sits somewhere between structured and unstructured interviews:

> The wording of the question is not strictly specified, but the interview is nevertheless focused since information is sought on an area experienced by the respondent. The interviewer comes to the situation with goals in mind, objectives to be attained, and the questions to be used in accomplishing these purposes. The researcher is informed and knowledgeable about the focus of the interview and this enables the interviewer to guide, direct, and interpret the process to achieve the expressed purpose of the focused interview, namely, to focus research attention on the background and experience of the respondent as related to the purpose of the study. (Adams and Schvaneveldt, 1985, p.216)

In contrast to questionnaires or more structured interviews, focused interviews have the disadvantage of being less standardisable, more 'subjective', and potentially more time-consuming (Bailey, 1982, p.183-4). For the purposes of an exploratory, humanistically-orientated study, however, the focused interview has a number of advantages: eliciting more complex and in-depth responses, establishing a greater level of rapport and involvement with the interviewees, and providing more space for unanticipated avenues of response and inquiry.

Along with the 'focused' nature of the interviews, there was an attempt—along the lines of humanistic inquiry—not to 'alienate' the interviewees. Part of this involved providing them with an opportunity to critique and comment on on-going drafts of the study. As Reason and Rowan (1981) write:

> [O]ne of the most characteristic things about good research at the non-alienating end of the spectrum is that it goes back to the subjects with the tentative results, and refines them in the light of the subjects' reactions.... Then, instead of a 'hit and run' approach which sucks the subjects dry and leaves her by the

> wayside, there needs to be an involvement with the person which enables a process of correction of impression to take place. (p.248)

A non-alienating approach also involved being as honest as possible with the interviewees about the purpose of the interviews, and attending the interviewees' workshops where possible, to get a more experiential understanding of their work. Finally, there was an attempt to make the interviews as interesting and useful for the interviewees as possible—Kvale's (1983) 'catalytic validity'—providing them with a relatively non-judgmental space with which to talk about—and reflect on—their work.

The interviews were focused around the four key question: Can the mask be used to facilitate the expression of subpersonalities? In what conditions, if any, might the mask be most effective at facilitating the expression of subpersonalities? What type of subpersonalities, if any, might the mask be most effective at facilitating the expression of? and, finally, Why might the mask facilitate the expression of subpersonalities, or why might it be particularly effective at facilitating the expression of certain subpersonalities, and in certain conditions?

As outlined in the focused interview procedure, the wording and order of these questions was not standardised. Williamson et al (1982) call this form of questioning 'nonschedule standardised', whereby, 'All questions are asked of each respondent, but they may be asked in different ways and in different sequences' (p.173). Where possible, interviewees were also given space to explore the aspects of mask-work that they considered most significant. This allowed more opportunity for unanticipated responses. One particularly unstructured aspect of the questioning, was the intermittent substitution of the word 'subpersonality' with 'aspects of the self', 'parts of the self', 'sides of the self', or 'inner people'. Such an approach was adopted primarily because the interviewees may have been unfamiliar with the term 'subpersonalities', and hence could have felt alienated by its constant use.

Where possible, interviewees were interviewed face-to-face in an informal setting. In some cases, however, financial and time limitations meant that interviews needed to be conducted over the phone. Whilst this seemed a less intimate and intensive means of interviewing, as Bailey (1982) suggests: 'information received by telephone interviewing compares favourably with that received by face-to-face interviewing' (p.210). Both face-to-face and telephone interviews were recorded by tape and then transcribed. All interviews were conducted by myself.

7.2.2 Interviewees

Given the relatively small number of therapists working with masks, there was no attempt to select a randomly representative sample of interviewees. Rather, as many respondents as possible were sought. The only criteria for interviewees was that they had had substantial experience of working with masks, either in a therapeutic or personal growth context; and, due to financial and time constraints, that they were based in the United Kingdom. All therapists and personal growth facilitators who had published articles on mask-work were contacted and interviewed. Interviewees were also sought through contacting British dramatherapy courses; through advertising in the British dramatherapy newsletter; through personal contact; and, finally, through following up leads suggested by other interviewees—what Bailey (1982) calls 'snowball sampling' (p.100).

In total, fourteen practitioners were interviewed (dates of interviews are in brackets). *Brige Bidell* (14/3/1994) trained in drama and runs 'personal growth' mask-workshops for actors and non-actors. *Lesley Brown* (21/10/91) is a qualified psychotherapist and an Associate Facilitator for the Human Potential Resource Group at the University of Surrey. *John Casson* (20/7/1994) is Course Leader for the Dramatherapy Diploma at City College, Manchester. *Jean Davidson* is a trained dramatherapist, and Principle Lecturer in Counselling at the Bradford and Ilkley Community College. *Ya'Acov Darling Khan* (9/5/1994) is an accredited teacher of Gabrielle Roth's 'five rhythms'—a movement-based personal growth system. *Alida Gersie* (20/6/1994) is director of Hertfordshire University's dramatherapy course. *Cyril Ives* (24/7/1994) is an integrative arts therapist and director of the Lantern Trust. *Sue Jennings* (22/6/1993) is a dramatherapist, has written and edited numerous books on the subject, and has been instrumental in establishing dramatherapy courses around Britain. *Roddy Maude-Roxby* (15/3/1994) was co-founder of 'Theatre Machine' at the Royal Court with Keith Johnson, and facilitates mask-workshops with actors and non-actors. *Mitch Mitchelson* (9/5/1994) is a freelance performer/director and drama therapist, and external examiner for the Central School/Sesame Dramatherapy course. *Brenda Rawlinson* (14/3/1994) is a dramatherapist based at the Creative Family Therapy Unit in Devon. *Val Randle* is a gestalt psychotherapist and supervisor. *Simon Ruding* (4/7/1994), is a director of the Geese Theatre Company, a dramatherapy/performance company which work primarily within the criminal justice system. *Pat Young* (20/6/1994) is a primal regression therapist and ex-facilitator of the 'facilitation styles' course at Surrey University.

7.2.3 Analysis

Given the preliminary and exploratory nature of this research, it was decided not to use a systematic method of analysis such as verbal protocol analysis (Green, 1995), grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967), or phenomenological analysis (Polkinghorne, 1989). Rather, the material was analysed through a basic 'scissor-and-tape-system', 'where statements about central themes are cut out and taped together' (Kvale, 1983, p.179); and through the use of simple counting procedures (Silverman, 1993), where appropriate. Such an approach lacks the rigour of more formal methods of analysis, but is adequate—and vastly less time-consuming—when attempting a preliminary understanding of a field. Because, however, such a non-systematic approach is so open to researcher-bias—and because of the non-alienating aims discussed earlier—an initial draft of the chapter was returned to each of the interviewees with a covering letter requesting additional information, amendments, criticisms, and suggestions of other possible interviewees. To clarify what is and what is not a subpersonality, the covering letter also included a brief discussion on the nature of subpersonalities: predominantly based on the material in chapter two. Although only six of the fourteen interviewees responded to the draft, this process of 'respondent validation' (Henwood and Pidgeon, 1995) seemed a useful way of minimising researcher biases, and of locating the study within a dialogic context. The majority of respondents also said they found the draft interesting and informative—and certainly did not feel 'sucked dry' by the experience.

7.3 RESULTS

7.3.1 Can the mask facilitate the expression of subpersonalities?

Overall, thirteen of the fourteen interviewees believed that masks could facilitate the expression of subpersonalities. Indeed, for four of the practitioners, this was their main rationale for working with them:

> I use masks similarly to the gestalt two-cushion technique, a device for separating aspects of the personality and allowing the person to move in to different subpersonalities: top dog/under dog, shadow, or whatever; and actually to experience and express from that space. I think they work very well. (Young)

> We use masks if we're trying to elicit a certain character or to help people to rediscover a certain character that's hidden in their 'shadowlands.' (Darling-Khan)

> I use masks to help clients express their inner child—their vulnerable child. (Davidson)

> One of the main purposes is for the participants to express different facets of their personality, to explore different ways of who they are. (Bidell)

A further nine participants—predominantly dramatherapists—also saw the mask as capable of facilitating the expression of parts of the self, e.g.:

> It's that recognition that we have multiple possibilities—multiple, multiple, multiple—and that the Mask starts to work and then you realise that one element of yourself is being expressed through the mask. (Maude-Roxby)

> *Can masking give you experiences of different parts of yourself?*
> Definitely, it gives you new language, it give you new bodies, it give you new souls. Or it reawakens old souls that you didn't know were alive. (Jennings)

> *Would you say that the mask brings out different aspects of you?*
> Totally and utterly. I think there are so many potential characters that we can create in ourselves...and the mask allows expression to those different sides. (Mitchelson)

In contrast to the earlier four practitioners, however, these nine did not seem to be talking specifically about subpersonalities. By 'parts of the self'/'aspects of the person'/'elements of yourself'/'old souls'/'potential characters'/etc., the interviewees seemed to be referring to a whole range of archetypes, roles, internal objects, memories, feelings, etc., along with subpersonalities. This view is summed up by Casson when he states: 'I don't take a one-dimensional view of why I work with masks. I don't say: "I do this because of this". I see mask-work as a general projective technique which could have many possible meanings. Dramatherapists don't take things to mean one simple thing—"This mask is your mother, or the part of you that represents the hostile female." I keep an open mind.' Moreover, Casson states that he would have doubts about a practitioner who 'did *x*' to get a specific response, like using masks to elicit subpersonalities, 'because the act of drawing the mask might have another result such as reminding someone of Halloween or of a face at a window memory.' Most of these nine interviewees took a similar perspective. Nevertheless, despite this less directive approach, the majority of them had used masks—at one time or another—to facilitate the expression of a particular subpersonality.

The one interviewee, Gersie, who suggested that the mask could not be used to facilitate the expression of subpersonalities, appeared to be commenting more on her dislike of polypsychism than on the powers of the mask: 'It's becoming increasingly difficult for people to become complex in an intertwined way without that complexity being split off and have it considered as something quite separate.' Gersie stated that she prefers to use the mask phenomenologically, seeing it as an expression of temporal rather than structural fixidity:

> It's a momentary fixing of a face.... and it forces, through the very nature of this having been fixed, other experiences within the body and vocal repertoire.... That's not a character, that's someone—whether animal, human, half-human, half-god—who somehow has ended up in that position. There's a whole story behind that mask that leads to this particular facial expression...a fluid story. That's why I don't think it's a subpersonality.

7.3.2 In what conditions, if any, might the mask be most effective at facilitating the expression of subpersonalities?

To answer this question, it seemed useful to explore the different ways in which practitioners used the mask to facilitate the expression of subpersonalities. Through a *post hoc* analysis of the interviews, four basic means emerged: mask-visualising, mask-making, mask-wearing, and mask-observing. Most practitioners used a combination of all four approaches—often in the same session. The majority of practitioners also pointed out that the techniques they would use would vary depending on the client group and the context of the work (i.e, on-going one-to-one therapy, one-off workshop, etc.).

7.3.2.1 Mask-visualisations

Two of the interviewees (Bidell and Darling-Khan) stated that they often began their mask-work with visualisations. 'Say, for instance, someone has lost a quality of innocence. Say they were once an innocent child and they've lost that. We might do a journey to see if they could find some kind of image that would represent it' (Darling-Khan). In searching for this 'innocent child', for instance, Darling-Khan might ask participants to visualise a playground, and then to become aware of themselves as a child playing in it. Talking to their visualised child, they might then be encouraged to imagine receiving a gift from him or her, a present which could subsequently serve as the basis for making a mask. Alternatively, in visualising a 'witness' subpersonality, participants may be asked to imagine a figure walking towards them in a forest, taking off the figure's face, and then wearing it (Darling-Khan). Again, this experience can then serve as the basis for making a mask. Along similar lines, Bidell asks her participants to visualise receiving a mask from a wise helper, finding it in a treasure chest in an underground cave, or finding faces in rocks or other natural phenomenon.

7.3.2.2 Mask-making

Mask-making was the second most commonly cited means of using masks to facilitate the expression of subpersonalities. Interviewees suggested a wide variety of material that could be used for this purpose: from pen and paper (Davidson), to raffia headbands (Jennings), to strips of paper and PVA glue (Maude-Roxby).

In most cases of mask-making—particularly in dramatherapy—participants were given only limited instruction as to the type of mask they should make. Where practitioners wished to help a clients express a particular side of themselves through mask-making, however, they tended to be fairly directive about it: e.g., 'Perhaps you'd like to make a mask of your wise self/the self you keep hidden/your ideal self' (Darling-Khan, Gersie, Jennings, Rawlinson). Alternatively, clients may be asked to make a mask of a particular psychological quality, e.g., their vulnerability (Ives), their infertility (Jennings), which could then serve to bring out a fully-fledged subpersonality (e.g., their vulnerable child/private self). Another approach, as discussed in the introduction, is for the client to make a mask of a mythical/literary/spiritual character which could come to represent a particular psychological aspect (Jennings, Rawlinson). The client may also use some previous therapeutic work as the basis for their mask: story-telling or art-work (Davidson). Rawlinson suggests that clients may want to make masks of particular contemporary figures to express various aspects of themselves: heroes for the ideal self, despised public figures for the shadow. 'Margaret Thatcher is a wonderful projection for shadow (although one tends to think that she's pretty identified with it). But I might make a mask about all the things I dislike about her and I might just find that a lot of the things I don't like about her I have in shadow.'

Once a mask has been made, interviewees suggested a number of different techniques through which a subpersonality expressed within it could be explored and elaborated upon. The individual might be asked to describe the mask to her therapist/colleagues (Ives); to ask the mask questions (Ives); or to create a dialogue between one or more masks, as she might do with puppets (Casson). Sometimes, other individuals in the group will be asked to wear the mask so that the individual can dialogue to a living Mask as opposed to a static creation (Ives).

7.3.2.3 Mask-wearing

Most frequently, however, the individual will be encouraged to put the mask on herself. All the interviewees saw mask-wearing as an important part of their work, although, had more art therapists been interviewed, perhaps some practitioners would have been found who work with mask-making but not mask-wearing.

Mask-wearing begins with the putting on of the mask. This is not always a straightforward process. Most mask practitioners encourage some form of ritual around the process of masking and de-masking, to induce the participant into the masked character and maintain the 'specialness' of the mask. Masks are normally put on with the masker's back to the audience, and the process of masking may involve a number of elaborate steps. Bidell, for instance, first asks her participants to contemplate the mask for a few minutes, and then to transform their own face into the shape of the mask (inducing, no doubt, a physiological facial feedback effect of the type discussed in section 4.2.3). Once the masks have been put on, the participants are then asked to go through each of their body parts—legs, feet, hands, etc.—and put them into a shape that 'fits' the mask. Participants may also be asked to find a sound for the mask that can then be sung/whispered/shouted as the maskers finally turn round.

Perhaps the most complex—and interesting—process of putting on a mask is described by Gersie. Given that Gersie explicitly challenges polypsychic models, this technique is not aimed at facilitating the expression of subpersonalities; but her innovative approach could be equally applicable to polypsychic work. Clients spend some time making masks of whatever feels interesting to them at present, and then five circles are marked out on the floor (diagram 4). The central circle is the space in which people play fully masked; in the circle behind that people sit with their masks on but not acting; behind that people sit with their masks next to them; behind that they sit as potential actors with the mask remaining in the circle in front; and in the last circle people are not engaged with the action. The participants are then at liberty to move forward and back through the different zones, engaging with the performance disengaging at will. Through this process, the experience of masking—and metaphorically the experience of moving in and out of psychological states—is made conscious. As discussed earlier, Gersie sees the masked state as a metaphor for phenomenological psychological fixidity; but this technique of exploring boundaries between fixed psychological states could equally be applied to subpersonality work. Such an approach would allow individuals to develop an awareness of the transitions between subpersonality modes—the feelings and cognitions that are evoked as they transform from one to another. Being masked allows the exploration of

subpersonality states, but masking and unmasking—if explicitly focused on—allows the exploration of inter-subpersonality processes. ‘In dramatherapy, and in all forms of therapy, I believe that it is not the entrance into an intensification experience that matters, but that the relationship that people have with these intensification experiences. Clients’ and students’ ways of entering into intensification experiences and departing from them is what crucially affects healing’ (Gersie).

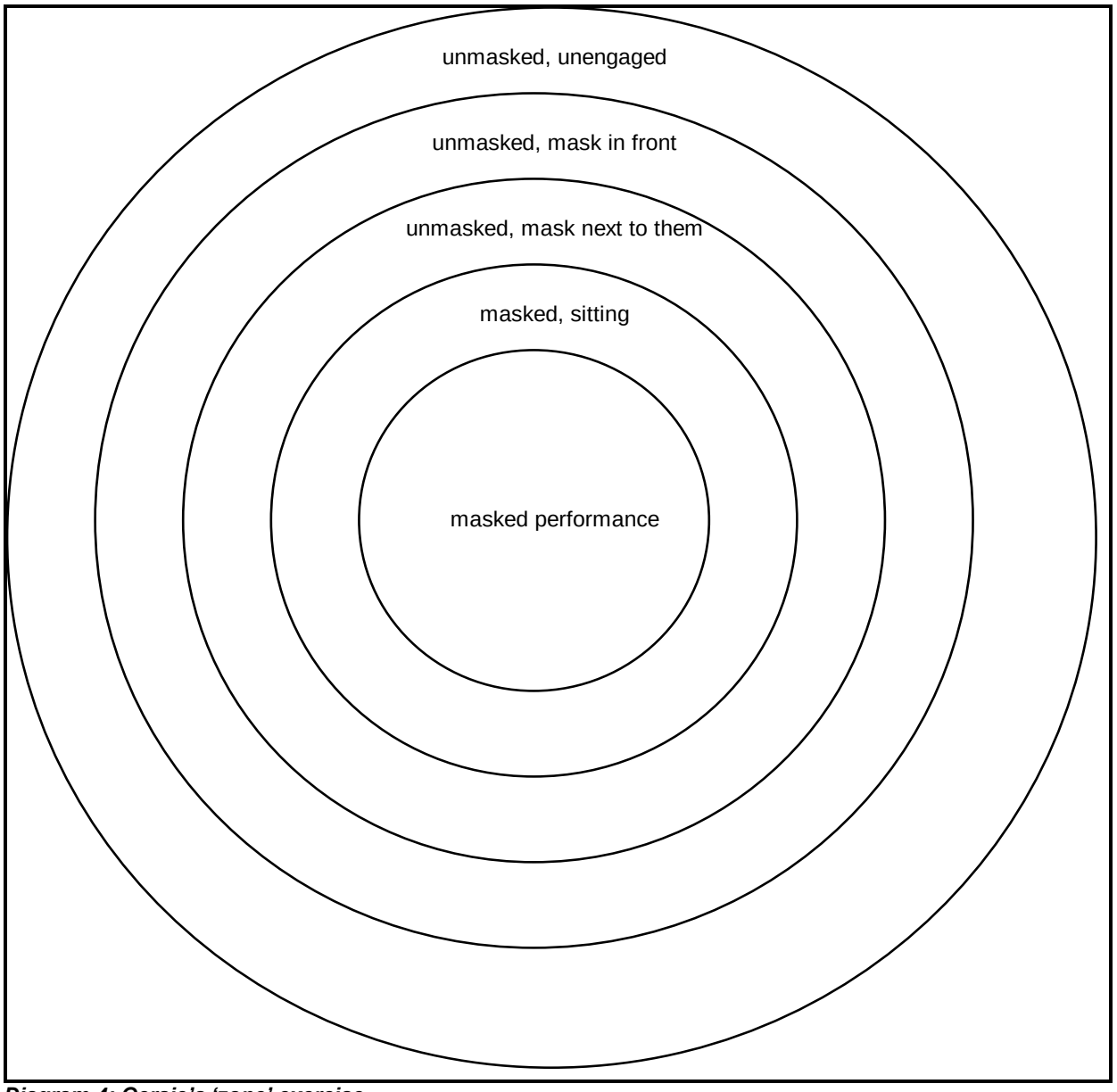

Diagram 4: Gersie’s ‘zone’ exercise

In mask-wearing, once individuals have put on their mask, they might be asked to say a few words about themselves as their mask (Casson); to explore the room, the objects in it and the other Masks (Bidell, Ives, Jennings, Maude-Roxby); to dance (Darling Khan, Bidell); to ‘hot-seat’ dialogue as their Mask or between Masks (Bidell, Randle, Young); or to take part in simple improvisations

(Bidell, Ives, Mitchelson). The individual may also be given the opportunity to act out particular myths, folk-tales or plays (Bidell, Gersie, Jennings, Mitchelson). Once the individual has worn the mask, they may then be asked to take it off, talk to it, write to it, or perhaps even give it a gift (Rawlinson). Another technique, suggested by Davidson, is that the participant looks at her masked face in the mirror. Given the power of self-perceptual facial feedback (see section 4.2.3), such a technique has the potential to be an immensely potent means of invoking a subpersonality.

Mask-wearing, however, does not always take place with the client's own mask. The client may be presented with an array of pre-made masks, and asked to choose one which most resembles/represents a particular side of herself (Bidell). The client may be asked to put a plain, pre-formed mask over her face each time she wishes to express herself from a particular subpersonality (Young). The client may also be encouraged to wear a pre-made mask that the practitioner feels represents a particular aspect of the psyche: e.g., a clown mask (Mitchelson), animal mask (Rawlinson); or of a particular quality: e.g., timidity (Maude-Roxby).

Clients may also be encouraged to try out the masks of other clients (Casson, Davidson, Randle). 'Because masks are archetypal, there may well be an image that someone else has made that speaks to another person. I had a man who chose a female image that someone else had drawn which enabled him to tell the group through the mask that he had transvestite, transsexual fantasies. He might not have exposed that had he not been able to choose someone else's mask' (Casson).

From the interviews, it became clear that there was a significant distinction between personal-based and dramatically-distanced ways of working with masks. Young's work is a good example of the former. In his workshops, participants are encouraged to put a mask over their face and then disclose their 'hidden' thoughts and feelings, uncovering material from the personal unconscious. As a humanistic psychotherapist, however, Young's approach seems to be in the minority—given that most of the dramatherapists interviewed tended to come from a background inspired by Jung and Hillman.

Jennings, in interview, stated that she sometimes specifically discourages her clients from working with personal material: 'I don't let people talk about it in reference to their own lives because I think you can stop the process working. It's like when you went off on a school trip and had to make a diary—it was horrible'. When processing a dramatherapy session, for instance, clients are generally encouraged to stay in character when talking about their experiences. States Jennings: 'I might say, for instance, "What is Aegeus's thinking about what's happened?" rather than, "Well, Fred, what are

you thinking about what's happened?" Because I can say what I want to that character, there's still the distance, but actually the person is bringing their own material through the character, and the character is acting as a mouthpiece.'

Practitioners who work predominantly through dramatic distance tend to put less emphasis on the importance of becoming 'taken over' by the mask, emphasising the need for part of the individual to also stay observing—dramatically distanced. 'When you put something in front of you, you get some degree of absorption... I don't think it's helpful to go deeper than that. One might as well do T.M. and go into a complete altered state of consciousness' (Jennings). For this reason, Jennings, is reluctant to work with 'second skin' masks: i.e., those that fit closely over the face: 'A second skin mask takes you right into that particular character of that mask, and one can then only work within the limits of that mask... I've experimented with every kind of mask—veils, netting, even a few strands of raffia—and its very interesting which mask mode yields the most material, and it isn't usually the second skin one.'

7.3.2.4 Mask-observation

A final means of using masks to facilitate the expression of subpersonalities is through their observation. The rationale behind this approach is that through watching particular Masks, the client will project her subpersonalities on to them, and hence gain a greater understanding of her own intrapsychic dynamics. Such a process may occur when the client is masked herself, and involved with the production of a performance. In acting out a myth or folk-tale, for instance, the individual is not only experiencing her own masked character, but also observing the trials and tribulations of the other Masks—who may equally well be representing aspects of herself. In some cases, however, the observations of the Masks, alone, is seen as an important means of working with subpersonalities.

At its most basic level, this may involve a particular mask being shown to a client group to metaphorically express a specific subpersonality. Geese Theatre Company, for instance, who work predominantly with offenders, have a number of 'fragment masks' representing various public selves (see next section). During a group session, a 'victim' mask may be brought out by one of the facilitators and the group asked: 'Who's this?' 'What sort of behaviour is this?' Once the 'victim mask' has been shown, the metaphor may become part of the group's language. 'If a guy is sitting there saying, "Oh the reason I'm offending is because they stopped my 'social' again," the rest of the

group can say, "Well hold on, that's victim mask you're using there." So it's named' (Ruding). The physical mask, itself, may also subsequently become part of the group's process:

> There was an interaction between one member of staff and one of the clients, where the client said, 'Oh, you're always picking on me, it's not fair.' He went and sat on the floor in the corner, (this is a twenty-four year old man!), and one of the other guys actually went and got the victim mask and gave it to him and said 'Go on, put this on because this is what you're doing!' And it broke that victim trance he was going into. He could no longer hold it, because the behaviour was named, he recognised it, and he said 'Oh fuck off, fair enough', and he went and sat back in the group.

Another simple use of mask-observation is for the client to watch her own subpersonality-mask being worn by another client (Ives, Casson), so that she can 'see' her subpersonality from an alternative perspective. An extension of this is for the client to choose a pre-formed mask that represents a particular side of herself, and then observe this subpersonality being brought to life by a facilitator/performer (Ruding). In this exercise, as used by the Geese Theatre Company, the client is encouraged to argue against the subpersonality-mask (generally an 'obstructive' side to the personality), hence developing an ability to challenge the inner voices that are blocking her self-development.

On a larger scale, the client may be watching, not just one mask, but a complex masked performance. In Geese Theatre Company productions, professional performers enact semi-structured improvisations, using masks to represent particular aspects of the self: the internal abuser, the public self, specific forms of the public self (e.g., 'bullshitter', 'victim' etc.), or intrapsychic voices. Clients, as 'participant-observers', take an active role in the performances, shouting out advice and directions to the protagonists; or, in silent productions, writing out their own scripts for the sketches. Plays are focused around issues of intrapsychic relevance to the client-group.

Lifting the Weight is an improvisation predominantly performed for offenders on probation and in prison. Its central protagonists are two men on their first days out of prison. Each man has a mask which he wears when presenting his cocky, self-assured, 'everything's OK' public self. At times, this public self mask may also be swapped for one of six 'fragment' mask, representing possible forms that the public self might take: an 'aggression' mask, for instance, to symbolise the protagonist's violent front (illustration 20). At times, however, all the masks are removed to reveal the protagonist's private selves—vulnerable, confused and alone. *Lifting the Weight* also contains a masked fool character who represents the: 'Fuck it! I'm going to do this, that, or the other!' subpersonality (Ruding)—much like the naughty child discussed in the previous chapter. 'The fool is

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Overleaf:
Illustration 20: Aggression 'fragment mask', Geese Theatre Company

the voice that we all have that says: "Go on, you won't get caught going at 40 in a 30 miles-per-hour zone." It's partly a cheeky cognitive voice that most of us intervene in, but it's also very hypnotic, and that's the issue for quite a few of the guys we come into contact with' (Ruding). Throughout *Lifting the Weight*, the fool character attempts to tempt the protagonists back into crime. The public selves, too busy wondering about how 'cool' they look, have little concern for the possible consequences. The private selves, scared and uncertain, desperately struggle to fend off the fool's advances. Through this process, then, the Geese Theatre Company hope that the clients can see their own intrapsychic dynamics expressed in the masked performance. By shouting down the stage fool, for instance, it is hoped that they will also learn to deal with their own internal fool. 'What we want to do is to pull the audience to the point of being that critic' (Ruding). And by seeing the distinction between private and public selves enacted on the stage, the audience may develop the capacity to draw that distinction in their own awareness.

7.3.3 What type of subpersonalities, if any, might the mask be most effective at facilitating the expression of?

From the interviews it is clear that the mask has been and can be used to facilitate the expression of a wide variety of subpersonalities. As has already been suggested in a number of places, one of the most common of these is the hidden self/shadow (Rawlinson, Darling-Khan, Young):

> Everyone has their own shadow, which is why working with masks is so rich. (Jennings)
>
> The mask, in concealing what the wearer believes is the self, enables the revelation of parts of the self that don't otherwise come out. (Ives)
>
> I think masks are useful to bring forward unconscious or less-able-to-be-expressed aspects of the person. (Casson)

In Young's facilitator styles training workshop, for instance, trainee facilitators were encouraged to place a mask over their face when feeling the need to disclose 'undisclosable' thoughts, feelings or sensations: e.g., 'I don't really want to be here', 'This is a really hard group to work with.'

> We set up a training situation where they were facilitating something, and when they started to get in touch with feelings about 'How I am facilitating this group?' they could go into their shadow using the mask and actually speak from that. We used the mask to separate the two, to make the distinction between them as the facilitator and their feelings about them as a facilitator. It was a device and it worked very well.... [The mask is a] very useful device to access hidden or repressed parts of the self within a particular setting.

In contrast to Young's work, masks may be used to express the public self whilst the private, hidden self remains unmasked—as in the work of the Geese Theatre Company. Moreover, Geese's seven 'fragment' masks—joker, bullshit, aggression, victim, good guy, stone wall and rescuer—suggest that the mask can be used to express, not just one public self, but a diverse range of them.

Another aspect of the self that interviewees commonly used masks to bring out is the trickster/clown. Mitchelson, for instance, who works most explicitly with this intrapsychic aspect, sees the inner clown as the part of the self that is infantile, vulnerable, fun-loving, desperate to please, and in awe. 'A clown is a repository of our naïveté, our sense of wonder, our inabilities to succeed in life, and all those negative aspects that we repress and deny in shadow form.' Initially, Mitchelson gives his clients plastic red noses to help them bring out their inner clown. Subsequently, he may introduce *Commedia d'elle Arte* masks into the group to explore a wider gamut of clown characters: Pantalone, the authority figure; Zannis, the mercurial servants; the elevated, boastful Captain; the drippy, ventilating Lovers, etc. The more sinister side of the trickster may also be expressed, as evinced by Geese's Fool, and Commedia's Brighella mask. 'He's the wide boy you can't trust, an unscrupulous liar. He's good fun for people to play that because it gets them in touch with a shadow image. He's more malevolent than the others, a charmer and a rake. But he can't help it because it's in his character. And his anti-sociability is counterbalanced and contained by other *Commedia* characters, the plot machinations and the reconciliatory denouement of the *Commedia* story' (Mitchelson).

Another aspect of the self that facilitators have used the mask to elicit is the vulnerable child. Ives, for instance, asked health-care professionals on a bereavement training workshop to make faces of their own fears of loss and abandonment. The resulting masks, which Ives suggests worked with aspects of the vulnerable child, were then put into the middle of the group and each participant spoke about their mask. Rawlinson also uses masks to work with aspects of the 'wounded child', Davidson uses masks to bring out the vulnerable child, whilst Darling-Khan uses masks to elicit the 'innocent child'.

As well as representing 'negative', asocial aspect of the individual, masks were also used by most of the interviewees as a means of bringing out 'positive' sides. Bidell, for example, asked workshop participants to think of a 'longed for' identity, and then to choose a pre-formed mask which most closely resembled this ideal self. The 'wise self' also seemed to be a commonly elicited intrapsychic element. Gersie, for instance, reports that she encouraged one group of clients to experience their 'wise selves' by transforming into a masked 'counsel of advisors', and then discussing a problem of particular salience.

Another side of the self that some of the facilitators seemed to be eliciting and expressing through the mask is the 'centre'. As with masking techniques derived from the French director Jacques Copeau, this is often done through the use of a 'neutral' or 'universal' mask—plain, white and un-emotionally inclined[15]. Bidell, for instance, describes it as follows: 'A neutral mask is one's self, where one is centred within one's self, and you can use meditation techniques to get there or you can use some of the dance—and that gets you to a very centred place from which you can take on a personality.' Mitchelson also works with neutral masks: 'That's a quiet, meditative way of using the body.... It gets you into a different, de-conditioned mode of being. Exercises are about freeing the actor from pre-conceptions, i.e., waking up on islands for first time. You're trying to re-freshen, re-energise and de-condition the actor so he doesn't go into clichéd reflexes. It's almost like a rebirth, it gives you a rediscovered sense of self.' Darling-Khan's 'witness' mask seems to share some of the 'objective', neutral qualities of the centre: 'impractical, completely non-judgmental, compassionate in an empty kind of way, as likely to slap you around the face as it is to give you a hug, a bit like of standing stone, a lot of history and depth.'

This section demonstrates that the mask can been used to bring out many different sides to the self—some of which have been previously identified in the discussion of trans-individual subpersonalities. There seems every reason to assume, however, that the types of subpersonalities with which the mask can symbolise and externalise is unlimited. Bidell, for instance, has an exercise in which clients are asked to think of twelve subpersonalities, and then to find a mask that most closely approximates each one; whilst The Geese Theatre Company are consistently adding to the their stock of fragment masks, the most recent addition being an 'academic mask' to represent the public self that can understand everything and feel nothing. In general, practitioners do tend to use masks to help clients express *hidden* sides of the self—shadow side, vulnerable side, trickster, ideal self, etc.—but then, given that the masks are being used therapeutically, this is not particularly surprising.

[15] Though I am inclined to agree with the participant at a recent mask-workshop who pointed out that a white mask is unlikely to be either neutral or universal for non-white individuals.

7.3.4 Why might the mask facilitate the expression of subpersonalities, or why might it be particularly effective at facilitating the expression of certain subpersonalities, and in certain conditions?

7.3.4.1 Dramatic distancing

For most of the practitioners, particularly the dramatherapists, the mask's ability to 'distance' the individual from parts of themselves was seen as the most important reason why it could be used to facilitate the expression of subpersonalities. Through a Brighella Mask, for instance, the client was seen as being able to express their malevolence and rakery, without ever actually saying, 'I'm a malevolent, rakish person'—it is the mask, not them, that is the rake.

> The mask is an intermediary, it's not threatening because you can speak through it. Along as you don't think it's you it's fine. (Rawlinson)

> What's really important when the director is encouraging the person who made the mask to meet the mask, is to retain the metaphor of the mask, so I always speak about the mask not about the person, whereas most of the time I believe that the person was speaking about themselves, not about the mask. The mask enables people to speak about all kinds of aspects of themselves which they don't even recognise as themselves. (Ives)

Hence, by disidentifying clients from the parts of themselves they are expressing, the mask was seen as giving the clients space to express disowned and repressed subpersonalities, aspects of themselves which could be acknowledge and integrated at a later date, or on an unconscious level (Casson).

7.3.4.2 The 'power' of the mask

At the same time, however, a number of practitioners have highlighted the mask's ability to fully immerse an individual in a particular side of their psyche. Virtually all the interviewees, in one form or another, alluded to the 'power' of mask-work: its intensity (Brown, Casson, Gersie), its ability to bring up 'deep' material (Randle), its cathartic potential (Brown, Young), its ability to completely engross the individual (Jennings, Maude-Roxby), and its ability to bring about striking transformation (Mitchelson).

Interestingly, though, most of the interviewees tended to see the power of the mask as more of a problem than an advantage. States Mitchelson, for instance, 'Because of the magico-religio-ritualistic origins of mask work, immense respect and care must be exercised'. Gersie takes an even more

cautious view, warning that mask-work could very easily get people in to psychotic states, 'not necessarily to be witnessed by the workshop facilitator—when people leave such a workshop they'll look OK, they just present themselves at a psychiatric hospital or a therapist's doorstep a few days later.'

Few of the interviewees dive straight in to full face mask-work. Mitchelson suggests a gentle progression: beginning with neutral masks, moving on to red 'clown' noses, and only then going on to *Commedia d'elle Arte* character masks; Davidson only uses mask-work in the latter stages of the therapeutic process; Randle only facilitates mask-work with individuals who have had previous therapeutic experiences; and Gersie only teaches mask-work on the advanced sections of her dramatherapy course. Jennings suggests that mask-work may be particularly inappropriate for those clients with weak ego-boundaries: 'Too many people make the mistake of making masks that fit closely on people's faces where you get the breakdown of self and other very quickly. That, for me, is not the most appropriate way of working anyway. It's one thing to go to LeCoq [a French mask and drama teacher] and wear the neutral mask and really stay until that barrier has been broken, but to do that type of work you need an extremely healthy ego in order to let it go.'

Finally, as Randle points out, for clients who have been victims of ritual or satanic abuse, the wearing—or watching—of masks has the potential to bring up some very deep, and very disturbing, memories.

7.3.4.3 Focus on bodily expression

A number of the practitioners suggested that the mask—as opposed to other forms of drama—encourages the individual to express themselves more physically: 'By focusing on the mask, we become less self-conscious about moving our bodies, and find ourselves magically moving in ways we had never imagined' (Bidell). This may be particularly important for facilitating the expression of those subpersonalities which would normally be expressed through the body rather than through the intellect. The inner child is a good example of this: 'With the child archetype what's actually gone is the joy and the play, so a mask helps to release through the body that ability to play' (Rawlinson).

7.3.4.4 Fixidity

By being fixed, Casson suggests that the mask helps to clarify the particular aspect of the psyche being expressed:

> The normal human face has almost infinite number of expressions and can change from one to another instantaneously: a myriad of masks fluidly appearing and disappearing. The mask as an art object is usually one such expression—captured and fixed.... This simplicity and fixidity of the mask can focus the wearer in one area, in one subpersonality, one feeling, one archetype, one role and so aid the absorption and expression of that area.

For Casson, the fixidity of the mask also allows it to function as an effective 'container', an object into which the person can project unconscious or semi-conscious aspects of themselves. This view is shared by Ives, 'It's not just spewing all your guts up in a cathartic therapeutic encounter.'

7.3.4.5 Physical effects

As Maude-Roxby suggests, through wearing a mask, the individual is transformed—not just metaphorically, but in her real physical existence. 'When you have a half mask, the fact that it pushes down on your nose may be what starts to encourage the other voice. And the fact that the mouth is slightly distorted by the pressures of the mask is adding to the "game".' Limited vision through the mask may also encourage the individual to feel different: 'There is something that happens when the person's face is hidden, and one is looking through a smaller space.... It means you have to move your head differently—one of the "motors" of the mask.' (Maude-Roxby). Given these physiological changes, subsequent psychological transformation may seem less unusual—the individual already 'feeling' different simply by having put on the mask.

7.3.4.6 Metaphorical value

As suggested in the previous chapters, the mask's metaphorical relationship to subpersonalities may make it a particularly effective means of expressing sides of the psyche. Not surprisingly, the one practitioner who alluded to this fact, Rudin, uses masks as they are most commonly understood in popular culture: 'the front we portray to the outside world.' 'It's there as a very powerful metaphor for us.... People pick up the metaphor of the mask very quickly. When we get feedback a few weeks later its not surprising for us to hear that inmates are talking about "lifting your mask."' But the metaphor of the mask, as Rudin suggests, goes further than simply saying 'You're a liar': 'When I say

to someone “Lift your mask,” I’m not saying, “You’re lying to me”. What I am saying is, “There’s a truth behind what you are saying and doing. There is a motivation there and we need to make it clearer.” But “Lifting your mask,” is easier to say.’

7.3.4.7 Distance for Practitioner

A final reasons why working with masks might be particularly effective, specifically relevant to mask-observation, would seem to be that they can provide a measure of distance and protection for the practitioner too—just as they did for the wearers of the *Rangda* masks. This is particularly important for Ruding and members of the Geese Theatre Company who will frequently work, theatrically, in intensive prison and probation environments.

> The mask allows a distancing effect for the actors and performers, because one of the things that inmates aren’t very good at is making distinction between actors and their characters, so the masks tend to stop them associating us with the characters.... It allows me to take a distance, because I’m also there as a facilitator. When I put the mask on he knows what the role is and he knows what the task is and he knows what the boundaries are, and then I can take it off and the boundaries change and I’m someone different. I’m the facilitator again, the co-therapist.

7.4 DISCUSSION

From this interview study, it is clear that masks have been and can be used to facilitate the expression of a wide variety of subpersonalities—through a wide range of imaginative and innovative techniques. Along with this general finding, a number of more specific points of interest have emerged. First, it would seem that the mask not only has the potential to act as a subpersonality-hook (as suggested in section 4.3); but also as the very medium in which the subpersonality can be constellated. This is specifically the case in mask-making, where the client may start with a hook such as ‘your vulnerable child’ or ‘your shadow self’, and then proceed to externalise that aspect of their psyche through the creation of a mask. Such practice highlights the point that the mask can be a powerful means of symbolising a subpersonality: through a physiognomic symbol alone, the whole nature of that subpersonality can be expressed. Moreover, once the mask has been made, it can then be used as a hook to bring out further aspects of the subpersonality—either through wearing it, observing it, or interacting with it.

Closely related to this point is an intriguing paradox: that whilst the mask is cited as a powerful means of distancing the individual from their subpersonalities, it is also cited as one of the most

powerful means by which an individual can become fully immersed in aspects of their psyche. Perhaps the resolution to this paradox, however, lies in the fact that the mask can act as *both* a powerful projective *and* a powerful experiential means of facilitating the expression of subpersonalities. Used projectively, the mask has the same strengths as the other projective techniques: that by projecting their subpersonality on to another medium, the individual can more easily dis-identify from that subpersonality. They then may be more likely to express hidden or 'embarrassing' aspects of their personality. Used experientially, however—as in mask-wearing—the mask has the same strength as the other experiential techniques: that the individual can fully immerse themselves in the subpersonality and 'get to know it' from the inside—with the additional benefit of disguise. Therapeutically, this duality may maximise the client's ability to fully express and explore their subpersonalities. The client can literally 'be' their projection. Other means of facilitating the expression of subpersonalities, like art-work, visualisations or role-playing, can also work both projectively and experientially. Yet *being* an imaginary role or an image drawn on a piece of paper is unlikely to be as intense as putting a mask over one's face and actually *being* that mask. The mask provides a unique continuity between projective and experiential approaches. It acts as a 'container' of the projection, but a container which can be fully re-inhabited at any time.

Another quality of the mask which seems to distinguish it from most other means of facilitating the expression of subpersonalities is its ability to be used as a means of expressing an observer's subpersonalities as well as those of the maker or wearer. This has been hinted at in the previous chapter, and is realised in the work of the Geese Theatre Company—whose performance-based dramatherapy seems quite unique within polypsychic psychotherapies. In contrast to chair-work or visualisation—which predominantly function at an individual level—mask work has the potential to express psychic multiplicity within a large group context. Indeed, if the lessons from literature, ritual and ceremony are learnt, perhaps performance is the most appropriate means of using masks to facilitate the expression of subpersonalities. Through groups of masked performers, complex intrapsychic dynamics—like Yeats's struggle between hope and despair, or Zuni dramatisations of critical parent/naughty child conflicts—could be expressed. And, through experiencing a mirror of their own archetypal struggles, observers may come to see their 'difficulties' as less difficult and more universally shared.

This possibility leads on to a final point: that the scope for using masks to facilitate the expression of subpersonalities would seem enormous. Given that the mask can be visualised, made, worn, and observed—and each in a plethora of different ways—possible combinations of mask-work for an intervention, exercise, workshop, or course would seem almost infinite. Moreover, there are probably

a multitude of further ways in which mask-work could be developed to facilitate the expression of subpersonalities. Few practitioners, for instance, explicitly explore the Mask in terms of an individual's intrapsychic structures. And, whilst dramatherapists like Jennings specifically reject such an approach, in certain situations and with certain clients it might be very appropriate to ask: 'How does this Mask relate to you or your subpersonalities?' Another possibility is the use of masks with photography. This was actually realised when I was recently asked to co-facilitate a four-day workshop on identity for ex-offenders. Participants had an opportunity to discuss their identities, to make masks of different aspects of themselves, and then to photographs themselves (or others) with the masks. The workshop was considered highly successful by the participants, and the images arising out of it (cover, illustrations 21, 22, 23, 24, 25) were a central feature of a subsequent exhibition.

7.5 CONCLUSION

From this study, it would seem that the mask can bring out aspects of the self—though not every aspect of the self expressed through a mask is a subpersonality. Where the therapist or client, however, is desiring to express a subpersonality, the mask would seem to be a powerful means of facilitating this process—through a wide variety of mask-visualising, mask-making, mask-wearing, and mask-observing techniques. Any type of subpersonality can be brought out through the mask, though there is some evidence to suggest that the mask is particularly effective at facilitating the expression of deeper, more covert subpersonalities; along with the more superficial public self. In terms of reasons why the mask might be able to facilitate the expression of subpersonalities—or of certain subpersonalities in certain situations—the main points suggested by the interviewees were its ability to dramatically distance the individual from aspects of themselves, its power, its focus on bodily expression, its fixidity, its physical effects, its metaphorical value, and the distance it provides for the practitioner. Finally, in the discussion, three unique qualities of the mask were alluded to: its ability to powerfully combine projective and experiential means of facilitating the expression of subpersonalities, its ability to express subpersonalities to observers, and its versatility.

The findings of this research chapter, however, must be qualified by a few points. First, given the semi-structured nature of both interviews and analyses, there is the distinct potential for exampling. As Kvale (1983) writes: 'Extensive, complex and little structured interview material lends itself to be

Overleaf and following pages:
Illustrations 21, 22, 23, 24, 25: Images from Identity, Mask, and Photography Workshop, Insight Arts Trust

read like the devil reads the Bible, selecting and interpreting interview statements according to one's own preconceptions or prejudices' (p.190). Undoubtedly, another researcher—from a Jungian, behavioural, analytical, etc., perspective—would have conducted the interviews and analyses in a very different manner. In particular, the issue of what is and what isn't a 'subpersonality' might have been approached very differently. In this study, I have used the term in a fairly broad and inclusive sense, yet others may not have been so inclined to consider such psychological entities as the public self, private self, shadow, ideal self, wise person, trickster, etc. subpersonalities. Hence, they may have concluded that there was little evidence to suggest that the mask does, or could be used to facilitate the expression of subpersonalities. Whilst, as suggested in section 1.3, such interpretative 'biases' are an inevitable outcome of the research process, a more rigorous method of analysis may have attenuated the subjective component. The consistent use of the term subpersonalities in the interviews—rather than its substitution with 'parts of the self', etc.—may also have helped to clarify and systematise the analysis.

A second problem is the lack of adequate comparison between masked and non-masked means of facilitating the expression of subpersonalities. Whilst it would seem from the previous two chapters that subpersonalities can be expressed through the mask, the mask's actual role in this process is less certain. Could it be, for instance, that participants in Young's facilitator styles training workshop would be just as likely to express their inexpressible thoughts and feelings without the mask? If this is the case, it would suggest that the role of the mask is actually fairly limited, and that what is bringing out the subpersonalities is simply the directions given to participants. Hence, it would be extremely useful to try and identify more clearly exactly what the mask is capable of, and a study which could compare matched masked and non-masked conditions would be an ideal means of developing this thesis further.

Finally, the one perspective that this study—or any of the previous studies—has yet to include is that of the masker herself. A therapist might interpret a particular Mask as a subpersonality, but this does not necessarily mean that the client will do the same. To an analytical therapist or experimental psychologist, this may not be problematic: the burden of knowledge lies with the 'professional'. But, from a humanistic perspective, there is an assumption that it is only the individual herself who can fully know her own reality. Moreover, without an understanding of the masker's perspective, it is impossible to obtain any phenomenological sense of the masker's experience or 'process'.

CHAPTER 8. MASK AND SUBPERSONALITY: AN EXPERIMENTAL STUDY

Participant A: It's quite nice with the mask on, but I felt hugely embarrassed of myself every so often. Just feeling that I was doing such outrageous things.

Participant B: So it kind of brought out more anti-social things. It was safer in that way but suddenly... 'Oh my God!... What am I doing!'

Participant A: 'Oh my God!... Stoppit!' (from group interview, main study)

8.1 INTRODUCTION

As the previous chapter suggested, the mask's does seem able to facilitate the expression of subpersonalities. What would develop this thesis further, however, would be a study that could minimise exampling, compare masked and non-masked conditions, and incorporate the perspective of the mask-wearer. As a first step in this direction, it was decided to attend a series of mask-workshops, and to directly ask participants about their experiences. From this basis, a more sophisticated and controlled study could then be developed.

8.2 PILOT STUDIES

The first workshop attended was facilitated by Brige Bidell (see chapter 7), at the Metropolitan Community Church Hall, Boscombe, near Bournemouth (28/3/94). The two hour workshop was attended by around twenty members of a local mixed gender 'positive living'/new age group, with ages ranging from approximately 30 to 60. The masks were provided by Bidell. The workshop started with a brief introduction to mask-work, in which Bidell stated that, 'The masks I originally made were aspects of my personality', and that, 'I feel like I'm working with a globe of masks, and somewhere in the middle is me.' Participants were invited to, 'Chose a mask that embodies a part of you that you would like to explore this spring'—either a 'negative' or 'positive' aspect. A small number of individuals then volunteered to act our short masked improvisations, after which all the participants chose masks and participated in a brief 'spring-welcoming' ritual. At the end of the workshop, eight individuals agreed to be interviewed about their experiences of wearing a mask. The interview consisted of two basic questions: What was your mask character like? Did you think that this character expressed an aspect of yourself?

Of these interviewees, all eight said that they had expressed sides to themselves through the mask. With one participant, for instance, the interview proceeded as follows:

> *What was your mask character like?*
>
> Bright, optimistic, mischievous; it wanted to reach out and influence others—a bit like a mischievous fairy, but a happy mischief... a makes-you-feel-a-lot-better-mischief that brings the best out.
>
> *So how does it relate to you?*
>
> In the last while I've been more withdrawn that I normally am, and I need my extrovert side, which has been quite succinctly depressed at times in my life.
>
> *So was it a side of you?*
>
> The mischievous side, the fun side, is a side of me that has been repressed a long while, and is only ever brought out in strange or unusual circumstance—I tend to be quite serious.
>
> *So you got in touch with it through the mask?*
>
> Yes.

Given the directiveness of these questions, however—and Bidell's initial invitation for participants to choose masks that embody part of themselves—it is still not clear what role the mask played in bringing out these sides of the self. It may have been the masks facilitating the expression of subpersonalities, but it may also have been Bidell's instructions, the dramatic process, or even the questions themselves. Of more interest, however, is the finding that four of the eight participants, including the interviewee above, described their character in distinctly 'naughty child' terms: 'a makes-you-feel-a-lot-better-mischief;' 'a jolly, fun evil; getting in to mischief;' 'a mischievous, impish, happy, younger person;' 'a bit mischievous'. This supports the finding, suggested in chapter five, that masks may be particularly effective in bringing out the inner naughty child—though, again, without a non-masked comparison, it is difficult to know how much is due to the dramatic process, *per se*.

The second series of pilot interviews were conducted with a very different group of participants: thirteen mixed gender drama students, at Mountview School, North London, with ages ranging between approximately 18 and 25 (12/5/94). The two hour workshop was facilitated by the school's regular mask-work teacher, Ziggy Marshall. Students brought in masks that they had previously made at home (with little or no direction as to what masks to make or how to make them—and certainly no mention of subpersonalities), asked to improvise briefly on their own, and were then given an opportunity to interact with the other Masks. After twenty minutes or so, pairs of Masks were asked to improvise short interactions, whilst the other students were asked to sit down and observe. After a short debriefing by Marshall, each of the students was asked by myself how they felt wearing the

mask, and whether or not they believed they were expressing sides to themselves. Photographs were also taking throughout the improvisations as a way of recording the masking process.

In contrast to the earlier workshop, there was a more mixed response when students were asked if the masked characters represented sides of themselves. Four of the students thought that their Masks had elements of their personalities, six of the students avoided answering the question (or had described the Mask's personality so intimately that it would have been insensitive and inappropriate—within a group context—to ask them if it reflected aspects of their personality), and three of the students said that the Mask was nothing like their personality. Interestingly, however, one of these three became more ambivalent about this question having described his Mask in detail:

> When I made my mask I knew I wanted it quite grotesque, but I didn't realise I was going to make it *that* grotesque. I had no idea what the character was going to be, but once I put the mask on... it was just the teeth, moving the mouth around, and I just got into this position with my mouth and it just looked *so* evil, and then everything else just collapsed in to it, so the entire spine started being bent back and it all ends up on the floor, and the arms... it just became possibly the most evil thing that I've ever come across in my entire life. And I actually 'killed' Dave, I murdered him basically. I decided I'd first find out what he was like, and then I sucked the life out of him. And I chased Allison....
>
> The strange thing about the mask is that it's nothing—as far as I'm concerned—like me at all. I've been described as harmless and nice....
>
> Ummm... Perhaps it's a hidden part of my personality, but because its so different it's extremely liberating. Perhaps the mask makes up for... because I don't shout at people, perhaps the mask releases that... That's a bit of Freud for you!

This description suggests that the mask may have been bringing out the student's shadow subpersonality. Interestingly, too, from an observational perspective, a number of the Masks seemed to resemble either a *gε*-like critical parent-type character: aggressive, domineering and bullying (illustrations 26, 27, 28); or else of a vulnerable child-type character: withdrawn, scared, and almost foetal in posture (see illustrations 29, 30, 31, 32). Again, however, without knowing what the students might have done in a non-masked acting environment, it is difficult to isolate the role of the mask in this process.

In the third and fourth series of pilot research, a more structured approach was adopted, using a questionnaire rather than an interview format. The questionnaire consisted of four central question: 'How did your mask character evolve?' 'Please describe, as carefully as possible, the type of mask-character you became?' 'Would you say that your mask-character relates in any way to your personality as a whole?' 'Were there any other things that you felt when you were wearing a mask

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Overleaf:
Illustrations 26, 27, 28: Critical parent Masks, Mountview Theatre School
Following page:

that weren't specifically related to the character you became?' Participants were asked to, '**Write about just one of the masks you chose today**'. The questionnaire also attempted a more quantitative assessment of whether or not individuals were expressing subpersonalities. Sixty-five adjectives from the Adjective Check List (Gough and Heilbrun, 1965), which Williams and Williams (1980) had found strongly associated with the five T. A. ego states (thirteen adjectives for each ego states), were presented in the questionnaire, and respondents were asked to mark those that described their character. Presumably, if respondents marked many of the adjectives associated with one ego states, but few associated with the others, this could give some indication that they were expressing one of T. A.'s five trans-individual subpersonalities.

The first set of questionnaires were handed out after a one-day mask workshop, facilitated by Brige Bidell, at the Holborn Centre, central London (2/7/1994). Four mixed gender participants, including the author, attended the workshop, with ages ranging between approximately 20 and 42. Masks were provided by Bidell. The workshop started with various warm-ups, and then two participants at a time chose masks and performed short improvisation. In the afternoon, a more psychological perspective was adopted, and participants were asked to choose masks that represented the various sides of themselves, and perform an improvised drama. At the end of the workshop, the questionnaires were handed out.

Two of the questionnaires were returned, both focusing on the masked characters that the participants had developed in the morning improvisation. Both participants responded that parts of the character related to them, but neither intimated that they were expressing a fully constellated, psychically charged subpersonality. Such a response was substantiated by the quantitative assessment, which in both cases suggested a combination of nurturing parent, Adult, and free child. The first respondent, a 27-year old female, described a character that was light and cheerful in spirit, but which sometimes felt trapped in an old body. When asked whether her character related to her personality, she wrote: 'Some parts were like me and some weren't. I think it probably relates to Sister Wendy on TV: unashamed to admit sexuality, yet restrained after reasons she believes in'. This response confirms the point, highlighted in the previous two chapters, that Masks are not always an expression of subpersonalities, but can be a product of anything, from archetypes to television characters.

The final series of questionnaires were handed out to approximately ten participants after a two-day mask workshop facilitated by Cyril Ives (23-4/7/94). The participants were of mixed gender, and ranged from approximately 26 to 60 years old. The workshop began with short masked

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Illustrations 29, 30, 31, 32: Vulnerable child Masks, Mountview Theatre School

improvisations using Ives's masks, and subsequently participants were provided with a variety of materials to construct their own masks—with no directions as to what mask to make or which materials to choose. On the second day, participants were invited to wear their own masks and interact with the other Masks, and that afternoon, each participant had an opportunity to 'talk' to their mask—worn by another individual—in front of the other participants.

Only two questionnaires were returned. The first respondent, a 42 year old woman, had intended to make a mask that was, 'spiritual, oriental, calm, inscrutable, and elegant;' but described the resulting Mask in primarily naughty child terms: 'it was like a forest spirit—Puck in A Midsummer's Nights Dream. It needed the earth, freedom, music.... it acted sometimes like a carefree child.... fairly open and non-judgmental with others.' Quantitatively, of the thirteen free child adjectives, eleven had been ticked, along with five nurturing parent and three adult adjectives. In terms of whether the participant felt that the character related to her personality as a whole, she wrote, 'Yes... Similar in many ways.... This is the bit of me that I feel is superficial but actually is a part of me that I am beginning to accept more (the entertainer, jester bit)—the energy and enthusiasm are a part of me—also the slightly naughty, Puckish bit.'

In direct contrast, the Mask described by the second respondent, a 30 year old woman, was a powerful—and unmistakable—expression of a *Rangda*-like critical parent subpersonality. In responding to the questionnaire, the respondent presented a poem that she had been writing to her mask throughout the workshop. The first part was written after the mask—sombre and old, with her 'hair' in a bun—had been made:

old lady
you bitch
you cow
you tart
a mean old woman
to wear me down
what do you want
from this tired little girl
to strangle her with snakes
to poke her with sticks
to put her in the oven
to gobble and devour
you fucking old hag

At the end of the workshop, when the woman saw her mask worn by another participant, she, 'felt frightened and felt like she [the mask] was out to get me and take me over'. Having dialogued briefly with the mask, she finally chose to rip it up and throw it away. After the workshop, she wrote the following:

So farewell you old woman
I've taken your power
I have it inside me
and it continues to grow
Farewell you old woman
you are useful at last
to throw in the rubbish bin
You're now in my past.

In looking at how the character related to her personality as a whole, the respondent wrote that it reminded her of a 'Teacher' subpersonality she had explored a few years earlier: bossy and strong, but not without a sensitive side. She also added that it related, 'to my own therapy which has been about integrating the "good" and "bad" parts of me which have been completely split off since childhood (this relates to the fact that I came from a very religious family).' Interestingly, in the quantitative assessment, twelve of the thirteen adjectives associated with the critical parent ego states were marked; whilst the other 52 adjectives had been left blank.

These pilot studies support many of the findings already suggested in this thesis. Masks can be a powerful medium through which subpersonalities are expressed, masks do seem to bring out more hidden and covert aspects of the psyche, and not all characters expressed through masks are subpersonalities. These studies also suggest that an exploration of the masker's own perspective—both qualitatively and quantitatively—could be a valuable means of generating a greater understanding of the mask's ability to facilitate the expression of subpersonalities. What they don't show, however, is a clearer sense of the mask's role in this process. Is it the mask that is facilitating the expression of these subpersonalities, or is it the dramatic process, the act of making an object, or the directions given by the facilitators? Without direct masked/non-masked comparison, it is difficult to answer these questions.

The pilot studies also leave open the question of how to assess whether or not an individual is expressing a subpersonality. In the interviews, the questions had a tendency towards the directive; and, given people's inclinations to agree with an interviewer, few people, on being asked, 'So was it a side of you?' are likely to respond, 'No.' On the other hand, asking individuals through interviews or questionnaires about the relationship between their character and their personality is unlikely to produce much useful data. Few people actually think in terms of 'subpersonalities', and hence most responses are likely to have to go through a re-interpretation processes to determine whether or not a subpersonality is actually being expressed—which leads back to some of the problems discussed in the previous chapter. At the same time, the use of self-report interviews and questionnaires suffers from the problem that respondents might deny or minimise certain undesirable aspects of themselves.

Alternatively, they may simply be unaware of subpersonalities that lie beneath the threshold of consciousness.

As with the need to identify the role of the mask, however, the most effective means of minimising response 'biases' may be through the use of a non-masked control group. Such a group can not stop responses—and their interpretation—from being affected by demand characteristics; but if participants and interpreters are just as likely to be 'biased' in a non-masked condition as they are in a masked condition, then the two sets of 'biases' should equal each other out. Hence, the 'real' effect of the mask might be more clearly identifiable.

8.3 MAIN STUDY

8.3.1 Method

8.3.1.1 Aims

As with the previous chapters in this thesis, the main aims of this study were to explore: Can the mask facilitate the expression of subpersonalities? What subpersonalities, if any, might the mask be most effective at facilitating the expression of? and, What contexts, if any, might the mask be most effective at facilitating the expression of subpersonalities? From the previous chapter and the pilot studies, a comparison between matched masked and non-masked conditions seemed the most useful way of exploring these questions further. Given, however, that few facilitators are likely to run such sufficiently controlled exercises, a workshop was set up specifically for this purpose, that I facilitated myself[16]. For the purposes of simplicity, the workshop was limited to an exploration of mask-wearing.

As with the previous chapter, this study adopted a primarily humanistic approach. The study was designed to maximise an open and honest dialogue with the participants, to give them a worthwhile and interesting experience ('catalytic validity' (Kvale, 1983)), and to secure primarily qualitative data. At the same time, however, given the desire for triangulation, the potential value of using quantitative data, and the need to create two closely matched conditions, elements of a more traditional, positivistic research design were also incorporated: the study set out to involve a large-ish

number of participants (such that a nomothetic analysis could be carried out), and to secure primarily quantitative data. As part of a more traditional approach, there was also a desire to minimise any confounding variables, such as demand characteristics. Hence, rather than explicitly telling participants that the study was an exploration of the mask's ability to facilitate the expression of subpersonalities; it was decided that participants would be encouraged to improvise masked and non-masked characters, and only subsequently asked to assess these characters in terms of subpersonalities. Whilst such an approach runs somewhat against the humanistic commitment to open and honest dialogue, in terms of triangulation, such an approach may be an excellent opportunity to explore the mask's potential from a very different perspective (but see discussion).

8.3.1.2 Independent variables

To compare masked and non-masked conditions, a within-subjects design was used, in which participants improvised two masked and two non-masked characters. In the masked condition, participants were asked to find a character through a basic mask-induction technique, and then to wear the mask. In the non-masked condition, participants were asked to simply, 'think of a character', and then to improvise that character. To minimise any possible influence of the mask's specific appearance (i.e., a happy-ish looking mask would inevitably bring out more free child characters), ambiguous—or semi-ambiguous (see discussion)—masks were used. These were made by taking plain, white, 'universal masks' (see chapter seven), and throwing lumps of a moulding material on to them. The material was then smoothed down on to the surface of the mask and glued in place. The intention was to make this process as random, spontaneous and non-conscious as possible. The only deliberate intervention was to ensure that the mouths and the eyebrows—being the most expressive part of the face—were not betraying any specific expression. Half of the masks were then painted white; whilst the other half—to see the effect of an even more ambiguous face—were painted with a semi-random mixture of colours (illustration 33). Sixteen masks in total were made and numbered, and those that appeared the most ambiguous—in the eye of the researcher (see discussion)—were used in the study.

To explore the relationship between masks and social interaction, individual and interactive conditions were also used as an independent variable. Hence, the final study was a 2 X 2

[16] At the time of facilitating the workshops, I had completed roughly two years of a diploma in counselling. For each of the workshops, there was also a qualified therapist present.

Overleaf

Illustration 33: 'Ambiguous masks' used for the experimental study

(masked/non-masked by individual/interactive) design. The masked condition, itself, was also divisible into coloured masked and white masked conditions.

8.3.1.3 Procedure

After a brief introduction to the workshop (in which participants were told that it was a research workshop on the therapeutic application of masks), personal introductions, 'ground rules' ('Don't do anything you don't want to do') and a brief 'warm up', participants were asked to enact the four experimental improvisations: masked-individual, masked-interactive, unmasked-individual, and unmasked-interactive. Each improvisation lasted approximately six minutes. In the masked improvisations, participants were given a mask, and then asked to look into it until they could identify a face. They were then asked to make their face into the shape of the face they perceived in the mask, and put the mask on. In the non-masked condition, participants were simply asked to think of a character or a personality they might like to improvise. In both masked and non-masked conditions, participants were then asked to put their various body parts (feet, knees, hips, etc.) into the shape of the character, and then to turn around. In the individual conditions, masked and non-masked participants were asked to spend some time exploring the room, and then to 'notice' some objects (toys, musical instruments, clothes, etc.) that had been placed in the corner of the room. They were then asked to take one or more of the objects, and to use it/them in whatever way they desired. In the interactive conditions, masked and non-masked participants were asked to spend some time exploring the room, but being aware of the other characters in it. They were then asked to find a partner, and to find one of the objects to show this partner. They were then given an opportunity to interact more freely with the other characters and objects.

To counteract order effects—and to ensure that any differences were due to the wearing of masks rather than their observation—half of the participants were masked in the first and third improvisations, whilst half were masked in the second and fourth. Furthermore, of those participants masked, half were in the white masked conditions and half were in the coloured mask condition, and these conditions were swapped around in the second masked improvisations. Because, however, of the logistical complications of having half of the participants improvising individually whilst half improvising interactively, *all* of the participants improvised individually for the first two improvisations, and then *all* improvised interactively for the second two improvisations. Hence, four different orders existed, each of which were followed by a quarter of the participants (see table 3).

	Order 1	Order 2	Order 3	Order 4
Improvisation 1	white mask individual	coloured mask individual	no mask individual	no mask individual
Improvisation 2	no mask individual	no mask individual	white mask individual	coloured mask individual
Improvisation 3	coloured mask interacting	white mask interacting	no mask interacting	no mask interacting
Improvisation 4	no mask interacting	no mask interacting	coloured mask interacting	white mask interacting

Table 3: Experimental conditions

8.3.1.3 Dependent variables

Two questionnaires—a 'character questionnaire' and a 'post-mask-work questionnaire'—were presented to the participants. The post-mask-work questionnaire, as the name suggests, was presented after all four conditions had been completed, and was designed primarily to ascertain the extent to which participants felt they were expressing subpersonalities. Because of the problems of 're-interpretation', as discussed in the pilot studies, the participants were asked directly whether or not they thought they had been expressing a subpersonality. Given, however, that many of the participants may not have heard of the term 'subpersonality', they were provided with the following text:

> A working assumption behind this research project is that the personality is not simply a unified entity, but consists of many different parts. It is as if we have several different people inside of ourselves, some of whom come out in certain situations; and some of whom rarely come out, but manifest themselves as 'internal voices' or as characters in dreams and fantasies. Examples of these inner people might be an inner wise woman, an inner nurturing parent, or an inner demon. These inner people can sometimes be called 'subpersonalities', and can be defined as: 'semi-permanent and semi-autonomous regions of the personality capable of acting as a person.' (Rowan)

Participants were then asked to rate on a 1-7 Likert-type scale whether or not they thought that they were expressing a subpersonality through their four characters (1=Definitely not a subpersonality; 7=Definitely a subpersonality). After each scale, they were also asked to explain, in their own words, the reason for their response. Participants were also advised that, 'if you feel these questions are too personal, please feel free to leave this post-mask questionnaire blank—or fill in as much as you feel comfortable with'.

After each of the characters, the participants were also asked to fill in a 'character questionnaire'. The first part of this was concerned with exploring the types of subpersonalities that participants might be expressing. Participants were asked to, 'describe, **in as much detail as possible**, the traits, features, and personality characteristics of the character you became.' For the purposes of analysis, these

descriptions—along with the relevant part of the post-mask-work questionnaire—was then coded by judges, to determine which of the seven trans-individual subpersonalities the participants might be expressing (because of its more hypothetical nature, a naughty child category was not used). The first judge was a therapist who had participated in the workshop, knew that some of the characters were masked and some non-masked, but could not identify from the character-descriptions which were which. The second judge was a counsellor who had not attended the workshop, and had assumed whilst coding that all the characters were masked. The third judge was myself, who, having observed the workshops, had a very vague idea of which characters were masked and which unmasked. For the purposes of analysis, however, only those characters in which there was unanimous agreement amongst the three judges were taken as representative of a particular subpersonality-type.

The second part of the character questionnaire aimed to assess a number of other possible factors that might contribute to the mask's ability to facilitate the expression of subpersonalities. From the previous chapters, it would seem that masks might make people more uninhibited, more immersed in their characters, more trance-like, and more 'fixed' in their characters—and it was decided to explore these dimensions quantitatively. Hence, for each character, participants were asked to rate on a 1-7 Likert-type scale ('1=not at all; 7=extremely; 4=somewhere in the middle') how strongly they felt each of these four qualities. To provide a more accurate assessment of each of these four dimensions, and to cancel out any response set bias, participants were also asked to assess themselves on four polar opposite terms: self-conscious (as opposed to uninhibited); detached from the character (as opposed to immersed in the character); similar to normal waking consciousness (as opposed to trance-like); and difficult to stay 'in character' (as opposed to 'fixed' in the character). Scores from one pole could then be deducted from the other pole to produce a combined score. At the end of the workshop, a group interview was also held, to secure some qualitative data on the differences participants perceived between the masked and non-masked conditions.

8.3.1.4 Participants

The 'Mask and Movement' research workshop was advertised at a local dance/personal growth group—of which I intermittently attend. The decision not to advertise the workshop to a wider population was taken because of the experimental and potentially volatile nature of the work. As Jennings and others (see chapter seven) have warned, mask work should not be taken lightly; and it was felt irresponsible to invite participants with whom I had had no prior contact. Such specific sampling procedures meant, however, that participants would be likely to come from a limited social,

economic and ideological background: liberal and 'therapeutically-aware'. Hence, any conclusions from this research would need to bear this specific population in mind.

The first workshop was attended by eighteen participants (two of whom left after the first two characters). A follow-up workshop was attended by a further ten participants. In both workshops, there was an approximately equal mix of males and females.

8.3.2 Results

Overall, 28 participants presented data for 108 characters (54 unmasked, 54 masked (27 white masked, 27 coloured masked)). Out of these 108 characters, ratings for the 'definitely–definitely not a subpersonality' scale had been omitted in six cases; for the 'similar to normal waking consciousness' scale omitted in three cases; for the '"fixed" in the character' scale omitted in three cases; for the 'trance-like' scale omitted in two cases; and for the 'difficult to stay "in character"' scale omitted in one cases. Because of the importance of a matched design, the quantitative responses from the two participants who only completed two characters was deleted from the analysis, leaving 26 participants with 104 characters. To avoid deleting any further participants from the analysis, however, all other missing responses were given a value of '4'.

8.3.2.1 Can the mask facilitate the expression of subpersonalities?

Using a two-way analysis of variance (mask/no mask by individual/interactive), no significant differences were found between masked and non-masked conditions in the degree to which individuals believed they were expressing subpersonalities (F=1.22, p=.28) (table 4). No significant differences were found between the individual and interactive conditions (F=.35, p=.56), and there was no significant mask/no mask by individual/interactive interaction (F=.98, p=.33). Finally, a t-test revealed no significant differences between the white and coloured mask conditions (t=.82, p=.42).

Condition	Individual	Interacting	**Total**
Non masked	5.23	5.31	5.27
Masked (total)	5.19	4.73	4.96
White masked	5.43	4.75	5.12
Coloured masked	4.91	4.71	4.81
Total	5.22	5.02	5.16

Table 4: Means of 'To what extent were you expressing a subpersonality?'

This lack of difference was reflected in the group interview, where no participants mentioned that, *per se*, they were more inclined to express subpersonalities when masked.

8.3.2.2 What subpersonalities, if any, might the mask be most effective at facilitating the expression of?

Of the 104 characters improvised, judges unanimously agreed on a subpersonality coding for 35 (table 5). Of these, 21 were masked characters and 14 were non-masked characters. Because of the low cell frequencies, no statistical analysis was carried out. Descriptively, however, there were a number of noticeable differences between the masked and non-masked conditions: eight shadow characters were expressed in the masked condition compared with one in the non-masked condition; eight vulnerable child characters were expressed in the masked condition, compared with none in the non-masked condition; and nine free child characters were expressed in the non-masked conditions, compared with three in the masked condition. No particularly interesting differences emerged between the white and coloured masked conditions, or between the individual/interactive conditions.

	Non-masked	Masked	White-masked	Colour-masked	Total
critical parent	1	1	0	1	2
nurturing parent	2	0	0	0	2
Centre	0	0	0	0	0
free child	9	3	1	2	12
adapted child	1	1	1	0	2
vulnerable child	0	8	6	2	8
shadow	1	8	4	4	9
Total	14	21	12	9	35

Table 5: Types of subpersonalities expressed

These differences were supported by the qualitative findings. In the group interview, several of the participants stated that they expressed more shadow-like characters in the masked conditions, whilst none stated that they were more shadow-like in the non-masked condition; e.g.:

> I played much darker characters with the mask on.
>
> I found that the mask brought out more negative sides.
>
> [The mask] kind of brought out more anti-social things.

The mask's ability to facilitate the expression of more 'shadow-like' subpersonalities could also be seen in some of the character questionnaires. One participant, for instance, began the improvisations with an unmasked character described as an: 'Old man, slightly decrepit, twists body, bent over

double—lonely and forgetful—jittery, slightly eccentric....' But, putting on a mask, became, 'Bolshy, very possessive and bad tempered. Moved swiftly with suspicious movements. Always had his arms clenched behind his back.... Pissed off from Tunbridge Wells!!....' Unmasked, again, he expressed a character that was, 'Concerned, interested in everything—a bit fussy and doolally—very proper, keeps cleaning things and making sure everything is in its right place....' But, when once more masked, became: 'An old man—withdrawn but at the same time simmering with anger. Shaking a stick at everyone'.

In the group interview, one participant also stated that she found it easier to express aspects of her vulnerable child in the masked condition: 'I felt able to really cry behind the mask—because I hate crying in front of people—I hate thinking of my face contorted with grief—but I could do this behind the mask.' None of the participants stated that they found it easier to express vulnerable child qualities in the non-masked condition. From the character descriptions, too, four of the masked characters, compared with none of the non-masked characters, bore a striking resemblance to the vulnerable child subpersonality:

> Scared, hurt, child, pained, hurting, frightened, doing my best, trying to comply, hoping to escape, no way out, its coming at me all the time, dizzy, spinning.
>
> Weepy—sobbing—quivering bottom lip—easily upset—introverted—avoiding 'eye contact' quite threatened. Scared—wanting to find a corner to hide in—quite scared by one other mask wearer—felt I was being stalked. Felt sorry for myself—refused to be cheered up.
>
> Hurting, experienced violence, beaten up, scared, lonely, timid, needed to be at edge of room, small space taken up, anxious, sacred of everyone, wanted to huddle in corner but nowhere safe enough, they/she will find me.
>
> 'Young Frankenstein': little, scared, brand new, unfamiliar, sad, alone, not human, unrecognisable, child, sensitive, hurt, caring, loving, misunderstood, frustrated, no voice.

Whilst it was not assessed in the coding procedure, five participants also stated that the masked characters were 'deeper', whilst the unmasked characters were more 'surface':

> Without the mask they were much more superficial characters.
>
> I could get into the characters a lot more with the mask on—much deeper characters.
>
> When I chose the first unmasked character, I just went for something that was very much a part of myself, quite close to myself.
>
> I found the characters behind the mask were much more extreme. The ones that I didn't have the mask for were much more like myself really.
>
> The characters without the mask were more like... sort of personas. They were more like, 'Well maybe I'd quite like to be like that.' They were just something put on, something quite superficial. But with the mask it was more... it came from deeper.

None of the participants stated that their non-masked character were deeper than their masked ones.

8.3.2.3 What other differences exist, if any, between masked and non-masked conditions?

Whilst it had been intended to combine pairs of opposing scales to create four dimensions, statistical analysis revealed a low negative correlation between these intended polarities (self-conscious–uninhibited, -.37; immersed in the character–detached from the character, -.19; similar to normal waking consciousness–trance-like, -.28; 'fixed' in character–difficult to stay 'in character', -.45). Given, then, that these 'polarities' did not seem particularly polarised in the responses of the participants, it was decided to treat each of the variables independently.

Two-way analysis of variance revealed no significant differences for any of the variables between the masked and non-masked conditions (see table 6). Apart from 'immersed in the character' and 'detached from the character', however, each of the means were in the predicted direction.

	Masked	Non-masked
Self-conscious	2.61	2.69
Immersed in the character	4.46	4.46
Similar to normal waking consciousness	3.15	3.44
'Fixed' in the character	4.35	4.12
Uninhibited	4.48	4.25
Detached from character	3.52	3.04
Trance-like	2.77	2.40
Difficult to stay 'in character'	2.90	3.27

Table 6: Masked and non-masked means on the eight scales

Two-way analysis of variance revealed only one significant difference between the individual and interactive conditions (see appendix 1): participants in the individual condition considered themselves significantly more trance-like than in the interactive condition (3.04 compared with 2.13; $F=17.4$, $p \leq 0.001$).

The two-way analysis of variance also revealed one significant masked/non-masked by individual/interactive interaction: unmasked participants became significantly less tranced when moving from individual to interactive conditions, as opposed to masked participants (3.08 to 1.73, compared with 3.00 to 2.54; $F=4.15$, $p \leq 0.05$). In other words, whilst non-masked participants rated themselves as more entranced in the individual condition, in the interactive condition, masked participants rated themselves as more entranced. An examination of the seven other scales revealed a similar dynamic on five of them—though not at a level of statistical significance (diagram 5). Whilst,

individually, the means for ‘immersed in the character’ and ‘“fixed” in the character’ were higher in the non-masked condition; interactively, the means were higher in the masked condition. Similarly, whilst, individually, the means for ‘self-conscious’ and ‘similar to normal waking consciousness’ were higher in the masked condition; interactively, the means were higher in the non-masked condition. Finally, whilst, individually, the means for ‘difficulty to stay “in character”’ were identical in masked and non-masked conditions; interactively, they were higher in the non-masked condition. Whilst these findings may have been a product of order effects, a comparison between the first and third improvisations with the second and fourth improvisations (in which there would have been order effects but no individual/interactive effect) found no similar pattern.

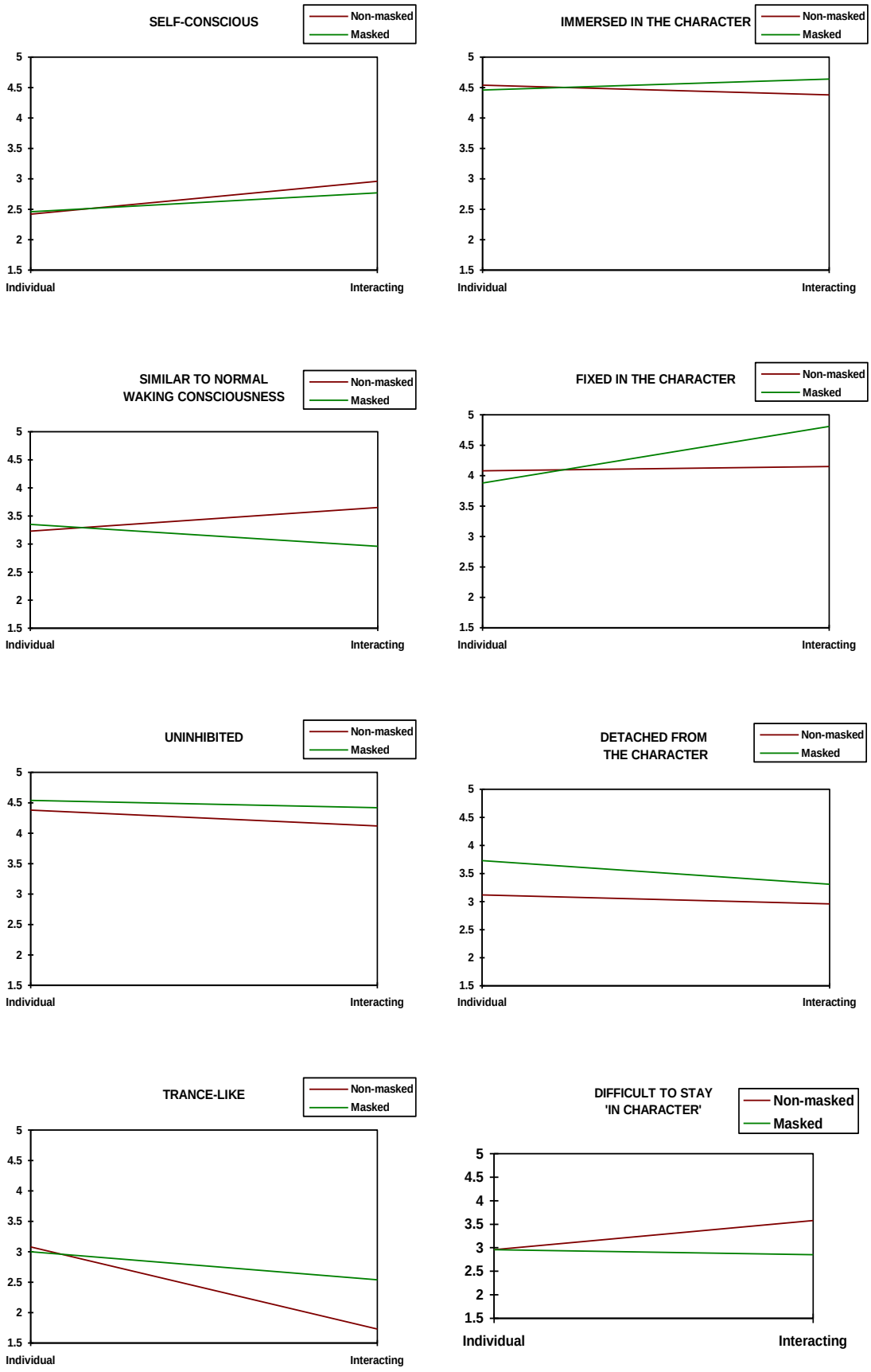

Diagram 5: Graphs of masked/non-masked by individual/interactive interaction

Paired sample t-tests found no significant differences between the white and coloured masks for any of the variables (see appendix 1).

From the group interviews, however, what was most apparent was the wide variations in how individuals responded to the mask. For some, it dramatically reduced self-consciousness; for others, it was a barrier to self-expression; and for others, it was simply immaterial. In the second workshop, for instance, the first six participants responded as follows:

> I didn't find very much differences between wearing and mask and not wearing a mask.
>
> I didn't really feel that much differences with the mask on or not.
>
> I found it a lot more difficult with the mask.
>
> I felt tremendously liberated by putting on a mask.
>
> With a mask... it gave me license to do something, to be somebody.
>
> I like wearing masks because of that distance and anonymity and more confidence you can get.

8.3.3 Discussion

8.3.3.1 Can the mask facilitate the expression of subpersonalities?

The findings from this study provide no support for the hypothesis that the mask can facilitate the expression of subpersonalities, *per se*. There are a number of reasons, however, why this finding may have come about.

First, it may be that masks simply do not facilitate the expression of subpersonalities. Subpersonalities can be expressed through masks, but the mask is not actually doing anything to facilitate this expression. It is entirely incidental to the process. Such an explanation, however, fails to explain why the vast majority of mask-using therapists claimed that the mask could facilitate the expression of subpersonalities. It also fails to explain why the mask, within a ritual and ceremonial context, would seem to be the specific channel through which subpersonalities are elicited and expressed.

Another possibility, then, may be that the mask *can* facilitate the expression of subpersonalities, but the sample size in this study was not sufficiently large to pick up this effect—a type II error. Given,

however, that the mean in the non-masked condition was actually higher than in the masked condition, this does not seem a particularly feasible explanation.

A third possible explanation may be that the mask was effective at facilitating the expression of subpersonalities, but, because of the nature of the subpersonalities—more 'negative', repressed, and deeper—individuals were less willing to identify these characters as parts of themselves. As one participant put it in, 'I hope I'm not like that bastard.' It may also have been that participants were less able to recognise these deeper, more covert aspects of their psyche: 'Without the mask they were characters that I know better—more parts of myself that I could see. The others made me think more, "Well, I think they are... but I'm not very in touch with it," or, kind of, "Could it be..."'. The fact that external judges categorised two-thirds more masked characters as subpersonalities supports this explanation.

A fourth possible explanation is that the mask did facilitate the expression of subpersonalities, but the non-masked condition, rather than being a base-line control, actually functioned as an alternative means of facilitating the expression of subpersonalities. In asking people to think of a character, participants may have chosen to express—consciously or not—aspects of their own personality. This may then have acted as a hook, around which associated aspects of a subpersonality-complex may have been constellated.

The previous two reasons may go some way to explaining the findings of this study. The most credible explanation, however, may be based on a distinction between what the mask *can* do and what the mask *does* do. The previous studies have suggested that the mask *can* be a powerful means of facilitating the expression of subpersonalities; this does not imply, however, that it will always function in this way. In particular, what seems to distinguish masking in this study from the type of masking that can facilitate the expression of subpersonalities—as demonstrated in the previous two chapters—are two qualities: first, the masks in this study did not represent specific psychological attributes; second, participants in this study were not directed to see the masks as representative of specific psychological attributes (e.g., being encouraged to see the mask as a metaphor for the public self). What this suggests, then, is that the mask can facilitate the expression of subpersonalities because it can represent specific elements of a subpersonality (as suggested in chapter four), either automatically or through a facilitator's directions. Take away these qualities (as in the present study), however, and the remaining attributes of the mask—its ability to disguise, face-shaped-ness (as opposed to face-like-ness), plasticity, fixidity, metaphorical value, ability to act as a projective

medium, ability to dramatically distance the wearer, and ability to focus on non-verbal expression—are not sufficient, in themselves, to facilitate the expression of subpersonalities, *per se*.

In a sense, then, this puts the mask on a par with every other means of facilitating the expression of subpersonalities. As a large hook (i.e., the face of a specific subpersonality or psychological characteristic) it seems to have the potential to be a powerful means of facilitating the expression of subpersonalities. As a small hook (e.g., an ambiguous face), on the other hand, it would seem to be no more effective than any other small hook (e.g., asking an individual to think of a character) at bringing out sides of the psyche.

8.3.3.2 What subpersonalities, if any, might the mask be most effective at facilitating the expression of?

What seems to make the mask different to other small hooks, however, is not so much the quantity of subpersonalities expressed as the quality. One of the most interesting findings of this study was the far greater proportion of shadow, vulnerable child, and 'deeper' subpersonalities expressed in the masked condition—subpersonalities which would seem to be of a more covert, disowned, unconscious nature. As above, however, there are a number of reasons why this finding might have come about.

One possibility might simply be that the masks were not ambiguous at all, but had an inherently 'shadow' or vulnerable appearance. Hence, participants, trying to find faces in these masks, would naturally tend towards shadow or vulnerable characters, and away from more playful characters. Such an explanation probably has a degree of validity. Because the masks were not tested for ambiguity before being used, it is quite likely that the participants, staring into the disfigured, strangely painted masks, could have identified either the distorted face of a monstrous, demonic being; or else the deformed face of a sad, pathetic little child. One participant, for instance, working with a coloured mask, 'imagined someone with facial deformities inflicted by something very much out of the ordinary,' and subsequently developed a character that was, 'very frightened not only by what has happened to him but also of what he has become—disfigured, scared witless, very intrusive...' Another participants said in the group interview, 'For me, there was an element of feeling more vulnerable with the masks because of the scars on the mask.'

There are three reasons, however, why the specific appearances of the mask is unlikely to account wholly for the different subpersonality types expressed in masked and non-masked conditions. First, the vast majority of individuals who intimated in their character questionnaires that they had been influenced by the specific appearance of the mask did not actually transform into shadow or vulnerable child characters. One participant, for instance, described his Mask as physically scarred, but went to write that, 'Despite his limp and disfigurements he stand upright, strong, with his chest out and he'll look you clear in the eye—not with arrogance but as an equal—questioning, inquisitive....' Another participant wrote that his Mask had been deformed some time in his life, yet was, 'happy/fun-loving; inquisitive childlike.'

A second point is that the masks, although, perhaps, not wholly ambiguous, were certainly not wholly specific either. With each of the masks, the characters that emerged varied enormously. The seven characters emerging from coloured mask six (third from top in illustration 33), for instance, were variously described as:

> Confused, wanting pity....
>
> A character that thought: 'OK then! So I think I know it all! And I'm going to make the most of life.'...
>
> Proud and wounded....
>
> An adventurer, looking for excitement. Wanting to explore, loads of energy...
>
> Giving off a persona of sensuality....
>
> Mean, moody, fixed or fixated. Someone who attached unreasonable amount of importance to a seemingly unimportant object. Female, young (teenager)....
>
> A serious person with slight criminal tendencies....
>
> Authoritarian, distant, disagreeing, superior, telling people off, keeping a distance.

Moreover, for each of the masks, no more than two characters had been coded as the same type of subpersonality. Hence, none of the masks were so specific that they were clearly expressing either a shadow or vulnerable child character.

Finally, the specific appearance of the masks cannot account for the fact that participants tended to find the mask characters 'deeper' and less superficial.

Given, then, that the greater frequency of shadow, vulnerable child, and deeper characters can not be solely attributed to the specific appearance of the masks, which other aspects of the masked condition might have contributed to this finding? From the group interview, it seems that the mask's ability to

disguise may have played an important role in facilitating the expression of more disowned aspects of the psyche:

> Having a mask on, you worried less about other people so it gave you a bit more license to be a bit more naughty or rude or whatever.
>
> I felt more exposed without a mask on.
>
> I found that the masks gave me permission to be bad. A mask to hide behind, to bring out the negative sides of myself more.
>
> Having the mask on, I felt I could be stroppier, moodier and take far more risks than in everyday life.
>
> I felt able to <u>really</u> cry behind the mask.

At the same time, however, the quantitative responses showed no significant differences in levels of self-consciousness and uninhibitedness between the masked and non-masked conditions. Moreover, an examination of the character-questionnaires suggests that the majority of vulnerable child and shadow characters had developed whilst the participants were looking in to the mask, rather than once they had put the mask on. Whilst this may have been because the participants knew they would be masked/disguised during the improvisations, it also suggests that disguise can not account wholly for the mask's ability to bring up more covert subpersonalities. Hence, a number of further attributes of the mask may have contributed to this process.

First, the process of masking may have given participants less choice around which characters to enact. In the non-masked condition, participants were simply asked to 'chose a character to improvise'. Under these directions, it is not particularly surprising that they steered away from the expression of more 'disowned', 'unacceptable' characteristics. Not only might they have had no particularly desire to experience their vulnerability or nastiness, but they might also have feared that they would be viewed with some suspicious if they were seen as consciously choosing to be sad or bad. In the masked condition, on the other hand, participants were first asked to 'see' a face in the mask, and then to become that face. Hence, as with all projective techniques, the mask allowed characteristics and associations to emerge rather than be deliberately chosen, and this is likely to lead to a far greater expression of more hidden and covert qualities (see section 3.5).

The mask may also have facilitated the expression of more covert subpersonalities because of its ability to dramatically distance the wearer from their character. In the non-masked condition, too, participants may have been dramatically distanced; but it seems likely that participants would have felt less personally identified with a character 'seen' in a mask, as compared to a character 'seen' in

their own imagination. Hence, they might have had less qualms about expressing more ‘undesirable’ aspects of their psyche: it was the mask, not them, behaving in this way.

Third, the greater prevalence of covert subpersonalities in the masked condition may be due to the mask’s flexible, semi-human appearance. Each subpersonality, as argued in chapter four, is constellated with a particular facial appearance. In the case of predominantly overt, ‘superficial’ subpersonalities, this is likely to be the real face that the individual adopts every time they move into that subpersonality mode. Hence, a real face, or the image of a real character, might be a very effective means of tapping in to the more overt subpersonalities. The ambiguous masks, on the other hand, being fairly a-human, would be unlikely to hook in to more ‘surface’ subpersonalities. Hence, if individuals were going to tap into subpersonalities through the ambiguous masks, they would have to go beyond the everyday subpersonalities: into the terrain of the covert, more hidden sides of the self.

Fourth, the mask’s fixidity may have given participants the safety to express their more disowned qualities—‘containing’ the anarchy of the shadow and the terror of the vulnerable child.

Fifth, the fixidity of the mask may have encouraged participants to see it as a symbol for the more permanent and fixed structures at the depths of the human psyche—as opposed to the more fluid, fluctuating subpersonalities at its surface. Interestingly, however, none of the participants spontaneously took the mask as a metaphor for their public selves.

The mask’s intrinsic ability to facilitate the expression of more unconscious, covert and disowned subpersonalities, however, fails to explain why three times as many free child subpersonalities were expressed in the non-masked condition—particularly given that the ritual and ceremony chapter argued that the free child was one of the most repressed and hidden subpersonalities. One possible explanation for this finding, however, is that, within the specific sample used, the free child subpersonality may not have been particularly covert or disowned. In contrast to societies such as the Zuni, where there is substantial repression of the free child; liberal, therapeutically-inclined culture may do much to encourage individuals to express their spontaneity, non-conformity, joy, etc. Hence, participants may have been quite happy to express their free child without the disguise, fixidity, etc. afforded by the mask.

8.3.3.3 What other differences exist, if any, between the masked and non-masked conditions?

In contrast to predictions, the mask did not seem to have any significant effects on the participant's degree of inhibition, immersion in character, etc. Given that six out of the eight scales were in the predicted direction, such a finding may have been due, in part, to the relatively small size of the sample group: a type II error. Even at a descriptive level, however, the differences between the masked and non-masked condition was surprisingly small. Levels of self-consciousness, for instance, were almost identical in the masked and non-masked condition; participants were only slightly more uninhibited in the masked condition, and ratings for 'detached from character' were actually higher in the masked condition. This is particularly interesting, given the popular myth that masks dramatically reduce levels of self-consciousness and inhibition. Such averaged findings, however, obscures two interesting factors.

First, the differences between the masked and non-masked condition tended to be substantially greater in the interactive as opposed to the individual context. Indeed, in six of the eight scales there was a 'cross over effect': whereby masked participants were more self-conscious, similar to normal waking consciousness, etc. in the individual condition; but less so in the interactive condition. Such a finding supports a theme running throughout this thesis: that mask-wearing would seem to be most effective within a group context.

In explaining this phenomenon, it may be worth briefly reviewing the facial feedback effect. As section 4.2.3 argued, the face—and hence the mask—has the potential to induce intrapsychic changes by feeding back to the individual through a self-perceptual process. Essentially, the individual stands outside herself and views herself in the way that others would. Within an individual context, however, such a perspective may not be too salient. The individual is acting out towards the world, and may have little concern or awareness of her physical appearance. When interacting with other, on the other hand, this external perspective may become far more significant. Now that she knows others are observing and judging her on the basis of her facial appearance, she is likely to be far more cognisant of the way that she looks. In a sense, then, as Wicklund's (1978) discussion of objective self-awareness suggests, the attention of an audience will readily draw an individual's own attention to an aspect of the self—in this case, the mask. But, rather than regulating the individual with respect to their own behavioural standards, such increased objective self-awareness may regulate the individual more in accordance with their mask.

A second factor obscured by statistical averages, and one that has been primarily neglected in this study, is the question of individual differences. Whilst averaging across individuals can reveal the most general effect, it has the danger of cancelling out any idiographic detail. For the six participants quoted in section 8.3.2.3, for instance, two stated that the mask made little difference, three stated that it was liberating, and one stated that she found it difficult. Hence, whilst for two-thirds of these participants the mask had quite a profound effective—both positive and negative—a statistical averaging might conclude that the mask made little overall difference.

8.3.3.4 Further research

For an experimental psychologist, this divergence between nomothetic statistics and idiographic experiences might not be too problematic. But for a therapist—working primarily at an individual level—there may be limited value in knowing that, on average, masks are quite effective at facilitating the expression of subpersonalities. Of far more significance may be to know that, for some individuals, masks can be a particularly powerful tool, whilst for others, it may be ineffective or actually counter-therapeutic. On the basis of this point, it may be that quantitative approaches are inappropriate for a study of this nature. Because statistics—particularly of an inferential type—tend to average across individuals, they may cancel out the most significant and important of data. Hence, any further research might do well to continue with a more qualitative approach: one in which individual differences and complexity can not be reduced down to a series of generalised statistical dimension.

Such a study might also do well to be more open and up-front with participants about the aim of the study. Not only did I sense that one or two participants felt ‘duped’ by the ‘hidden agenda’ of the present study, but trusting participants to make their own discriminations between masked and non-masked conditions may have maximised their own creative and collaborative input. Moreover, in therapeutic work with masks, the maskers’ relationship to the therapist will have an inevitable influence on the mask’s ability to facilitate the expression of subpersonalities. Hence, the ‘confounding variables’—such as the masker’s antagonism to the facilitator—may actually be highly significant aspects of the mask-work, aspects that need to be highlighted and explored rather than ‘eradicated’.

The use of matched masked and non-masked conditions, however, would seem a useful means of identifying the actual role of the mask in facilitating the expression of subpersonalities. Bearing in

mind the question of individual differences, it might be interesting to see how mask-making compared with art-work, masked-performance compared with non-masked performance, etc. In establishing the mask's potential to facilitate the expression of subpersonalities, it might also be interesting to compare large mask hooks with large non-mask hooks: e.g., a mask of a playful child with a drawing of a playful child, or with the instruction to, 'act out a playful child'.

As a step in this direction, I recently facilitated a training/research workshop—in collaboration with a creative arts therapist—in which participants were asked to express their vulnerable child through a drawing (making it, taking about it, talking to it, and talking 'as' it), through a mask (making it, taking about it, talking to it, and talking 'as' it), and then to describe the differences. As suggested above, participants were also informed about the specific aims of the research at the beginning of the workshop. Whilst the masked and non-masked conditions in this study were not as closely matched as in the main study—and only a minimal amount of feedback was requested from the participants—some interesting results emerged. Whilst participants tended to see the mask-work as more 'powerful', for instance (particularly the process of talking 'as' the mask); they found that the art-work was less 'technical' and laborious (particularly the process of drawing their vulnerable child). In terms of future research, such open, semi-collaborative, qualitative comparative studies would seem an excellent means of developing this thesis further.

Another aspect of this research that might be worth developing further is the concept of the ambiguous mask—perhaps towards their application as a Rorschach-like projective technique. Clearly, the mask used for this study were debateably ambiguous, yet even these crude attempts at ambiguity elicited a wide variety of responses—drawing, no doubt, on specific 'personal material'. As one participant stated in the group interview, for instance:

> I started to get worried because I was looking at the mask and I couldn't quite... 'I've got to think of something! I've got to think of something!' And in the end I tended to have a vague idea, put it on, and then just start moving and it emerged. So it that sense I don't know how much I actually got from the way the mask looked. It was more the fact of being in the mask and then something coming from me rather than from the mask.

Clearly, as this study has demonstrated, not all characters expressed through the masks could be interpreted as subpersonalities. Nevertheless, the type of characters elicited through the ambiguous masks could be a powerful indication of the client's unique perceptual construction of the world (as with the Rorschach tests), along with their unique means of inhabiting and experiencing it.

Finally, given the importance of individual differences that this chapter has highlighted, it might be interesting to explore what brought these differences about in the first place. Why is it, for instance, that one individual can feel immensely liberated by wearing a mask, whilst another finds it oppressive and uncomfortable. Undoubtedly, part of these differences may be due to day-to-day fluctuations in an individual's moods and beliefs, but specific person-variables may also play a significant part. It may be, for instance, that predominantly extroverted individuals find the mask a barrier to communication; whilst more introverted individuals like the anonymity and safety that it provides. Alternatively, as suggested in the previous chapter, individual's childhood experiences with masks may affect how they respond to them at a later date. From a therapeutic perspective, an understanding of which individuals or client groups might find mask-work most effective could be an invaluable resource in developing the mask as a therapeutic technique.

8.4 CONCLUSION

This study has suggested that the mask, when used as a small hook, is no more effective than any other small hook at facilitating the expression of subpersonalities, *per se*. What it has shown, however, is that the mask does seem to be particularly effective at facilitating the expression of deeper, more covert subpersonalities: in particular, the shadow and the vulnerable child. This study has also suggested that the mask seems to be most effective within an interpersonal context, along with the substantial individual differences in the way people respond to masks. In terms of further research, a qualitative approach which could compare masked and non-masked means of facilitating the expression of subpersonalities would seem to be the most valuable means of developing this study. The use of ambiguous masks and the reasons why people respond differently to masks would also seem avenues worthy of further exploration.

CHAPTER 9. CONCLUSION

Everything that is profound loves the mask. (Nietzche, 1911, p.54)

9.1 OVERVIEW

The aim of this thesis has been to explore the mask's ability to facilitate the expression of subpersonalities. It began by outlining the concept of the mask, and suggested that this was an area relatively unexplored by psychologists. The thesis then went on to outline the concept of subpersonalities and provide empirical support for their existence. Having reviewed techniques for facilitating the expression of subpersonalities, the thesis argued that the face—and hence the mask—might also be able to fulfil this function. Examples from literature were used to provide some preliminary support for this hypothesis. Cross-cultural case-studies then allowed a more critical examination of the mask's ability to facilitate the expression of subpersonalities. This was explored in further detail through focused interviews with mask-using therapists and personal growth facilitators. Finally, an experimental study provided an opportunity to explore the masker's experience, and to compare masked and non-masked conditions. This final chapter attempts to answer the four key questions posed in chapter one, to outline some potential therapeutic developments, and to suggests some further avenues for research.

9.2 CAN THE MASK FACILITATE THE EXPRESSION OF SUBPERSONALITIES?

From this study, it would seem apparent that the mask *can* be used to facilitate the expression of subpersonalities—and may be one of the most powerful means. Masks of the *sanni* and *gɛ*, like Stanley Ipkiss's magical mask, would seem to have the potential to bring out deeply repressed sides to the personality, sides which no other medium would seem to elicit. Interviews with dramatherapists and personal growth facilitators also highlighted the mask's ability to bring out subpersonalities—both as hook and constellating medium.

At the same time, however, it would be wrong to conclude that the mask *does*—as a general and universal statement—facilitate the expression of subpersonalities. In the *Tovil* maskers of Sri Lanka or the 'Sister Wendy' Mask of chapter eight, for instance, there was little to suggest the emanation of

a subpersonality. Focused interviews with dramatherapists, too, suggested that the mask does not necessarily bring out subpersonalities, but a whole range of intrapsychic and interpersonal entities: archetypes, feelings, internal objects. Moreover, as the experimental chapter suggested, the mask, when reduced to its minimal components, is no more effective at facilitating the expression of subpersonalities, *per se*, than asking individuals to think of a character.

What this highlights, then, is that the mask, like every other means of facilitating the expression of subpersonalities, can act as both large and small hook. As a large hook—when representing a particular subpersonality or psychological characteristic—it would seem to have the potential to bring out specific sides of the psyche. As a small hook, on the other hand—when ambiguous or not specifically representing a subpersonality—it would seem to be no more effective than any other small hook at bringing out subpersonalities.

9.3 WHAT TYPE OF SUBPERSONALITIES, IF ANY, MIGHT THE MASK BE MOST EFFECTIVE AT FACILITATING THE EXPRESSION OF?

Perhaps the most interesting finding from this study is that the mask seems particularly effectiveness at bringing out more covert, disowned, unconscious aspects of the psyche.

The most noticeable of these is the shadow: the 'darkest', 'nastiest', most 'negative' subpersonality. The experimental chapter demonstrated both qualitatively and quantitatively—that shadow characters are more likely to be expressed in masked conditions; whilst a number of the dramatherapists highlighted the mask's ability to bring out this highly repressed side of the psyche. In the literature chapter, too, Andreyev's black maskers were a striking demonstration of how the mask could be used to symbolise the most demonic, mysterious creatures lurking in the hidden depths of the mind.

Closely related to the emergence of this shadow subpersonality is the appearance of the 'naughty child': the part of the psyche that is mischievous, malicious (but not evil) and anarchic. In the cross-cultural study, the mask's ability to facilitate the expression of this side of the psyche was clearly demonstrated; and its cross-cultural prevalence was quite remarkable. The naughty child also seemed to emerge in one or two of the pilot studies in chapter eight, though its appearance was not investigated in the main study.

The mask also seems to be particularly effective at facilitating the expression of the critical parent—in its most judgmental and punishing form. This was most evident in the *gɛ* and *kachina*, where the social and cultural injunctions of the wearer seemed to find powerful expression through these Masks. Cross-culturally, too, there seems to be an abundance of Masks ready to whip, cajole and bully people into maintaining the social order. Whilst this critical parent subpersonality did not manifest itself in the main experimental study, it did seem to find expression in one of the pilot studies—where two or three students found themselves menacingly whip in hand.

A third covert subpersonality type that the mask seems to bring out is the vulnerable child. This was most evident in the experimental study, where eight vulnerable child characters were improvised in the masked condition, compared with none in the non-masked condition. A number of vulnerable child Masks were also observed during one of the pilot studies. In both cases, however, what seemed most striking was not the frequency of these characters, but their remarkable proximity to the hypothesised 'vulnerable child' subpersonality: foetal-like, curled up, withdrawn, and scared.

Fourth, masks seem to be particularly effective at bringing out 'deeper', more covert, more archetypal subpersonalities; less 'surface', overt, 'everyday' ones. Throughout this study, few of the characters expressed through the mask resemble modes of behaviour that individuals might switch in to on a day-to-day basis. An 'inner *Rangda*', for instance, might exist in the psyche of a Balinese masker, but he is unlikely to behave in a demonic, witch-like fashion on a trip to the local market. Equally, a workshop participant may express her unspoken fears from behind a mask, but her fears are exactly that—unspoken—and hence not a mode she generally moves in to at an overt level. Self-reports from the experimental workshop, too, suggest that the mask may facilitate the expression of deeper subpersonalities.

Paradoxically, however, the mask may also be particular effective at expressing the most superficial and overt aspects of the psyche—the public self. This is best illustrated in O'Neill's *The Great God Brown*, where the characters put masks over their faces to symbolise the public selves they portray to the outside world. A number of therapists, too, have used masks to help clients express and explore their public sides—most notably the Geese Theatre Company. Findings from the experimental study, however, suggest that individuals will not automatically 'see' the mask as a symbol for their public self. Rather, this is a metaphor that needs to be introduced by the mask-work facilitator.

9.4 IN WHAT CONDITIONS, IF ANY, MIGHT THE MASK BE MOST EFFECTIVE AT FACILITATING THE EXPRESSION OF SUBPERSONALITIES?

The mask seems to particularly effective within two specific context.

First, the mask seems particularly—if not uniquely—suited to an interpersonal environment. As the experimental study suggests, masks only seem to reduce self-consciousness, difficulty of staying in character, etc., when used interactively. It is the 'other' that seems to bring the mask to life. Used individually, on the other hand, they seem to make the wearer make little impact. This interpersonal aptitude of the mask was also highlighted in the cross-cultural studies, where the mask was consistently used within a large group context. Throughout this study, there was no single example in which the mask had been used by an isolated individual.

But the interpersonal aptitude of the mask extends beyond the importance of an observer. As the literary, ritual, and therapy chapters demonstrated, the mask can actually function as a means of expressing the observer's subpersonalities. In the mask of Yeats' Cuchulain, Bali's *Rangda*, and Geese's victim, an audience can see their own intrapsychic structures mirrored and expressed. Indeed, such is the power of the mask to communicate subpersonalities interpersonally, that, as with the *Poro* $g\varepsilon$, the mask may actually be a means of im-pressing the subpersonality in the first place.

The mask also seems to be particularly suited to conditions in which there is a desire to work with the same subpersonality through a variety of different mediums. The sheer versatility of the mask was clearly highlighted in the therapy chapter, where the same mask could be visualised, made, worn, observed, and perhaps even photographed. Few other means of facilitating the expression of subpersonalities could boast such a flexible array of uses.

9.5 WHY MIGHT THE MASK FACILITATE THE EXPRESSION OF SUBPERSONALITIES, OR WHY MIGHT IT BE PARTICULARLY EFFECTIVE AT FACILITATING THE EXPRESSION OF CERTAIN SUBPERSONALITIES, AND IN CERTAIN CONTEXTS?

Why is the mask such a powerful means of facilitating the expression of subpersonalities? As argued in chapter four, and demonstrated in chapter eight, it would seem primarily due its ability to resemble

facial expressions. The face, as chapter four argued, is one of the most powerful and potent symbols of psychological characteristics. A sneering, aggressive face can convey 'evil' far greater than any words (and most images) can; just as a child's smiling face is one of the most distinctive symbols of youthful joy. Hence the mask, too, has the potential to powerfully symbolise psychological characteristics: from the disfigured public self of Dion Anthony, to the authoritarian powers of the *Poro gɛ*. This symbol can then be used as a subpersonality-hook, on to which wearer—or observer—can project related aspects of a subpersonality complex.

Along with the mask's ability to resemble the face, there are a number of further characteristics which, although they do not make the mask more effective at facilitating the expression of subpersonalities *per se*, do seem to explain its ability to facilitate the expression of more covert and hidden subpersonalities. First, the mask has the ability to disguise—and hence deindividuate—the individual. Feeling less inhibited about their behaviour, the individual may be more likely to express sides to themselves that they would otherwise feel too ashamed to externalise. Second, the plasticity of the mask allows it to symbolise—and hence hook in to—those covert subpersonalities that are devoid of a 'real' facial appearance. Third, the fixidity of the mask may provide some structure and safety for individuals to express more 'unacceptable' aspects of their psyche. Fourth, the fixidity of the mask may make it an ideal metaphor for the stillness at the depths of the psyche. Fifth, the mask may provide a high degree of dramatic distance between the individual and their subpersonality, such that 'unacceptable' aspects of the psyche can be expressed without the expresser ever having to consciously 'own' them. Sixth, the mask, as a projective medium, may limit the individual's conscious control over the characters they perceive in it, hence encouraging them to confront and experience more 'difficult' aspects of themselves. Seventh, the mask may focus the individual's attention on more non-verbal means of communication: channels which may be particularly related to more shadow, vulnerable, and deeper subpersonalities. Finally, for a performer, the mask may make it safer to enact aspects of their psyche that are likely to elicit a highly negative projection.

In themselves, none of these reasons are particularly unique to the mask: role-playing can provide a dramatic distance between the individual and their subpersonality; story-characters can be as plastic and flexible—if not more so—than the mask; and mime can equally focus the individual on non-verbal expression. What seems to make the mask unique in being able to facilitate the expression of more covert, disowned subpersonalities, however, is its ability to integrate all these qualities. In particular, it has the potential to combine the safety, distance and flexibility provided by the projective techniques, with the immersion and intensity of the experiential techniques—with the added advantage of disguise. Hence, individuals have the opportunity to project their most disowned,

covert subpersonalities into the mask, but then to experientially ‘inhabit’ these aspect of themselves. No other means of facilitating the expression of subpersonalities would seem to be so effective at combining the projective and the experiential.

Finally, the mask’s particular effectiveness within an interpersonal context would seem primarily due to the facial feedback process. Whilst, within an individual context, maskers may not be too aware of their mask; audiences or observers may heighten the self-perceptual process, causing the maskers to focus more attention on their mask. Hence, they will be more likely to regulate and modify their behaviour in accordance with the mask, rather than with their own behavioural standards.

9.5 POTENTIAL THERAPEUTIC DEVELOPMENTS

In chapter seven, a number of mask-based means for facilitating the expression of subpersonalities were discussed. Given the findings of this thesis, however, I would like to briefly sketch out a number of further ways in which the mask might be used to fulfil this function.

First, this study suggests that the mask is particularly effective when used as a large subpersonality-hook—tapping in to specific aspects of the psyche. Hence, as with Saigre (1989) and the Geese Theatre Company, a set of masks could be developed, but ones that would correspond specifically to the trans-individual subpersonalities—particularly the shadow, vulnerable child, free child, and critical parent. These masks might then be used in one-to-one or group therapy, where clients, known to have ‘blocks’ or ‘issues’ with a particular subpersonality, could be encouraged to work with the corresponding mask. Alternatively—and more client-centred-ly—a set of trans-individual subpersonality masks might simply be made available to the client(s), who would then have the choice of which masks—if any—to work with and explore.

At the other end of the subpersonality-hook scale, it might also be interesting to develop a set of highly ambiguous, Rorschach-like masks. These could then either be used for diagnostic purposes, or as part of on-going therapy. As the experimental chapter suggests, to interpret every character emanating through these masks as a subpersonality would be inappropriate. Nevertheless, given that these masks do seem to bring up more ‘shadow-y’, vulnerable and deeper parts of an individual’s personality, they might be a particularly intriguing means of helping both client and facilitator to understand and explore the client’s psyche.

With both specific and ambiguous masks, it might also be interesting to incorporate more descriptive/analytical techniques into the mask-work process. Because mask-work has tended to remain within the domain of dramatherapy—a therapeutic approach which can be avidly anti-analytical—there is often a tendency for clients not to talk about their Masks, or to explore the relationship between their Masks and themselves. Yet a more descriptive/analytical approach to mask-work need not necessarily stretch to the interpretative extremes of Saigre's (1989) analytical psychodrama. Rather, simple questions like, 'How does this Mask relate to your life?' 'Is this Mask a side of your personality?' 'What does this Mask want, need, etc.?' might all be useful ways of helping the client to explore their intrapsychic structures; along with more phenomenological questions like, 'How does it feel to be this Mask?'

Following on from this, it might also be very useful to help clients descriptively/analytically explore the transitions between masked states: 'What does it feel like to put a mask on?' 'What happens when you change?' 'What happens when you want to take the mask off?' Such a process would help the client to develop an awareness, not only of the subpersonalities themselves, but also of the transitions between subpersonality states: how it feels to move from one to another, what stops or facilitates the transformative process, etc. In exploring the putting on of a vulnerable child mask, for instance, a client may discover that it feels embarrassing and 'silly', but once she is wearing it, it is frightening to get out of. Such an awareness may help her to recognise when she is 'going in to' her vulnerable child, and also what stops her 'moving out' of it. Techniques like Gersie's zone exercise—in which the masking process is deconstructed into its component stages—might also be a useful means of further exploring the phenomenological transition between subpersonality states.

Given the mask's versatility, it might also be interesting to develop workshops that exploited this characteristic to the full. A two-day mask and subpersonality workshop, for instance, might begin with a brief introduction to subpersonalities, and then participants could be asked to visualise a mask that symbolised a particularly salient side of themselves. Having made this mask, they could then be encouraged to wear it, to improvise with it, to 'hot-seat' with it, to descriptively/analytically explore its relationship to their own lives, and to observe the masks of their colleagues. Participants could also be asked to make and develop a mask which conflicted—or stood in direct opposition—to the former one. In this way, a whole two day workshop could be devoted to working with just one subpersonality—or just one intrapsychic conflict—without the need for greater diversification. Such versatility might also make the mask particularly appropriate for a workshop that intended to focus on just one particular subpersonality, e.g., the vulnerable child.

Given, too, the mask's ability to symbolise and express an observer's subpersonalities, it might be interesting to develop more performance-based mask-work techniques for facilitating the expression of subpersonalities. Clients, for instance, could be encouraged to act out mask-based plays and ceremonies, or to devise their own mask-based monodramas, to perform to each other or an audience. Alternatively, as with the Geese Theatre Company, professional performers might be asked to act out masked monodramas, which clients would have an opportunity to interact with—or subsequently work upon. Clients watching a performance of *The Great God Brown*, for instance, might be encouraged to talk about their own public selves, and then, perhaps, to make a mask which represented them. The clients might then be asked to use these masks to develop their own performances.

In one-to-one work, on the other hand, it might be useful to find ways of harnessing the inter-personal efficacy of masks. One possibility, only touched on in the therapy chapter, is the use of masks with mirrors. If masks are primarily brought to life by the existence of observers—through a heightening of the self-perceptual process—then mirrors may be an even more powerful means of invoking this facial feedback. Looking at herself in a demonic mask, for instance, an individual might be directly and immediately hooked in to this aspect of her personality. Such a technique would clearly have to be used with considerable care; but, in terms of helping people to express previously unexpressed aspects of their personality, it might be an extremely effective and beneficial technique.

9.6 FURTHER RESEARCH

In terms of further research, the previous chapter has already highlighted a number of potential avenues: qualitative comparisons between masked and non-masked means of facilitating the expression of subpersonalities; inquiries into the potential of the ambiguous mask; and explorations of the reasons why people respond differently to mask-work. On a more general and less experimental level, however, there are a number of further areas which might be particularly useful to explore.

First, and perhaps more importantly, is the difficulties and contra-indications of mask-work. As an exploratory study, this thesis has been concerned primarily with establishing that there is sufficient validity for using the mask to facilitate the expression of subpersonalities; yet, if mask-work is to become a commonplace therapeutic technique, it is as important to know when, where, and how it should not be used, as when, where, and how it should.

Second, it would be extremely useful to explore the mask's ability to facilitate the expression of subpersonalities at an idiographic level, along with the more nomothetic one. Most likely, this would involve one-to-one case studies of individual mask-work. Such an exploration would be an invaluable means of understanding the kinds of processes that individuals go through when using masks to facilitate the expression of subpersonalities: highlighting both the advantages of the mask, and its weaknesses.

Phenomenologically-based methodologies—either idiographic or nomothetic—would also be very useful in helping to establish the psychological experience of mask-work. What actually happens, for instance, when an individual puts on a mask? How are they feeling? What is going on inside their head? If they are expressing subpersonalities, exactly how does this come about? In exploring masks at both a phenomenological and idiographic level, a polypsychic framework might have to be put to one side, in favour of a more grounded and inductive methodology. Subpersonalities are only one framework in which to explore the potential of the mask, and a more open-ended structure would undoubtedly reveal many further frameworks through which the mask could be understood.

One framework, in particular, that might be worth exploring further is a Jungian, archetypal one. Indeed, given the 'depth' of subpersonalities that the mask seems to bring out, such an approach may be ultimately more appropriate than a subpersonality-orientated one. Such a framework has already been adopted by a number of mask-using therapists, and many of the Masks explored in this thesis bear a strong resemblance to various Jungian archetypes. Not only are there the various shadow characters already highlighted in this thesis; but masked characters such as The Mask and the *koyemci* Clown could be interpreted as powerful expressions of the Trickster archetype, whilst the ancestral beings expressed through the *kachina* and *gɛ* masks could be seen as expressions of the wise old man archetype. An archetypal framework might also be useful in exploring expressions of the anima, facilitated through such masking techniques as transvestism, and the popular cross-cultural phenomenon of female masks.

It would also be very useful to explore the mask from the perspective of drama teaching and improvisation. Johnson's *Impro* has much to say on the psychology of the mask, and those teachers who work consistently with mask-based improvisation might provide some fascinating insights into the relationship between masks and subpersonalities. Do they believe, for instance, that students are expressing aspects of themselves through the masks? and, if so, In what ways do they think mask-work could be used most effectively?

Finally, as McLeod (1994) states, ‘the bottom line for therapy and therapist researchers’ (p.121), is, ‘Does it work?’ Outcome studies would be a useful means of exploring the therapeutic potential of the mask—with or without subpersonalities—perhaps comparing it with a similar technique such as art-work or drama.

9.6 CONCLUSION

As Denzin and Lincoln (1994) write, ‘The product of the *bricoleur’s* labor is a bricolage, a complex, dense, reflexive, collagelike creation that represents the researcher’s images, understandings, and interpretations of the world or phenomenon under analysis. This bricolage will...connect the parts to the whole, stressing the meaningful relationships that operate in the situations and social world studied’ (p.3). In this thesis, I hope to have adopted the role of the *bricoleur,* triangulating together understandings of the mask from as far afield as Batman and *Barong,* Cuchulain and controlled experimental studies. In doing so, however, I hope to have established a number of preliminary findings.

The mask would seem to have the capacity to act as a powerful means of facilitating the expression of subpersonalities—though it should not be assumed that every character expressed through a mask is a subpersonality. The mask would seem particularly effective at facilitating the expression of covert and disowned subpersonalities, in particular, the shadow, vulnerable child, and the ‘deeper subpersonalities’. The mask would also seem to be particularly effective within a group context. What appears to make the mask unique is its ability to combine projective and experiential means of facilitating the expression of subpersonalities. As an external, distanced object, the individual can feel free to project her deepest, most disowned subpersonalities into the mask. But then, in contrast to drawing or sculptures, she actually has an opportunity to inhabit this projection—to immerse herself in her own unconscious. In this respect, the mask would seem to have enormous potential to bring the ‘People of the Shadows’ to life, to help individuals face the un-faced subpersonalities at the depths of the human psyche.

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APPENDIX 1

Condition	Individual	Interacting	**Mean**
Non masked	2.42	2.96	2.69
Masked (total)	2.46	2.77	2.61
White masked	2.36	2.42	2.38
Coloured masked	2.58	3.07	2.85
Mean	2.44	2.86	2.65

Means of 'Self-conscious'

Condition	Individual	Interacting	**Mean**
Non masked	4.54	4.38	4.46
Masked (total)	4.46	4.64	4.46
White masked	3.79	5.33	4.50
Coloured masked	4.84	4.07	4.23
Mean	4.40	4.51	4.46

Means of 'Immersed in the character'

Condition	Individual	Interacting	**Mean**
Non masked	3.23	3.65	3.44
Masked (total)	3.35	2.96	3.15
White masked	3.29	2.42	2.88
Coloured masked	3.42	3.43	3.42
Mean	3.29	3.31	3.30

Means of 'Similar to normal waking consciousness'

Condition	Individual	Interacting	**Mean**
Non masked	4.08	4.15	4.12
Masked (total)	3.88	4.81	4.35
White masked	4.00	5.17	4.54
Coloured masked	3.75	4.50	4.15
Mean	3.98	4.48	4.23

Means of '"Fixed" in the character'

Condition	Individual	Interacting	**Mean**
Non masked	4.38	4.12	4.25
Masked (total)	4.54	4.42	4.48
White masked	5.07	4.08	4.62
Coloured masked	3.92	4.71	4.35
Mean	4.46	4.27	4.37

Means of 'Uninhibited'

Condition	Individual	Interacting	**Mean**
Non masked	3.12	2.96	3.04
Masked (total)	3.73	3.31	3.52
White masked	3.50	3.58	3.54
Coloured masked	4.00	3.07	3.50
Mean	3.42	3.13	3.28

Means of 'Detached from the character'

Condition	Individual	Interacting	**Mean**
Non masked	3.08	1.73	2.40
Masked (total)	3.00	2.54	2.77
White masked	3.29	2.17	2.77
Coloured masked	2.77	2.86	2.77
Mean	3.04	2.13	2.59

Means of 'Trance-like'

Condition	Individual	Interacting	**Mean**
Non masked	2.96	3.58	3.27
Masked (total)	2.96	2.85	2.90
White masked	3.00	2.33	2.69
Coloured masked	2.92	3.29	3.11
Mean	2.96	3.21	3.09

Means of 'Difficult to stay "in character"'