



Carl Jung, 1875–1961

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ANALYTICAL PSYCHOTHERAPY

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OVERVIEW

Analytical psychology, the psychodynamic system and personality theory created by Carl Gustav Jung, builds on Freud's and Adler's perspectives, offering an expanded view of humanity's personal and collective realities. Analytical psychotherapy offers a map of the human psyche that encompasses conscious and unconscious elements, including both a transpersonal (archetypal) and a personal layer in the unconscious. The goals of psychotherapy are reintegration, self-knowledge, and individuation, with a heartfelt awareness of the human condition, individual responsibility, and a connection to the transcendent replacing a wounded, one-sided, rationalistic, and limited sense of self. Therapy taps into the healing and self-regulating potential of the psyche by means of a profound encounter between the interacting personalities of patient and therapist.

Basic Concepts

The cornerstone of Jung's psychological system is his concept of the psyche, the inner realm of personality that balances the outer reality of material objects. Jung defined *psyche* as a combination of spirit, soul, and idea; he viewed psychic reality as the sum of the conscious and unconscious processes. According to Jung, this inner world influences biochemical processes in the body, affects the instincts, and determines one's perception of outer reality. Jung proposed that physical matter can be known only through a person's psychic images of outside reality; thus, what people perceive is in large part determined by who they are.

The reality of the psyche was Jung's working hypothesis, confirmed through material he gathered from fantasy, myth, image, and the behavior of individual people. Jung mapped the psyche in terms of a whole made up of balancing and compensatory opposites. Key aspects of his map of the psyche are a personal and collective unconscious as well as a personal and collective consciousness.

Jung's description of the personal unconscious is similar to Freud's, but more extensive. In Jungian theory, an individual's personal unconscious contains not only material unacceptable to one's ego and superego and therefore repressed, but also material unimportant to the psyche, temporarily or permanently dropped from consciousness. It also contains undeveloped parts of one's personality not yet ready for or admitted to consciousness, as well as elements rising from the collective unconscious.

Collective unconscious is Jung's term for the vast, hidden psychic resource shared by all human beings. Jung discovered the collective unconscious through his patients' disclosures, his own self-analysis, and cross-cultural studies. He found the same basic motifs expressed in fantasies, dreams, symbols, or myths. Images that emerge out of the collective unconscious are shared by all people but modified by their personal experiences. Jung called these motifs archetypal images and depicted the collective unconscious as organized in underlying patterns.

An *archetype* is an organizing principle, a system of readiness, and a dynamic nucleus of energy. As an organizing principle, an archetype is analogous to the circuitry pattern in the brain that orders and structures reality; as a system of readiness, it parallels animals' instincts; as a dynamic nucleus of energy, it propels a person's actions and reactions in a patterned way. Jung believed that humans have an inherited predisposition to form their personalities and to view reality according to universal inner patterns.

Archetypes can be seen as pathways along whose course energy flows from the collective unconscious into consciousness and action. Jung wrote that there were as many archetypal images in the collective unconscious as there were typical situations in life, and that they have appeared in individual experience from time immemorial and will reappear in the future whenever analogous situations arise. Some archetypal patterns that became a major focus of Jung's work and a fertile source for popular psychology are the Heroic Quest; the Night Sea Journey; the Inner Child (often seen as the childlike part of one's own personality) and Divine Child; the Maiden, Mother, and Goddess; the Wise Old Man; and the Wild Man.

Whereas the collective unconscious reveals itself to a person by means of such archetypal images, the personal unconscious makes itself known through *complexes*. Archetypal images flow from the collective unconscious into the personal unconscious by means of a *complex* (a sensitive, energy-filled cluster of emotions, such as an attitude toward one's father or anyone resembling him). Jung's idea of the complex came from his research on the Word Association Test. Jung would read a list of words aloud, asking subjects to respond with the first word that came to their minds; he then repeated the list, with the subjects attempting to recall their initial responses. Jung noticed pauses, failures to respond or remember, and bodily reactions, and he believed that such variations revealed sensitive, hidden areas. Jung named these reactions complexes—emotionally charged associations of ideas and feelings that act as magnets to draw a net of imagery, memories, and ideas into their orbit.

Jung believed the complex to be so important that when he broke with Freud and looked for a name for his form of psychoanalysis, his first choice was Complex Psychology. Freud and Adler adopted Jung's terminology of the complex, but Jung's formulation was far richer than those of his colleagues. Jung believed that even though a complex may have restricting, upsetting, or other disturbing consequences in some instances, it can also be positive, serving to bring matters of importance to consciousness. Complexes demand personal confrontation and response that can promote a person's

development and growth. One can relate to a complex positively by meeting its demand, but this takes hard psychological work. Many people try to manage a complex by projecting its contents: A man with a negative mother complex, for instance, may see all women in an exaggeratedly negative light. (*Projection* means attributing to another person something that really belongs to one's own personality.) Another way a person may try to avoid a complex is by repression. Thus, a woman with a negative mother complex may cut herself off from all that she considers feminine so as not to resemble her mother in any way. Another woman with a mother complex might perceive herself as an all-good, "earth mother" type of woman. In more extreme cases, a complex may overpower an individual so that the person loses touch with reality, becoming psychotic; a psychotic woman who has a mother complex may believe she is Mother Nature and the mother of everything and everybody on earth.

Rather than seeing the unconscious as something that needs to be cleaned out and made conscious, Jung felt that individuals grow toward wholeness when both conscious and unconscious parts of the mind work in harmony. Because of this natural movement toward balance and self-healing, Jung concluded that neurosis contained the seeds of its own cure and had the energy to bring about growth and healing. The Jungian analyst serves as a catalyst to promote balance, growth, and integration.

Other Systems

Jung's theories have influenced contemporary religious, cultural, and sociological thought, as well as art, literature, and drama. Nevertheless, psychology in general, and modern psychotherapeutic systems in particular, frequently overlook or ignore Jung's influence. There are many reasons for this, including the difficulty of Jung's writing style and the bitter parochialism of some early psychoanalysts. The situation is compounded by the tendency of psychologists to believe what they have *heard* about Jung rather than reading what he wrote. Today's psychologists receive a rigorously scientific education that often leads them to fear "soft" science and to avoid a system that they have been told is mystical. In reality, the pragmatism of Jung's practical and inclusive approach to psychotherapy has contributed much to the general field of psychology. To ignore one of the three great early psychodynamic theoreticians of the twentieth century is to travel with an incomplete map of the human psyche.

Jung started to develop his own form of psychoanalysis and to treat patients before he met Freud. However, his debt to Freud is great. Perhaps most important to Jung were Freud's exploration of the unconscious through free association, his focus on the significance of dreams, and his stress on the role of early childhood experiences in the formation of personality (Davis, 2008; Ellenberger, 1981). Jung constructed a map of these areas that became broader and more inclusive than Freud's.

Jung focused on the complex as the royal road to the unconscious, whereas Freud emphasized the importance of dreams. Yet dreams play a more significant role in Jung's system than in Freud's, since Jung saw dreams as more meaningful than simple wish-fulfillments, requiring a more thorough and well-rounded technique of dream analysis. For Jung, Freud's Oedipus complex was only one of many possible complexes and not necessarily the most important one. Sexuality and aggression, rather than being the sole channels for the expression of libido, were only two of its many possible routes. Neurosis had many causes, including, but not limited to, sexual problems. Perhaps the most salient difference between Freud and Jung resulted from Jung's belief that the quest for meaning was as strong a need as the sex drive.

Jung believed that certain people would profit most from a Freudian analysis, others from an Adlerian analysis, and still others from a Jungian analysis. He viewed Adler's theory of dreams as similar to his own. Both theories held that dreams could reveal what an individual wanted not to recognize in himself or herself (what Jung called the *shadow*

aspects of the personality). Both Jung and Adler believed that dreams reveal the underlying pattern of the way an individual relates to the world. Adler and Jung also stressed the importance of first memories, and of fulfilling life tasks and one's duties to society. Jung taught that unless these tasks were fulfilled, neurosis would result. They both met the individual patient on a more equal footing than Freud. Freud had his patients lie on a couch and free associate, but Jung and Adler sat face-to-face with their patients. Finally, both Adler and Jung believed that psychotherapy should look to the future as well as to the past. Jung's ideas of life goals and forward-looking (teleological) energy are similar to Adler's views.

Life-span psychologists owe much to Jung. Erik Erikson's life stages, Lawrence Kohlberg's stages of moral development, and Carol Gilligan's reevaluation and redefinition of Kohlberg's work to reflect women's development—all express Jung's ideas of individuation over the life span. Jung's theories inspired Henry A. Murray's Needs-Press Theory of Personology, and Jung's encouragement of fantasies inspired the Thematic Apperception Test (Christiana Morgan, its first author, and Murray were analyzed by Jung). Gestalt therapy can be seen as an extension of Jung's method of dream interpretation. Jungians such as E. C. Whitmont and Sylvia Perera (1992) use a combination of gestalt enactment and active imagination (a conscious exploration of one's fantasies) as core analytic tools. J. L. Moreno's psychodrama reflects Jung's encouragement of patients' enacting their dreams and fantasies; Moreno's ideas of role and of surplus reality mirror Jung's belief in a pluralistic psyche composed of many archetypal images and possible roles.

Harry Stack Sullivan's *good me* and *bad me* reflect Jung's concepts of positive and negative *shadow* (the rejected or unrecognized parts of one's personality). Alexander Lowen's bioenergetic theory follows Jung's theory of typology, and Jung's four functions of *thinking, feeling, sensation, and intuition* loosely parallel Lowen's hierarchy of personality functions. Holistic therapies of all varieties, from the Adlerian to the most modern, share with Jung the idea of a person made up of many parts in service to the whole, with the individual having a normal urge toward growth and healing. Self-actualizing theories, such as those derived from Abraham Maslow's work, stress the forward-looking and optimistic parts of Jung's psychology, and the person-centered psychology of Carl Rogers echoes Jung's human interest and personal devotion to his patients. Jung (1935a) insisted on the human quality in analysis, emphasizing the integrity of the patient who "inasmuch as he is an individual . . . can only become what he is and always was . . . the best thing the doctor can do is lay aside his whole apparatus of methods and theory" (p. 10) in order to be with the patient as a fellow human being.

Theories that have emerged from neo-Freudian ego psychology, such as Melanie Klein's and Erich Fromm's theories, share so much with Jungian thought that they cross-fertilize each other and are producing a vigorous hybrid. Jungians have pointed out the similarity of their constructs to Jung's original formulations in realms such as the description of infancy and its tasks, the internalization of parts of others' personalities, projections, and the death instinct (e.g., Maduro & Wheelwright, 1977; Solomon, 2009). Barbara Stephens (1999) sees the following Jungian themes fertilizing post-Freudian thought: the centrality of self and subjective experience; countertransference as helpful analytic data; the role of symbol and symbol formation; the importance of primitive (and infantile) affective states; and Freudian feminists' focus on desire as a significant conduit of integration and healing.

Jung's emphasis on the value of being as well as doing, and his deep trust in religious or mystical feelings, are similar to many Asian psychotherapies (Young-Eisendrath, 2008; Higuchi, 2009). Jung's method for incubating fantasies in active imagination is a directed meditation. Jung lectured widely on Asian systems of thought, comparing them to his own theories; perhaps his most cogent lecture was on yoga in relation to the analysis of one of his patients (Douglas, 1997b).

HISTORY

Precursors

Carl Gustav Jung (1875–1961), the eldest son of a clergyman, grew up in the German-speaking part of Switzerland during the final quarter of the nineteenth century. His mother came from a family of theologians; his father's father, a physician, had also been a renowned poet, philosopher, and classical scholar. Jung received a thorough education embedded not only in the Protestant theological tradition but also in classical Greek and Latin literature. He was influenced especially by the pre-Socratic philosopher Heraclitus, by the mystic Jacob Boehme, by romantic philosophy and psychiatry, and by Asian philosophy. During an era that marked the rise of scientific positivism, Jung's teachers emphasized a rational, optimistic, and progressive view of human nature. Nevertheless, Jung was drawn instead to romanticism, which valued the irrational, the occult, the mysterious, and the unconscious. Romanticism had a more pessimistic view of human nature than positivism did. According to romantic philosophy, humans were divided and polarized; they yearned for a unity and wholeness that had been lost. This yearning manifested itself through the desire to plumb the depths of the natural world as well as the individual soul (Douglas, 2008).

Romantic philosophy underlay nineteenth-century anthropology, linguistics, and archaeology, as well as research on sexuality and the inner worlds of the mentally ill—all topics that interested Jung. Romanticism also manifested itself in the exploration of parapsychological phenomena and the occult.

Tracing the specific sources of Jung's ideas would require many chapters (see especially Bair, 2003, Bishop, 2009, and Shamdasani, 2003). Perhaps the best brief coverage is by Henri Ellenberger (1981), who stresses Jung's debt to romantic philosophy and psychiatry. The theories of Goethe, Kant, Schiller, and Nietzsche were influential in forming Jung's style of thinking in terms of opposites.

Jung's fellow townsman, Johann Bachofen, was interested in the religious and philosophical importance of myths and the meaning of symbols. Nietzsche had borrowed Bachofen's concept of a Dionysian–Apollonian duality, which Jung adopted in turn. (Dionysius stood for the sensual side of life, and Apollo represented the rational.) Nietzsche shared with Jung a sense of the tragic ambiguity of life and the presence of good and evil in every human interaction. Nietzsche's ideas about the origin of civilization, humanity's moral conscience, and the importance of dreams, together with his concern about evil, influenced Jung. Nietzsche's description of the Shadow, the Persona, the Superman, and the Wise Old Man were taken up by Jung as specific archetypal images.

Carl Gustav Carus and Arthur Schopenhauer also influenced Jung. Carus had written about the creative and healing functions of the unconscious 50 years before Freud or Jung. Carus outlined a tripartite model of the unconscious that prefigured Jung's concepts of the archetypal, collective, and personal unconscious. Schopenhauer possessed a view of life that attracted Jung. Both wrote about the irrational in human psychology, as well as the role played by human will, repression, and the power of the instincts. Schopenhauer and Nietzsche inspired Jung's theory of archetypes; also influential was Schopenhauer's emphasis on imagination, the role of the unconscious, the reality of evil, and the importance of dreams. Both Schopenhauer and Jung were interested in moral issues and in Eastern philosophy, and both believed in the possibility of personal wholeness.

Ellenberger (1981) traces Jung's psychotherapeutic emphasis on transference and countertransference (*transference* refers to feelings the patient projects onto the analyst and *countertransference* to the ways in which the analyst is influenced by patients' projections) to a chain of thought that originated in the exorcism of devils, wound through Anton Mesmer's theory of animal magnetism, and led to the early-nineteenth-century

use of hypnosis by Pierre Janet to cure mental illness. Janet also influenced Jung through his classifications of mental diseases and his interest in multiple personality and fixed ideas. For Janet, as for Jung, the dedication of the doctor and the personal harmony between doctor and patient were major elements in cures.

Beginnings

Jung wrote, "Our way of looking at things is conditioned by what we are" (1929/1933/1961, p. 335). He believed all psychological theories were subjective, reflecting the personal history of their founders. Jung's parents had been raised in prosperous city families and were well educated; their discontent with their life in the poor rural parish of Kesswil, where Jung's father served as a country pastor, affected Jung's childhood. Jung described his youth as lonely. Until he went to high school, his companions were mostly uneducated farm children. His early experience with peasants brought out a practical and earthy side of Jung that balanced his tendency toward introspection (Jung, 1965).

Jung was close to his mother. He experienced her as having two sides. One side was intuitive, with an interest in parapsychology that he feared; the other side was warm and maternal, which comforted him. In his mind, Jung split her into a daytime/nighttime, good/bad person. Jung's later efforts to integrate these contrasting aspects of his mother found form in his emphasis on the importance of the Hero's quest to free himself from the Terrible Mother, as well as his depiction of powerful feminine archetypal images. Jung's unsatisfactory relationship with his father may have led to his later problems with men, especially male mentors and other authority figures.

Throughout his life, Jung was interested in and attracted to women. He married a woman with an earthy side similar to his mother's, but he remained captivated by intuitive women whom he described as his lost feminine half. In his autobiography, Jung remembered a nursemaid who took care of him when his mother was hospitalized for several months. This nurse became the prototype for a series of women who were to fascinate and inspire him. The parapsychological experiments of Jung's cousin, Helene Preiswerk, became the subject of his medical school dissertation. Her influence was seminal to the development of Jung's theories.

Much of Jung's reading during his university and medical school years concerned multiple personality, trance states, hysteria, and hypnosis. He brought this interest to his coursework and to his lectures to fellow students, as well as to his dissertation. His fascination with these subjects, and his reading of Richard von Krafft-Ebing's study of sexual psychopathology propelled Jung into psychiatry (Jung, 1965). Soon after Jung finished his dissertation, he started work under Eugen Bleuler at the Burgholzli Psychiatric Hospital, then a famous center for research on mental illness. Jung lived at the Burgholzli Hospital from 1902 to 1909 and became intimately involved with the daily lives of mentally disturbed patients. Their inner worlds intrigued him, and his exploration of the symbolic universe of one of his schizophrenic patients, Babette, was a major source of Jung's study on schizophrenia, *The Psychology of Dementia Praecox* (1907/1960). At the Burgholzli, Jung developed and administered a number of psychological tests. His Word Association Test studies (1904–1907) gained him renown. These studies were the first demonstration of the reality of the unconscious. This work led Jung to begin a correspondence with Sigmund Freud.

Freud appreciated Jung's contributions to psychoanalytic theory and accepted Jung as his heir apparent. He appointed Jung president of the International Psychoanalytic Association and editor of the *Jahrbuch*, the first psychoanalytic journal. The two men traveled together to the United States in 1909 to lecture on their respective views of psychoanalysis at Clark University. Jung considered himself Freud's collaborator, not his disciple. Divergent perceptions, as well as their conflicting personalities, caused them to

sever their alliance. Jung brought about his inevitable break with Freud through writing *The Psychology of the Unconscious* (1911, revised in 1956 as *Symbols of Transformation*).

In this book, Jung set forth his own form of psychoanalysis, in which myth, cultural history, and personal psychology were interwoven; he also redefined *libido* more comprehensively than had Freud. During this period, Jung married and then left the Burgholzi for private practice. He began to train his followers in his own method, and his wife, Emma Jung, became one of the first analytical psychotherapists.

After his break with Freud, Jung suffered a period of extreme introversion that Ellenberger (1981) called a creative illness. At this time, a third in the series of women who inspired him, his former patient and a future analyst, Toni Wolff, served as Jung's guide for his descent into the unconscious. Jung acknowledged his debt to her, as well as to the women who were the subjects of his first three books, and to his female patients when he wrote, "What this psychology owes to the direct influence of women . . . is a theme that would fill a large volume. I am speaking here not only of analytical psychology but of the beginnings of psychopathology in general" (Jung, 1927/1970, p. 124). He added that "I have had mainly women patients, who often entered into the work with extraordinary conscientiousness, understanding and intelligence. It was essentially because of them that I was able to strike out on new paths in therapy" (Jung, 1965, p. 145).

Jung's emergence from his period of creative introversion was signaled by the 1921 publication of his *Psychological Types*. Its inspiration came from Jung's reflection on the destructive antagonism among Freud, Adler, and himself. Jung made his private peace with them by creating a system of typology that allowed for and explained the different ways each experienced and reacted to the world.

Current Status

Interest in Jungian psychology is growing as the incompleteness of positivistic science becomes more apparent and the world becomes increasingly complex. In spite of the dismissal of analytical psychology by some pragmatic psychologists, the fact that analytical psychology answers a strong need for many people can be seen in the growing number of Jungian professional training institutes and analysts. As of 2009, the International Association for Analytical Psychology had 2929 certified analyst members in 45 countries, 51 professional societies (19 in the United States), and 19 developing groups. There are Jungian study groups and analytical psychology clubs that thrive both in cities that have professional societies and in many places not large enough to have institutes, and there are increasing numbers of people who call themselves Jungian-oriented therapists but have not gone through an institute's rigorous training. Professional journals are associated with specific institutes; among the more important ones are the *British Journal of Analytical Psychology*; San Francisco's *Jung Journal: Culture and Psyche*; the Los Angeles Institute's *Psychological Perspectives*; the New York Institute's *Journal of Jungian Theory and Practice*; Chicago's series of *Chiron* monographs on clinical practice; and the post-Jungian journal of archetypal studies, *Spring*. Important non-English journals include the *Cahiers de Psychologie Jungienne* from Paris, the *Zeitschrift für Analytische Psychologie* from Berlin, and Rome's *La Rivista di Psicologia Analitica*.

Training varies from institute to institute and country to country. Although Jung accepted lay analysts, the trend toward increasing professionalism grows. In the United States, institutes most often accept physicians, clinical psychologists, and social workers for training. Jung was the first psychoanalyst to insist that an analyst be personally analyzed. The cornerstone of Jungian training remains a thorough analysis over many years, often with two different analysts. Six or more years of case supervision comes next in importance (Crowther, 2009; Mathers, 2009; Sherwood, 2009). Coursework in the United States commonly takes 4 years and involves seminars that

provide a thorough grounding in clinical theory and practice (from both a Jungian and a neo-Freudian perspective), dream analysis, and archetypal psychology. Extensive personal reviews, oral and written examinations, and a clinical dissertation are generally required for professional certification as a Jungian analyst. The average length of training is 6 to 8 years though some newer groups are shortening training in Jungian psychotherapy to about 4 years.

There is an exciting ferment within Jungian studies at this time. Interest in child analysis, group work, body work, and art therapy is increasing, as is a concomitant interest in a hybrid of Jungian psychology and post-Freudian's object relations theory that focuses on the analysis of early childhood development and early childhood wounds (Cambray & Carter, 2004). *Object relations* is an unfortunate term for the way people relate to other people. This hybrid is becoming increasingly popular, especially in the United States and the United Kingdom. Others are revising or discarding the more time- or culture-bound aspects of Jung's theory. Two examples are a Jungian psychology of women that fits the reality of contemporary women and a reformulation of Jung's anima-animus concept. *Anima* is a feminine archetypal image most often represented through the feminine part of a man; *animus* is a masculine archetypal image most often represented through the masculine part of a woman. Jungians are currently reassessing what were once held to be traditionally "masculine" and "feminine" characteristics and are reappraising Jungian typological theory. There is also an extension of archetypal theory to images relevant to contemporary life, both in scholarly works and in popular works that reach a wide and receptive audience. There has been a gradual easing of the bad feelings and jealousy that divided the various schools of depth psychology since Freud, Adler, and Jung parted ways. Thus, for example, the National Accreditation Association for Psychoanalysis includes depth psychologists and institutes from many different, and formerly opposing, schools, and the British *Journal of Analytical Psychology* gives a yearly conference that is sponsored by the American Psychoanalytical Foundation and Jungian Institutes in Chicago and New York.

PERSONALITY

Theory of Personality

Jung's theory of personality rests on the concept of a dynamic unity of all parts of a person. The psyche is made up of conscious and unconscious components with connections to the *collective unconscious* (underlying patterns of images, thoughts, behaviors, and experiences). According to Jungian theory, our conscious understanding of who we are comes from two sources: the first derives from encounters with social reality, such as the things people tell us about ourselves, the second from what we deduce from our observations of others. If others seem to agree with our self-assessment, we tend to think we are normal; if they disagree, we tend to see ourselves, or to be seen by others, as abnormal.

In addition, each individual has a personal unconscious. This is an area of personality that cannot be understood directly and can be approached only indirectly through dreams and through analysis. The personal unconscious is affected by what Jung called the collective unconscious, an inherited human factor that expresses itself in the personal unconscious through archetypal images and complexes.

Thus, in effect, there are two aspects to the human psyche. One is an accessible side referred to as consciousness, comprising one's senses, intellect, emotions, and desires, and the other is an inaccessible side—the personal unconscious—containing elements of personal experience we have forgotten or denied, as well as elements of the collective unconscious that can be discerned through archetypal images and complexes.

Jung defined the Self as archetypal energy that orders and integrates the personality, an encompassing wholeness out of which personality evolves. The Self is the goal of personal development. The infant starts in a state of initial wholeness, as a unitary Self that soon fragments into subsystems. Through this fragmentation, mind and consciousness develop; over the course of a lifetime, the healthy personality then reintegrates at a higher level of development.

The most important fragment of the Self, the ego, first appears as the young child gains some sense of identity as an independent being. The ego in early life is like an island of consciousness set in an ocean of personal and unconscious material. The island grows in size and definition as it gathers and digests the deposits from the sea around it. This ego becomes the "I"—an entity comprising everything a person believes himself or herself to be, including thoughts, feelings, wants, and bodily sensations. The ego, as the center of consciousness, mediates between the unconscious realm and the outer world. Part of human psychological development consists of creating a strong and resilient ego that can filter stimuli from each of these domains without identifying with or being overcome by either side.

The *personal shadow* balances the ego in the personal unconscious. The shadow contains everything that could or should be part of the ego but that the ego denies or refuses to develop. The personal shadow can contain both positive and negative aspects. Shadow elements often appear in dreams in attacking or frightening forms of the same gender as the dreamer; they also erupt into consciousness through projection onto hated or envied individuals or groups. The personal shadow tends to be the vehicle through which archetypal images of evil emerge out of the collective unconscious, such as when, for instance, a mob gets carried away in mindless acts of violence. Confronting shadow material, making it and one's response to it conscious, can reclaim important parts of the personality to consciousness; these are essential tasks for the mature personality.

Jung believed in the reality of evil and viewed it as an increasing problem in the world. Jung felt that humans could confront evil by becoming conscious of it and aware of archetypal, inherited images of absolute evil. He thought that responsibly facing human evil meant becoming conscious of what is in one's own shadow, confronting archetypal images of evil instead of being overwhelmed by them, and taking personal responsibility for one's own evil propensities and actions rather than projecting shadow material and complexes onto other people, groups, or nations.

The *persona* is the public "face" of an individual in society. Jung named the persona for the Greek theatrical mask that hid the actor's face and indicated the part he chose to play. The persona shields the ego and reveals appropriate aspects of it, smoothing the individual's interactions with society. The development of an adequate persona allows for the privacy of thoughts, feelings, ideas, and perceptions, as well as for modulation in the way they are revealed. Just as people can identify with their egos, they can identify with their persona, believing they really *are* the role they have chosen to play.

Jung believed that the task of the first part of life was strengthening the ego, taking one's place in the world in relationships with others, and fulfilling one's duty to society. The task of the second half of life was to reclaim undeveloped parts of oneself, fulfilling these aspects of personality more completely. He called this process *individuation* and believed this life task drew many of his older patients into analysis. By individuation, Jung did not mean perfection; the idea refers to completion and wholeness, including acceptance of the more negative parts of one's personality and adoption of an ethical, though individual, response to them. Fordham (1996) and many other contemporary Jungians believe that individuation does not have to wait until middle age. Jung's emphasis on individuation as the task of the second half of life further differentiated his personality theory from Freud's because it allowed for growth and transformation

throughout the life cycle. The mid-life crisis, looked at in this way, becomes a challenging opportunity for further development.

Part of the process of individuation concerns not only assimilation of personal shadow material but also awareness and integration of the contrasexual elements in the psyche—what Jung called the *anima* (an archetypal image of the feminine) and *animus* (an archetypal image of the masculine), which serve as bridges to the unconscious. The form and character of the archetypal images of anima and animus are highly individual, based on a person's experience of the opposite sex, cultural assumptions, and the archetype of the feminine or masculine. Since so much about gender and gender roles is in flux today, current images no longer match those of Jung's time and are changing as culture and experience change (Douglas, 2006). Contemporary reevaluation of this concept holds much promise for a reappraisal of homosexuality as a natural occurrence.

Typology is one of the most important and best-known contributions Jung made to personality theory. In *Psychological Types* (1921/1971), Jung describes varying ways in which individuals habitually respond to the world. Two basic responses are *introversion* and *extraversion*. Jung saw introversion as natural and basic. Energy for the introvert flows predominantly inward, with reality being the introvert's reaction to an event, object, or person. Introverts need solitude to develop and maintain their rich inner worlds; they value friendship, having few but deep relationships with others. The extravert's reality, on the other hand, consists of objective facts or incidents. The extravert connects with reality mainly through external objects. Whereas the introvert adapts outer reality to inner psychology, the extravert adapts himself or herself to the environment and to people. Extraverts usually communicate well, make friends easily, and have a great deal of libido for interactions with other people. Jung described nations as well as people as being either predominantly introverted or extraverted. For instance, he saw Switzerland as basically introverted and the United States not only as primarily extraverted but also as tending to look on introversion as unhealthy.

In his theory of typology, Jung went on to divide personality into functional types, based on people's tendency to perceive reality primarily through one of four mental functions: *thinking*, *feeling*, *sensation*, and *intuition*. Each of these four functions can be experienced in an extraverted or an introverted way. According to Jung,

For complete orientation all four functions should contribute equally: thinking should facilitate cognition and judgment, feeling should tell us how and to what extent a thing is important or unimportant for us, sensation should convey concrete reality to us through seeing, hearing, tasting, sensing, etc., and intuition should enable us to divine the hidden possibilities in the background, since these too belong to the complete picture of a given situation. (1921/1971, p. 518)

According to Jung, a thinker finds rules, assigns names, makes classifications, and develops theories; a feeling person puts a value on reality, often by liking or disliking something; a sensing type uses the five senses to grasp inner or outer reality; and an intuitive person has hunches that seem to penetrate into past and future reality, as well as an ability to pick up accurate information from the unconscious of another person.

Most people seem to be born with one of these four primary functions dominant. The dominant function is used more than the others and is developed more fully. Often a secondary function will develop as the person matures, while a third but weaker function—such as feeling for the thinker, or sensation for the intuitive person—remains shadowy and undeveloped. Jung stressed the importance of the least-developed function. Largely unconscious, it is often seen first in shadow and animus/anima subpersonalities. This undeveloped function causes trouble when it breaks into consciousness, but it can also bring creativity and freshness, appearing when the mature personality feels lifeless and spent.

People tend to develop one primary attitude and function and then rely on these, sometimes inappropriately. For instance, a predominantly thinking type tends always to consider the facts of the case when it may be better simply to understand that something is right or wrong, good or bad, worthy of acceptance or rejection.

Everyone has access to all four functions as well as to introversion and extraversion. Part of personality development, according to Jungians, consists of first refining one's predominant type and then cultivating one's less-evolved functions. In life-span development, the secondary function matures after the first and is followed by the third; the blooming of the least-developed function comes last and can be a source of great creativity in the latter part of life. It is important to stress that typological theory is a blueprint or map far clearer than the terrain of the personality itself, which is full of individual differences.

Variety of Concepts

Opposites

Jung (1976) wrote, "Opposites are the inradicable and indispensable preconditions for all psychic life" (p. 169). In line with the dualistic theories of his day, Jung saw the world in terms of paired opposites such as good and evil, light and dark, positive and negative. He designed his personality theory with *consciousness* opposing the *unconscious*, *masculine* opposing *feminine*, the *good aspects* of an archetypal image opposing the *bad* (e.g., the *Nourishing* opposing the *Devouring Mother*), *ego* opposing *shadow*, and so on. These opposites engage in active struggle, and personality development takes place through the tension this conflict produces in the psyche. For instance, a woman's conscious sexuality may war with her animus figure, who may appear in her dreams as a negative and judgmental male cleric. Caught in the conflict, she may go from one pole to the other and may develop neurotic symptoms from the split. Through bringing the fight between her eroticism and her spirituality into awareness, attentively following it, and allowing both sides their voice in fantasies and therapy, the woman may increase her consciousness and thus integrate the opposing sides of her sexuality and her religious feelings at a higher level of awareness.

Enantiodromia

This word refers to Heraclitus' law that everything sooner or later turns into its opposite. To illustrate enantiodromia, Jung liked to tell the story of the man who laughed on the way up a precipitous mountain path and cried on the easy way down. While climbing, he anticipated the effortless descent, but while ambling down, he remembered the difficult ascent he had made. Jung believed enantiodromia governed the cycles of human history as well as personal development. He thought that one could escape such cycles only through consciousness. Jung's belief in Heraclitus' law underlies his theory of compensation.

Compensation

Jung not only divided the world into paired opposites but also formed a theory built on the idea that just as the opposites lay in dynamic balance, so everything in the personality balanced or supplemented its opposite in a self-regulatory way. Jung referred to this tendency as compensation. Thus, the personal unconscious balances an individual's consciousness, giving rise in dreams, fantasies, or somatic symptoms to its opposite; the more rigidly one holds the conscious position, the more strongly will its opposite