

The Experience of Inherited Wealth: A Social-Psychological Perspective
Dissertation Outline, by Joanie Bronfman Ph.D.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter I: Introduction	1
Chapter II: Childhood	1
1. Parents Absent	1
2. Parents Relate on Their Terms	1
3. Object of Parenting to Turn Out Proper	2
4. Managed Approach to Parenting	2
Chapter III: Class Attitudes	4
1. Entitlement	4
2. Systematic Interference	4
3. Traditionalism	4
4. Superiority	4
5. <i>Noblesse Oblige</i>	4
6. Isolation	4
7. Control and Repression of Feelings	5
8. Appearance	5
Chapter IV: The Appeal of Cross-Class Relationships and The Problems of Wealthism	6
1. The Appeal of Cross-Class Relationships	6
2. Feeling Different	6
3. Attitudes Towards The Wealthy	6
Wealthism	6
Envy	6
Resentment	6
4. Conceptions of The Wealthy	7
5. The Effects of Wealthism	7
6. Management of Anti-Rich Sentiment	7
7. Solutions	7
Chapter V: Concealment & Disclosure in Cross Class Relationships	8
1. Wealth	8
2. Reasons for Hiding	8
3 How Hiding is Manifested	8
4. Effects of Hiding	8
5. Reasons for Coming Out	9
6. Benefits of Being Out	9
7. Special Problems of Being Out	9
8. Methods of Coming Out	9
9. Effects of Coming Out	9

Chapter VI: Sharing Resources w/Working & Middle Class Friends	10
1. Experience and Fear of Exploitation	10
2. Paying for Friends vs. Lending Money	10
3. Giving and Lending Money	10
4. Problems with Lending Money	10
5. Loans Experienced Positively by Lender	10
6. Loans Experienced Negatively by Lender	10
7. Issues for Borrower	10
8. Effects on the Relationship	11
9. Methods of Dealing with Requests for Loans	11
10. Successful Loans	11
11. Summary	11
Chapter VII: Work	12
1. Governed by Norms and Expectations	12
2. Reasons for Varying from the Expected Path	12
3. The Functions of Work	12
4. The Positive Effects of Wealth on Work	12
5. The Difficulties Created by Wealth	12
6. Motivation and Self-Esteem	13
7. Salary Issues	13
8. Volunteer Work	13
9. Working in a Family Business	14
Chapter VIII: Money	15
1. The Ethics of Wealth	15
2. Misconceptions About Wealth	16
3. Control of the Money	16
Chapter IX: Philanthropy	18
1. Motivations for Philanthropy	18
Family or communal expectations	18
<i>Noblesse oblige</i>	18
Idealism and generosity	18
Concern with social justice	18
Attempt to feel good	18
Support for organizations of interest	18
Perceived self-interest	18
Social gain and status	18
Desire to support areas of interest	18
2. Issues for the Philanthropist	18
The enormity of the problem	18
Fundraising	19
Openness vs. anonymity	19
Family issues	20
Psychological issues	20
Degree of satisfaction	20

Chapter X: Mental Health	21
1. Problems: Alcoholism and Suicide	21
2. Alcoholism	21
3. Frequency of Suicide or Attempted Suicide	21
4. Aspects of Wealthy Culture leading to Problems	21
Problematic parenting	21
Development of “appropriate self”	21
Norms in wealthy culture	22
Attitudes of secrecy about money	22
Self-esteem problems	22
5. Wealth as an Inappropriate Substitute for Needs it Cannot Fill	22
Meaningful life	22
Sense of identity	22
6. Wealth can interfere with Therapy	23
Chapter XI: Women	24
1. Positive Aspects of Wealth for Women	24
Neutralizes economic results of sexism	24
Can take rewarding but low-paid jobs	24
Allows financial independence from spouse	24
Allows women to leave a bad marriage	24
Feel independent, powerful, competent	24
Psychological offset to discrimination	24
Knowledge and experience to use system	24
Shifts balance of power between sexes	24
Opportunity for leadership and power	24
2. Negative Aspects of Wealth for Women	24
Denial of sexism and class superiority	24
Physical safety	24
Self-esteem and mental health	24
Appearance	24
Cross-class relationships with men	24
The role of wife and mother	25
Work	25
Mental health	26
Money	26
3. Summary	26
Chapter XII: Conclusions	27

The Experience of Inherited Wealth: A Social-Psychological Perspective

Dissertation Outline, By Joanie Bronfman

This outline summarize issues in Ms. Bronfman's 406 page thesis. For more complete understanding, refer to the thesis. The Experience of Inherited Wealth: A Social-Psychological Perspective. UMI. 1987. All rights reserved. Copyrighted material. To order: UMI 1-800-521-0600)

I. Introduction

The dissertation examines the experience of children growing up in wealthy families who now as adults have unearned wealth. The dissertation looks at the nature of the experience based on interviews with 100 women and men.

The conclusion of the dissertation is that the destructive effects of wealth and privilege create psychological hurts and that these hurts along with the perception of self interest and the advantages of money lead wealthy people to play their role in maintaining the system.

II. Childhood

Parenting common themes:

1. Parents being absent, often delegating child rearing to servants
 2. Parents only relating to children on parents' terms
 3. Parents being concerned about their children learning appropriate behaviors and attitudes rather than nurturing their children
 4. Parents having a managed approach to parenting
1. Parents absent, spending minimal time with children:
 - a. Parents:
 - (1) Don't prioritize their time with their children
Example: Woman in her 70s who only saw mother on maid's day off
 - (2) Work and/or travel a great deal
 - b. Children:
 - (1) Long for the contact they think middle class families have together
 - (2) Feel insecure and desperate for attention
 - (3) Go to great lengths to get attention, even engaging in self-destructive behavior
 - (4) Lack of time with parents leads to classic abandonment issues
 - (5) Prolonged absences at a young age result in detachment
 2. Relationship is on parents' terms:
 - a. Behavior of parents:
 - (1) Are more concerned with their children learning appropriate behaviors than with their nurturing their children
 - (2) Don't know what their children are interested in
 - (3) Activities are based on what the parents want or what they think the children want (not what the children necessarily want)
 - (4) Wealth allows intrusive parents time and opportunity to be especially intrusive
 - (5) Mother often narcissistic - attention to body, beauty and social relationships
 - (6) Father may demand mother perform certain roles which interfere

with direct child care

b. Effect on children:

- (1) Low self-worth and sense of self
- (2) When their feelings are ignored, children learn to ignore them as well
- (3) Insensitivity toward others passed on to child, who also becomes insensitive

3. Object of parenting is to turn out proper product:

a. Behavior of parents:

- (1) Molding rather than nurturing is the goal. Many parents have no idea this is neglectful.
- (2) Main goal is to enforce high standards of behavior and structure children's participation in appropriate class activities and social organizations
- (3) Leads to parents (and child) ignoring child's desires or opinions
- (4) Pressure to conform determines how decisions about children's activities are made
- (5) Little intimacy and physical affection
- (6) Confuse being physically present in the home with having a relationship with children (managing child care vs. doing child care)
- (7) Problematic behavior of children (spoiled children) is usually the result of insufficient attention and substitution of material goods for parental intimacy

b. Effect on children:

- (1) Hard for the children to develop a sense of themselves
- (2) Children do not report abuse because it would do no good
- (3) The adult who was parented this way has no idea what he/she wants and is easily led or swayed by others
- (4) Inability to parent the next generation

4. Managed approach to parenting: Making sure that what needs to be done for the children gets done but not doing it themselves

a. Lack of intimacy causes:

- (1) Little time with parents
- (2) Presence of servants affects intimacy in the home
- (3) Repression of feelings and lack of physical contact
- (4) Use of money as a substitute for human contact
- (5) Secrecy about work and finances
- (6) Physical structure - large houses - leads to less contact between family members

b. Servants

(1) Positive:

- (a) Many relationships between children and servants were positive
 1. Compensated for weaknesses in relationship with parents
 2. Additional source of attention, warmth and human contact

(2) Negative:

- (a) A problem when servants who are close to the children leave
 - 1. Children can't understand how the person they loved could leave them
 - 2. This can affect their adult relationships. They expect that people they love will leave them.
- (b) Parents didn't tell children appropriately about servant's departure
- (c) Some parents were jealous of their children's relationship with the servants
- (d) Good relationships with servants cannot completely compensate for problematic relationships with parents
- (e) Some servants were cruel and abusive: children often didn't tell parents
 - 1. Children used as love objects of servants
 - 2. Children threatened, terrorized, sexually and physically abused

c. Privilege and oppression

(1) Privilege:

- (a) Children's material needs are usually met and they had many opportunities and access to extra resources
- (b) Children of wealthy parents are not wealthy children because when they are children they don't have access to the family's wealth

(2) Oppression:

- (a) Lack of good relationship with parents - money used to buy experiences in lieu of parental attention
- (b) Harsh discipline
- (c) Abuse or neglect is often ignored by professionals: teachers, school nurses, doctors who are hesitant to believe that abuse and mistreatment occur in upstanding families and are reluctant to intervene

III. Class Attitudes

Implicit and explicit attitudes associated with money, the function of such attitudes, and the toll such attitudes take on the individual.

1. Entitlement: A term coined by Robert Coles. He uses the term broadly to include most of the class attitudes Bronfman describes separately, including an attitude of expectation that many wealthy people have - that if they work hard and follow the rules, the rewards will be material possessions and class status.
2. Systematic interference by adults with ability of children to obtain correct information contributes to the development of class attitudes:
 - a. Discouragement of questioning - "It's impolite to ask questions"
 - b. Discouragement of independent thinking
 - c. Direct misinformation - lying
 - d. There is a message of "Don't rock the boat, and everything will be yours"
3. Traditionalism: A respect for the past that affects perceptions and values. Family members are expected to remain within confines of family and class tradition - individuality and creativity may suffer.
4. Superiority: Better than other people - "special" - allows one to feel worthy of wealth (justification of privileges). Service to society reinforces the idea that one is worthy of wealth.
 - a. Ways attitudes of superiority are learned
 - (1) Told by parents that they were better
 - (2) Saw how parents were treated or treated others
 - (3) Size of house and number of possessions
 - (4) Number of servants
 - b. Positive aspects
 - (1) Desire for excellence, although this a limited definition of what constitutes excellence
 - (2) Belief that one has a valuable contribution to make
 - c. Negative aspects
 - (1) Confusion about why they were superior
 - (2) High expectations - pressure to be perfect - yet not appear to try too hard
 - (3) Excessive criticism
 - (4) Avoid experiences where they may fail
 - (5) Difficulty finding personal power which is not at the expense of other people
5. Noblesse oblige: Wealth carries responsibilities of community service and philanthropy and a belief that life would not run as well without these activities
6. Isolation: A feeling of separateness, lack of connection installed often unconsciously
 - a. Different classes don't know the realities of each others' lives - working and middle class people aspire to be rich

- b. Young wealthy people learn a lifestyle of isolation by
 - (1) Experiencing a lack of intimacy in their homes, including frequent parental absence, lack of touching and repression of feelings
 - (2) Being taught that independence is important and you can only count on yourself
 - (3) Blocked from intimacy with others
 - (a) Servants
 - (b) Peers - e.g., after school lessons are administered privately rather than in classes with others
 - (4) Separated from people from other backgrounds through private schools, clubs
 - c. Effect of isolation:
 - (1) Wealthy people may become shy and lonely and mistrustful of people who are different. Other people may mistake their loneliness for snobbery.
 - (2) Discomfort with intimacy may lead wealthy people to look for superficial sociability
7. Control and repression of feelings: Emotions should always be under control
- a. The origin of this may be in northern European cultural attitudes. Other groups who want access to upper class society have adopted these attitudes.
 - b. Outbursts of anger are not permissible
 - c. Criticism is a matter of fact and not a feeling - therefore, it's acceptable
 - d. If emotions are ignored and considered irrelevant, the child eventually loses access to his or her feelings
 - e. If you can't feel your own pain, you're unlikely to empathize with the pain of others
8. The importance of maintaining appearances:
- a. What matters is what shows, and what does not show does not matter
 - b. Dress, manners, language, family possessions communicate that one is a person of wealth, breeding and privilege
 - c. Everything is fine - if it isn't, don't talk about and don't show any emotions. (This has implications for dealing with addiction and recovery.)
 - d. The importance of maintaining appearance is a psychological burden but destroying the pretty picture may feel like a betrayal of one's family and class

IV. The Appeal of Cross-Class Relationships and the Problem of Wealthism

1. Appeal:

- a. Escape narrowness of upper class world and meet people with different experiences
- b. Have relationships with people whose strengths are perceived to be different from their own or that of their class (self-sufficiency, intensity, competence)
- c. Escape guilt
- d. Live out principles of equality or act on objections to an elitism lifestyle

2. Feeling different: Central experience for wealthy people who have cross-class relationships. Different because:

- a. More money, luxuries, leisure, freedom, options, opportunities - e.g., travel, different kinds of experiences - working with financial professionals, employing people
- b. Feel badly because they are different and don't share experiences that others share
- c. Difficulty either inviting others to their home or if they have invited others, find their working class friends reluctant to invite them to theirs
- d. Pain of seeing their friends struggle with financial problems and feeling unable to offer appropriate emotional support to their friends because they don't share the experience
- e. Feel friends unable to understand their experiences dealing with lawyers, etc.

3. Attitudes towards the wealthy: America is ambivalent towards wealth

- a. Wealthism: Prejudice towards wealthy people. Includes actions or attitudes that dehumanize or objectify wealthy people because they are wealthy. Main attitudes -awe, envy, resentment
- b. Envy: Enhanced by idea anybody can be rich - if so, why is it you and not me
 - (1) People do not see the problems of wealth; instead see wealth only as the answer to everything they want - dream, fantasy
 - (2) Envy expressed covertly
 - (3) Experience the envy of middle class people more often than working class people
 - (4) Large number of even superficial negative comments has a cumulative effect
 - (5) Envy leads to resentment
- c. Resentment:
 - (1) Hostility towards the rich is socially accepted
Example: Rich are bad; therefore, you're bad or a desire that things should be harder for wealthy
 - (2) Particularly difficult for
 - (a) Children
 1. When resentment comes from a parent who married into wealth
 2. When theirs is the only rich family
 3. When their parent is the major employer
 - (b) When it occurs in intimate relations
 - (c) When family members become symbols of hate

4. Conceptions of the wealthy:
 - a. Devoid of humanity, individuality, vulnerability
 - (1) Denial of feelings of pain and suffering
 - (2) Okay to take from - objectification allows mistreatment
 - (3) Assume motivation is greed and snottiness rather than fear and pain
 - (4) Flawed - example: impossible to be rich and Christian
 - (5) Bought accomplishments
 - (6) Motivations questioned - e.g., philanthropy
 - b. Stereotyping of wealthy: often a grain of truth - example: there are stingy wealthy people; but there are very generous wealthy people.
Functions:
 - (1) Consoles non-rich
 - (2) Limits excesses of the wealthy
 - (3) Bolsters separateness (class system)
5. Effect of wealthism on the rich:
 - a. Causes pain and fear
 - b. Internalization of attitudes of self-hate
 - c. Hard to feel good about self
 - d. Withdrawal from others
 - e. Feel have nothing to contribute
 - f. Minimize contacts with people who might be resentful
 - g. Guilt
 - h. Hatred of other rich people
6. Management of anti-rich sentiment:
 - a. Avoid situations where one might encounter hostility - this promotes isolation
 - b. Adjust the situation to prevent such feelings - hide wealth, be very nice, give gifts (symbolic sharing)
 - c. Minimize the effects: ignore hostility, not take it personally, use humor, rationalize
 - d. Confront
7. Solutions: Involve accepting and making peace with the fact that one is wealthy and coping with hostility
 - a. Interrupting the other person's hostile remarks - example: by walking away
 - b. Relating experiences - so others can empathize
 - c. Giving factual information about one's actual situation instead of other person's assumptions
 - d. For some having accepted their wealth - coming out enables them to be strong

V. Concealment and Disclosure in Cross-Class Relationships

1. Wealth: Felt by some wealthy people as a discrediting fact
 - a. Leads to concealment (being in the closet) and careful decisions about how open to be. These are often issues for gay people; not usually associated with people with wealth.
 - b. Lack of disclosure takes a toll and disclosure can have both a positive and a negative impact

2. Reasons to hide:
 - a. To appear ordinary
 - b. To prevent wealth from affecting relationships
 - c. To avoid being the target of resentment
 - d. To protect privacy
 - e. To avoid being exploited
 - f. Because of feelings of shame, embarrassment, guilt
 - g. To conform to class norms of discretion

3. How hiding is manifested: (Managing undisclosed, discrediting information)

Wealthy people use the terms “hiding” and “being in the closet”

 - a. Dress and act like members of the group they want to be identified with
 - b. Monitor what they talk about - being careful not to mention things which will suggest wealth (trips, purchases, where they grew up)
 - c. Don't talk about life as a rich person - investment issues, employees
 - d. Lie or tell stories with a grain of truth
 - e. Attempt to deceive themselves
 - f. More difficult for those with recognizable names
 - (1) Some get married to get rid of the name
 - (2) Conceal facts that would link them to their family - where they grew up
 - (3) Careful about behavior that might give them away
 - (4) Stay away from people who might recognize their name
 - (5) Move to area where the name is not as recognized
 - g. When they suspect that their name will be recognized
 - (1) Try to manipulate conversations away from the subject
 - (2) Lie and rationalize lie
 - (3) Answer but give mitigating circumstances - e.g., distantly
 - (4) “Slow dance” - Cronkrite's description of the process of dealing with the inevitable question: “Are you related to...?”

4. Effects of hiding:
 - a. Tiring
 - b. Lying is painful and consumes energy and creates tension.
 - c. Silence becomes cumulative: the more one hides, the harder any sharing becomes.
 - d. Contributes to feelings of self-hatred. Reinforces the idea that wealth is shameful.
 - e. Hear comments of hostility towards rich people which would not have been said had people known of their background. Because they are closeted, they don't challenge the comments. Not defending themselves leads to feelings of powerlessness.

- f. Obstacles to intimacy, which is often created by sharing sensitive parts of oneself
 - g. Confusing friends who don't understand why they have a lower standard of living if they and their closeted wealthy friend are both receiving the same salary
 - h. Wealthy homosexuals have a double problem, hiding wealth from their friends and their sexuality from their family
5. Reasons for coming out:
- a. Lessen stress
 - b. Desire for greater intimacy - the cost to relationships of hiding
 - c. Age, maturity, and success: As one gets older, more of one's friends have good paying jobs.
 - d. Resolving issues of competence and identity
 - e. To be a role model for others
6. Benefits of being out:
- a. Support and empathy received from others when they talked about their lives
 - b. Dispel myths about wealth for those who don't have money
 - c. Allow those who are still closeted to know they are not alone
7. Special problems with coming out:
- Wealthy people living middle-class or working-class life styles do not show their wealth by how they live.
 How then do they tell their friends and acquaintances?
 This information is inappropriate to share with casual acquaintances.
8. Methods of coming out:
- a. Becoming more open
 - b. Dropping clues
 - c. Answering rather than evading questions
 - d. Initiating conversations
 - e. Inviting friends to their home
 - f. Managing their friends' reactions:
 - (1) Helping others deal with their feelings
 - (2) Humor
 - (3) Sharing information that might mitigate resentment
 - (a) Political concerns: You can't hate me, my values are good
 - (b) Horrors of childhood: You can't hate me, it's been so awful

N.B. "Dis-identifiers" - facts that are presented that contradict stereotype views
9. Coming out:
- a. Those who came out naively found that coming out didn't solve all their problems
 - b. Those whose self-esteem had become stronger found that they were more able to deal with the problems caused by wealth
 - c. Some found this to be a life-long process - telling some things, hiding others
 - d. Some tired of hiding decided that if their friends couldn't accept their wealth, they would find other friends
 - e. Some felt that ending class oppression involved being open and they

would handle what they had to

VI. Sharing Resources with Working-Class and Middle-Class Friends

1. Experience and fear of exploitation: Wealthy people are often afraid that people are only interested in them for their money (friends, acquaintances, potential spouses)
2. Paying for friends to participate in a shared activity vs. loaning money:
 - a. Paying for friends benefits wealthy person as well as recipient
 - b. Wealthy person gets companionship while taking more advantage of wealth
 - c. Wealthy person has more control when he/she pays than when he/she gives a loan
 - (1) Usually initiated by wealthy person
 - (2) One-time transaction
 - d. Friends may be uncomfortable with rich person constantly paying the bill
 - e. Rich person may come to resent always paying. Would like other people to pay sometimes.
 - f. Strategies for who pays
 - (1) Some rich people paid all the time
 - (2) Rich people paid for more expensive meals, friends picked up the tab for less expensive meals
3. Giving and loaning money - reasons:
 - a. Generosity
 - b. Guilt
 - c. Hope will deepen relationship
 - d. Problems saying “no”
4. Problems with loaning money:
 - a. When money is not repaid
 - b. How wealthy person feels treated in the interaction
 - c. Societal attitude: OK to take from the rich
 - d. Resentment of lender over how money is used
 - e. Resentment of borrower with lender’s attempts to control
5. Loans experienced positively by lender:
 - a. Lender approached respectfully
 - b. Request was perceived as appropriate
 - c. Loan handled responsibly
 - d. Loan made a difference in borrower’s life
 - e. Relationship between borrower and lender remained intact
6. Negative effects of bad loaning experiences for the lender:
 - a. Can create feelings of pain, anger, discomfort, guilt and resentment
 - b. Wealthy person feels abused and exploited, hurt that friend valued money over friendship
 - c. Wealthy person feels powerless to enforce the return of the loan
 - d. Wealthy person may blame himself
 - e. Challenge of not being seduced by role of benefactor
7. Issues for borrower: Requires self-confidence to accept a gift graciously

- a. Difficulty of asking
 - b. Unhealthy dependency
 - c. Detract from sense of accomplishment
 - d. Problems if can't pay back the loan
 - e. Creates resentment - when borrower is struggling to pay back the loan when the wealthy person doesn't need the money
8. Relationship:
- a. Lending creates inequality - which compounds existing social and financial inequality
 - b. Makes it difficult to ignore the financial/social inequality that both are trying to ignore
9. Methods of dealing with requests for loans:
- a. Refuse all loans - reasons:
 - (1) Don't want to threaten friendship
 - (2) Only give money to organizations, political causes or candidates
 N.B. Lending money successfully requires ability to say "no"
 - b. Give money rather than loan - do as a gift, a one-time transaction (some borrowers don't want gifts - would prefer to be able to repay)
 - c. Recognize that any loan is a potential gift
 - d. Businesslike - clear terms and clear expectations re: loan agreement, repayment schedule. Send out notes to remind people or call them when don't hear from them
 - e. Provide collateral for a bank loan
 - f. Being clear about own criteria for making loan - is the loan for a specific purpose? Is the borrower self-sufficient?
 - g. Not paying attention to feelings of negativity about the behavior of the borrower
10. Successful loans:
- a. Give both parties self-confidence
 - b. Ability to say "no." Evaluate ability of requester to repay. Set terms and follow up.
11. Summary: Having or not having cross-class relationships:
- a. Having - leaves one vulnerable to others' resentment and own guilt
 - b. Not having - lose opportunity to grow.
- Wealthy people don't learn about the world outside of their social class or enter into meaningful relationships with people outside their class

VII. Work

1. Governed by norms and expectations: Do what is expected, not what you might like
 - a. Men - finance, business, law
 - b. Women - volunteer work, philanthropy; but expectations are beginning to change
2. Reasons for varying from the expected path:
 - a. Escape the narrowness of the upper class world
 - b. Political objections
 - c. Women's movement
3. Functions of work:
 - a. Social identity - answer to question "What do you do?"
 - b. Self-esteem
 - c. Sense of usefulness
 - d. Provides structure - issue shared by self-employed and unemployed
 - e. Contact with other people
 - f. Opportunities for intellectual and emotional stimulation
 - g. Public recognition
4. Positive effects of wealth on work:
 - a. Ability to make job decisions on other factors than the financial ones
 - b. Ability to do low-paying or volunteer but possibly rewarding work
 - c. Ability to leave unsatisfactory jobs
 - d. Ability to better balance work with other goals - family, financial responsibilities, political and social commitments, volunteer work, travel
 - e. Ability to start business or non-profit
 - N.B. Particularly valuable for women who can reach higher level in businesses that they start than they can in male-dominated business
 - f. Ability to fund own career
 - g. Ability to buy professional equipment
 - h. Ability to continue non-profit business - art gallery, record company
5. Difficulties created by wealth:
 - a. Interferes with motivation and drive
 - b. Threatens feelings of competency - could I have gotten this job without family's money and influence?
 - c. Time commitments required to manage money and do philanthropic work interfere with job demands
 - d. Ability to quit may mean that one doesn't learn all one might (life's lessons)
 - e. If one spends a lot of time on money matters (including philanthropy) and doesn't want to reveal wealth - one may have difficulty finding things to talk about. This is particularly a problem for women who undervalue themselves and discount much of what they do.
 - f. High expectations - desire to create wealth leads to disappointment
 - g. Effects of gender:
 - (1) Women:
 - (a) Work was a major problem - confusion, aimlessness, indecision, inability to focus on or sustain a career choice
 - (b) Traditionally expected to do volunteer work instead of paying job; women no longer comfortable with that. However, no good models of what they should do.

- (c) Jobs that upper-class men do are often difficult for women to gain access to
- (d) Lack of training
- (2) Men:
 - (a) Need to prove competence through work
 - (b) Prove success based on ability, not wealth. Particularly a problem for those who enter the family business or marry boss's daughter.

6. Motivation and self-esteem:

- a. Financial need is not a motivation
- b. For some not needing to work causes internal turmoil and prevents a satisfactory work life
- c. Self-doubt: Could I have achieved what others without money have achieved?
- d. Measuring up to accomplishment of founder can be problematic
- e. May not be as motivated to work hard and get ahead
- f. Social pressures on women not to work, or not to work too hard
- g. Lack the incentive to stick with jobs through the uninteresting stages
- h. Not needing money makes women less likely to push through obstacles created by job discrimination
- i. Selling one's self or one's work (artists) particularly difficult
- j. This is a challenge which if taken leads to personal growth and increased self-esteem

7. Salary issues:

- a. Value of one's work is acknowledged through payment of a salary
- b. External recognition is vital to self-esteem. Being hired indicates others are willing to pay for your services.
- c. Good salary may be necessary to achieve power within the system or respect from self, friends, family
- d. Need to prove can earn own livelihood
- e. Moral issues - not wanting to live off inherited money
- f. Women: conflicting messages. As a liberated woman, need to have paying job; but taking a paying job may be at the expense of someone who needs it. Similar concerns for artists about grants.
- g. Some women reported being exploited by employers - paid less because they are wealthy
- h. Because of the importance of a salary, wealthy people have had to think about taking a salary even if they don't need one

8. Volunteer work:

- a. What people liked:
 - (1) Option of doing work which is meaningful and rewarding (though unpaid)
 - (2) Different experiences, including working with people from different backgrounds
 - (3) Flexible hours (particularly helpful for mothers)•
 - (4) Some volunteer activities are prestigious and exciting
 - (5) Some volunteer activities provide opportunities for development of new skills

b. Complaints:

- (1) Objections to the nature of the work

- (a) Boring or unfulfilling
- (b) Didn't like fundraising
- (c) Disliked committee meeting
- (2) Objections to stereotypes of volunteers
 - (a) Too social
 - (b) Meaningless work
 - (c) For women - impression that they are ineffective and incapable of good work
- N.B. Discounting of women's work is an expression of sexism
- (3) Negative effect on self-esteem

9. Working in a family business:

a. Advantages:

- (1) Possibly an easier career path with potentially greater opportunities for advancement
- (2) Sometimes considerable freedom to carve own niche and perhaps reform the company
- (3) Working in the business can lead to feeling more entitled to the money
- (4) Financial benefits

b. Disadvantages:

- (1) Heavy expectations and pressure to enter the business
- (2) Responsibility for financial well-being of the family and employees
- (3) Difficulty developing own identity
- (4) May be difficult (for parents and children) to separate from family of origin. For this reason, it is useful to work in another business first.
- (5) Vulnerable to charges of nepotism and resentment. Steps taken to mitigate:
 - (a) Not flaunt wealth or connections
 - (b) Avoid taking advantage of family's position
 - (c) Bring skills to the business
- (6) Leaving a family business may be difficult (fear of damaging family relationships)
- (7) If don't succeed, it can be especially difficult
- (8) Women have a more difficult time than men having leadership roles in the family business or being chosen as the successor. Sexism has led women to force the sale of the family business - example: Sallie Bingham.

VIII. Money

1. The ethics of wealth:

- a. Becoming aware of inequality can lead to increased social and moral awareness
 - (1) Those who grew up in “golden ghetto” often assumed that most people lived as they did
 - (2) Learned that this was not so through conversations with friends with less resources, traveling, conversations with parents
 - (3) For some, college was a time when they learned about inequality and developed cross-class relationships
 - (4) Witnessing poverty and injustice conflicted with values learned about equality, fairness, right and wrong
 - (5) Conflict between what parents say and how they act towards others
 - (6) For some, led to discomfort with living lives of luxury
 - (7) Status differences between servants and family led to awareness and concern. For children, the servants were often substitute parents and friends.
 - (8) Political concerns of 1960s: civil rights movement, women’s movement, Vietnam raised issues of justice and privilege
 - (9) Experience of mistreatment within the family for some led to concern with mistreatment of others

- b. Socializing influences which mitigate concerns with inequality
 - (1) Manipulation of information
 - (a) Exclusive homogeneous communities
 - (b) Partial truth or lies about working class people and the functioning of society - “Anybody can become a millionaire if they want to.”
 - (2) Class attitudes
 - (a) Don’t question
 - (b) Good to be socially concerned, but there are limits to how far should carry concern
 - (3) Humiliation and ridicule
 - (4) Implicit or explicit threats: the withholding of funds or disinheritance

- c. How wealthy people deal with inequality:
 - (1) Accept inequality and use denial, rationalization (I deserve my money as much as anyone because I am doing good things) and compensation to deal with ethical and social concerns
 - (2) Reluctantly accept inequality. Feel powerless to make a difference - enormity of situation and limitations of resources
 - (3) Contributing factors to the acceptance of inequality:
 - (a) Class attitudes
 - (b) Insecurity - feel can’t do anything about inequality
 - 4) Philanthropy to organizations that assist the poor allow some wealthy people to feel they are making a difference
 - (5) Work for change, giving to organizations that address the underlying causes of poverty
 - (6) Vote shareholder proxies for social change

2. Misconceptions about wealth:
 - a. Money is a cure-all: a substitute for love, personal power, ability, self-esteem, or achievement (dependence on money)
 - b. Making, accumulating and dealing with money has no impact on one's life, others' lives, society as a whole or the environment
 - (1) The choice of some young adults to ignore money until they have resolved other issues may be a good choice
 - (2) Stinginess and lavishness may be unconscious attempts to control money
 - (3) Ignoring company practices is common when buying stock
 - (4) Personal financial self-interest preempts larger human interest
 - (5) Unaware of how much work it takes to produce the family's/society's wealth
 - c. Accumulating money is more important than one's own or others' needs: Narrow economic self-interest is more important than broader interest as member of a community, a nation or even the human race
3. Control of the money:
 - a. Major issue between adult children and parents is that of control: both of the money and the adult children's lives
 - (1) Financial dependence created by trusts, gifts, family holding company, and promise of future inheritance leads to inadequate resolution of issues of separation and independence
 - (2) Parents' desire to have the adult children conform to very rigid class standards
 - (3) Used to ordering others about: why not their adult children
 - (4) Ways parents attempt to control adult children's lives:
 - (a) Threats (ultimate threat: disinheritance)
 - (b) Bribes
 - (c) Limiting what they will pay for
 - (d) Stated and unstated expectations
 - (e) Requirements - go into the business
 - (f) Not accepting "no"
 - (5) Control of money
 - (a) For the younger generation, part of taking charge of life
 - (b) For the older generation, the issues are giving up control and trusting the next generation
 - (c) Trusts: different kinds
 1. Individual only receives income, never the principal
 2. Trickle trusts - individual receives the principal at different ages (ex., 25, 30, 35)
 3. Individual receives the income and the principal comes to them when they are a certain age
 4. Beneficiaries have to apply to the trust for distribution
 - (d) Family business - don't necessarily pay dividends. Adult children may have sizable paper assets but not control, income from the stock or the ability to sell the stock
 - (e) Control maintained through providing the next generation with little information about the money
 - (f) Lack of preparation and training about investments or

financial management

(g) Reasons for lack of training

1. Parents desire to control
2. Parents not viewing training the next generation as part of their job
3. Upper class norms that one doesn't talk about money
4. Sexism:
 - a. Women can't competently take charge of money b.
 - b. It is only appropriate for money to be managed by men
 - c. Effect of sexism is that some women believe they are incompetent
 - d. Financial professionals may be sexist
 - e. Lure of money may lead adult children to allow parents to be inappropriately involved in their lives
 - f. Treating an adult as if they are incapable can affect self-esteem
 - g. Control of money, capital supports the maintenance of capitalism

(6) Success stories

IX. Philanthropy

1. Motivations for philanthropy:

- a. Family or communal expectations
 - (1) Children learn by
 - (a) Observing parents' involvement
 - (b) What parents told them about their responsibilities to society
 - (c) Money given to them as young children to give to charity
 - (2) Provides the family with opportunities for sharing and intimacy
- b. *Noblesse oblige*: responsibility that those with money have to those who are not as fortunate
- c. Idealism and generosity
- d. Concern with social justice
- e. Attempt to feel good
 - (1) Those who are narcissistic with low self-esteem gain self-esteem through philanthropy. However, then worry that they are only valuable because of their money.
 - (2) 'Way to assuage guilt
- f. Support for organizations that one is personally involved with
 - (1) Allows one to see the effect of one's gift
 - (2) Problem - wealthy people are often not personally involved with people who are from other backgrounds
 - (3) Giving money can lead people to become more involved in other organizations
- g. Perceived self-interest
Example: giving money for research on a disease that runs in your family
- h. Social gain and status: Invitations to events, to join boards, to be a member of a club
- i. Desire to support areas of intellectual, social or cultural interest

2. Issues for the philanthropist:

- a. Enormity of the task
 - (1) Large number of organizations, institutions and causes
 - (2) Sorting through the mail, reading and evaluating proposals, meeting people and educating oneself takes time
 - (3) Good planning required to use money effectively
 - (4) Difficulty deciding which project is more deserving
 - (5) Difficult to think strategically - not many courses or schools that teach about strategic philanthropy
 - (6) To become more effective:
 - (a) Set criteria
 - (b) Limit oneself to a particular area of philanthropy and educate oneself
 - (c) Find individual(s) who know the field to advise
 - (d) Hire someone to search out and evaluate proposals
 - (e) Fund collectively
 - (f) Fund through donor advised funds at foundation(s)
 - (g) Partner with activists
- b. Fundraising
 - (1) Asking for money
 - (a) Time-consuming and potentially frustrating

- (b) Puts fundraiser in vulnerable position. Can raise feelings of inadequacy and resentment
- (c) Problematic behavior of the wealthy: need for flattery, to be wined and dined, unreasonable requests, condescending attitude
- (d) Element of selling oneself
- (e) Can be satisfying
- (2) Being asked for money: “being fundraised from”
 - (a) Amount of time required including dealing with bulk mail and telephone solicitation
 1. Many calls
 2. Awkward timing - dinner
 3. High pressure tactics
 - (b) Discomfort with talking about money
 - (c) Objectionable tactics of fundraiser - objectification of the wealthy by the fundraiser leads to tactics of manipulation (including guilt)
 - (d) Feeling like you are wanted only for your money
 - (e) Stated and unstated inducements
 1. Membership in an elite donors’ group
 2. Invitations to special events
 3. Public plaque - or name in program book
 4. Naming a building, university chair or fellowship after the donor
 5. Extra attention: deference or flattery
 - (f) Challenge of handling inappropriate behavior by fundraiser. Not wanting to make funding decisions on the basis of how one is treated
 - (g) Class differences and differences in style can cause problems between fundraisers and donors
 - (h) Fundraising can be positive when donors are respected and provided with information
 - (i) Donors need to learn to say “no” responsively, respectfully and caringly. Giving money through a foundation may make it easier to say “no”.

c. Openness vs. anonymity

- (1) Advantages of openness
 - (a) Satisfaction
 - (b) Appreciation
 - (c) Influence
 - (d) Status
 - (e) Power
 - (f) Leverage
 - (g) Accountability
- (2) Reasons for anonymity
 - (a) Religious or ethical belief that anonymity is the highest form of philanthropy since the recipient is not bound to the giver
 - (b) Feeling that one doesn’t deserve appreciation since one didn’t earn the money
 - (c) To prevent unsolicited donations

- (d) To keep wealth a secret
 - (e) To protect relationships
 - (3) Organizations do not always respect individual's request for anonymity
 - (4) Anonymity can be a problem for those whose major work is philanthropy What do they say about what they do?
- d. Family issues:
- (1) Opportunities for connection and intimacy but also conflict
 - (2) Issues:
 - (a) Power and control (older generation is not always willing to share power)
 - (b) Differences in values
 - 1. What's to be funded
 - 2. Degree of publicity
 - (c) Different interests
 - (d) Unresolved family issues
- e. Psychological issues: Philanthropy can bring exaggerated self-importance and an illusion that it is one's money that changes the world
- f. Degree of satisfaction - factors that can contribute to satisfaction:
- (1) Knowing that one's gift made a difference
 - (2) Being able to see the effect
 - (3) Giving time and energy as well as money

X. Mental Health

1. Problems of mental health - alcoholism and suicide. Many wealthy families evidenced significant psychological distress:
 - a. Parental neglect common in wealthy families
 - b. Pressure on upper class to be perfect. Mental illness, however, has a stigma attached to it. Feeling of “spoiled identity” can lead to suicidal feelings.
2. Alcoholism:

Wealthy homes provide the perfect environment for alcoholism. When there is alcoholism, family members are unlikely to address the problem.

 - a. Families are reluctant to refer to problem drinkers as alcoholics
 - b. Considerable drinking is tolerated and approved of unless it results in private behavior. Drunken behavior may be more tolerated in men.
 - c. Wealth may make it easy to escape the consequences
 - (1) Own boss - no one to insist on performance
 - (2) Status makes others reluctant to comment
 - (3) Can do what is necessary to cover up alcoholism
 - d. Role of alcoholism in wealthy/upper class society
 - (1) Sociability - important in upper class society (parties, fund raising, business, volunteer work). May be difficult for shy people who grew up in homes where there was a lack of intimacy. Alcohol makes the social interaction easier
 - (2) Helps keep up the appearance that everything is fine
 - (3) Makes it possible to deny one’s feelings
 - (4) Makes it possible to remain in intolerable situations which one might otherwise be compelled to change
 - e. Similarity between behavior patterns in wealthy culture and alcoholic families
 - (1) Need to present everything as fine to the outside world
 - (2) Reluctance to talk about painful things
 - (3) Strong conditioning to repress feelings
 - (4) Difficulty achieving intimacy
3. Frequency of suicide or attempted suicide
4. Aspects of wealthy culture that lead to mental health problems:
 - a. Problematic parenting
 - (1) Lack of intimacy and even contact
 - (2) Concern with proper socialization rather than nurturing
 - (3) No encouragement of the child’s own interests, abilities and sense of self
 - (4) Lead to child being out of touch with own feelings, desires and needs
 - b. Attention placed on the development of the “appropriate self”
 - (1) “Appropriate self” is the one with the right attitudes and a proper appearance, rather than the “true self” based on the individual’s own feelings, hopes, desires

- (2) Parents' over-involvement with adult children, which prolongs dependency
- (3) Difficulty with satisfactory (deep, meaningful) adult relationships as opposed to surface sociability - a result of lack of intimacy in family and a fear of trusting others who might only make it difficult to get help

c. Norms in wealthy culture:

- (1) Maintaining the appearance that everything is fine - withholding information from professionals
- (2) Repression of feelings
- (3) Need to cover. inadequacy

N.B. Paying attention to one's feelings and talking about difficulties are two important elements in the understanding and healing of psychological hurts.

d. Attitudes of secrecy about money communicate that wealth is shameful

e. Self-esteem problems:

- (1) Expected to be superior at everything but not have to work hard or get special instruction (result of good breeding)
- (2) Poor preparation for life, not understanding that success requires hard work
- (3) Confusion over failure - don't have a realistic assessment of their abilities
- (4) Tremendous criticism leads to an internalized sense that one is not good enough
- (5) Wealth can interfere with learning to support oneself and become independent
- (6) People feel that their class &/or money is more important than they are

5. Wealth becomes an inappropriate substitute for needs it cannot fill:

a. Meaningful life

- (1) Glamour is not fulfilling. A meaningful life requires committing yourself to something outside of yourself that you care about.
- (2) Narrowness of class expectations can make it difficult to have a fulfilling life
- (3) Wealth makes it easy to do things without committing oneself

b. Sense of identity

- (1) Wealth can interfere with work which is necessary for self-esteem and identity
- (2) Not as much a problem for those who have experienced adequate nurturing, felt valued by family, assisted in finding meaningful direction
- (3) Wealthy young adults may have difficulty forging their own identity when surrounded by people who relate to them as members of the "wealthy Smith family"
- (4) A problem for people who have internalized the idea that their only value is their money. They may be functioning well and look ok
- (5) Internalize the negative images and the resentment of others. Internalizing negative stereotypes is often a problem for rich

Jews

(6) Moral concerns about privilege can be a particular problem for wealthy people with low self-esteem

6. Wealth can interfere with therapy:

a. Wealthy clients should interview potential therapists about their attitudes about wealth and wealthy people

b. Therapists may

(1) Be unable to believe that being wealthy might be a source of pain

(2) Have difficulty feeling empathy for wealthy clients

(3) Allow their feelings of envy, awe, discomfort and resentment with wealth to intrude into the therapeutic relationship

(4) Fail to understand the significance of wealth and wealth-related experiences of their clients

(5) Violate boundaries - such as by asking clients for loans

(6) Not recognize clients' avoidance of talking about money-related issues

(7) Be interested in clients for their money

XI. Women

Wealth mitigates some aspects of women's oppression but other aspects are intensified. The situation of wealthy women shows us that simply overcoming the economic base of sexism is not enough to eliminate sexism.

1. Positive aspects of wealth for women:
 - a. Can neutralize the economic results of sexism - e.g., wealth can supplement lower salaries typically paid to women
 - b. Allows women to take jobs that are rewarding but low paying
 - c. Allows women to be financially independent from spouse
 - d. Allows women the ability to leave bad marriage
 - e. Can give feelings of independence, power, self confidence from money and class standing, which can compensate for lack due to sexist conditioning
 - f. Can be used as a psychological tool to offset discrimination
 - g. Can provide knowledge and ability to use the system well and not be intimidated
 - h. Shifts balance of power between the sexes
 - i. May provide opportunity for leadership and power

2. Negative aspects of wealth for women:
 - a. Attitudes of wealthy women about sexism
 - (1) Denial of the existence of sexism
 - (2) Upper class women hold on to sense of superiority at the cost of dealing with this issue and feelings about it

 - b. Physical safety, wealth does not remove threat of physical harm or sexual abuse

 - c. Self-esteem and mental health
 - (1) Wealth does not free women from the toll to self-esteem caused by sexism
 - (2) Society's attitudes about women and women's work affect wealthy women's self-esteem
 - (3) Lack of confidence in survival skills - leads to belief that survival depends on money
 - (4) Lack of entitlement because they are women and because they are rich (putting others' needs first)

 - d. Appearance
 - (1) Looking attractive is particularly important and can be destructive
 - (2) Appearance more important than feelings, aspirations and desires
 - (3) Obsession with thinness, which can lead to anorexia and other eating disorders

 - e. Cross-class relationships with men
 - (1) Expectations
 - (a) Expected to wait for men to initiate
 - (b) To be subservient to men and sacrifice their needs to those of their husbands
 - (2) Threat to men - because of privilege, wealthy women are often unwilling to settle for subservient role

- (3) Women being wealthier than men challenges conventional expectations - both wealthy women and men may be uncomfortable with the reversal
 - (a) Leads to conflict and in some cases divorce
 - (b) Uncomfortable with the role of provider
 - 1. Women who grew up with inadequate nurturing may want (consciously or subconsciously) to be taken care of by their husband
 - 2. Positive stereotypes of men as providers; negative stereotypes of women as providers

- f. Role of wife and mother - women are expected to marry well and bear children to continue the class
 - (1) Marriage
 - (a) Marry someone who will work in the business
 - (b) Conform to the needs of her husband and focus life around this husband
 - (c) Reflect well on husband - appearance, behavior and volunteer work enhances the husband's stakes
 - (d) Do community work
 - (e) Participate in husband's entertainment obligations
 - (f) Not compete with husband
 - (g) Rigid divisions of roles and labor
 - (h) Husband more powerful than men in other classes

 - (2) Motherhood
 - (a) Have children even though may not want to
 - (b) Older women - surprisingly little information about contraception
 - (c) Many women felt insecure as parents
 - 1. Their own parents were not good models
 - 2. Uncomfortable with the intimacy children need
 - 3. Disconnected from their own needs and desires - sense of self
 - 4. Not taught skills of cooking, cleaning, doing laundry
 - 5. Lack of confidence in themselves and their abilities, including ability to parent

- g. Wealthy women and work
 - (1) Expectations
 - (a) Not hold paying job; do volunteer work
 - (b) Only certain work is appropriate
 - (2) Lacked training and preparation to compete in the marketplace
 - (3) Not good models of wealthy women working
 - (4) Prestigious jobs (legal, business) that wealthy men are expected to hold are most difficult for women to get
 - (5) Lack of drive to compete in these situations (because of lack of financial motivation)
 - (6) Message passed to women that they shouldn't take jobs from people who need them (these messages are not communicated to men)

- (7) Little motivation to take jobs that do not have good status
- (8) For many women interesting paid work contributes to self-esteem
- (9) Potential imbalance when wealthy woman both supplies money and remains at home with the children

h. Women, wealth and mental health

- (1) Mental illness and alcoholism in women often linked to the limitations of the female role
- (2) Upper class woman's role - narrow, constricting and unfulfilling, empty (volunteer work, bearing children and keeping up their appearance, sports)
- (3) Discrepancy between the emptiness of their lives and the promise provided by their money and position
- (4) Women in upper class are often more "protected" than other women - this can have a destructive effect

i. Women and money

- (1) Wealthy women are supposed to leave the handling of money to men
- (2) Not encouraged to gain basic financial skills
- (3) Often less information about their money and control over it than brothers
- (4) Often dealing with male financial professionals who are condescending
- (5) Conditioned to be passive and shun power
- (6) Leave management of money to their husband and then regret it
- (7) When women do have control of their money, their lack of confidence and the sexism and self interest of their male professionals encourage women to leave control in the managers' hands
- (8) Women need to stand up for themselves and assert their power to be effective
 - (a) Communicate power non-verbally
 - (b) Humor
 - (c) Hire feminist professionals
- (9) Because of their experiences, women may think about money differently from men

3. Summary:

- a. Challenge of combating the power of upper class men blocks wealthy women as agents of change
- b. Reasons why wealthy women go along with gender subordination
 - (1) Self-interest because of higher status of class
 - (2) Because they have internalized society's attitudes and beliefs
- c. Ways women are working for change
 - (1) Marrying and living in committed relationships with people who are working class
 - (2) Demanding control over family and family business
 - (3) Meeting in support groups, forming women's foundations, funding women's projects

XII. Conclusion:

1. The concept of psychological injury explains patterns of behavior of the wealthy which previously have been misunderstood.
2. The dissertation contradicts the common stereotypes of the wealthy as simply powerful, happy, carefree, etc.
3. Describes and characterizes work of others who have written about wealth and class: Baltzell, Domhoff, Ostrander, Wixen, Stone, Kestenbaum and Grinker.
4. Comparison with the work of Sennett and Cobb, who document the psychological injury of class to the dignity and self-esteem of working people.
5. Sociologists contribute to the mythology of wealth by focusing on the power of the upper class without indicating how wealthy people are limited and injured by the class structure.
6. Summary of hurts mentioned above.
7. Three psychological and intellectual conditions that result from these hurts and contribute to the maintenance of the class system.
 - a. Disconnection
 1. Occurs to some extent throughout Western culture but is often extreme in upper class and wealthy families
 2. Caused by lack of intimacy in wealthy homes, repression of feelings, lack of interest in the child, use of money as substitute for contact, attitudes of individualism and independence block wealthy people from knowing their own needs, remaining conscious of their emotions and bonding well with others
 3. Lack of connection with oneself and people from other classes leads to lack of empathy toward others and prevents realizing impact of one's actions on the world
 - b. Lack of correct information about the world - due to isolation and misinformation
 - c. Feeling of powerlessness
 1. Children of wealthy parents learn that it is nearly impossible to act on their beliefs, if these beliefs differ from their parents' beliefs
 2. Children in wealthy families learn their actions have little impact on the world (e.g., unable to rid home of obnoxious servants)
 3. Child-rearing practices in Western culture rob children of their power and contribute to powerlessness
 4. Misinformation about the world
 5. Financial dependence of adult children on their parents
 6. Lack of practical skills contributes to a feeling of dependency
 7. Difficulty finding an appropriate relationship to power
 8. Guilt over wealth leads some people to fail to develop skills and personal power
 9. Distinction between power and pseudo-power. **Pseudo-power** is Bronfman's term for Levy's description of arbitrary, self-serving use of power "as a compensation for [a person's] sense of inadequacy."