

proper behavior in particular situations (Schachter & Singer, 1962; Craig & Coren, 1975).

Operant Conditioning

High esteem for both the experimenter and therapist characterizes the experimental and therapeutic atmosphere and increases the potential of the therapist or experimenter to deliver rewards and punishments. Therefore, by both intended and unintended means, operant conditioning principles may shape subject and patient responses (Bourne, 1971; Frank, 1968; Gelfand, Ullmann, & Krasner, 1963; Kurland, 1957).

Buckalew (1972) demonstrated that reinforcements may increase placebo responding, independent of and in addition to the effects of suggestion. Conditioning by experimenters and therapists influences and reinforces simple behaviors as well as attitudes and complicated behaviors (Krasner, Ullmann, & Fisher, 1964). Operant conditioning may directly influence physiological responding (Byerly, 1976; Miller, 1974) or indirectly by cultivating arousal states that heighten patient's influenceability (Gliedman, Gantt, & Teitelbaum, 1957).

Guilt Reduction

The primary and direct effect of the therapist's interest in the patient is probably on guilt. Guilt is universal, and has been an important part of religion, philosophy, literature, and psychology throughout recorded history (Black, 1966; London, Schulman, & Black, 1966). It is involved in every system of psychopathology, clinically apparent in all patients with psychological and physical illness, and detected in nonpatients as well.²¹ Guilt is manifested by or associated with many common feelings such as worthlessness, inadequacy, inferiority, impotence, depression, conflict between inner and outer behavior and shame about inner impulses and past behavior. Fantasies are often perceived as ego-alien experiences; not shared by other people. Inner sensitivity to irrationality stimu-

lates fear and defense against insanity and loss of control, which cannot be fully examined without help from another person.

The prestigious heritage of the priest, scientist, and physician is represented in our culture by the psychotherapist (Frank, 1959, 1961; Jaspers, 1965; Kiev, 1964). To the physician are attributed omniscience, omnipotence, integrity, dedication, and esoteric knowledge (Schmideberg, 1939). Society's sanction of this role makes the physician an even more prestigious figure.²²

Illness is usually stressful (Kiev, 1964). Familiar cues for integration decrease; ambiguity and stimulus hunger increase (Heine, 1950; Frank, 1969, 1961; Krasner, 1962; Kiev, 1964; Ward, 1964; Schmideberg, 1939); and regressive fantasies (Fisher, 1953), guilt (Frank, 1961; Glover, 1931), anxiety,²³ depression (Frank, 1961; Shapiro, 1963, 1964c, d, f, 1968), and dependency (Frank, 1961; Zuckerman & Grosz, 1958; Jakubszak & Walter, 1959) are stimulated: all these factors that have been cited as correlates of suggestibility and the placebo effect.²⁴

The favorable feelings of the therapist have been associated with the increased expression of affect by patients (Fiedler, 1953; Frank, 1961), which may further decrease guilt through catharsis. It is also related to increased suggestibility, conditioning, and learning in patients. Patients become suggestible and are inordinately reassured by the interest of the prestigious therapist (Strupp et al., 1964; Frank, 1961; Brown, 1929; Schmideberg, 1939; Sargant, 1957; Estes, 1948; Sherif & Haney, 1952). Powerful therapeutic forces have now been set into motion. Guilt, anxiety, and discomfort are reduced, hope is mobilized and previ-

²¹Heine, 1950; Frank, 1961; Fenichel, 1954; Lesse, 1964; Jaspers, 1965; Kiev, 1962, 1964; Ellenberger, 1956; Gumpert, 1963; Scharaf & Lerinson, 1964.

²²Goldstein, 1962; Krasner, 1962; Kiev, 1962, 1964; Ellenberger, 1956; Estes, 1948; Sherif & Haney, 1952; Dibner, 1958; Walters, Marshall, & Shooter, 1960; Walters & Ray, 1960; Walters & Quinn, 1960; Walters & Parke, 1964.

²³Strupp, Wallach, & Wogan, 1964; Goldstein, 1962; Barchilon, 1958; Frank, 1959, 1961; Krasner, 1962; Brown, 1929; Schmideberg, 1939; Kiev, 1962; Eliode, 1964; Sargant, 1957; Dibner, 1958; Walters, Marshall, & Shooter, 1960; Walters & Ray, 1960; Walters & Quinn, 1960; Borodin, 1955.

²⁴Strupp, 1960b; Kahn, 1957; Fenichel, 1954; Hobbs, 1962; Kiev, 1962, 1964; Mowrer, 1963; Eliode, 1964; De Grazia, 1952; Rogers, 1956; Ripley & Jackson, 1959; Jersild & Lazard, 1962; Haley, 1963; Sargant, 1957; Mowrer, 1961; Murphy, 1964; La Barre, 1964.