



hood does he have self-respect and respect for others? Does he have freedom for personal initiative? Does he have sexual performance of an adequate kind? If not, what seems to get in the way? In addition to these, his toilet training, speech habits, eating habits, competitive relationships, ambition, and so forth, are investigated. From the data secured during such a survey the analyst attempts to make a statement clarifying the issues that seem to him to have brought the patient to treatment, and by this time these may have become quite other from the reasons initially noted by the patient himself. Some clarification may be suggested concerning the underlying anxiety, and it may be possible to note some of the security operations used by the patient. Finally the goals of the collaboration are outlined in general terms.

It follows from this survey of Sullivan's theory of personality (however incomplete) that the exploration of the patient's difficulties involves an inquiry into what went wrong at each era of his life. What went wrong at any era will influence each subsequent era. If the appropriate experience was lacking, the analyst attempts to determine the reason for its omission, and how the attendant anxiety was handled. The red thread that leads to an understanding of the patient's difficulties in living is the analyst's sensitivity to the presence of anxiety, either in its overt form or in one of its many guises. If the patient is pursuing a line of thought and suddenly shifts to another, the analyst presumes that the patient would have experienced anxiety had he pursued the original thought. He therefore notes two things: first, the moment of shift and the content of thought that was interrupted in order that the red thread of anxiety may again be taken up; second, the kind of security operation that was used to escape from the anxiety-laden path that was being pursued. He notes and follows the course of anxiety not because he is primarily interested in anxiety itself but because the presence of anxiety and the means used to avoid it lead to the possibility of discovering those areas of the self-system that have been lost to awareness through the operations of selective inattention

or dissociation. For this is the essence of psychoanalysis, the rediscovery of the self-system in its entirety, to the end that with the bringing the "bad-me" and "not-me" into awareness, they may be seen as hostile and irrelevant organizations and may be exorcised as personal demons that no longer need exist or be the ultimate source of anxiety against which one adopts various elaborate security devices.

One of the great virtues of Sullivan's approach to therapy and theory is that it is operational and pragmatic. It avoids the dichotomy between theory and practice that is seen in systems that are constructs of a high order of abstraction and that must, at the same time, deal with human beings and their everyday lives. Its postulates are few, and its elasticity is great. It provides no final answers. But what it does with a disarming simplicity is to attempt to organize the myriad facts about the personality of the human being into a useful and malleable whole. There are weaknesses in the formulations in the areas of perception, cognition, and learning. These areas have been and are under investigation by the investigators listed above. The history of science shows that no theory could do more than organize these data and show the way for additional areas to be developed, and perhaps guide improvements that will eventually make the theory inadequate.

(| Erich Fromm

In the work of Erich Fromm we find the insights resulting from the fusion of the individual approach of psychoanalysis and the group perspective of the social sciences. His conceptualizations are rooted in history, political theory, and philosophy as well as in clinical observations. Perhaps the area in which Fromm has had his greatest impact upon psychoanalytic thought is in his critique of the impact our contemporary social fabric has upon the personality. Writing in the tradition of dissent, with psychoanalytic experience in three segments of Western culture, he ranges



over the currents of contemporary culture with a persuasive precision. He combines the findings of psychoanalysis with a scientific analysis of society and culture.

Man's Hope and Man's Fate

The problems of man that go beyond his relation to his fellow men and to his culture constitute one of Fromm's primary interests. These problems arise because man is unique in the animal kingdom. He is an organism yet he is aware of himself. His fate is to be a creature of organic nature; his hope is that his self-awareness can lead him to transcend his passive "creatureliness." In approaching the problem Fromm states certain underlying hypotheses. Man is a creature who is relatively free of instinctual regulation in the process of adaptation to the surrounding world. He has new and unique qualities differentiating him from other animals: he is self-aware; he remembers the past; he visualizes the future; he is capable of symbolic activity. What we see as progress results from the very conflict of his existence, not from innate drive; for conflict creates problems that demand solution, and each solution contains contradictions that must be faced and solved at new levels. Man, an animal, is set apart from nature, yet he is a part of nature and subject to its physical laws. This split in man's nature leads to dichotomies—contradictions that he can react to but can never annul. His reaction to these existential dichotomies are dependent upon his character and culture. For Fromm the most fundamental dichotomy is that between life and death (in this instance physical, not psychological, death). All knowledge about death leads man to realize that death cannot be escaped and hence must be accepted. It is a meaningful part of life, but at the same time it is a defeat of life. As a result of man's mortality he can never achieve all his possibilities. Man is alone and aware of himself as a separate unique entity, and yet he needs to be related to his fellow man.

In addition to his existential dichotomies, man is faced with dichotomies of his own making. These are the historical dichotomies.

For example, contemporary man has the technical means for vast material production, yet he is unable to use them exclusively for his own welfare. These dichotomies are potentially solvable through man's courage and wisdom (including self-knowledge); their contradictions call man to attempt their solution. It is this uncertainty that impels man to "unfold his powers." Only by facing the truth, by avoiding the siren voices of easy external solutions can he find meaning in his life through the unfolding of his powers. Reason, love, and productivity are faculties peculiar to man, and the development of these is necessary for a full life.

Man, the animal, is aware of himself. This very self-awareness in the body of an animal creates a tremendous sense of separateness and fright. He therefore looks for some unity and for some meaning. Responding with his mind, his feelings, and his actions, man passionately strives to give meaning to his existence. This need for orientation of himself in the world and devotion to his own existence has led him to devise answers varying widely in content and form: among these are totemism and animism, nontheistic systems of faith, philosophic systems, and monotheistic ones. Within this frame of reference are secular systems, involving, for example, strivings for success and prestige, conquest and submission, that can be explained on the basis of this need for orientation and devotion. This need is the most powerful source of energy in man. Neuroses and irrational strivings can be understood as the individual's attempt to fulfill his need for orientation and devotion. Fromm sees neurosis as a personal religion differing mainly from organized religion in its individual nonpatterned characteristics. The need for orientation and devotion is common to all men, but the particular contents of the individual solution vary with differences in value and character.

INDIVIDUALS IN THE HUMAN CONTEXT

While men are alike in that they share the human situation and the existential dichotomies, they are unique in their way of solving historical dichotomies. The attempt by the



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members of a society to solve their historical dichotomies determines the patterning of personality in that society. Within the framework of social patterning there is ample range for individual variation. Fromm stresses the importance of warmth and encouragement in early childhood in the developing of personality. He points out that the character structure of the parents will largely determine the manner in which the child experiences weaning, toilet training, and sex. The atmosphere, attitude, and overall climate of feeling, training, and indoctrination in these matters counts most in childhood for personality development, rather than the nature of routine used.

The child at birth makes no distinction between himself and the environment. It is months before the infant can separate himself from his surroundings. For Fromm the ties of the infant to the environment are primary, necessary, and enjoyable. As the infant's ability to manipulate his environment grows, his confidence and independence increase. These are fostered by the competence induced in education and training. If the process of individuation takes place at the same rate as the normal growth in competence and strength, there is no difficulty. Since there is often a lag in one or the other, feelings of isolation and of helplessness grow. With the anxiety attendant on this lag, the child, and later the adult, attempts to recapture the primary emotional ties. This process is one of the mechanisms by which the individual "escapes from freedom of the self." Man's fate and his hope is that he can never recapture the primary ties.

Along with others Fromm holds that the family is the psychic agency of society. Through its training the family makes the child want to do what he has to do. Through the agency of the family a core character structure is formed for each society or culture. The adult personality is a highly interwoven complex of inborn endowment, early experience in the family, and later experience in a social group. A constant interplay between society, the family, and the individual shapes character structure. While class mobility, for example, will not change the character structure of the parents, attitudinal changes will be

communicated to the children. Fromm emphasizes the constant interplay. No factor is considered separately; the whole constellation—the parent-child situation, the child-child relationship, the child-school interplay, and the child-external authority situation later on—has to be understood.

Varieties of Relatedness

Man has to be related to things and to people in order to live. The man who has a recognition of his true self will have a productive orientation to living. The person who has enjoyed good early relationships will have respect and love for himself, will be able to cherish and love others, and will be able to use his capacities in fruitful work. This is the productive way of living.

Too often man's relationship to the outside world is not one of loving cooperation but rather one of symbiosis. He escapes from his feelings of isolation and loneliness by entering into relationships of reciprocal dependence. The slave needs the master; the master needs the slave. Each needs the other to avoid feelings of loneliness and isolation. Each places self-aggrandizement above people or ideals.

Major social changes may occur for a multiplicity of reasons quite remote from the character of the individual. For example, changing technological and economic forces will alter the situation with which the individual has to cope. As a result of this, his character will change. Capitalism, originating independently of psychological forces, fostered the rise of the Calvinist conscience; the growth of capitalism was made possible by the institutionalization of the psychological attitudes whose development it found necessary.

Fromm sees living as following two kinds of relatedness to the outside world—that of acquiring and assimilating things and that of relatedness to people. The orientation by which the person relates himself to the world is the core of his character. By permitting the individual to act consistently and reasonably, his character provides the basis for his adjustment to society. In discussing character types Fromm differentiates between productive and



nonproductive orientation. Man, beset by the sense of separateness and fright engendered by his self-awareness, looks for a unity or meaning and does so by either progressing (productive) or regressing (nonproductive). The extreme of regression is for man to become a nonreflective animal and thereby be free of the problems of awareness and reason. This man cannot live creatively, cannot create. He, nonetheless, does not want to be, cannot be, completely passive and nonproductive. He wants to transcend life; he wants to make an imprint on the world. He can transcend his creature status by destroying and thereby triumph over life. This is another mechanism to escape from freedom of the self. There are three main ways of escaping from freedom—automaton conformity, destructiveness, and authoritarianism. There is no wholly productive or wholly nonproductive orientation in real life; there is some of each in everyone.

Varieties of Character Types

RECEPTIVE ORIENTATION

The receptive orientation is typified by the person who feels that all that is good or necessary is outside of himself. He needs to be loved and yet cannot love. He makes no effort to gather information on his own; he looks for answers from others. He is looking for a "magic helper." God will help him, but he does not believe that this is due to his own works. He is optimistic and helpful but is anxious when the "source of supply" is threatened. He is dependent on authorities for knowledge and support. Alone and helpless in making decisions or taking responsibility, he relies on the people about whom he has to make the decisions. He dreams of being fed as synonymous with being loved. This type of character structure is most prevalent in societies so structured so that one group may exploit another. Feudalism and the institution of slavery are examples. In America the receptive orientation manifests itself in the need to conform, to please, to succeed without effort. Twentieth-century man is the eternal suckling for Fromm, taking in cigarettes, drinks, knowledge. This character type is clinically

identical with the oral receptive type of Freud and Abraham. The difference in the concept of origin is that Fromm sees the attitude as being inculcated by the nature of the culture and the family (that is, one gets things passively), which then secondarily is applied to erogenous zones. In Freud the zonal need is primary.

THE HOARDING ORIENTATION

The hoarding orientation is based on the premise that security for the individual depends upon what he can save or own. He feels there is nothing new under the sun. He tries to possess rather than to love others. He is obsessively orderly and rigid. Fear of death and destruction mean more to him than life and growth. Intimacy is a threat. One gets things by hoarding. Fromm has shown how this character type was typical of the bourgeois economy of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

THE EXPLOITATIVE ORIENTATION

The basic premise for the exploitative type is the same as for the receptive type—the source of all good is external to the individual. He cannot produce. He takes what he can by cunning and thievery. He is pessimistic, suspicious, and angry. He "steals" his ideas from others. The robber baron of feudal times, the "adventure" capitalist of the eighteenth century, and the Nazi clique are examples of this orientation.

THE MARKETING ORIENTATION

The marketing orientation is one of Fromm's original contributions to psychoanalytic characterology. This character type is typical of our time and could only come into being in a highly organized (bureaucratized) capitalistic society. The existence of a marketplace that places value and measure upon both people and things is the main condition for its development and perpetuation. In this type there is a loss of person-to-person valuation of the individual. Purely personal qualities have no value in themselves. They are valuable only as commodities to the extent that they are valuable to others. The goal is to sell one's self.



It is no longer sufficient to have integrity, ingenuity, skill, and knowledge. As there are fashions in material things, there are fashions in the desirability of personality types communicated by the mass media. In this time of social mobility and constantly broken ties between the individual and his neighbor, employer, or colleague, there is an increasing alienation of man from his own deeper feelings—an increasing superficiality accentuating man's isolation and loneliness.

The receptive and exploitative orientations enable man to relate in terms of himself through symbiosis. The hoarding orientation enables man to relate in terms of his own feelings by withdrawal or destructive means. The marketing orientation leaves man alone, alienated from his own feelings and from his fellow man. Fromm thinks this type of personality is more common in America because of its highly developed corporate structure; as capitalism becomes more developed through bureaucratization and the heightened influence of anonymous authority, subliminal and widespread, this type will become prevalent in both Eastern and Western Europe. This type of society requires millions to live with a serious defect without becoming ill. Man is an automaton under these circumstances.

THE NECROPHILIC ORIENTATION

This is typified by the person who is attracted to death, decay, illness, to all that is not alive, to the inorganic and not the organic. It is not to be confused with the sexual perversion with the same name. It derives from Unamuno's description of a general in the army of General Franco; this man had a favorite motto—"Long live death!" It may be regarded as a malignant form of the "hoarding orientation" or the "anal character" of Freud. Hitler is the best known example of this. During World War I he was found in a trance-like state gazing at the decayed corpse of a soldier, and he had to be dragged away from it. Hitler's end was really what he unconsciously wished. Consciously he wanted to save Germany; unconsciously he was working for its destruction. Behavior in a social context determines any type; needless cruelty and de-

struction of millions of persons are manifestations of the necrophilic type. Unfortunately there are a number of people like this in society. Man, isolated and helpless, wants to transcend himself. Searching for unity and meaning he overcomes automation passively by becoming destructive if he is blocked from becoming productive.

THE PRODUCTIVE ORIENTATION

The productive character is exemplified by the man who is able to use his own powers and to realize his own potentialities. He is free and not dependent on someone who controls his powers. He produces what he wants relatively independently of others. He is at one with his powers. All the expressions of his being are authentic; they are genuinely his and not put into him by an outside influence such as a newspaper. He is active in his work, in feeling, in thinking, and in relationship with people. Through love he can unite himself with the world and at the same time retain the separateness and integrity of his own self.

In actuality we always deal with blends of these orientations. A person of a receptive orientation will relate to one with an exploitative orientation; this is because they both need closeness to the other, in contrast to the distance from the other typical of the hoarding orientation. If the method of relating is totally nonproductive, the ability to accept, take, save, or exchange turns into the craving to receive, exploit, hoard—the dominant ways of acquisition. Loyalty, authority, and assertiveness in the productive character becomes submissiveness, domination, and withdrawal in the nonproductively oriented relationship. In other words, any orientation has a positive or negative aspect, dependent upon the degree of productiveness in the individual.

The Social Character

There is an intimate relationship between the nature of a society and the nature of character types that predominate in that society. A society requires a predominance of human beings whose character structures are consistent with its institutions. It finds this in what



Fromm calls the social character. The social character is the nucleus of character structure held in common by the members of a culture. It serves the function of molding and channeling human energy in a manner that facilitates the functioning of its society. But it is not as though man were a blank sheet of paper upon which society writes its text, for it is inherent in the nature of man that he strives for happiness, harmony, love, and freedom, meaning, and unity. Since such strivings are basic, universal, and extracultural, to speak of the socio-economic circumstances as molding the character of man is to give only one side of the interaction. The other side of the interaction is the impact of these primary strivings of individual men upon the structure of the society and the direction in which it moves. Thus, the social character tends to be conservative and stabilizing, while that which is contributed by the impact of the individual tends to be catalytic and changing.

The inculcation of the social character into the character of each individual is begun in childhood, and, of course, the parents are the main agents utilized by the society for this task. Since the parents are hardly aware of their role and are simply doing what is natural for them, the social character may perhaps more accurately be said to be insinuated rather than inculcated into the individual. The person receives training in the social character in all of his interactions, including those associated with oral, anal, and phallic activity, since in early life these are the zones through which he makes frequent and immediate contact with his parents. Thus, in a social organization that requires precision, accuracy, and dependability in its human subjects for efficient utilization of its factories and institutions, the bowel habits taught will be those associated with regularity and dependability, not because the parents are in a state of reaction formation against their own anal eroticism, but because the culture has taught them the rewards that stem from precision, accuracy, and dependability and the sanctions that stem from their absence.

Fromm vividly describes some of the disruptive effects upon the individual and his so-

ciety of the great changes that have occurred in capitalistic organization and technology during the twentieth century. Science and our knowledge of nature have become more abstract and more distant from the experience of everyday human beings. The act and the object of the act are alien to the doer; now the act often has a life of its own. The man who kills a hundred or a thousand people through the pushing of a button cannot react emotionally to his act in so abstract a world, though the same man might experience feelings of disturbed consciousness were he to injure one helpless person. Man has become a thing as a result of being dependent upon powers outside of himself. He has become alienated from his state, from his work, from the things he consumes, from his fellow man, and from himself. Conformity, not variety, is the order of the day. It is not that he is in such great danger of becoming a creature of arrogant and raucous authority. From such hazards he is protected by the fact that their demands are overt. His greatest danger is his unknowing response to the autonomous, invisible authorities everywhere about him, so that he becomes a puppet without being aware of the strings that determine his every movement. Because large-scale production requires mass consumption, the individual has been taught to expect that every desire can be satisfied and no wish frustrated. Reason has been replaced by intelligence; ethics have been replaced by fairness; work is equated with toil rather than joy.

Fromm feels that by the use of knowledge gained in the fields of psychoanalysis, economics, sociology, politics, and ethics, men may become aware of the crippling effects of their society; this is one of the first steps on the road to social sanity. As a result man may be able to reassert himself so that he again occupies the central place in his own life. He will no longer be an instrument of economic aims; he will no longer be estranged from himself, his fellow man, or from nature. But such a change must occur in all areas, not simply in the political area, or the economic area, or in a spiritual rebirth alone, or in an alteration in sexual attitudes. Societal reform must get at the roots of the difficulty.



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Basic to Fromm's approach to the ills of man and his society are two premises: the first is the concept that human beings have certain needs that are primary and undetermined by culture; the second is that it is possible to know these needs here and now. He believes that the great philosophical and religious leaders of the past—Moses, Jesus, Buddha, Lao-Tse, Ikhnaton, Socrates, and others—described what are more or less the same norms, though they had little knowledge of or influence over each other. He states he has observed the same strivings for peace, harmony, love, and solidarity in his patients as was described by the great thinkers of the past.

From his experience with patients, from his knowledge of the functioning of past and contemporary societies, from his study of religious and philosophical thinkers, Fromm has endeavored to define precisely what is the character of the mentally healthy person. This is the productive, nonalienated person. He relates to the world lovingly and uses his reason to grasp reality objectively. He experiences himself as a unique individual entity and at the same time feels at one with his fellow man. He is not subject to irrational authority but accepts willingly the rational authority of conscience and reason. He is in the process of being born as long as he is alive, and he considers the gift of life the most precious he has. The capacity for this is inherent in every man and will assert itself as long as socioeconomic and cultural conditions permit.

Treatment: Process and Goals

As yet Fromm has not written directly about treatment techniques and practices. However, he views the analytic process as a reciprocal relationship between the patient and the analyst. Within this context the analyst responds to the patient's communication with what he feels and hears, even if it is different from what the patient said or intended to say. His aim is to arrive at the patient's unconscious processes as they are going on in the patient at that time. As a humanist the analyst knows what the patient is experi-

encing from his own experience; he can thereby communicate this knowledge in an accepting, nonjudgmental way. Of course, the analysis of dreams, of transference, and of resistance phenomena plays an essential part in the therapeutic endeavor. Treatment is designed to increase the self-responsibility and self-activity of the patient; dependency is not fostered. There is a never-ending struggle for self-understanding that goes on after the formal analysis.

Fromm has drawn a sharp distinction between psychoanalysis where adjustment to one's culture is the aim of the cure and his humanistic psychoanalysis where realization of one's human potentialities and individuality, which must transcend one's particular culture, is the goal. For Fromm adjustment is a person's ability to be comfortably what the culture requires although he lose his unique individuality in the process. In the traditional approach no universal human norms are postulated, but a kind of social relativism that assumes that adjustment to the criteria of the extant culture is the appropriate goal of treatment. In Fromm's approach the truly creative, productive, and life-loving unconscious forces will be brought to full awareness. The goal, then, is the transformation of the personality from its culture-bound state to its full human range.

Writing with the insights of a psychoanalyst and with the perspectives of a social scientist, Erich Fromm has extended the dimensions of psychoanalysis. In terms of his clinical experience and observations of Western culture, Fromm has described the essential relationship between the character orientations held in common by the members of a society and the society as a social organization. He has shown how the social, economic, and political organization of prewar Germany was related to the growth of the authoritarian character, and has described the relationship between the development of the marketing character and contemporary capitalistic society.

He has postulated the existence of basic human needs that are valid for all men in all cultures, and in doing this he has substituted normative needs for the relativistic needs that



had long been the hallmark of much social thought. Since our culture is deficient in its ability to satisfy these basic human needs, Fromm is an eloquent and active critic of our social values and organization. Given potentially loving and creative man, who is in constant danger of being deformed by a society deficient in sanity, Fromm contends that it is imperative that the psychoanalyst be concerned not with his patient's ability to adjust to his culture but rather with his necessity to transcend it. This requires an understanding of all unconscious processes so that the individual may become free. His socio-individual point of view has permitted Fromm to cast a fresh and vivid light on the questions of love, incest, motherhood, narcissism, character, and dream theory and practice. Erich Fromm has made such serious criticisms of our style of life that the discussion of the issues he has raised will prove to be as important to our survival and our future as any of our current concerns.

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AMERICAN HANDBOOK OF PSYCHIATRY

SECOND EDITION

Silvano Arieti • Editor in Chief

VOLUME ONE

The Foundations of Psychiatry

SILVANO ARIETI • *Editor*



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