

Revisiting Fromm and Bourdieu: Contributions to habitus and realism

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Abstract

Realist scholars are increasingly turning their attention to Pierre Bourdieu's concept of habitus or dispositions as a way of theorizing thought and behaviour. In this article, the author offers a contribution, based on Erich Fromm's social psychology, to the realist theory of habitus. The author argues that while Bourdieu and Fromm both see the quest for meaning as the source of subjectivity in social life, Fromm goes further than Bourdieu in analysing the psychodynamic consequences of the acquisition of habitus. Fromm provides additional tools to understand the properties of habitus that emerge from its interaction with primary psychological needs. Principally, Fromm's work reveals an undertheorized set of emergent properties of habitus.

KEYWORDS

Erich Fromm, habitus, Pierre Bourdieu, psychoanalysis, realism

In this article, I revisit the connection between Pierre Bourdieu's and Erich Fromm's ideas, to contribute to the realist conception of habitus. Realism has become influential in the social sciences (Nash, 1999, p. 445), likely because it has been constructed as a way forward through the impasse between constructionism and naturalism (Gorski, 2013, p. 659). Based on the growing influence of realism and the centrality of Pierre Bourdieu's work in contemporary social theory, it is no surprise that some realists have turned towards Bourdieu's concept of habitus as a way of specifying the causal powers of individuals (DeCoteau, 2016; Nash, 2003; Sayer, 2011, 2012), despite Margaret Archer's well-known critiques of Bourdieu and habitus (Archer, 2010, 2012). Realist work on habitus has also been done as part of a "Bourdieuian inter-disciplinary cognitive sociology" (Brekhus, 2015, p. 16), where the goal has been to use habitus to demonstrate how dispositions influence cognitive processes (Ignatow, 2007, p. 122). The perceptual and emotional "residue" that underpins practical knowledge causes Ignatow and others like Lizardo and Strand to call for an

embodied (Ignatow, 2007), “holistic” (Ignatow, 2010), or “strong-practice” (Lizardo & Strand, 2010, pp. 209–210) view of cognition, which, using Bourdieu’s concept of habitus, more firmly incorporates the role of the body and emotion in human thinking. Following critical realists like DeCoteau (2016) and Elder-Vass (2007, 2012), Ignatow praises Bourdieu’s theory for its capacity to accommodate a realist ontology (Ignatow & Robinson, 2017).

In realist social theory and in cognitive sociology, habitus is used to explain the emergent properties of individuals as distinct from social structure. In brief, the ontology of critical realism relies on two central ideas: analytical dualism and emergence. Analytical dualism is the assumption that structure and culture, being characteristics of human groups, must be assumed to have separate characteristics from the individual human beings that constitute those groups (Archer, 1995, p. 15, pp. 183–185). Furthermore, these characteristics are “emergent properties” (Gorski, 2013, p. 659) or causal powers. According to DeCoteau, “to avoid reducing structural properties to their constituent parts (downwards conflation), the concept of emergence becomes indispensable because it allows critical realists to argue that both structures and agents come to have powers of their own.” (DeCoteau, 2016, p. 305). Initially taken from the philosophy of science, emergence refers generally to the property of a whole being “[irreducible] to some function of the behavior of its components” (Batterman, 2009). In her realist reading of Bourdieu, DeCoteau argues that the emergent properties of agency can be traced to conflicts between primary habitus and secondary habitus as well as the unique cognitive positions offered by being in “interstitial spaces” (DeCoteau, 2016, pp. 315–317). In cognitive sociology, the realist reading of Bourdieu, and specifically the concept of habitus, serves the purpose of ontologically grounding the analysis of cognitive structures, so that the interaction between culture and the individual will not become excessively constructionist (Ignatow & Robinson, 2017, p. 962).

Although I am in favour of the realist work being done on the concept of habitus, I argue that the emergent properties of the habitus exceed the relationship between the habitus and the field, or even between primary and secondary habitus. Critical realists interested in adopting the concept of habitus should also account for the properties of the habitus that emerge from its interaction with primary, universal human psychological needs. Consequently, my purpose in what follows is neither to critique the realist work being done with habitus, nor to argue that Fromm’s ideas can replace Bourdieu’s. Rather, my purpose here is to add to the critical realist account. I show that Erich Fromm’s theory of the genesis of character, when revisited, as Cheliotis suggests, “through the mirror of Bourdieu” and focused on the concept of “triple historicity” (Cheliotis, 2011), reveals another dimension of habitus’ emergent properties, which stem from the formation of habitus, primary and secondary. I call these properties integrative disjunctures (integrative because they relate to the psychological need to engage or “integrate” oneself with reality in a meaningful way). While there have been several comparisons between Fromm and Bourdieu’s theories (most notably Meisenhelder (2005) and Cheliotis (2011)), these comparisons have been made with the goal of determining whether Bourdieu’s or Fromm’s theories are the most adequate theorizations of dispositions, rather than using one thinker’s concepts to complement the other’s. Consequently, in this article, I discuss one way in which Fromm’s thought can enrich Bourdieu’s framework.

1 | HABITUS AND ITS PROPERTIES

It is my purpose in this article to theorize how the properties of the habitus emerge from the interaction between primary, universal human psychological needs and the formation of a set of habits adapted to specific social fields. According to Cheliotis, Fromm “effectuates what we

may call 'triple historicity': despite carrying strong overtones of historicism, instinctual tendencies are historicized alongside, and in conjunction with, cognitive and affective schemata as well as the surrounding social structures." (2011, p. 452). Building on this notion of the "triple historicity" of dispositions, I argue that the habitus gains additional emergent properties related to its interaction with primary psychological needs. That is, while the habitus is a historical product emerging from the adaptation of primary habitus to secondary social fields, it is also a product of the adaptation of universal psychological forces to particular cultural and structural formations. This conceptualization of triple historicity has its roots in Bourdieu's own theorization of habitus, in which he accords a significant, if limited, place to the psyche.

Throughout Bourdieu's *oeuvre*, the concept of habitus remains relatively consistent as a set of principles operating unconsciously to guide social action. Bourdieu's conception of habitus relies on his conception of social space, his "social topology" (Bourdieu, 1985, p. 723). For Bourdieu, the social world can be conceptualized as a series of "fields": "multi-dimensional [spaces] of positions such that every actual position can be defined in terms of a multi-dimensional system of coordinates whose values correspond to the values of different pertinent variables." The "pertinent variables" for Bourdieu are economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital – "material, cultural and symbolic possessions able to confer force or power on their holders" (Peters, 2012, p. 66) – the "overall volume" and "relative proportion" of which characterize the positions of individual agents, as well as groups of agents, which occupy similar positions – classes (Bourdieu, 1985, p. 725). In this way, Bourdieu's thinking "depicts social formations as structured spaces of positions" based on the distribution of capital (Peters, 2012, p. 66).

Connecting field to habitus, Bourdieu notes that these "sets of agents (...) have every likelihood of having similar dispositions and interests and therefore of producing similar practices and adopting similar stances." (Bourdieu, 1985, p. 725). In *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, Bourdieu defines habitus as "the durably installed generative principle of regulated improvisations" [...] (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 78). The habitus conditions the thought and practice of agents such that when they act, think and speak, they do so within the confines of the logic of a particular social field: "Each agent, wittingly or unwittingly, willy nilly, is a producer and reproducer of objective meaning." (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 79). Bourdieu uses habitus to account for social coordination: "One of the fundamental effects of the orchestration of habitus is the production of a commonsense world endowed with the *objectivity* secured by consensus on the meaning (*sens*) of practices and the world, in other words, the harmonization of agents' experiences (...)." (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 80).

Later, in *The Logic of Practice*, Bourdieu offers a better-known definition of habitus as "systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them." (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 53). Habitus is a mechanism that generates repertoires of behaviour directed towards specific social fields (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 53); it "[guides] the occupants of a given place in social space towards the social positions adjusted to their properties, and towards the practices or goods which befit the occupants of that position." (Bourdieu, 1979).

The habitus and its genesis have been the source of an ongoing debate regarding the relationship between dispositions and social structures. Regarding triple historicity and realism, this debate is important, because it highlights Bourdieu's own ambiguity regarding the relationship between habitus and universal psychological conditions. The problem, in its simplest form, is that Bourdieu can be read as suggesting that since the habitus contains the necessary

dispositions for occupying a social position, social structures are reproduced relatively consistently and mechanically at the level of individual practices. In this case, the properties of the habitus would be stifled, since the only power of habitus would be to reproduce social structure – it would lose its distinctness and violate the principle of analytical dualism, which although not important to Bourdieu himself, is vital to the realist use of his concepts.

Commenting on the need to further develop the concept of habitus in the context of critical realism, Roy Nash writes: “socialization theories [of which the habitus is one] explain how people come to be members of their culture, and explanations of their actions or ‘practices’ in terms of socialization are basically observations that people do what they have been brought up to do.” (2003, p. 50). One prominent example of this critique is Margaret Archer’s argument that “Bourdieu’s concept of habitus [is] an argument for structurally determined ‘routine action,’” (Farrugia, 2013, p. 290) and is thus “downward conflationist” or sociologically determinism (DeCoteau, 2016, p. 304). Archer thus lays two charges against Bourdieu: first, that he insufficiently accounts for reflexivity, and second, that habits are no longer relevant in a rapidly changing world of the “reflexive imperative” (Archer, 2012, p. 68).

Related to Archer’s claim is the set of charges, detailed by Faber (Faber, 2017), faulting Bourdieu’s thought for being sociologically determinist. Simply put, if one ignores the process through which habitus is acquired, as well as the nuances in his accounts of different types of habitus, Bourdieu’s theory appears as a simple socialization theory, focused on detailing how the habits that reproduce a hierarchical social structure are inculcated mechanically in individuals.

The solution to this problem has been to underscore the instabilities in habitus that stem from its temporal and topological nature: it can be “split” across diverse fields and over time. Faber convincingly argues that Bourdieu’s attention to the split habitus in his later career, as well as his casting of the habitus as a set of conditions on “improvisation,” demonstrate that he was aware of, and in fact, quite interested in the unpredictability and spontaneity inherent in the functioning of habitus (Faber, 2017, pp. 445–448), and therefore not at all inclined to determinism. Decoteau, additionally, argues that “Even if there is a strong *illusio* in a particularly doxic field, each individual person is always situated at the intersection of multiple overlapping fields, with disparate valuations and distributions of capital, which can provide each of us with multiple (and quite often contradictory) ontological orientations and perspectives [.]” thus creating opportunities for reflexive action (DeCoteau, 2016, p. 316). Bourdieu himself, in the early *The Logic of Practice* and the later *Weight of the World*, acknowledges the temporal disjunctions inherent in the habitus: “The *habitus* – embodied history, internalized as a second nature and so forgotten as history – is the active presence of the whole past of which it is the product. As such, it is what gives practices their relative autonomy with respect to external determinations of the immediate present.” (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 56) Extending this idea to the conflicts contained within the family around the question of legacy and inheritance, Bourdieu writes: “As a matrix of social trajectory and the relationship to this trajectory, the family is necessarily a matrix of the contradictions and double binds that arise from the disjunctions of the disposition of the inheritor and the destiny contained within the inheritance itself.” (Bourdieu et al., 1999, pp. 507–508).

Decoteau’s and Faber’s arguments, as well as Bourdieu’s own comments on the habitus, demonstrate that Bourdieu does in fact account for at least two kinds of emergent properties in the habitus 1) the properties that emerge from the interaction between existing habitus and the demands of a new social field (“vertical disjuncture” (DeCoteau, 2016, p. 304)) 2) the properties that emerge from habitus that comes into conflict with itself as people occupy two opposing or conflict fields simultaneously (“horizontal disjuncture” (DeCoteau, 2016, p. 304)). Nevertheless, as I argue here, Bourdieu introduces, but ultimately never gets around to exploring, a third set of emergent properties: those

which emerge from conflicts between universal psychological needs – integrative disjunctures – and the demands of the domestic field in a specific time and place.

In this existing literature, this third set of emergent properties has been explored in connection to the psychological forces that motivate individuals to acquire primary habitus. Steinmetz notes that “(...) sociological autonomy needs to be connected to psychic ego autonomy,” and that “(...) by failing to account for the genesis of *amor fati*, [Bourdieu] however, runs the risk of a kind of social scientific functionalism. By contrast, psychoanalytic theory offers an account of the way in which the desire for submission emerges from the very genesis of the subject.” (Steinmetz, 2013, pp. 115–118). At issue for Steinmetz is Bourdieu's account of subject-formation. In *Pascalian Meditations*, Bourdieu began to explore the genesis of the subject – signified by the shift from narcissism to “other-oriented” practice (Steinmetz, 2013, pp. 116–117, Steinmetz, 2014, pp. 209–213). Steinmetz argues, however, that Bourdieu failed to explain why *all* actors in a social field, and not just the dominated, submit to the same principle of recognition: “Bourdieu's notion of symbolic capital is based on the premise of reciprocal demands for recognition by all actors in a field—recognition of the variable cultural positions, habituses and tastes, and recognition of their hierarchy. But why should the dominant partner in a hierarchical relation seek recognition from the dominated other?” (Steinmetz, 2013, p. 212). Steinmetz continues to argue that this subject-formation can be best understood through Lacan's concept of the “symbolic order,” since all actors, by forming the ego-ideal, internalize the symbolic principles of taste that ground the recognition of hierarchically-organized forms of symbolic capital (Steinmetz, 2013, p. 212). Steinmetz's comments on the incompleteness of Bourdieu's account raise a more general problem; why and how do people develop the “libido” to participate in social fields in the first place? In other words, Bourdieu's account of primary socialization is somewhat incomplete.

The lack of specification of primary socialization should not be taken as a sign that Bourdieu himself was unaware of the importance of accounting for the development of an initial desire for recognition. In *Pascalian Meditations* Bourdieu offers his most complete developmental theory. He notes that while agents undergo “primary socialization” and develop an initial habitus in the domestic or family field, this initial habitus is transformed into a more specific habitus, depending on the new social fields in which agents find themselves (Bourdieu, 2003, p. 237–239). Key to Bourdieu's theory, and to the debates in the literature, is his explanation of why people engage in social fields in the first place, since, as he notes, the acquisition of habitus “n'a rien d'un processus mécanique de simple inculcation. [Is not a process of simple, mechanical inculcation]” (Bourdieu, 2003, p. 237). He explains that the “search for recognition” compels agents to differentiate themselves from the primary, all-encompassing relationships of domestic life and seek to accumulate capital in other fields (Bourdieu, 2003, pp. 240–241).

Despite Bourdieu's comments about primary habitus, the ultimate ambiguities around primary socialization and the development or acquisition of habitus, raise the possibility of theorizing a third set of emergent properties of habitus related to its interaction with psychological forces. Although Bourdieu does state that the acquisition of habitus is not a mechanical process, but is driven by the dynamics of recognition, the unfinished nature of Bourdieu's account of that acquisition has led to the development of the theory of habitus in phenomenological and psychoanalytic directions. Such developments have been necessary to show how the habitus mediates between two causal forces: the individual's psychological needs and the demands of social structure. From the perspective of realism, the conception of the habitus as a mediating force is necessary, because it is a way of demonstrating that the causal properties of the habitus are not only conditioned by social structure, but also emerge from the interaction between primary habitus and secondary habitus.

2 | BOURDIEU, PHENOMENOLOGY AND PSYCHOANALYSIS

Although Bourdieu may have potentially neglected to fully explain his philosophical anthropology, which would include an explanation of why people feel compelled to seek recognition in social fields, several scholars have reconstructed such an explanation from Bourdieu's work, focusing on his references to phenomenology and psychoanalysis. Using Erich Fromm's theory to enrich Bourdieu's conceptual framework is particularly useful then, given that Bourdieu himself established many promising – if not sometimes ambivalent – connections to both phenomenological and psychoanalytic ideas, both which find resonance in Fromm's work. Focusing on Bourdieu's phenomenological influences, Gabriel Peters argues that Bourdieu saw the search for recognition as being driven by a universal quest for meaning, where “the ongoing enacting of social roles in the ordinary games of social life fulfills an existential function of shielding us from openly contemplating our finitude.” (Peters, 2012, p. 74). In Peters' reading, in which he places Bourdieu nearer to Critical Theory than to Marx (Peters, 2012, p. 75), the need to comprehend the world, cast as a universal human quality, drives social integration and the development of habitus. Bourdieu also exposes the tragedy through which the dominated are denied, by their marginalization, the capacity to find meaning through social recognition. Consequently, Bourdieu believes that the drive to find meaning in the world compels individuals to seek social recognition, whether as the dominant or the dominated.

Following Bourdieu's initial use of psychoanalytic concepts in *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Fourny & Emery, 2000, pp. 105–106), his relatively “derisory” comments about Jacques Lacan (Steinmetz, 2006, 2013, 2014), as well as his call to bring together psycho- and socioanalysis in *Méditations Pascaliennes* and *The Weight of the World* (Reay, 2015, pp. 10–11), a secondary literature has developed analysing the ambivalent connections between psycho- and socioanalysis. Fourny and Emery trace the relationship between Bourdieu's sociological works and psychoanalysis, raising the examples of three of Freud's concepts: *verneinung*, *spaltung*, and *kompromissbildung*, that appear explicitly and implicitly in Bourdieu's work (2000). In another analysis, Steinmetz (2006, 2013, 2014) demonstrates Bourdieu's affinity to Lacan's concepts, and used Lacan's theory of subject formation – based on the dynamics of recognition and misrecognition as the subject enters the “symbolic order” – (2006, p. 453) to explain “the interest and ability of participants to orient themselves towards a field's autonomous logics (...).” (2014, p. 115). Steinmetz ultimately argues for an integration between Bourdieu's socioanalysis and psychoanalysis. Darmon (2016), on the other hand, investigates Bourdieu's textual references to psychoanalysis, and explores Bourdieu's “sociologisation” of psychoanalysis.

In addition to these theoretical and historical treatments of Bourdieu's *oeuvre*, there have also been psychoanalytic developments of Bourdieu's concepts in empirical works. Green (2008), for example, uses a psychoanalytically-rendered conception of habitus to construct a new framework for the sociology of sexuality. In a different empirical area, Reay develops a “psychosocial” understanding of the habitus, in which she investigates how “affective and psychological transactions become sedimented in certain habitus[.]” (Reay, 2015, p. 12). She takes up empirical examples – white working-class and upper middle class families in three English cities – of the “split” habitus, the habitus “divided against itself” (Bourdieu et al., 1999, p. 511, Reay, 2015, pp. 11–12, Steinmetz, 2014, p. 123), to investigate the psychodynamics of habitus.

Given the ever-present connections to psychoanalysis in Bourdieu's work, and the recent resurgence of scholarship on Erich Fromm's contributions to social science, it is no surprise that scholars have also explored theoretical links between Pierre Bourdieu and Erich Fromm. Despite spending some years as a “forgotten intellectual” (McLaughlin, 1998), Fromm has recently re-

emerged as a social theorist worth considering (McLaughlin, 2015, p. 241), for his humanism and critical theory (Braune, 2014; Cortina, 2015; Durkin, 2014; Gunderson, 2014; Leyva, 2014; Miri, 2014), his theory of domination (Cheliotis, 2011, 2013; David-West, 2014; Gounari, 2014), and his theory of emotions (McLaughlin, 1996, 2014). The resurgence of interest in Fromm's work, coupled with Bourdieu's centrality in contemporary social theory, has led to several explorations of the connections between Bourdieu's and Fromm's ideas.

Some of these connections are brief and implicit, while others come in the form of direct comparisons between Fromm and Bourdieu. For example, although it is unclear whether he is referring specifically to Fromm or to other Frankfurt school thinkers, Steinmetz notes this potential linkage when he writes that "there is nothing in psychoanalysis that precludes discussion of social class (...), as illustrated by the literatures on psychoanalytic Marxism (...)." (Steinmetz, 2006, p. 450). In another off-handed comment about Critical Theory, Roy Nash notes that the Frankfurt School (of which Fromm was a co-founder (Friedman, 2013)), recognized the causal powers of the authoritarian habitus (Nash, 2003, p. 53). More explicitly, Meisenhelder underscores the commonalities between Bourdieu's and Fromm's theories by arguing that "Bourdieu's use of the concept of habitus specifies the original idea of social character in a fully sociological way, without the biological or innate traits of some earlier conceptions. While like Fromm (and even Freud) Bourdieu stresses the importance of early experiences, habitus cannot be boiled down to innate or essential drives and needs being repressed or molded by experience with reality." (2006, p. 63). More favourable to Fromm in his comparison of Bourdieu's and Fromm's thought, Leonidas Cheliotis argues that Fromm's concept of social character offers a better understanding of social domination than the concept of habitus, and uses Fromm's framework to analyze the "punitive" mentality (Cheliotis, 2011, 2013).

In this article, I follow Meisenhelder and use the concept of habitus to describe dispositions. While Erich Fromm's contribution to Critical Theory cannot be overstated, some elements of his framework are out of date, and Bourdieu offers a much more sophisticated conception of social structure. Replacing Bourdieu's framework with Fromm's is neither desirable nor, I would argue, feasible, given Bourdieu's canonical status. Nevertheless, Fromm's theory is still relevant, especially as a way of bolstering the realist dimensions of the concept of habitus by revealing its triple historicity and its third set of emergent properties. Like Bourdieu, Fromm bases his philosophical anthropology on the quest for meaning. Fromm, however, follows through this anthropology by demonstrating how the quest for meaning perpetually influences thought and behaviour.

3 | FROMM AND THE GENESIS OF DISPOSITIONS

In this next section, I argue that Erich Fromm's conception of the genesis of dispositions can enrich Bourdieu's concept of habitus by revealing the continuing influence of primary psychological needs on the later psychodynamics of the habitus. Fromm's philosophical anthropology is driven by a historical materialist conception of the human condition, where humans find themselves, phylogenetically and ontogenetically, tasked with constructing their own existence. For Fromm, the need to subsist and the need to relate oneself to others (the product of the withdrawal from primary narcissism) are universal aspects of humanity (Fromm, 1969, pp. 31–32). The individual has universally to both "acquire and [assimilate] things" and [relate] himself to people" (Fromm & Maccoby, 1996). This materialist philosophical anthropology sets up Fromm's project as an analysis of the emergent properties of the human psyche: "Man's nature,

his passions, and anxieties are a cultural product; as a matter of fact, man himself is the most important creation and achievement of the continuous human effort, the record of which we call history. It is the very task of social psychology to understand this process of man's creation in history." (Fromm, 1941, p. 13). Fromm is concerned specifically about the psychological consequences of the transformation of human nature in particular times and places, and the cost this places on people in the form of psychological drives.

Consequently, Fromm's philosophical anthropology, like Bourdieu's, holds a central place for the quest for meaning. In Fromm's view, the quest for meaning is the universal condition on the genesis of human society and individual human beings. Human nature has properties that emerge from the relation between the human biophysiological apparatus and the natural world. Thus, while he argues that "specific human qualities" – "reason and self-awareness" (Fromm, 1994, p. 127) – must be the epistemological "point of departure" (Funk, 1982, p. 57), the power of these "qualities" to affect the course of human development stems from the demands that they place on human beings. Reason and self-awareness are consequently conditional powers, which only constrain human activity insofar as they pose the problem of meaning: "By the very fact of his being human, he is asked a question by life: how to overcome the split between himself and the world outside of him in order to arrive at the experience of unity and oneness with his fellow men and nature." (Fromm, 1994, p. 127) For Fromm the only immutable feature of physical, material humanness is its emergent causal power to pose an ontological dilemma that precipitates a transformation of the world into a place where human becoming can continue:

(...) uncertainty is the very condition to impel man to unfold his powers. If he faces the truth without panic he will recognize that there is no meaning to life except the meaning man gives his life by the unfolding of his powers, by living productively; and that only constant vigilance, activity, and effort can keep up from failing in the one task that matters—the full development of our powers within the limitations set by the laws of our existence. (Fromm, 1947, p. 45).

Thus, the "laws of our existence" – namely, reason and self-awareness – paradoxically are the imperative to the generation of physical life as well as to create meaning for that life (Funk, 1982, pp. 49–50).

For Fromm, the task of social psychology is to analyze how well a specific society provides for the sense of unity and oneness, which is a need generated by the imperative to find meaning in an intrinsically meaningless universe. Fromm connects unity and oneness to narcissism. In terms that parallel the Lacanian movement from the non-symbolic to symbolic order, Fromm explains that to find authentic meaning, every human being has to move from a state of primary, unthinking and unelected unity with the universe, to a mature, autonomous and willed state of belonging in society and the natural world.

Every human infant, in the process of material and social survival, transitions from primary narcissism, a state in which "the libido of the small child is wholly self-directed and does not yet extend to material objects in the outside world," (Fromm & Maccoby, 1996, p. 75; Funk, 1982, p. 43), to a state in which "it experiences a world outside itself." (Fromm, 1969, 41). Fromm refers to this transition as "individuation" (Fromm, 1969, p. 40). As children grow, they learn through activity how to be in the world – how to "relate" to it physically, mentally and emotionally, and to recognize themselves as distinct objects, all of which they are driven to do by the need to survive (Fromm, 1969, pp. 32–33). Their capacities to manipulate objects, to think and to feel become unified in a "self." This transition, however, involves a severing of primary ties; the child

ceases to perceive the world as fundamentally part of itself, and learns that it is comprised of objects, both animate and inanimate. This severing of ties is both liberating, in that its product is a relatively autonomous self, and isolating, since it is at this point that the child's quest to find a new coherence with the world has begun: "The primary ties offer security and basic unity with the world outside oneself. To the extent to which the child emerges from that world it becomes aware of being alone, of being an entity separate from all others." (Fromm, 1969, pp. 44–45). According to Fromm, this feeling of loneliness, a kind of existential anxiety arising from the separation between the individual and the world, creates a new drive, to unity and oneness (1947).

Individuation creates secondary psychological motivations that play the same role for Fromm as they do for Bourdieu: they explain why people participate in collective life beyond the dictates of subsistence. Following individuation, people are confronted with the anxiety of being self-aware, autonomous and individual beings (Fromm, 1969). Culture, in Fromm's view, provides a way of alleviating this feeling, as it serves as a secondary source of meaning. As the sense of self emerges, it is accompanied by a deep sense of loneliness, of being severed from the "primary" ties that bound the infant to its caregivers and neonatal environment. For Fromm, every human being is thus driven, at a primordial level, to resolve the emotional disjuncture that the sense of self-awareness brings.

To this point, Fromm's account runs parallel to Bourdieu's in most respects. Both thinkers see human beings as cast into an essentially meaningless world, which demands that they seek meaning through participation in social and cultural life. For Fromm, as for Bourdieu, social structure, first experienced through the family, provides a set of cognitive, cultural and affective resources that allow individuals to relate to others and fulfill their desire to be unified with the world. Whereas for Bourdieu these resources are accessible through habitus, for Fromm they are accessible through the "character orientations," which arise as a result of primary socialization (Fromm, 1969, pp. 31–33). Fromm notes that character structure is formed in relation to distinct orders of reality, one related to practical existence in the world, and the other related to human bonds and ties. When a cluster of emotions is shared within a social group, it becomes "social character" a common "character matrix," *a syndrome of character traits which has developed as an adaptation to the economic, social, and cultural conditions common to that group*" (Fromm & Maccoby, 1996, p. 16).

By incorporating the emotional consequences of primary socialization, Fromm identifies a third set of emergent properties in the dispositional domain. In Bourdieu's account, as noted earlier, the habitus gains emergent properties to motivate behaviour when it aligns or misaligns temporally and spatially with social fields. For Fromm, however, dispositions also have the property of aligning and misaligning not only with past and present social fields, but also with the general need to have meaningful relationships with others.

Based on clinical work and sociological studies like *Social Character in a Mexican Village* (Fromm & Maccoby, 1996), *Escape from Freedom* (1941) and *The Working Class in Weimar Germany* (1984), Fromm constructs an ideal-typology (Fromm & Maccoby, 1996, p. 69) of character structures of assimilation (related to the acquisition of material goods) and socialization (related to non-economic relationships with others); in the category of assimilation he includes the receptive orientation, the exploitative orientation, the hoarding orientation, the marketing orientation, and the productive orientation, while in the category of socialization he includes masochism, sadism, withdrawal-destructiveness, narcissism and love (Fromm, 1947, p. 111; Fromm & Maccoby, 1996, p. 73). Each of these character structures features a distinct dispositional orientation to the world and emotional contents. And while each contains its own emotional contents, this is merely one level of emotions. There are also emergent emotions, that

stem from the relation between that particular character structure, and the psychodynamic process set off by the quest for meaning.

There are numerous examples of how Fromm conceptualizes the third set of emergent properties spread across his work, especially around his discussion of the various character orientations. In this section, I look at Fromm's analysis of the marketing or "automaton" orientation: "The character orientation which is rooted in the experience of oneself as a commodity and of one's value as exchange value I call the marketing orientation." (Fromm, 1947, p. 68). The first striking thing about Fromm's definition in relation to Bourdieu is that for Fromm, the unique aspect of the marketing orientation is the experience of the game of recognition that Bourdieu sees as characterizing all human interaction. For Fromm, however, participating in a game of selling oneself as a commodity starts out as specific to the social fields of the "urban middle class[.]" but gradually encompasses "modern" economic life (Fromm, 1947, p. 68). Fromm is commenting on the economic transformation leading up to the 1960s (although he began to trace it in the late thirties): the rise of a "service economy" (Maccoby, 2002, p. 35), where "all are dependent for their material success on a personal acceptance by those who need their services or who employ them." (Fromm, 1947, p. 69). This is the economy of emotion work and selling an emotional experience (Hochschild, 1983), where the goal is to convince other participants that one has the right "personality." (Fromm, 1947, p. 69).

Consequently, in contemporary theoretical terms, Fromm's analysis of the marketing character is an analysis of the psychodynamics of the (male, white) middle-class habitus that arose as part of the turn towards the service economy in mid-twentieth century America and Europe. Fromm notes, importantly, that the specific contents of the marketing character, or marketing habitus in our terms, vary according to the professional field under analysis, yet they share the similarity of being aimed towards selling oneself:

"Success depends largely on how well a person sells himself on the market, how well he gets his personality across, how nice a "package" he is; whether he is "cheerful," "sound," "aggressive." "reliable," "ambitious,"; furthermore what his family background is, what clubs he belongs to, and whether he knows the right people. The type of personality depends to some degree on the special field in which a person works. A stockbroker, a salesman, a secretary, a railroad executive, a college professor, or a hotel manager must each offer different kinds of personality that, regardless of their differences, must fulfill one condition: to be in demand." (Fromm, 1947).

Although the marketing habitus comes in different forms, it does have static characteristics across fields. For Fromm, the most important disposition in the marketing orientation is the habit of manipulating social situations so as to appear desirable to others. As a "structuring structure" the marketing orientation causes individuals to attend (Brekhus, 2015, p. 34) to the surface features of reality, so that they can analyse it quickly, and manipulate appearances to please other people: "[the marketing orientation is oriented to] grasping things quickly so as to be able to manipulate them successfully. (...) For manipulative purposes, all that is necessary to know is the surface features of things, the superficial." (Fromm, 1947, p. 75). For Fromm, the manifestation of this habitus in the intellectual field is a focus on producing easily quantifiable and applicable concepts, rather than synthetic understandings of reality (Fromm, 1947, p. 76).

In *Escape From Freedom*, Fromm provides examples of individual cases that demonstrate the marketing orientation. While Fromm's discussion in *Man for Himself* is directed at illustrating the marketing orientation in sweeping strokes, in *Escape from Freedom* he gives much more

detailed descriptions of how the marketing character manifests in specific individuals, and, more importantly, how it interacts with the quest for meaning to gain emergent properties.

In what follows, I will discuss three of the cases Fromm presents about the marketing character: one about a child in the domestic field, and two about adult men in their professional/domestic fields. Fromm presents the two cases as “examples,” although it is unclear whether or not they refer to cases from his psychoanalytic practice. He is explicit in stating, however, that the third case refers to a patient that presented himself to Fromm for psychoanalysis.

The first example is of a five-year-old girl and the relationship she has with her mother. Although not relating strictly to the kind of professional life to which the marketing orientation most directly applies, Fromm is clear that the acquisition of the marketing character begins in childhood (Fromm, 1941, p. 193): “From grade school to graduate school, the aim of learning is to gather as much information as possible that is mainly useful for the purposes of the market. (...) We find today a tremendous enthusiasm for knowledge and education, but at the same time a skeptical or contemptuous attitude towards the allegedly impractical and useless thinking which is concerned ‘only’ with the truth and which has no exchange value on the market.” (Fromm, 1947, p. 76). In the example of the child, Fromm notes that she is discouraged from learning the truth about her mother’s hypocrisy and her parents’ troubled marriage:

“A five-year-old girl, for instance, may recognize the insincerity of her mother, either by subtly realizing that, while the mother is always talking of love and friendliness, she is actually cold and egotistical, or in a cruder way by noticing that her mother is having an affair with another man while constantly emphasizing her high moral standards. The child feels the discrepancy. Her sense of justice and truth is hurt, and yet, being dependent on the mother who would not allow any kind of criticism (...), the child is forced to suppress her critical insight.” (Fromm, 1941, p. 193)

Fromm continues, to note that, “Very soon she will no longer notice the mother’s insincerity or unfaithfulness. She will lose the ability to think critically since it seems to be both hopeless and dangerous to keep it alive. On the other hand, the child is impressed by the pattern of having to believe that her mother is sincere and decent and that the marriage of the parents is a happy one, and she will be ready to accept this idea as if it were her own.” (Fromm, 1941, p. 194).

Considering that Fromm discusses the example of the child in his discussion of “pseudo-thinking,” which is part of the marketing orientation that originates in the American and European middle class, this example seems best understood as a specific, middle-class approach to the truth and thinking. The child is encouraged to ignore or “disattend” to her intuitive knowledge of her parents’ relationship and her mother’s actions, and to think, rather, that the domestic life is happy. Thus, in Bourdieu’s language, we see the child learning to adopt the *illusio* of middle-class domestic life; that a marriage is worth sustaining, even at the cost of ignoring the intuition that it is otherwise. The child shapes her thoughts and behaviours to this imperative. So far, none of this is unaccountable in Bourdieu’s framework. Fromm’s contribution, however, is more obvious when one considers that it would be “hopeless and dangerous” for the child to think critically about the situation. Why should it be? It would be dangerous to think critically because the child’s connection with the mother, and so her capacity to gain meaning from a secondary re-attachment to the world around her, would be compromised. The cost of this submission, however, is the deadening of original thought, which further reinforces the will to conform, and leaves the child open to future, more sinister dependencies, such as submission to state authorities.

Thus Fromm reveals that even in the acquisition of a “primary” habitus, there are already second-order properties of the habitus that emerge from its relationship to the quest for meaning and its psychological demands. Even for adults, a habitus based on grasping and manipulating surface data has consequences: “The individual feels helplessly caught in a chaotic mass of data and with pathetic patience waits until the specialists have found out what to do and where to go. The result of this kind of influence is a twofold one: one is a scepticism and cynicism towards everything which is said or printed, while the other is a childish belief in anything that a person is told with authority.” (Fromm, 1941, p. 250) In this case, the marketing orientation gains a set of emergent properties. By denying the individual’s desire to gain a true knowledge of herself, and so suppressing critical thinking, it creates a new, relational property, which is the inability to recognize truth, and a paradoxical blind faith in any authoritative truth.

Turning to a consideration of the adult world, Fromm takes up two cases of adult men who adopt the marketing character in various guises. The two are a businessman and a medical student. The first, the businessman, is again presented as a hypothetical case. Fromm describes how the man attended a party, where he appeared to be pleasant, interesting and entertaining (Fromm, 1941, p. 196). The status of the party as a social field is ambiguous – it potentially is the site of the enactment of several fields, as guests make conversation about work-related topics, small-talk and current affairs. There is perhaps some overlap between the domestic, the professional, the social (in the sense of “having a social life”) and no doubt the gender field. The party is ostensibly a middle-class, suburban, party, as we are told that “the man gets into his car, thinks about the evening, wonders whether or not he made a good impression, and feels that he did.” (Fromm, 1941, p. 196). In the next part of the example, from describes how that night, after the party, the man dreams that he is back in the First World War, and that he is a spy, donning an enemy officer’s uniform. He is eventually discovered as an impostor and has to tell jokes to maintain his disguise. He eventually flees, only to find himself on a streetcar, heading home.

Through an analysis of the man’s associations to the dream, Fromm explains that the dream reflects the man’s anxiety around having to perform at the party, even though the man consciously thought that he made a good impression. Again, Fromm’s analysis essentially illustrates that the enactment of a middle-class, marketing habitus has a psychological cost, due to the way that that habitus interacts with the need to find meaning. For Fromm, the man’s orientation to appearing pleasant and selling his personality to others is an enactment of a pseudo-self, which results in him feeling anxious and isolated, both socially and from his personhood (Fromm, 1941, pp. 196–199). In this case, the need to participate in social life is met. It is, however, met in terms that dampen an authentic self, and so falls short of meeting existential needs. This shortfall in turn reinforces the desired to be accepted. From these two examples, we learn that in Fromm’s view, one of the most important characteristics of dispositions is how they interact with the primary quest for meaning, which gives them their characteristics – in this case, a set of cognitive and affective habits to orient oneself to the task of seeking approval.

The third and final case to be discussed is one that Fromm presents as a real case history: the case of a twenty-one-year-old medical student, who is interested in pursuing psychiatry (and so seeks to undergo a propaedeutic analysis), as well as who is seeking treatment for a “block” in his medical education (Fromm, 1941, p. 202). In this example, there is overlap between three fields; the field of professional medicine, the middle-class economic field, and the middle-class domestic field. Over the course of the analysis, the student discusses a number of dreams, one of which relates to his early aspirations of being an architect:

“Thinking of the skyscraper he has built [in the dream], he mentions in a casual way how much he was always interested in architecture. As a child his favourite pastime for many years consisted of playing with construction blocks, and when he was seventeen, he had considered becoming an architect. When he mentioned this to his father, the latter had responded in a friendly fashion that of course he was free to choose his own career, but that he (the father) was sure that the idea was a residue of his childish wishes, that he really preferred to study medicine. The young man thought that his father was right and since then had never mentioned the problem to his father again, but had started to study medicine as a matter of course.” (Fromm, 1941, p. 203).

Through the analysis, the patient discovers that he resents his father for “pushing” him into medicine, and the decision was not really his.

Thinking through this case in Bourdieu’s, as well as Fromm’s terms, reveals that what was at stake in this man’s life was the acquisition of an appropriate set of habitus – for his class, his family, his gender – one that was in keeping with the demands of a service-oriented economy and society. The particular habitus he was to acquire was the physician, which involves, especially at the time that Fromm is writing, a certain professional manner and appearance or “cloak” of competence (Becker & Geer, 1958; Haas & Shaffir, 1977); becoming a physician, mid-twentieth century, was more about learning how to appear competent to colleagues, instructors and patients than it was to learn medical facts. In this man’s case, he was acquiring the habitus required not only to be a competent physician, but also to be a competent son and middle-class, American man. As Fromm tells us, the consequence of acquiring and enacting such habitus were twofold. First was the man’s manifest “block,” his seeming inability to complete the tasks necessary for his study, even when he knew he had the skills and the knowledge to do so. The second, more latent consequence is the “intense state of insecurity,” which in this case led to panic, a desire to conform and intense feelings of rage (Fromm, 1941, p. 206).

The three cases studied here show that Fromm was concerned with dispositions in a similar way to Bourdieu. Fromm, however, goes further than Bourdieu in exploring how the acquisition and enactment of habitus happens in the context of, or in the condition of, universal human psychological needs, organized around the quest for meaning. Consequently, building on Fromm’s work, it is possible to add a third set of emergent properties to the habitus. Not only does the habitus gain causal powers through horizontal and vertical disjunctures. The habitus also gains causal power through integrative disjunctures, disjunctures between the acquisition or enactment of habitus and the quest for meaning. In all three the cases above, the middle-class, marketing habitus entailed the manipulation of surface reality, of appearances, surface knowledge and surface emotions, to produce an image of oneself as desirable in a specific field.

4 | CONCLUSION

By way of conclusion, I now turn to the consequences that the third set of emergent properties of habitus, those that emerge from its alignment or misalignment with the quest for meaning, have for the discussions about reflexivity around which some of ideas about the habitus’ emergent properties have occurred. DeCoteau argues, against Archer, that the vertical and horizontal disjunctures in the habitus are important, because they allow sociologists to explain how reflexivity arises (DeCoteau, 2016). Showing that the habitus can also have integrative disjunctures reveals

important information about the sources of reflexivity. In the marketing character in particular, it is precisely the capacity to “know thyself” that is lost through the misalignment of marketing dispositions with the quest for meaning. In this case, integrative disjuncture stifles, rather than promotes, reflexivity. In *Man for Himself*, Fromm writes about the therapeutic work involved in getting middle-class, urban patients to be reflexive:

“The psychoanalytic interview is one of the vantage points for studying the authoritarian conscience in the urban middle class. Here parental authority and the way children cope with it are revealed as being the crucial problem of neurosis. The analyst finds many patients incapable of criticizing their parents at all; others, who, while criticizing their parents in some respects, stop short of criticizing them with regard to those qualities they themselves have suffered from; still others feel guilty and anxious when they express pertinent criticisms or rage against one of their parents. It often takes considerable analytic work to enable a person even to remember incidents which provoked his anger or criticism.” (Fromm, 1947, p. 152).

While the marketing orientation offers a pseudo-reflexivity aimed at making oneself desirable to others, the psychoanalytic interview offers the potential to get at a more authentic reflexivity. What does this tell us about reflexivity in general, especially in the context of the realist debates around it? Reflexivity neither emerges directly from the relationship between human being and nature or practice (as Archer would have it), nor does it emerge solely through vertical and horizontal disjunctures. Rather, reflexivity, is also incumbent on the psychodynamics between habitus and the need for people to find meaningful engagement in the world. For this reason, amongst others, it is necessary and indeed, beneficial, to recognize the role that integrative disjunctures, an effect of the interaction between habitus and existential, psychological needs, play in shaping human thinking and behaviour.

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How to cite this article: Grillo CM. Revisiting Fromm and Bourdieu: Contributions to habitus and realism. *J Theory Soc Behav*. 2018;48:416–432. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jtsb.12182>