

## Fromm, Erich (1900–80)

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### Abstract

This article presents an analytic history of the legacy of Erich Fromm, the German psychoanalyst, social psychologist, critical thinker, best-selling author, and an early member of the Frankfurt School. Fromm's intellectual insights flowed from aspects of his life and optimal marginality in relationship to various intellectual social movements and his complex relationship with the Frankfurt School. But Fromm also became a 'forgotten intellectual' for some of the same biographical and sociological reasons. Ideas and scholarly influence can rise again as well as decline, so with his contemporary relevance in mind, we will discuss some of the underappreciated contributions Fromm made to the study of authoritarianism, race, and ethnicity as well as his influence on theories of gender and the practice of public sociology. There is new interest in Fromm's work, suggesting that he might find again a place in the history and contemporary scholarship in social psychology, sociology, critical theory, and psychoanalysis.

### Introduction

Erich Fromm (1900–80) was a German psychoanalyst, social psychologist, critical social thinker, social activists, best-selling author, and a public intellectual. He was first recognized for his original analysis of the rise of the Nazi movement in the 1930s presented in *Escape from Freedom* (1941), a book where he creatively connected Marxist, Freudian, Weberian, and existentialist insights. In subsequent years, he wrote such best sellers as *The Sane Society* (1955), *The Art of Loving* (1956), and *To Have or To Be?* (1976) and returned to academic scholarship in *Social Character in a Mexican Village* (1970) (with Michael Maccoby) and *Anatomy of Human Destructiveness* (1973). Popularity among wider audiences, however, gradually undermined Fromm's recognition among academics, especially after he was ostracized from psychoanalysis and air brushed out of the 'origin myths' of early Frankfurt School 'critical theory,' rendering him a forgotten intellectual (McLaughlin, 1998, 1999).

Fromm's position of 'optimal marginality' (McLaughlin, 2001b), in his professional as well as private life, allowed him to become well acquainted with numerous theoretical perspectives and to acquire skills for effortlessly maneuvering between different intellectual networks, movements, and social groups. Fromm was trained in Germany, bringing to America European Marxist, Freudian, and Weberian theories, but he also integrated into and learned from American culture and intellectual life more than most other émigré intellectuals of his generation. What resulted from the combination of Fromm's training and wide reading, his sociological 'optimal marginality,' and his cultural border crossing, was an eclectic theoretical stand, a compelling ethical vision, and a jargon-free language that reached different publics around the world.

We will first discuss Fromm's personal life and career and then we will highlight the relevance of his ideas to contemporary social science scholarship. We will present the largely unacknowledged intellectual contributions he made to the three fields of study (authoritarian personality research, race and racism, and gender studies) and discuss the pioneering role he played in mid-twentieth-century development of the

role of the public intellectual and public sociologist, two overlapping models for intellectuals that are being widely debated today.

### Fromm's Personal Life and Career

Fromm was born in 1900 to a middle-class Orthodox Jewish family. The loveless marriage his parents were trapped in created an environment whereby Fromm became a neurotic child (Burston, 1991). Overcoming obstacles, young Erich studied under prominent rabbis and acquired intellectual tools he used to challenge his parents' worldview. After abandoning a plan to become a rabbi himself, Fromm enrolled at the age of 17 years at the university in Heidelberg, where he was mentored by Max Weber's younger brother, Alfred Weber. Fromm's doctoral thesis (1922) analyzing three Jewish sects ability to follow their religious traditions without receiving any institutional support (Ortmeyer, 1998) was essentially a social psychological work focusing on the influence of social forces on the lives of individuals, a reappearing theme in Fromm's books. Impressed by his thesis, Weber encouraged Fromm to pursue an academic career, a plan he rejected because he wanted to make a social and political difference (Friedman, 2013). Instead, he became an editor of a Jewish newspaper.

The decisions taken by Fromm in those early years signaled the type of intellectual that he wanted to be. Firstly, he was not afraid to take an unpopular stance, as he moved beyond the Judaism and later the Zionism of his family. Secondly, in the Marxist vein that increasingly came to influence him, Fromm did not want to simply interpret the world, but aspired to change it. Realizing that such ambitions might be possible by reaching a broader public, he aspired to be what we now call a public intellectual.

His public intellectual career, however, would have to wait. After graduating and then quitting the Jewish newspaper, Fromm became a trained psychoanalyst working in Berlin. In that period he resumed his academic and theoretical work when he accepted the invitation from Max Horkheimer in 1929

to become a member of *Institut für Sozialforschung* (the Frankfurt Institute for Social Research), a network of interdisciplinary scholars we now know of as the Frankfurt School. Fromm was director of social psychology and worked with the critical theorists as a researcher (Friedman, 2013: 26). The rise of National Socialism and growing anti-Semitism pushed Fromm to leave Germany first to Switzerland then to New York, where he worked with the now exiled immigrant members of the Frankfurt School (Wheatland, 2009) at Columbia University. The Frankfurt School was brought to Columbia largely due to the efforts of the sociology department, particularly Robert Lynd, because they were interested in Fromm's research on the working class in Weimar Germany (Wheatland, 2009).

Fromm's work in the institute dealt with family, religion, anti-Semitism, the class-biased punitive justice system, scapegoating, and much more (Friedman, 2013: 34). Fromm participated in and codesigned collaborative projects, wrote for the critical theorist's journal, and received a significant wage (Friedman, 2013: 31). During the 1930s, Fromm had conducted a major empirical study of the social psychology of Weimar German workers, work that created the concept of 'authoritarian character.' Fromm's position in the Frankfurt School evolved together with changing social and personal life circumstances. When they started cooperation, Fromm had just finished his psychoanalytic training and could maintain a working relationship with Horkheimer, who was influenced by Freudian orthodoxy. With time, however, this cooperation would unravel. Fromm started to distance himself theoretically from the Frankfurt School at the time when he started a relationship, in the US, with Freudian revisionist Karen Horney. As Lawrence Friedman argued, Fromm adapted to life in the U.S. rather quickly. He was the only member of the Frankfurt School who quickly moved from 'proficiency to mastery of English' and started publishing in this language (2013: 78). Additionally, Fromm put in extra effort to become familiar with and interested in American popular culture, and dabbled with commenting on relevant American matters, activities that Adorno criticized. Soon, he joined a network of thinkers called the 'Culture and Personality' movement with his friends Edward Sapir, Ruth Benedict, and Margaret Mead (Friedman, 2013: 59) and began attending weekly meetings of the Zodiac Group which consisted of artists, scholars, and poets exchanging ideas (Greenberg and Mitchell, 1983). Thus, Fromm's social networks went beyond Horkheimer's circle to include relationships with other social and political scientists from Columbia University. Finally, Fromm acquired independence from Frankfurt School in yet another way – by being a successful psychoanalyst, with a stable source of income. All this intensified the growing conflict between Fromm and the members of Frankfurt School. Both Horkheimer and Adorno were suspicious of Fromm's ability and willingness to connect to American scholars and political and cultural trends (Wiggerhaus, 1986). Over time, they would respond by trying to diminish his role in the critical school of thought, helping render him a 'forgotten intellectual' (McLaughlin, 1998, 1999).

Fromm always rejected orthodoxies, and he did not hesitate to publish a series of critiques of psychoanalytic theory, throughout the 1930s (Burston, 1991), as his emerging ideas

represent a significant break from Freudian orthodoxy. For Horkheimer and his colleagues, Fromm's work deviated far too much from their theoretical agenda and eventually they would pressure him to leave (Friedman, 2013: 37). Conflicts over Fromm's unorthodox reading of Freud and Marx, financial matters (Friedman, 2013: 57), and disagreements over methodological and practical matters relating to the proposed publication of his study of the working class in Weimar Germany led to him leave Horkheimer's group in 1939 (Burston, 1991; Wiggerhaus, 1986). Fromm's research from this period, however, created the basis for *Escape from Freedom* (1941). Published with a commercial press and written in engaging nonacademic prose, *Escape from Freedom* argued that popular psychological explanations overemphasized Hitler's pathological personality and the 'madness' of the sociopolitical movement supporting him. Furthermore, Fromm opposed Marxist deterministic interpretations suggesting that Nazis simply served the interest of authoritarian German capitalists. Instead, Fromm offered a more complex sociological explanation of Nazism, linking this movement with anxieties arising out of rapid social changes brought about by modernity (McLaughlin, 1996). He suggested that humiliation experienced by Germany after World War I and the subsequent economic crisis undermined the legitimacy of its democratic institutions, making its citizens more anxious. The millions of Germans were seduced by Hitler's 'evangelism of self-annihilation' (Fromm, 1969[1941]: 259) that was offering a way to reverse the effects of cultural and economic collapse. One path to escape from freedom, in Fromm's view, was offered through following obediently a leader and his racist, nationalistic, and militaristic Nazi Party (Fromm, 1969[1941]: 235). As the noted political theorist and historian of psychoanalysis Paul Roazen observed, the publication of this book "was a notable moment in intellectual history" (Roazen, 1977). Not only was it enthusiastically reviewed in elite newspapers and magazines (McLaughlin, 1996) but it also influenced generations of social scientists such as Robert K. Merton's graduate students at Columbia University.

Ironically, the success of *Escape from Freedom* helped erase from our historical memory Fromm's influence on Horkheimer's circle. Fromm became known as a theorist of freedom not authoritarianism (Rickert, 1983), and gradually came to be ignored by contemporary critical theorists who accepted Marcuse and Adorno's account of the conflict within the Frankfurt School circle (McLaughlin, 1999). This erasure of Fromm from this history is unjustified, since his study of the character of Weimar German workers laid the foundation for the concept of 'authoritarian personality' that Theodor Adorno used to write *The Authoritarian Personality*, making authoritarianism almost a brand-name concept for the Frankfurt School (McLaughlin, 1998; Brunner, 1994). Fromm's work underpinned the development of the authoritarian personality tradition, which allowed social scientists to combine psychological explanations of scapegoating occurring in political life with an empirical 'F' scale measure of the level of authoritarianism. The involvement of Fromm in developing an earlier version of the 'F' scale was never adequately recognized until the publication of the manuscript of *The Working Class in Weimar Germany* (Bonns, 1984).

## The Sociology of Race and Racism

The concept of authoritarian character introduced in *Escape from Freedom* was relevant for the development of literature on xenophobia and prejudice in the early twentieth century (Chancer, 1991). Fromm's studies of prejudice concentrated on historical circumstances conducive to its emergence, but also attempted to reveal more universal aspects of oppression. He identified a mechanism in which the dominating authoritarian person feels freer, more secure, and powerful knowing that there is someone whom they can or they have already managed to dominate. In this sense, the term 'social character' coined by Fromm to describe common traits of people belonging to the same group can be seen as providing means for the expression of group narcissism (superior 'us' as opposed to inferior 'them') and of nonegalitarian or authoritarian personality that feed unconscious racism (Fromm, 1964), key elements in contemporary scholarship. In short, Fromm's contribution to the study of prejudice and racism comes down to highlighting social psychological aspects of these phenomena.

Revisiting Fromm's contributions (especially the concept of 'social character') seems fruitful in the context of racism studies' shift of their scope from explicit conscious racism to automatic, unconscious racism (see Wheeler and Fiske, 2006[11]). Few race scholars implied that subscribing to egalitarian values that bypass the cognitive process of forming stereotypes can also inhibit the development of unconscious biased, prejudiced, or racist attitudes (Pearson et al., 2009). Pearson et al. tested this contention by utilizing Fromm's Marxist-influenced concept of the 'marketing character,' a personality interested in maintaining economic differences among people. Pearson et al. concluded that people demonstrating traits of 'marketing character' are more prone to be racially prejudiced than those believing in an equal distribution of material resources. Fromm's use of Freudian insights into unconscious drives and emotions combined with Marxist and Weberian sociological perspectives on class and status provides productive intellectual resources for contemporary prejudice and race scholars.

The strengths as well as some of the limitations of Fromm's theorizing of race emerged both from his positioning between various networks and from his personal life. The combination of Fromm's socialist politics with his prophetic Jewish ethical thinking was creatively translated into his works (e.g., *The Heart of Man* or *The Anatomy of Human Destructiveness*) which, while discussing more ethical concepts such as the human roots of evil and destructiveness, criticized at the same time racism, ethnocentrism, and nationalist chauvinism (Fromm, 1964, 1973). On a more personal level, a large part of Fromm's energies in the 1930s were spent on trying to rescue Jewish family and friends from Nazi prosecution (Friedman, 2013). But also, after his break up with German psychoanalyst Karen Horney, he started seeing Katherine Dunham – a talented African-American dancer, choreographer, graduate of social anthropology, and researcher at the University of Chicago (Friedman, 2013: 91). This rare interracial relationship in 1930s America, as Lawrence Friedman argued, opened Fromm's eyes to discrimination and constraints that African-Americans experienced, even though, like many German émigré scholars, Fromm never fully understood the nuances of American racial politics. His connection to Dunham, his

involvement in the American socialist party in the 1950s and early 1960s, and his intellectual engagement with the American pragmatism of John Dewey (a foreign territory to Marcuse and Adorno) meant that *Escape from Freedom*, which he wrote while dating Dunham, (1941) and his later book *The Sane Society* (1955) contained an emotionally compelling defense of antiracist universalism, even though he failed to theorize racism and anti-Semitism adequately. This universalism led him to gender theories to which we now turn.

## Gender, Freud, and Psychoanalytic Feminist Sociology

Fromm's contributions to theories of gender are considerable yet controversial. Fromm's role in transforming of Freud's patriarchal psychological theory into the object relation psychology, self-psychology and feminist psychoanalytic sociology was obvious from the 1930s till today. By synthesizing Marx's and Freud's insights into the dynamics of character, emotions, and the unconscious, in the context of an empirical sociology, Fromm arrived at completely different conclusions than Freud about the role of the mother in the life of child. Freud's views of woman as essentially a castrated man were replaced by a theory that saw the mother as a powerful figure in child's life and their relationship as the strongest connection humans can have.

Another element of Freud's theory that Fromm questioned was the assumption of the universal character of femininity and masculinity; Fromm's revision of psychoanalysis attempted to show the socially constructed nature of these categories (Davis, 2003). This theoretically based criticism was later built on by sociologist Nancy Chodorow, who used empirical clinical data to develop the critique of the adequacy of Freudian theories of Oedipus complex and penis envy (1978). The revision of Freudian theory that Fromm offered (Burston, 1991; Rasmussen and Salhani, 2008) made him one of the most visible, articulate, and effective critics of psychoanalytic orthodoxy in the 1940s through the early 1960s.

Fromm's contribution to the emergence of feminist psychoanalysis can, once more, be explained by his personal life and sociological position on the optimal margins of psychoanalysis. Fromm's ideas can be recognized as contributing to the development of object relation theory (Chodorow, 1989; Greenberg and Mitchell, 1983; Chodorow, 1978: 50). Fromm's sociological vision insisted on seeing each patient's individual relational history as a sociologically shaped trajectory, which indirectly led to a crystallization of object relations theory in psychoanalysis and in social science more generally.

Fromm's ties and relationships with several remarkable women impacted the direction he took in his work (Davis, 2003). These women were either his mentors, like his first wife Frieda Fromm-Reichmann, or his intellectual partners who helped to broaden his horizons, like Katherine Dunham or Karen Horney, or his colleagues or fellows, in this case, female intellectuals, like Margaret Mead, with whom he worked within various intellectual circles (Burston, 1991; Rasmussen and Salhani, 2008).

Fromm's fascination with psychoanalysis started at the university, but was accelerated by his encounter with his

therapist and then first wife Frieda Fromm-Reichmann (Friedman, 2013: 21). Thus, in his late 20s, Fromm underwent psychoanalytic training and went on to work successfully as a clinician for 44 years (Ortmeyer, 1998; Burston, 1991). Frieda at the time helped him transition from Jewish Orthodoxy and Freudian orthodoxy as he moved beyond both. Fromm-Reichmann's ideas shaped Fromm's emerging intellectual agenda in the 1920s and certainly she helped him establish himself professionally. She was not, however, the last woman to have a transformative and generative influence on his life and ideas.

Protofeminist psychoanalytic theorist (Westkott, 1986) and cultural critic Karen Horney also had a pivotal influence on Fromm's revised psychoanalysis and on his career as a public intellectual. Fromm learned a lot from her while they dated in the United States in the 1930s. Horney's writing that made her books best sellers was arguably the inspiration for Fromm's strategy of producing easily accessible works, such as *Escape from Freedom* (1941), *The Sane Society* (1955), *To Have or to Be?* (1976), that could be published by commercial presses. But what is more important, Fromm owed Horney for her insights into the 'womb' envy theory that she offered as an alternative to the Freudian patriarchal concept of 'penis envy.'

Fromm's success as the major critique of Freudian orthodoxy in the 1940s and 1950s had much to do with his position on the optimal margins of the field and his connection to various collaborative circles and intellectual social movements. Fromm and Horney shared a critique of Freudian orthodoxy, but his connection to the Frankfurt School network made him more independent than Horney, who was essentially a Freudian psychoanalyst who wrote books on the side. As a consequence, Fromm's critiques of Freudian orthodoxy were more direct and perhaps harsher. However, after his relationship with Horney dissolved, she limited his power in Association for the Advancement of Psychoanalysis (APA), which was dependant on the financial support from institutions working in the Freudian orthodox tradition (Friedman, 2013). In short, allowing Fromm a central position in APA could jeopardize Horney's professional project (Friedman, 2013). As a consequence, Fromm was assigned to a place ever more on the fringes of networks among Northern American Freudian orthodox psychoanalysts than he had occupied in the early 1930s.

Fromm's personal life took two big turns when the poor health of his second wife (Henny Gurland) pushed the couple to move to Mexico in 1950 (Friedman, 2013: 139), where, after a few years of fighting depression and chronic pain, Henny committed suicide. A year later life offered a last romantic surprise when Fromm met his third wife (Annis Freeman) and ended up staying in Mexico. His new companion was fascinated with Buddhism, meditation, and international politics resulting (Friedman, 2013: 170) in a happy home in Mexico and their remaining married for 27 years until his death in 1980. The deep affection between Erich and Annis found expression in Fromm's most popular book *The Art of Loving* (1956) as well as in a general increase in Fromm's productivity. Between 1955 and 1968, when he had an almost fatal heart attack, Fromm published many books, including *The Sane Society* (1955), *Marx's Concept of Man* (1961), *May Man Prevail?* (1962), *Beyond the Chains of Illusion* (1962), *The Heart of Man* (1964), and *The Revolution of Hope* (1968).

Over these years in Mexico, Fromm founded the Mexican Institute of Psychoanalysis, trained early generations of psychoanalysts, and became a central figure in Latin American psychoanalysis. Once again, Fromm's marginality in one place was optimal in another because his connections transcended various networks. The freedom that Fromm gained by distancing himself from the New York psychoanalytic establishment combined with the importance of the mother in Catholic Latin American culture, reinforced his revisionist tendencies. Even though, as sociologist Lynn Chancer argued, Fromm's work anticipated new trends in psychoanalytic sociology and emphasized pioneering feminist and existentialist themes beyond libido theory (1992), his Mexican exile meant that he was on the margins and not in the center of transformations that psychoanalysis was undergoing; Fromm's pioneering role in the development of psychoanalytic sociology hardly made him a feminist in contemporary terms. Fromm's writing, filled with exaggerated male and female difference and often marred by the homophobia deeply inscribed with much psychoanalytic theory, limits the usefulness of his gender analysis without significant reformulation. Ironically, nonetheless, the ways that Fromm drew on and developed critiques of orthodox Freudian theory from his very unique marginalized position helped create contemporary psychoanalytic feminism – though also ensuring that Fromm himself would be marginalized in psychoanalysis.

Fromm's critique of Freud had its foundations in the largely ignored works of Bachofen, a nineteenth-century Swiss aristocrat, who anticipated some of Freud's views but whose work analyzing ancient myths suggested that the matriarchal social structure preceded the patriarchal one. Bachofen's *Mother Right – Das Mutterrecht* (1861) inspired Fromm to write an article on matriarchy back in 1934 (Burston, 1991; Fromm, 1934; Fromm and Maccoby, 1970; Ortmeyer, 1998). Later, in *The Anatomy of Human Destructiveness*, Fromm extensively discussed the excavations at Çatal Hüyük (in present day Turkey) and the existence of a Neolithic culture characterized by feminine values (Bacciagaluppi, 2001; Fromm, 1973), making the argument that matriarchal social organization could be seen as a legitimate alternative to patriarchy. Various feminist thinkers, including Mary Daly and Riane Eisler, would build from Fromm's discussion of matriarchy (Bacciagaluppi, 2001). Fromm thus contributed to the emergence of a set of ideas within radical feminist circles in the 1970s.

Fromm's critique of Freudian orthodoxy did not flow simply from his reading of Bachofen but also emerged from many discussions in the 1930s with the New York City-based Zodiac club, an informal social circle of thinkers that existed on the margins of psychoanalysis and anthropology and psychiatry. This group consisted of such brilliant intellectuals as Horney, Margaret Mead, Ruth Benedict, and American psychiatrist Harry Stack Sullivan. The mental health professionals in the group founded the White Institute in Washington DC, a nonorthodox Freudian center of innovative theorizing, where the position of the director of clinical training was given to Fromm. This new institutional affiliation allowed him to even more openly reject drive theory, since his colleagues were also Freudian revisionists, social psychologists, or neo-Freudians (Greenberg and Mitchell, 1983).



Fromm's revisionist ideas, forged in marginal networks but institutionalized into a revisionist training institute, went on to contribute greatly to the development of object relation theory (Chodorow, 1989; Greenberg and Mitchell, 1983). A version of Fromm's theory of social character and object relations theory is applied to the phenomenon of mothering in *The Reproduction of Mothering* by Nancy Chodorow and developed further in her extensive writings. Chodorow's sociological project was rooted in an attempt to understand how people create a social environment that exclusively recruits mothers as the only ones doing the mothering or caretaking (1978). Chodorow approached this theoretical task by linking psychoanalysis with a feminist sociology of gender while paying attention to finding an empirical basis in clinical evidence, an approach pioneered by Fromm in opposition to the purely philosophical Freud defended by Adorno and Marcuse (Chodorow, 1978: 74; Rickert, 1983).

Fromm did not receive an adequate credit for his role in the development of the rich object relations tradition in psychoanalysis for a variety of reasons. Bachofen's work is problematic in light of contemporary archeological research, and thus Fromm's use of his ideas hurts his scholarly reputation. Fromm's followers among radical feminist circles were highly controversial themselves in academic and intellectual circles, and they were not likely to become followers of Fromm given some of his problematic writings on gender. The personal and political-intellectual differences between the various members of the Zodiac club, and their very different career trajectories, ensured that no coherent schools of thought emerged out of various neo-Freudian networks (McLaughlin, 1998). And some of Fromm's personal sexual politics leave much to be desired (Friedman, 2013).

### Public Intellectual and Public Sociologist

Over and above the theoretical contributions Fromm made to psychoanalysis and sociology, his legacy is worth remembering and building on because of his role in creating the very genres of modern 'public intellectual' and 'public sociologist' that have become widely debated in recent decades (Jacoby, 1987; Burawoy, 2005). Even though citations of Fromm in sociology journals declined dramatically from the height of his influence in the 1940s and 1950s, he had an unacknowledged influence on major public sociologists.

Fromm's clear way of communicating with readers was emulated by Fromm's psychoanalytic patient and close friend, Harvard professor, David Riesman, whose *The Lonely Crowd* published in 1950 became the best-selling sociological book of all time (McLaughlin, 2001b). Fromm's *Escape from Freedom* and *Man for Himself* (1947) were a major inspiration for the analysis of 'inner-' and 'other-' directed social characters outlined in Riesman's sociological classic (McLaughlin, 2001b). In many ways Riesman's work improved on Fromm's by providing a political balance, a scholarly style, and a liberal philosophical commitment while avoiding the excessively prophetic tone of some of Fromm's socialist polemic and moralistic writings (Maccoby, 1995). But Fromm's influence on Riesman is significant, and Riesman was arguably the major public sociologist of the twentieth century, at least in America.

There is also considerable similarity between the style and the content of the work of Erich Fromm and Zygmunt Bauman (Davis, 2008). Bauman, a Polish sociologist, now an émigré UK professor at Leeds University, known for theorizing 'liquid modernity,' shares with Fromm roots in humanistic Marxism. Both thinkers discussed the importance of capitalist ideology; both described life in late modernity as marked by individuation, alienation, an emergence of freedom that becomes an 'unbearable psychological burden,' and the disappearance of people's ability to love (Catlaw, 2009); both stressed the negative consequences of obsessive-compulsive consumption and market-oriented personalities (Ziółkowski, 1998). Despite numerous differences (Bauman's multiple worlds in liquid modernity as opposed to Fromm's commoditized and internalized world (Smith, 1999; Best, 2013)), the similarities between their works are undeniable. And if Riesman was the dominant American public sociology in the 1950s, Bauman has been a very influential public sociologist in Europe from the 1990s through the first decade of the twenty-first century.

Fromm's legacy as a public intellectual and public sociologist should not be ignored. As Lawrence Friedman has documented, Fromm played a direct role in President Kennedy's disarmament policy (Friedman, 2013); Fromm was a devoted antiwar activist whose condemnation of the Vietnam War and American imperialistic ambitions was articulated in work and in his testimony before the U.S. Congress, and he was a philanthropist who gave enormous amounts of money to Amnesty International (Friedman, 2013). In short, being faithful to his humanistic views, Fromm considered the survival of the human race as a way to "realize ... human solidarity" (Fromm in Wilde, 2000). Fromm's politically engaged work paved the way for other sociological books to appear on the shelves at homes of millions of readers, including policy makers, around the world.

### Conclusion

Erich Fromm's legacy can be summarized in two ways. Firstly, his ideas shaped scholarship on the sociology of authoritarianism, race and racism, gender, and historical social psychology. Secondly, through his life and work as a public intellectual and public sociologist he created a template for future generations of engaged intellectuals. Fromm's work had an enormous influence on twentieth-century social science and his legacy remains useful today.

The revival of interest in his theories, activism, and engagement in public affairs cuts across all disciplines and genres of social science writing. His theory of love is being used by education scholars (Wesh in Hay, 2011; Fleming, 2012). Furthermore, Fromm's work has inspired criminologists (Anderson, 1999; Lowy, 2013), peace scholars (Housden, 2013), political theorists (Durkin, 2014), and academics theorizing social work (Rasmussen and Salhani, 2008; Houston, 2010). Political theorists have returned to Fromm's radical humanism, suggesting new ways forward for his political philosophy, perhaps now framed in less prophetic and moralistic terms (Wilde, 2000). Critical theorists seem far less interested in refighting sectarian intellectual battles from the 1930s, as the Frankfurt School retools itself to engage empirical

social science anew with insights that we might place more modestly now in a tradition that Burawoy calls 'critical sociology' (2005). The dominance in sociological debates of Bourdieu's reflexive sociology and concept of habitus calls for a revisiting of Fromm's theoretically complementary concept of social character (Cheliotos, 2011a). And after decades of the dominance of rational choice theory in the social sciences, there is much space to reinsert Fromm's psychoanalytic revision of emotions, albeit now more centrally attuned to gender and race. We live in a time where authoritarianism and violence are breaking out everywhere, and Fromm's early ecologically oriented vision is more relevant than ever (Fromm, 1976). Fromm's legacy is likely to be built on creatively in the twenty-first century in various ways, in the optimal margins of contemporary social science, as was the case in the 1930s, 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s.

*See also:* Attitudes, Political: Authoritarianism and Tolerance; Critical Theory; Feminist Psychotherapy; Freud, Sigmund (1856–1939); Gender and Women's Studies, Applied Research on; Marx, Karl (1818–83); National Socialism and Fascism; Prejudice and Discrimination; Psychoanalysis in Sociology; Racism, Sociology of; Social Psychology; Women and Psychiatry.

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