International
Erich Fromm Society

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Editorial

My "theory of character … does not refer to the isolated individual, but to man in the only form in which he can exist, namely as a social being," Fromm argues in the first contribution of this issue. From his vantage point in the 1930s and onward, Fromm looked at the individual in a different way as Freud and most psychologists. Just as the Freudian individual is always faced by a society that must be accepted for better or worse for the sake of social cohabitation, and which demands of him to abandon his impulses, Fromm's approach sees society always at work in the individual, and the individual exists only as a socialized being. "Society and the individual are not 'opposite' to each other. *Society is nothing but living, concrete individuals, and the individual can live only as a social human being,*" wrote Fromm in 1937.

From this follows that character – and Fromm speaks of "character" as an equivalent of the term "psychic structure" – has in the first line to be understood as "social character". For Fromm, "individual variants of character determined by personal circumstances and by constitution are essentially variants of the 'social character'." This different conceptualization of the individual is clearly expressed in the first contribution of this issue. It was written in 1969 in connection with a paper entitled "Freud's Concept of Man and Its Social Determinants". The last part of this paper is dealing with his own concept of man that has never been published in English.

For Fromm, human individuals are driven by a basic fear of being isolated from others. We feel an existential need for being *socially* related and therefore we have to adapt ourselves in one or the other way to a certain society. It is not only a question of interpersonality as Sullivan worked out (cf. Bacciagaluppi's review of Conci's book on Sullivan in this issue), but to develop a concept of man by which the individual is seen as a primarily social being, and must conceptualize psychic structure in the first instance as a representation of society with is historical possibilities and demands.

All of the papers collected in this issue of *Fromm Forum* refer to Fromm's concept of social character. They are, as it were, explications of the individual as a social and socialized being. In addition, all papers try to actualize Fromm's concept of social character to questions of education (Bierhoff), to postmodern de-limitation and unboundedness (Funk), to the psychic situation of present unemployed working class (Jimenez) and to empirical research of attachment (Gojman, Millán et al.).

In the last section of this issue we inform you about our ongoing digitization efforts ("Erich Fromm Document Center" and "Erich Fromm E-book Library"), about coming events and other news of the Fromm Society. Readers wishing to indicate their appreciation for our work are invited to support the International Erich Fromm Society by becoming members and/or making a donation (and to use – as suggested – Paypal or SEPA for payment).

Jan Dietrich, Rainer Funk, Helmut Johach
The Editors

My Own Concept of Man

Erich Fromm
(1977g-eng)

The following paper, written in 1969 by Fromm, is the second part of a longer paper entitled "Freud's Model of Man and Its Social Determinants". It was planned to be presented by Fromm at the Third International Forum that in 1969 took place in Mexico City. Due to his health situation Fromm stayed in Europe and was not able to present the paper by himself. Thus one of his pupils read the paper. – The first part of "Freud's Model of Man and Its Social Determinants" Fromm included in his cumulative book *The Crisis of Psychoanalysis* that was published in1970 (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, pp. 42-61). Both parts so far were published only in German under the title "Das psychoanalytische Bild vom Menschen und seine gesellschaftliche Standortbedingtheit" in: G. Chrzanowski et al. (Ed.), *Das Irrationale in der Psychoanalyse. Theoretische und klinische Aspekte* (= Weiterentwicklung der Psychoanalyse und ihrer Anwendungen, Volume 5), Goettingen (Verlag für Medizinische Psychologie) 1977, pp. 17-43. – The second part here entitled "My Own Concept of Man" refers to Fromm's own psychoanalytic understanding of man. It is one of the best summaries of his particular concept of man as a social and a priori socialized being throughout his writings. According to my knowledge it is published her for the first time in English. – *Rainer Funk*

In the following I want to give a brief sketch of my own anthropological views as they have been expressed in my work since 1931.

I should like to say first a word about the question why I call the radical humanistic revision of Freud's theory as I have undertaken it "psychoanalysis", and why I do not consider it to be a special "school." The reason is simply that this revision is based upon the findings of Freud, especially with regard to the role of the unconscious, repression, resistance, the significance of childhood experiences, transference, and the dynamic concept of character. If one looks at my views from the standpoint of dogmatic, orthodox analysis as not being psychoanalysis, then I can only say that in my opinion a theory that remains unchanged in all its essential points in the course of 70 years proves paradoxically, by this very rigidity, that it has changed in its deepest core. Aside from this, the question can be decided only from a theoretical point of view, and not by the fiat of the psychoanalytic bureaucracy.

In describing briefly what I consider to be the social determinants of my own views, I can do so only with the reservation that others may be more objective. The most obvious change lies in the fact that my active thinking began after the First World War, while the *belle époque* was only a beautiful and somewhat nostalgic childhood memory.

The last years of the First World War, the revolutionary process since 1917, the hopes of the 20's and the disappointments in the 30's determined decisively my own thinking in the direction of a radical critique of society and ideology. A critique not only of capitalist society, but also of the system of "socialism" which, under the leadership of Stalin succeeded in the total falsification of Marxist thought. The philosophical climate of radical humanism, historical materialism, dialectical and process-oriented philosophy have taken the place of mechanistic materialism and biological vitalism.

The decisive philosophical influences are characterized by the names of Heraclitus, Spinoza, Hegel and Marx, and in addition to those were the humanist influence of the Prophets, of Buddhism, Master Eckhart and Goethe.

In contrast to Freud, I do not look on man chemically as *homme machine*, driven by the chemically conditioned mechanism unpleasure-pleasure, but as being *primarily* related to others and in need of them; not, in the first place, for the mutual satisfaction of needs, but for reasons which follow from the nature of man. The nature of man I consider to be not a definable, unchangeable substance which is observable as such, but as an opposition which exists exclusively in the human being: an opposition between being in nature and being subject to all its laws and simultaneously to transcend na-

ture, because man, and only he, is aware of himself, and of his existence, in fact, the only instance in nature where life has become aware of itself.

At the basis of this insoluble existential dichotomy (existential in contrast to historically conditioned opposites which can be made to disappear, like the one between wealth and poverty) lies an evolutionary, biologically given fact: man emerges from animal evolution at the point where determination by instincts has reached a minimum, while at the same time the development of that part of the brain which is the basis for thinking and imagination has developed far beyond the order of size which is found among the primates. This fact makes man on the one hand more helpless than the animal, and gives him on the other the possibility for a new, even though entirely different kind of strength. Man *qua* man has been thrown out of nature, yet is subject to it; he is a freak of nature, as it were. This objective, biological fact of man's inherent dichotomy requires new solutions, that is to say, human development. Subjectively, the awareness of having been torn away from his natural basis and of being an isolated and unrelated fragment in a chaotic world, would lead to insanity (the insane person is one who has lost his place in a structured world, one which he shares with others and in which he can orient himself.) All the energies of man have the aim to transform the unbearable dichotomy into a bearable one, and to create ever new and, as far as possible, better solutions for this dichotomy. Needless to say that aside from this man, like the animal, is also driven to satisfy his physiological needs, which he shares with the animal.

Whatever the solutions for this dichotomy are, they must fulfill certain conditions. Man must be affectively related to others in order to overcome the anxiety produced by his total isolation; he must have a frame of orientation, a picture of the world that permits him to orient himself in the world and to find his place in it as an acting subject; he must adopt certain norms that make it possible for him to make relatively consistent decisions without much hesitation. As far as the contents of his relatedness, of his frame of orientation, and of his norms are concerned, they are important, but nevertheless only of secondary importance from the standpoint of his mental survival.

As to the question of the "nature" or the "science" of man, this theory proposes that this science (that by Freud according to which man is man) consists in nothing but the opposition which produces dialectically different solutions; it does not mean that the science of man is identical with any of these solutions. To be sure, the number and quality of its solutions is no arbitrary and unlimited but determined by the qualities of the human organism and its environment. The data of history, child psychology, psychopathology, as well as the history of art, religion and of myths, make it possible to formulate certain hypotheses about the number and kind of such possible solutions.

As to the nature of human motivation, certain important differences exist between the revised model and Freud's. Freud assumed that physiology is a source of human drives. This is character, inasmuch as we deal with the level of human self preservation and to a certain degree also of sexuality, but the most important part of human passions have a different aim, that of the realization of human faculties and potentialities.[1] Human potentialities strive passionately to express themselves in those objects in the world to which they correspond and thus they unite and relate man with the world and free man from his isolation. To put it another way: man is not determined only by a lack of tension (unpleasure) as Freud believed; he is not less strongly motivated to express himself in ways which have no purpose of practical use. In myth, art, religion, play, we see significant examples of this human need from the beginning of man's history. The interest in all that which transcends the person and man’s survival which requires stimulation and, in turn, is stimulated is an elementary human need.

From this socio-biological view-point of man follow consequences for the source of human energy. While in the Freudian system the source of energy is the inner chemistry which gives tension, it only aims at reduction of tension. In the model proposed here the source of energy lies in the total organism and is mobilized by the organism's passionate attempt for union with the world and for the transcending of mere self-preservation and self-purposefulness. There is no reason to differentiate between various kinds of energy in the organism.

Man, then, has two vital needs: one, as far as his physiological constitution is concerned, that of physical survival, and one as far as his mental survival is concerned, sanity. The second need is specifically human, and not less important than the first – in fact, sometimes more important.

[1] This idea was expressed clearly by Marx, then again Kurt Goldstein gave it a central place in his scientific thought and Abram Maslow and a number of other psychiatrists have followed him in this respect.

In this period of nuclear threat one is prone to wish that the drive for physical survival may have a stronger effect than seems to be the case in reality. The vast majority of people play with the possibility of collective suicide because certain psychic needs like the desire for power, property, honor, etc., are stronger than the need to survive. We may assume that the total energy produced by the organism is used by man for both aims, that of physical and mental survival. Hence the various solutions for the existential dichotomy are just as charged with energy as the ego drives or the libido. For this reason it follows that there is no reason to separate various kinds of energy or to speak of desexualized energy as it is suggested by the ego psychologists.

Many aims which man passionately pursues are rationalized by modern man as motivated by rational and purposeful considerations, while they are in reality psychological aims which in other social structures have been conceived of as religious, in a broad sense of the word. Modern man is fond of believing that primitive man rationalized practical purposes as religious ones; he does not see that he tends to rationalize religious needs as practical and utilitarian ones. By "religious" I am not using the word in the conventional sense, but in reference to the collective, passionate needs which aim at the regulation of the affective relatedness of man to the world, and to the solution of his existential human problem.

The dialectic-humanist revision deviates from Freud's model still in other aspects, of which I want to mention here only some of the most important ones. First of all, in the concept of the unconscious. In the revised model the unconscious is not conceived as a *place* with a certain content, but as a *function*. There is no such thing as the unconscious. There is only the function of "being aware" of the reality which exists inside or outside of man. From this it follows that there is no special content of the unconscious. We can repress the awareness of inner or outer reality; that which is repressed can be archaic, irrational and evil but it can also be wiser, more rational and better than that which exists in our consciousness.

The admission of certain contents of experience to consciousness is in the first place socially conditioned and only marginally by individual childhood experiences. This is so because an experience is admitted to consciousness only if it can pass through the social filter. This filter consists of language, logic and the "thinkable" and "unthinkable" contents as they are characteristic for every society. What is conscious in one society remains unconscious in another. Only the fully developed society which is not in need of any system for suppression and manipulation can leave man free to be aware of all reality, since such a society has nothing to protect that needs to be repressed.[2] Within every society the size and intensity of repression varies with the degree of the development for independence and active productivity which it can permit its members.

The moral problem of man is seen differently in this revised concept from what it is in Freud's system. While, as indicated above, Freud's theory of the Super-Ego is mainly correct inasmuch as it is a critical theory of the conscience of most men today and in past history, it nevertheless is not entirely correct. Aside from the

[2] I should like to add a remark which refers to the view-point which has been emphasized by Herbert Marcuse. He believes that among other things the liberation of the sadistic and coprophilic perversions is a necessary condition for the full experience of happiness of the free man in the "non-repressive" society. He does not see the clinical fact for which there is ample evidence, that these perversions themselves are the product of pathological social and individual constellations which are based on force and lack of freedom. The problem is not, as he thinks, that these anal-sadistic strivings should not be *repressed* in a non-repressive society, but that they do not *develop* in such a society. As one example I want to point to the fact that the "social character" of the German lower middle class, the core supporters of Hitler, had exactly the character orientation which was described by Freud as anal-sadistic. (I have written in *Escape from Freedom* about the reasons for this connection.)

"authoritarian conscience" man has still another one: the "humanist conscience": A voice which in terms of goals and norms calls him back to himself in the name of his optimal and at the same time real possibilities.

While this voice is often drowned by the voice of the authoritarian conscience, that is to say, while the humanistic conscience is often unconscious, the fact is that it exists, and that its existence can be inferred from many observable phenomena, like feelings of guilt, loss of energy, or dreams, nevertheless many times the voice of humanistic conscience is also conscious. The content of this humanistic conscience is essentially identical with the norms as they are common to all great humanist religious and ethical systems. It has to be noted, however, that the conscious recognition of these traditional norms does not prove in any way that they have not become the contents of an authoritarian conscience, and hence have been falsified in their real meaning.

Psychoanalytic theory permits going one step further. In order to demonstrate this, we must return once more to Freud's theory in order to extract from it a thought it contains only implicitly. Freud assumed that character is determined by the various libidinous levels of development. He postulated the development from primary narcissism, that is, total unrelatedness, to oral-receptive, oral-sadistic, and anal-sadistic up to the genital level, which in principle is reached around puberty. He assumed that the fully developed mature person leaves the pre-genital levels essentially behind him and his character is determined mainly by the genital libido. This scheme is first of all an evolutionary scheme of the libido, and of the resulting relatedness to the world, which has no obvious reference to values.

Nevertheless, it is not difficult to recognize that implicitly it represents a scheme of values. The adult mature person, the "genital character" in Freud's sense, is capable of "love and work", while the pre-genital character is one which has not fully developed and is in this sense crippled. The clinical data of psychoanalysis makes this much clearer than the theory. The oral receptive person is a dependent, and the oral sadistic, an exploitative character. The anal sadistic character is that belonging to a person who enjoys the submission and suffering of others, and who is at the same time an avaricious, hoarding person. Only the genital character has reached full independence. He respects, and as Freud sometimes says, loves the other person. Precisely because the pre-genital fixations are an expression of unsolved libido problems, they tend to foster the development of the neurotic character.

What matters here is the fact that in Freud's scheme (as also in many others) there is a hidden scale of values to be found. The genital character is more highly developed than the pre-genital. He is desirable and represents the goal, and hence the norm for the development of character. For Freud, therefore, the anal-sadistic character, for instance, is not a value-neutral variation but the result of a failure in the normal process of development. Seen in this light we find that the hidden value scale in Freud's scheme of the libido and character is not too different from the humanistic scale of values: independence, respect for others, and love are better than dependence, avarice, and sadism.

Freud's theory that one can separate sexuality and character remains correct, regardless of the problem whether sexuality determines character or character sexual behavior. For this reason the Freudian system does not permit looking at pre-genital sexuality and the perversions rooted in it as so many forms of sexual satisfaction which are not different among themselves in terms of value. Inasmuch as they are regressive in terms of libido development, they are also regressive in terms of character development, and hence negative. Why this holds true especially for the anal sadistic libido and the anal character cannot be demonstrated within the limits of this paper.

The scale of values which I have discussed here as being implicit and hidden in Freud's scheme of the development of the libido and of character is made explicit in the revised model of man's nature. This revision was made easier by clinical observations which have suggested that instead of the libido and the stimuli mediated by the erogenous zones being the roots of character, they are the total mode of relatedness to the world and to oneself. Man is compelled to put his own system of relatedness ("system of socialization") in the place of instinctive determination, and to develop his own system of acquisition and use ("system of assimilation"), again as a substitute for the instinctively determined mode of acquisition. The various systems are necessary for the satisfaction of his vital interests, and hence they are charged with energy.

There are basically two possibilities for the system of socialization and assimilation. The "unproductive" orientation in the sphere of assimilation in which all that is desired is not obtained by human activity but by receiving, exploiting, or avaricious hoarding; in the sphere of relatedness, dependence, sadistic control, or destruc-

tiveness are the manifestations of the unproductive orientation. Briefly, greed and inner passivity, as used by Aristotle and Spinoza, characterize unproductiveness. The productive orientation, on the other hand, is based on generating activity which means in the sphere of acquisition, of work, and in the sphere of relatedness of love, respect and independence. In other terms the unproductive mode of orientation is that of *having* (and using), the productive that of *being*.

One can still establish conditions of value between various character orientations in an entirely different sense, namely in terms of the *optimal functioning* of the character system. It can be said with regard to any system that it functions optimally when all its parts are integrated in such a way that each part can function optimally, and that conflicts within the system and between the system and other unavoidable systems find fruitful solutions instead of energy-wasting ones. It can be shown in detail that the productive system of character is also that which functions optimally from an energy standpoint. To give only one example: the dependent person in an unproductive system can satisfy his needs for closeness and intimacy, but he loses in independence and freedom. In the productive system, on the other hand, we find a synthesis between love and intimacy on the one hand, and independence and integrity on the other (provided we understand by love the effective union of two persons under the conditions of their mutual independence and their integrity). In this general sense the system of productive orientation is superior to the unproductive one in terms of values. The productive system permits the development of the optimal intensity of life and for the capacity of joy. The unproductive system wastes and destroys a great deal of human energy.

One important point must be emphasized here. The theory of character as I have presented it does not refer to the isolated individual, but to man in the only form in which he can exist, namely as a social being. Saying this I do not refer to "a" or "the" society, in which man lives; these terms are empty abstractions. Man lives in a specific social system, characterized by its specific productive forces, mode of production, class relations, etc. – briefly, society in the sense in which Marx conceived it for the first time in full clarity. Individual variants of character determined by personal circumstances and by constitution are essentially variants of the "social character."

In saying this I am introducing a new concept into the presentation of the model of man, that of the "social character." The social character is the nucleus of character traits common to most members of a society or a class. We start from the premise that man, living in a specific social system needs to develop a character structure which corresponds to this system. First of all one has to consider the fact that every society has an immanent tendency to continue its own structure; not only because the interests of those classes ruling in a society require this, but also because the system of a functioning society corresponds to a considerable degree to the given socio-economic needs and possibilities (when these change an antagonism arises between the social character and the new social factors which in the historical process has often been resolved in a productive synthesis, but also often by catastrophic upheavals).

In order to function, each society needs not only material productive forces, but also the energies contained in the productive force = man. These energies, however, can not be used in their general form, but only in specific forms, namely in character traits which make man desire to do what he has to do in his social function: to serve, to rule, to cooperate, to make war, to consume, to work, etc. The social character affects the transformation of general human energy into socially useful energy. People who believe that the social character is "natural," accept also the system of ideologies and thought systems corresponding to it. These reinforce at the same time the social character because they make it appear as being desirable

and "good." The social system rewards in many ways those whose individual character is closest to the social character. The social character has the important function for all individuals of making attractive, or at least tolerable, what is socially necessary, and to create the basis for consistent behavior because the social character becomes "second nature," substituting for the lost instincts.

To sum up, the social character serves first the function of society by the transformation of human energy from its general into a socially useful form; second, the adaptation of the individual to society, and third, as a mediator between the socio-economic structure and ideology. (In the sense of Marx, between the "economic base" and the "ideological superstructure").

Concluding these remarks it might be indicated to raise the question whether the revision of Freud's concept of man as it was sketched in these pages is optimistic, in contrast to Freud's picture. The revised concept presented here is certainly not optimistic in the sense of faith in the progress of the 18th and 19th centuries. But it is also not tragic in Freud's sense, who believed that capitalist society is the unimprovable, optimum of all social possibilities, and who, because of this, often looked at ahistorical dichotomies as if they were existential ones.

As I have indicated, I believe that the existential dichotomies cannot be abolished, and remain the motivating power of human development, although in their dialectic development these conflicts result in ever higher and more human solutions. Man does not become a super man nor does human society become a paradise. But the dialectic process can humanize the contradiction, and society can liberate itself from the influence of irrational and unnecessary social pathology to such a degree that one can rightly speak, with Marx, of all previous history as being the pre-history of mankind.

Related to this is another problem. While this picture of man assumes the basis that human existence is based on a definite empirical, observable dichotomy, this does not imply that one can predict a definite and certain goal of this development. Man driven on by immanent contradictions further and further, remains an open system. The higher his development individually and socially, the greater his vulnerability and with that also the possibility of total destruction. His progress remains always only one side of an alternative, the other side of which is barbarism, or psychic or physical self-destruction.

All our knowledge of man is based on our previous experience with man, and hence incomplete and questionable. What other unforeseen possibilities exist within man we cannot know. The "human possibility" is unknown, and can manifest itself only in the historical process. That is why man, in the last analysis, is indefinable and indescribable; the total person is unknowable, partly because the hidden possibilities may already exist in him, but partly because he can not be fully studied inasmuch as he is a living process. If in the course of history, theology becomes transformed into anthropology, one important aspect of God, as it has been emphasized particularly in "negative theology" remains valid also for anthropology: man is unknowable and nameless. This holds true for the alive man in the same sense as theology has formulated it for the "living God."

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Links between Work, Character, and Education
The Actuality of Erich Fromm's Analytical Social Psychology

Burkhard Bierhoff

Abstract: This paper reveals the basic ideas of Erich Fromm's analytical social psychology and shows links among work, character and education. Social changes may be better understood in the background of work evolution. Today the concept of waged work has been extended to unpaid activities. At the same time, the working life has been changed from a stable model to a flexible one. The work, its standards and social distribution, are also different now. Erich Fromm's concept of "social character" clarifies the changes and explains the consequences of the social changes. The relations to work are also different. During these changes – unemployment included – concepts of the unconditional basic income were studied. These concepts explain why it is possible for people without waged work to participate in community life and consumption, without being excluded. The author presents the basic social changes that affected many different subpopulation and age groups

Introduction

Erich Fromm created the analytical social psychology, which was based on Freudian psychoanalysis and materialistic philosophy. As a former member of the Frankfurt school of critical theory, Fromm dealt with the questions related to social theory and subject theory for almost fifty years. The concept of "social character" and its contribution to the sociology of work were of much interest to Fromm. This essay recalls Erich Fromm's contribution toward a humanistic science. Within the Frommian frame of reference, the article explores the relationship among work, character and education. A forecast of the possible consequences and processes of change with an evaluation of social change is attempted.

We are currently in the process of profound social changes. Traditional certainties and forms of life are questioned or they disappeared. The lack of transparency, which can be found in social structures and uncertain living conditions lead to irksome uncertainties. The employment sector with its premises of economic growth has reached the bounds of ecological reasonability. The socializing and disciplining function of waged work seems to decrease still further with the much attested "end of the employment society".

Within the last three decades, the work in post-industrial societies has changed considerably. This changing process in the structures of the work organization and in people's work activity is roughly outlined here.

Until the 1980s, a model of work characterized by full employment with job security was widespread. This has disappeared now. Today unemployment is increasing and we face to other related changes (reduced hours, precarious employment relations – wage dumping, temporary employment). It can be noticed that the social understanding and the social valuation of work have changed. The model of work stability has changed to a model of work flexibility. During this change, the workers' demands have been radicalized (flexible locations and hours, reduced pay and social security). Working people must become more and more flexible (Sennett 1998).

In the context of this socially accepted model, there is a close connection between wage labour and consumption, or rather, the opportunity for consumption. The people who work and earn money have the right to a "good" life in consumer society. If work becomes "scarce", people are forced to forego consumption. Particularly in precarious employment relations, this has effects on lifestyle and attitude toward life, including diminished self-esteem.

In the industrial work model, the material pressure of living conditions led to a complete disciplining of the working people. Karl Marx emphasized not only the alienating nature of work, tied to its exploitative nature, but he moved work to the centre of human activity and saw it as a basis for self-realization (Fromm 1961: 40). Erich Fromm drew into his own

social perspective the particularities of the working and consuming person related to the socioeconomic base.

Industrial society was characterized by a vast and comprehensive alienation of workers. Socially regulated and organized working conditions made it possible to pay labour as a socially accepted work form. The criticism of pauperization and exploitation of the worker was based on the idea that all people should be able to develop their personalities through their work.

Even though waged work, particularly in factories, had little to do with a person's self-realization, work as the basis for a person's self-realization was one of the ideals and ideological keystones in the employment society.

The paid worker had to become disciplined for producing. He had to be punctual and complete his assigned tasks without protest. He had to follow instructions and be obedient. In return, he was granted a wage that was only sufficient to reproduce and restore his working possibilities. Nourishing the family was a question of survival and hinged upon the early cooperation of family members.

With the social welfare legislation in Germany, enacted in 1883, the consequences of inhumane working conditions were limited and a system of social security was introduced and retained unchanged far into the 20th century.

At the time of full employment at the beginning of the second half of the 20th century, social security, economic prosperity and upward mobility were guaranteed by the increased consumption opportunities and the acquisition of goods that were still regarded as luxury ones, a short time before. Working relationships were stable throughout this time period and characterized by full-time employment. They were unlimited and linked to rising incomes. Unemployment was rather the exception. Expectations of mobility and flexibility were almost non-existent. Through paid work, social participation and integration of the population's majority were guaranteed.

Until far into the second half of the 20th century, social integration of the population majority took place through gainful employment in paid working conditions. At the end of the 20th century, social integration took place increasingly, via rising consumption opportunities and the demand of services, leisure industry and media. Consumption particularly gave people access to gratifications. This decisively influenced mass loyalty among people. Gratification through consumerism became important as the existing working relationship softened, the pattern of employment changed, unemployment increased considerably and as part-time positions and limitations in the length of employment were created. Although in politics and the public eye the idea of full employment was not given up for a long time, precarious working relationships increasingly arose, as well as longer interruptions between jobs, therefore recurring phases of unemployment in the career.

Change in Work

Today, "work" is an enigmatic concept, which stretches far beyond the traditional gainful employment (freelance or employed) or wage work (dependent gainful employment). In the broadest sense, an activity can be considered work if it is conscious, purposeful, and useful, not primarily aiming toward relaxation or recreation. In this sense, work marks an activity that spends all one's energy, but it results in a feeling of pride to have completed, created or caused something.

Related to paid work, unpaid activities may also be considered work. According to work definition, the following activities belong to work: shopping for external sources of sustenance, gardening to sustain oneself, making repairs in the apartment or the house, neighbourhood assistance, honorary positions (working for nature conservation for example), care of ill and old people, education and care of children, housework etc.

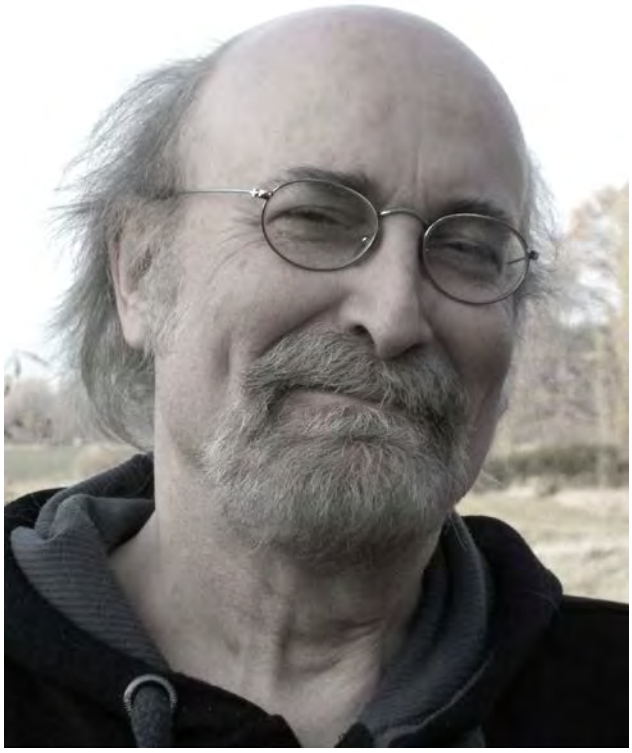
Today, an extension of the work concept can be noticed. Following the social changes, the concept of work has shifted from physically exhausting work in agriculture (agrarian society) and industry (industrialized society) to service work (service economy) in the middle of the 20th century and to symbolic work (knowledge society), at the end of the 20th century.

Although the everyday use of the term "work" has extended beyond gainful employment, activities that are not subjected to money and wages are also considered work. Paid work continues to be the paradigm for work. A higher value is generally attached to it, because it secures the basic material living conditions in form of an income. In this respect, a concept that describes work as a source of a wage or income is preferred today, too. What is new related to this concept, it is the position that a person's income does not have to be bound to work or capital, but each person has the right to an unconditional basic income to live securely and without fear, whether he works in a paid position or does not work at all. This uncondi-

tional basic income will be presented in the end of the essay.

Working not just for money

Certain ideas are related to the term "work". Even though in principle, people are intrinsically motivated to be active, heteronymous activities like industrial work and paid labour require additional extrinsic motivation and control.



The objection that humans are lazy by nature and that it is necessary to motivate them to work by exercising control can be easily invalidated. Mentioning the widespread opinions about the motivation to work, it is obvious that they are based on an alienated conception of work. The conclusions cannot be applied to non-alienated work. Laziness is not the natural state of the person, but a reaction to the alienating conditions of life and work (Fromm 1955: 290).

Also, the motivation to work does not only depend on money or material incentives. Adding to this, there are not enough jobs for large parts in working population. Man is considered a creature that is naturally disposed to activity and personal development. It is an expression of pathology, if a person strives more for idleness than for activity.

In our society, the motivation to work is regarded as largely dependent on money and other material incentives, although this is neither the only motivation, nor the most distinguished. When a work activity rests on a high level of qualification and is characterized by independence and self-determination, material incentives play a subordinate role. The aspiration for money and power cannot replace a meaningful work activity. However, the majority of the workforce does work that is not very demanding. "Dissatisfaction, apathy, boredom, lack of joy and happiness, a sense of futility and a vague feeling that life is meaningless, are the unavoidable results of this situation" (Fromm 1955: 295).

People, who do alienating work, are employed precariously or are out of work. They will base their motivation to work on wages and will tend to seek compensatory activities outside the working day.

Under certain circumstances, people are willing to be active and make an effort, even without material incentives. This is clearly the case in recreational sports, in hobbies and in honorary activities. Idleness would probably suggest a problem. Beings as active creatures would search for meaningful activities.

With respect to the motivation to work, Erich Fromm has referred to the pioneering work of Elton Mayo, who, as early as the 1930s, could prove that interest in the working process considerably increases both the motivation to work and the willingness to exert oneself. "The very fact that unskilled women workers were drawn into the experiment of work productivity of which they were the subjects, the fact that they became interested and active participants in the experiment, resulted in increased productivity, and even their physical health improved" (Fromm 1966: 178). Although such research has already existed for almost eighty years, its consequences for the organization of work have not been explored extensively enough. Apparently it takes a very long time for such knowledge about the possibility of self-empowerment in the work process to reach the people's hearts and minds.

Another conclusion to this point of view is that money is not the only or the most important incentive for work. People, who prefer working to idleness, choose this alternative, as work must demand the workers' strengths. Work should be socially or technically attractive and interesting to challenge and stimulate the workers.

To understand work better it is necessary to analyse the historical changes. In antiquity, work was negatively valued and was related to

slaves. Contemporary societies are based on the tradition of a positive valuation of work. Especially in our consumer society, wages and incomes enable the participation in consumption. In the 21st century, a new understanding of work, beyond gainful employment, will become generally accepted.

The concept of social character

Three perspectives can be found in Erich Fromm's work: the *anthropological perspective*, which focuses on the nature of man, *the social perspective*, focusing to socio-economic structure and social character, and the *personal perspective,* which focuses on each person's uniqueness and individuality. In the following section, the social character perspective is central.

Social character theories begin with Fromm's description of the authoritarian social character in the 1930s and his subsequent description of the marketing character in the 1940s. David Riesman adopted the concept of the social character from Erich Fromm and described three types of character, which he called the tradition-directed, inner-directed and other-directed (Riesman, Glazer and Denney 1950). The concept of social character is suitable to grasp the changes in the character structure that have accompanied the social changes in the work structures and the structures in the social environment.

Erich Fromm describes the *social character* as socially significant, functionally character structure for the work process, which is typical to people in society, social class or reference group. He correspondingly defines the social character as "*the nucleus of the character structure which is shared by most members of the same culture* in contradistinction to the *individual character, in which people belonging to the same culture differ from each other.* The concept of social character is not a statistical concept in the sense that it is simply the sum total of character traits to be found in the majority of people in a given culture" (Fromm 1955: 78).

In his work on social character, Fromm considers the social character a guarantor of social cohesion and integration. Fromm explains the appearance of a specific social character, with the consequences the character brings about. For example, the authoritarian character exists because it fits into the hierarchy of an authoritarian state and is obedient. The marketing character exists because it fulfils the expectations related to work and consumption. Character formation means internalizing social expectations and necessities, so that the social order is maintained.

For functioning, a society requires certain character traits, including obedient submission. People exhibit exactly these character traits. So the authoritarian character admires strong authorities to whom he willingly submits, because he takes part in the authority's strength by identification. With his orderly thinking and his support of discipline and subordination, he is the ideal subject for these authorities. He also submits willingly to factory discipline and heteronymous orders.

While the authoritarian character was typical in the first half of the 20th century, the marketing character was typical in the second one. In contrast to the authoritarian orientation, the marketing orientation is not about obedience and submission, but about the ability to market and selling oneself and one's abilities.

The marketing character follows predominantly the "anonymous" authority of public opinion, fashion, and convention. It is recognized as a person and his sense of belonging come from being exactly like all the others in his reference group. The readiness for consumption is an essential feature of this character type, which in its more "productive" varieties, can also be identified by flexibility, objectivity and fairness.

In continuation of Fromm's analytical social psychology, Rainer Funk described the postmodern character orientation, during the last few years (Funk 2005). This new character orientation corresponds to the changes in the way of life of social strata and classes, which today are also described by the model of social milieus. Consumption-oriented attitudes (maximum consumption, demonstrative consumption) and postmodern attitudes (experimental and hedonistic life with fun and diversion, life as a "project" with open and uncertain horizons) developed to traditional attitudes (disciplined, ordered life based on work, job security and social safety). The social character has changed and become more diversified. Social experiences specific to certain milieus, such as work (including precarious working conditions and unemployment) and consumption influence and form the social character.

Social character and education

Societal influences are essentially transmitted to people through education and socialization processes. These processes can be described using the "social character", which represents logical marks for education and socialization processes. Fromm has emphasized that the social character mediates between the socio-

economic structure and the individual emotional structure. "The socioeconomic structure of a society melds the social character of its members so that they *wish* to do what they *have* to do" (Fromm 1976: 133).

This formative process happens through education in the family, which essentially becomes the "*psychological agent of society*" (Fromm 1941: 285). For Fromm, education must be understood "in the context of the social structure, and particularly as one of the *key mechanisms of transmission of social necessities into character traits*" (Fromm 1949: 12). The function of education "is to qualify the individual to function in the role he is to play later on in society; that is, to mold his character in such a way that it approximates the social character, that his desires coincide with the necessities of his social role" (Fromm 1941: 284).

It is always the social way of life – determined primarily by the socio-economic base of society – that forms the individuals' personality A society's or classes' typical characteristics are transferred to the individual in the family, so that he is able to live in a particular social environment. If the individual is required to be nothing, but an anonymous worker, familial education must set the course and repress the child's spontaneous impulses. "The suppression of spontaneous feelings, and thereby of the development of genuine individuality, starts very early, as a matter of fact with the earliest training of a child" (Fromm 1941: 240-241). The desired results lie in the fact that the person becomes predisposed to be a worker and unquestioningly follows workplace norms like punctuality, precision and obedience.

Members of society must be shaped in accordance to the social requirements. This formation process happens within the social realm of the family, which functions as an "agent of the society" and shapes children so that they correspond to the culturally-expected personality.

In family, but also in other institutions, like kindergarten and school, the typical characteristics of society and social class are transferred to individuals, so that they become capable of living in specific social milieus.

It is essential to find out what types of personality are desirable and necessary in a certain culture. We must identify the characteristic elements of industrial society. It is not possible to explain the social character by focusing on child-raising methods, because these methods work only "as a mechanism of *transmission*". Instead, we have carefully to consider what character traits and orientations are expected from working people to fulfil the expectations of the capitalistic mode of production (Fromm 1955: 82-83).

With the change of the work organization and qualification structure in modern industrial companies, the expectations of the workers have changed as well. The conventional authoritarian character structure has not been suitable basis for the economically efficient utilization of the workforce, since the middle of the 20th century. A *multi-qualified worker* is increasingly in demand. His qualities include: flexibility, quick perception, decision-making ability, sense of responsibility, reflexive distance, but also social competence. These "dispositions" are the result of education, which can instil confidence in a child's developing forces and stimulates it to its own activity. Fromm distinguished an education that promotes child's strength and one which restricts it. For Fromm, the best education strengthens the child's reason and self development, an education based on the absence of fear (Fromm 1936: 161-162).

The development of the social character since the 1970 shows the increased flexibility mentioned above, which, nevertheless, also has its price. People are available as workers and consumers. Rainer Funk's explanation of the postmodern social character captures precisely the identity dilemma of this new social character orientation. The person is now forced to make necessity a virtue. He achieves this by the help of virtual worlds and borrowed identities, which constitute a strong ego that ultimately makes itself unassailable in its weaknesses (Funk 2005).

Characteristics of post-industrial societies

In today's world, Western societies can be described as post-industrial societies (Bell 1973). The post-industrial society is a service economy and a knowledge one that is highly industrialized with economically efficient agricultural production. The term "post-industrial" is chosen for the area which has the most employees. Today, this is the service economy, which has expanded into symbolic work. The percentage of people working in farming (the *primary sector*) has gone down from about 70 percent in 1850 to under 10 percent today in Western societies. Employment in industry (*secondary sector*) has gone from approximately 25 percent at the beginning of the 20th century, to just fewer than 20 percent today. Services (*tertiary sector*) have grown from 10 percent to over 60 percent.

In this article, I present the essential conditions and elements of today's post-industrial societies. I focus mainly on the society-specific valuation of the "human being" as productive resource in the working process, but I also show the changes in the relevance of work and consumption, that have become visible in the last few decades.

As already mentioned, focus has increasingly shifted from gainful employment, to consumer activity. Obviously, the economy is determined by the practical constraint of tapping extensive new markets for producing goods. To this, Fromm says: "If the overriding economic principle is that we produce more and more, the consumer must be prepared to want – that is, to consume – more and more" (Fromm 1968: 37).

Seen in this way, the work and its wage are reduced in importance, to the opportunities for consumption it brings about. Consumption itself is an important element in integrating people socially, as long as they are not excluded, because of a shortage of purchasing power.

In order to create the subjective conditions essential for the organization of work, the production of socially-usable, functional work capital cannot initially happen without compulsion and a sense of obligation. These conditions include compliance with specific performance standards, which are based on punctuality, reliability and precision.

Through the formation of a specific social character, industrial society has been able to harness a significant extent of peoples' energies for work: "The *necessity* for work, for punctuality and orderliness had to be transformed into an inner *drive* for these aims. This means that society had to produce a social character, in which these strivings were inherent" (Fromm 1955: 80).

This drive to work is essentially produced by equalizing and compensating the efforts and abnegations, compulsions and suffering, during working hours. Existing social wealth creates the condition for gratifications which motivates the work.

The understanding of work is connected to material incentives for workers that degrade work merely to an instrument. Functionalized work puts the worker in a position to buy goods and services as a consumer, which then becomes the real reason for work.

In this process, money plays the essential mediating role between work and consumption. Since all work is paid with money, (the abstract form of work) it reduces objects to their quantitative value and regulates the exchange of objects of different qualities. (Fromm 1955: 112).

On one hand, it must be a great and constantly renewing supply of goods and services based on this exchange of quality for quantity and vice-versa. On the other hand, the working conditions create the need for these goods.

Though consumption was initially functionally necessary as compensation for the deprivation and reduction that workers suffered during work, consumption has gained more and more of its own meaning, relative to work. Functionalized work has become a need because it makes compensatory consumption possible. Thus, consumption becomes the real meaning of life.

Structurally, unemployment is connected to the transition from the industrialized society to the post-industrial service and knowledge society. Through rationalization and automation, workplaces have been lost. At the same time, the service sector developed next to the production of goods. Jean Fourastié called a service economy the arising type of society (Fourastié 1954). With the increasing influx of scientific knowledge, into wide spans of production and administration, and through the exchange of science and technology, society changed toward a *knowledge society*. In the knowledge society, professional experience is increasingly replaced by current scientific knowledge, because of its obsolescence. Due to the immense increase of services and the accelerated exchange of knowledge and technology, industrialized society has become post-industrial.

For this society, the former occupational paradigm of a full-time job for an unlimited period is no longer authoritative and leading.

In connection with increasing globalization, the claims on workers have changed in the direction of increased mobility and flexibility. Moreover, hard physical labour has declined considerably and fallen in the background. In the same measure, qualified use of knowledge, the processing of information for specific uses, has increased. At the same time, a new culture of capitalism has risen, in which the access to experiences, services and better conditions has got more important than property (Rifkin 1995, 2000).

If, like Fromm, we define the work of the industrial worker "*as the performance of acts which cannot yet be performed by machines*" (Fromm 1955: 180), then it is clear to see that this work is declining with the advances in microelectronics technology (Schaff and

Friedrichs 1982; Gorz 1989, 1999).

In *The Sane Society,* Fromm summed up his description of work in contemporary society as follows:

> Most people carry out jobs which have no beneficial effect on the development of their personal forces and special talents and skills. Unlike managers and members of highly qualified professions, workers sell their abilities to an employer who uses them for profit purposes. The purpose of working is reduced to making money for covering the costs of living and having little chance to satisfy the consumer greed. "Dissatisfaction, apathy, boredom, lack of joy and happiness, a sense of futility and a vague feeling that life is meaningless, are the unavoidable results of this situation. This socially patterned syndrome of pathology may not be in the awareness of people; it may be covered by a frantic flight into escape activities, or by a craving for more money, power, prestige. But the weight of the latter motivations is so great only because the alienated person cannot help seeking for such compensations for his inner vacuity, not because these desires are the 'natural' or most important incentives for work" (Fromm 1955: 295).

The development of productive forces has experienced a qualitative jump since the middle of this century, with the development of microelectronic technology. Increasingly, the intellectual abilities of the human being are supplemented or even replaced by automatically controlled machines. "In the middle of the twentieth century we find an increasing tendency to employ automatically regulated machines which have their own 'brains', and which bring about a fundamental change in the whole process of production" (Fromm 1955: 104). The human work in production and in the service sector is decreasing (Schaff 1987: 24).

According to Adam Schaff, this process is connected with the social-psychological problem that work must be replaced with an alternative that provides both a source of income and a "sense of life". On the one hand, people must be able to satisfy their material needs with an income to cover the cost of living. On the other hand, they need an activity which could compensate for the gradual disappearance of traditional human work, an activity to motivate human action and to form the basis for the satisfaction of non-material, mental needs.

The question is whether a meaningful alternative to conventional gainful employment can be developed, which could include a "worthy and purposeful occupation for structurally unemployed persons, particularly for young people" (Schaff 1987: 145). Adam Schaff fears an increase of social pathologies among young people in the western world who are affected by structural unemployment. Preventative measures would have to be introduced before destructive branches of extremist groups can develop and exercise extreme force or organized terror in connection with drug addiction and alcoholism (Schaff 1987: 160-161).

A possible solution could be to come up with activities which simultaneously replace dwindling paid work and develop a new meaning of life. Adam Schaff refers to the fact that the meaning of human life was always connected with some activities, but these activities did not always correspond to our present definition of work as paid work or as its alternate forms (Schaff 1987: 143-144). Occupations and activities beyond wage work can take the place of work in the traditional sense.

These new forms of occupation must fulfil several conditions. They must be socially acceptable for people. They must serve as a source of income and consequently, material protection. They must form the foundation for satisfying everyday needs. They must offer prospects of social status regulation and social advancement, and they must be a source of joy in life.

"Meaning creating activities", socially approved, with social engagement that have only little in common with traditional paid work, could compensate for the loss of meaning, caused by structural unemployment, and beyond this, new communitarian structures in the community.

The future of work and the unconditional basic income

Fromm's ideas of a new society are linked – like the Marxian vision of a humanistic socialism – to the idea of respect for the individual. The individual must be actively and responsibly involved in the interests of society. Furthermore "the gap between our great intellectual achievement and our emotional and moral backwardness" is to be closed. We must overcome "an empty technological concept of 'progress'" as well as "irrational contradictions" (Fromm 1960). The social surplus does not make humans inertly richer or freer.

Fromm introduces a number of practical suggestions that describes the future humanitarian, communitarian society, in concrete terms. In this society, the individual must be actively and responsibly involved in the interests of society.

The author presents an array of suggestions and examples that clarify his conception. He then mentions the aim "to create a work situation, in which man gives his lifetime and energy to something which has meaning for him, in which he knows what he is doing, has an influence on what is being done, and feels united with, rather than separated from, his fellow man." (Fromm 1955: 321). In order to achieve this aim, the break from centralized structures is necessary. Peoples' participation in a decentralized system embeds them in easily comprehensible structures, in which they can have an impact. Fromm suggests that the worker participate in management and decision-making by direct codetermination and self-responsibility.

His suggestions to humanize work do not aim to an increase of economic production; the goal not being greater satisfaction with work, but a completely changed structure of society, in which economic activities are subordinated to social life and human well-being (Fromm 1955: 326).

Fromm declares himself in favour of not changing isolated parts, but the whole of the social structure. The decisive feature in changing the social structure is that economic activity becomes a subordinate part of social life. Fromm criticizes that the economy has become independent with the development of capitalism. In other cultures, the economy is a part of society, but it has become the leading subsystem in our society. This development must be turned around. The economy must be subordinated to society and cannot continue to determine peoples' social situation and their everyday lives.

The spheres of human life must be tied into a comprehensive whole. Fromm says: "It is the very evil of present-day culture that it separates and compartmentalizes the various spheres of living. The way to sanity lies in overcoming this split and in arriving at a new unification and integration within society and within the individual human being" (Fromm 1955: 326). The way to a sane society lies in overcoming this split. Social usefulness, not profit, should determine production. Fairness in distribution must be created in national economies and worldwide. Fromm wrote: "Reduction of unnecessary consumption in the industrialized countries is a must if they want to help the non-industrialized countries, and they must want to help them, if they want peace" (Fromm 1955: 333).

Fromm marks alternatives to post-industrial capitalism flatly with suggestions for "sane consumption", for instance. When he promotes decentralized communitarian structures as an alternative, these structures are first related to working conditions. Communitarian ideas are to be leading principles of the entire way of life. A communally-structured society is marked by human relatedness and relationship security. In order to make this structurally possible, Fromm sees the necessity to unconditionally protect the individual as a member of the society with a guaranteed base income.

Erich Fromm had already formulated his suggestions for basic social protection in the 1950s. He pointed out that an income that guarantees a dignified human existence is necessary. This income may not be too low, however, so that it does not cut into personal development or the experience of life (Fromm 1955: 334-335). Therefore, there should not be a fixed amount for all. Rather, "each according to his needs, each according to his abilities" (Karl Marx). But irrespective of how useful an individual is for society, he has an inalienable right, as a member of this society, to live in dignity.

Such an unconditional base income, which to Fromm is merely an extension of social security, allows the individual's right to refuse work without suffering hunger or social stigma, regardless of whether he or she has a job or not. Fromm pleads for a "freedom of contract between employers and employees", which is not yet given "in the present capitalist system", but would have liberating repercussions on all social arenas. "But such a system would be not only the beginning of real freedom of contract between employers and employees; it would also enhance tremendously the sphere of freedom in interpersonal relationships between person and person in daily life" (Fromm 1955: 337). Individuals must be given priority, and must be understood not as things, but only as ends in themselves: "Man's use by man must end, and economy must become the servant for the development of man" (Fromm 1955: 361).

In 1966, Fromm concentrated almost exclusively on the psychological aspects of a guaranteed income and questioned about the effects, the risks and the human problems which accompany its introduction (Fromm 1966). Fromm considers it is essential that a guaranteed income to have the potential to significantly extend individual freedom. It creates freedom of fear, because the basic needs of the individual are socially secured and people no longer have to submit to unworthy working conditions to live a dignified life. A latent threat was connected with the traditional understanding of work that if someone refused work, he had no right to live. This threat did not only

discipline people with respect to work behaviour, but also determined their attitudes and their way of thinking. Work, including alienating work, was regarded as the primary purpose of life.

Connected to the guaranteed income is the idea that in principle, each person has the right to live. Fromm evaluates "this right to live, to have food, shelter, medical care, education, etc.", as "an intrinsic human right that cannot be restricted by any condition, not even the one that he must be socially 'useful'" (Fromm 1966: 176). The individual's right to live in dignity, as a member of society, does not depend on his motivation to work, but it is related to human dignity and to the right to freely choose the activity that guarantees effectiveness and personal development.

Substitute income without work such as an unemployment benefit lowers the recipient's self-esteem and reduces his opportunities of social participation. The freedom to choose between meaningless paid work and meaningful unpaid work is only partially possible. Because the predominant paradigm sees work as "a means of getting money, not in itself as a meaningful human activity" (Fromm 1955: 180), people are brought to the paradoxical situation that they run after alienating work.

Even if the meaning of work is seen in compensation, one cannot overlook the fact that a person cannot base his or her self-esteem on the amount of his wage alone. Certainly, work is often done in order to secure basic survival, but further, work is a phenomenon of one's own strengths' improvement. Work can be related to need and necessity, but also to abundance and freedom. Work is bound to the "realm of necessity"; however, in transition, it also creates the material and ideal values of the "realm of freedom". While *alienating work* can cause illness, meaningful, useful, *demanding work* stimulates individual strengths and is part of a sane and healthy way of life.

The basic income as the end of unemployment

Without dealing with details of the different positions and concepts, I sum up referring to the basic income is to be understood. The guaranteed basic income is a system of social security that should enable everybody to live without worries and social pressure in entire lifespan. Such a concept is discussed from different viewpoints, for instance, from a humanistic-socialist point of view or a neoliberal's one. Their interests are different and the intended modalities of realization differ considerably.

Relative to the current control and sanction-oriented basic social security, the basic income should be regarded as an absolute and inalienable right. It is combining with work income and is given to individuals, not households.

The basic income is a foundation from which everyone, without any obligation to work activity, controls sufficient assets to allow existence and participation in social life. This basic income is completely unconditional. Regardless of whether a person makes a substantial contribution to the community or not, everyone has the right to a dignified existence.

The advantage of such a basic income lies in the fact that people can shape their lives in freedom, without fear or worry. It would also bring about the end of unemployment pay, because unemployment would no longer be a criterion for receiving benefits. Only the fact that somebody is human and the member of a society would be determinative. A further advantage of a basic income to secure basic existence is that it does not have to cost more than the current need-based social aid.

The basic income encourages people to take up non-professional activities (volunteer work, honorary office, personal development, activities in art and philosophy). This would, in turn, affect community life and would increase the quality of life.

The basic income can prevent poverty, particularly for families and children. Single parents often have difficulties in finding jobs, especially when there is a shortage of childcare facilities. Frequently, this lack of support in everyday life also causes health problems arose from the mere stress of daily planning.

A guaranteed minimum income can maximize the freedom of the individual, increase self-respect and reduce social exclusion and shame. It leads to more social equity and equal opportunities, and makes it easier to arrange life with or without a job. People can actively and formatively approach the challenges of their own lives and of today's society.

In summary: The basic income is a protection of human dignity, a contribution to the prevention of poverty – of child poverty as well – a fulfillment of everyday life in the sense of providing freedom from cares and fears. Life organization becomes possible on such a safe foundation. Peoples' more noble sides can come to light such as social consciousness, compassion and emotional intelligence, instead of always having to limit damage to one's own life, particularly at

work. Unemployment would no longer be a risk and would stop being a threatening fact.

Does the basic income promote human laziness?

The formation of an industrial social character is related to discipline and subordination. The man corresponding to this character structure firstly assumes that every person had to earn the right to exist through obedience, diligence and self-discipline. This conception of man is, however, merely an answer to the social formation of man, required for production and the way of life at that time. How people can develop under conditions of freedom, it is obviously not answered by this perspective. As long as man is regarded as bad, selfish, jealous and antisocial, one cannot believe him capable of circumspection, responsibility and initiative. It is needed to control and discipline him. The basic income breaks with this pessimistic conception of man and its self-fulfilling prophecy and presupposes man to be a relational and responsible being.

Under the conditions of a deficit economy, the fundamental moral position of unconditional recognition of human dignity could hardly spread out. Contemporary consciousness of the development of industrial societies in rich, "affluent societies" does not carry sufficient weight, either.

For many people, the idea of the guaranteed basic income is too strange for them to accept it. This is related to social experiences that convey a certain conception of man. If people are lazy by nature, a guaranteed income could impair their willingness to work and lead them to prefer idleness to work.

Critics have pointed out that the effect of a basic income may cause people to give up gainful employment altogether. Everybody has the duty to increase society's well-being by working within the scope of his or her possibilities and abilities. A basic income that is too high could result in idleness and egoism. The danger is of institutionalizing a culture of laziness in which the value of work is questioned. Corresponding arguments against the basic income are based on a negative conception of man (laziness, abuse of public assistance, living at others' expense).

It cannot be denied that under specific pathological conditions, people can abuse the basic income to sit around and do nothing. The more unproductive the character structure of a person has become and the more limiting, oppressive and hurtful his life conditions have been, the lower is the probability that a basic income will be useful in the sense of self-activation for personal development and socially useful activities. These conditions are nevertheless connected to social pathologies, which themselves find an expression in psychosocial restrictions, defects and neuroses. On the other hand, bondage to authority and consumption are to be questioned as forms of the "pathology of normalcy" (Fromm 1955: 12-21).

Today's overconsumption with its avarice for variety, diversion and amusement can hardly be interpreted as a sign of psychosocial health and well-being. If one wants to use the term laziness, then one should differentiate between a reactive laziness, which is a psychopathological condition characterized by tormenting boredom (and indicates social pathology) and creative laziness, which is connected to recreation and productivity. Fromm makes unequivocally clear that the ideal of laziness is itself a result of pathological conditions: "The alienated and profoundly unsatisfactory character of work results in two reactions: one, the ideal of complete laziness; the other a deep-seated, though often unconscious *hostility* toward work and everything and everybody connected with it" (Fromm 1955: 182).

Fromm sees "the widespread longing for the state of complete laziness and passivity" as a pathological symptom, not at all as a trait anchored in human nature (Fromm 1955: 182). He considers that current views on work motivation are based on the concept of alienated work; therefore, their conclusions do not apply to non-alienated, attractive work. If people show a longing for laziness and for doing nothing, this is merely a symptom of the meaningless and alienated conditions of life (Fromm 1955: 290).

The social change in the transition to the 21st century has made it clear that the new socio-political models must be developed into work and income.

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The Striving for Unboundedness and Its Impact on Psychoanalytic Treatment

Rainer Funk

Abstract: Particularly due to technical innovations, we are witnessing an unbounding of reality that increasingly is reflected in an inner striving to get rid of the limitations and boundaries of our own personality by reconstructing it anew. This pursuit of de-limitation, dissolution and blurring of boundaries is seen as a central character trait of the Ego-oriented social character. Such a fabrication of a limitless personality doubtless results in a weakening of such psychic abilities as experiencing one's self as a consistent and ambiguous entity, being emotionally attached to oneself and to others, feeling one's own strivings, affects and emotions, and being guided by one's internalized norms and values. Lastly, the impact of this character formation is discussed in regard to clinical and therapeutic issues.

1. The new pursuit of self-determination

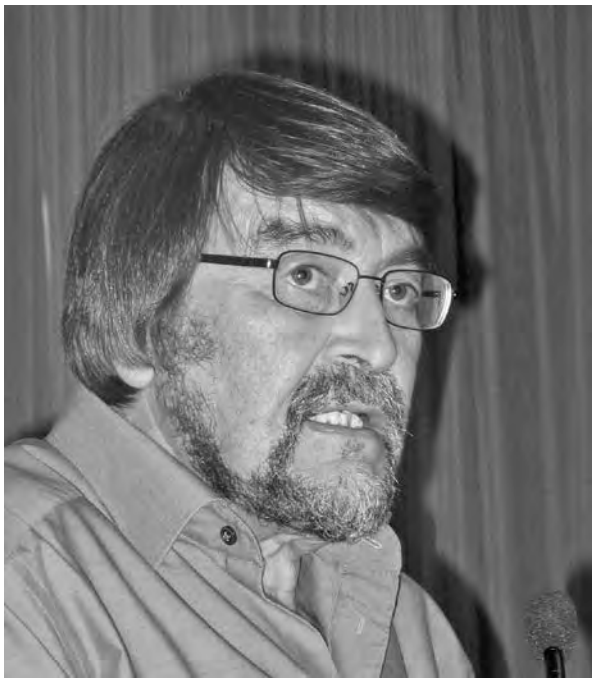
More and more people are unhappy with their own personality. They want to leave it behind and reinvent themselves. Even when no pathogenic experiences or developments make them suffer emotionally, they feel limited and other-directed by their familiar and social development and hence by a psychic structure that naturally accompanies this development. They want to be completely free and self-determined and therefore strive to reinvent a personality that has--more or less--nothing to do with their previous one.

The attempt to trace this understanding of freedom and wish for autonomy immediately leads only to the realization that the common psychodynamic explanations do not apply: these people do not strive for autonomy to free themselves from repressive claims to power from external or internal authorities; an authoritarian impulse is generally not to be detected. Their pursuit for autonomy does not emanate from a narcissistic self-inflation that devalues everything that does not reinforce their own grandiosity or excludes it from their own perception. It is also hard to make out evidence for delusional thinking, that would lead to a conclusion of a pathological perception of reality.

This new pursuit for autonomy seems neither to be insane nor does it show a fixation on oneself, nor does it rebel against something. It is rather a completely plausible reaction to digital technology and electronic media, through which the surrounding reality can not only be newly and differently developed, but also constructed and perceived in a new way. Why should this fascinating possibility to construct reality in a new, different way, not apply to one's own personhood, one's own personality and psychic structuring? People's pursuit for freedom changed with the digital revolution such that everyone wants to decide on his or her own what actuality is.

I have called the corresponding character orientation "Ego Orientation" (Funk 2005; 2010), because everyone--without consideration for prescriptions or requirements from the environment--wants to determine on his or her own what reality is and with which reality he/she wants to deal. The right to this kind of self-determination is thereby acknowledged for everyone. Consequently, new forms of togetherness are created in the interpersonal space and in the social structure, that measure up to this wish for self determination. An empirical investigation from 2005 into the incidence of the Ego Orientation showed that back then, as much as 20 percent of Germany's adult population were dominantly ego oriented in their character structure (see Frankenberger 2007).

The specific pursuit of autonomy of ego oriented people can be captured best from a psychological perspective as the pursuit for delimitation or boundlessness. The words "delimitation" and "unboundedness" are used to translate the word "Entgrenzung" which represents a very specific interaction with limits or boundaries. "Entgrenzung" always means that former limits are abolished. It is not about a violation of limits, or a contestation of limits, or a transgression of limits, in which a limit is left behind, but about an elimination of limits through a new construction of reality. This



means that in the newly constructed reality, these limits really no longer exist or subjectively no longer exist, because they are no longer observed or repudiated.

First will be sketched out which developments promote the formation of the pursuit for "Entgrenzung", that is, unboundedness resp. delimitation, and in which way it results in character formation. A subsequent section will be about the enactment and formation of reality and its application to the new construction of personality. Finally, it will be shown how this personality has an impact on the psychic structure and therapeutic practice.

2. Reasons for the pursuit of unboundedness

The reasons for the significant increase in the pursuit of unboundedness can be found first in the current technical possibilities for delimitation; secondly, they can be found in the demand for unboundedness of the economy, business and society that more and more people have to make their own if they don't want to fall into the professional or social void.

a) The new possibilities for unboundedness

The overwhelming achievements in the area of digital technology and electronic media as well as networking have begun a dynamic of delimitation that was, until recently, hard to imagine, and that has since changed numerous research and life domains—think just of imaging procedures or the decryption of the genetic code that would be impossible without computers or electronic media.

To illustrate this a bit more with an example of the possibilities of de-limitation: Almost completely space- and timeless data transfer brought and continues to bring us to a revolutionized acquisition of information and knowledge. Information, purchases, advice of all kinds and the many other treasures of lost know-how can be found in a mobile phone, iPad or tablet hybrid, without having to change location, be mindful of business hours or have to consider waiting times. With the exception of acquiring foreign languages, most of what we are still learning at school consists of memorizing facts and specialized knowledge. But to have this knowledge to hand the only thing we need is a smartphone with a good search engine.

Given the fascinating possibilities of delimitation, it is not surprising that unboundedness becomes a keyword to the solution of all economic, social, research and human problems and that technology that dissolves boundaries is regarded at the level of universal remedies. For example, de-limitation allows for the flexibilization of the working world, although here it is already showing that not every dissolution of boundaries is beneficial for the person.

b) De-limitation in the working world

If in many industrialized nations the professional world was characterized by long-term careers and lasting employment relationships in stable enterprises and social security systems, this protective external grounding is increasingly breaking away. Here, de-limitation does not mean only being able to enjoy more flexible working hours, part-time work or working from home. Everything that gives protection and bearing, which provides grounding, is also unbounded.

The threat is of atypical employment relationships such as temporary positions and the deficiency of open-ended contracts. Shiftwork, night, weekend and Sunday work are widely gaining ground—despite the overwhelming data on the negative health impacts and about the potential for familial and social conflict that accompany these dissolved limits. The most impactful dissolution of boundaries in the professional sphere is the establishment of the "self-employer"; for him, work turns from something prescribed to something one must "give", steer and control oneself. Instead of enjoying the provision, care, advance payments, and direction of an employer; the entrepreneurial activities are to be contributed by the worker himself. The consequence is an increase in self-exploitation of the employed.

The employer has to identify himself with the requirement of de-limitation in the economic arena so that he himself develops a wish to deal according to today's more unbounded professional activities. As the methods of de-limitation are internalized, rationalization, economization and controlling are no longer perceived as something foreign but as something of innate.

This "subjectivization" of work is reached through corporate achievement primarily in that the work organization becomes more flexible and working relationships are destabilized. It suggests itself that such pressure to perform will lead to an excessive demand on oneself and finally to a "burn out".

De-limitation is, and here I come to the third reason for the formation of a desire for de-limitation, not just a promotion in the organization of work but also the recipe for success, with respect to the question of what the economy really produces. Next to the production of goods and services, indeed, realities are also increasingly produced.

c) Dissolution of boundaries through the enactment of reality

Successful economic enterprises have transitioned in the last decade more and more to investing all energy into the production of environment and desired realities. Of course goods and services also continue to be produced but that which is offered and sold are realities in the form of emotional worlds, states of arousal, experiences, emotions, passions, environments and lifestyles. Whoever wants to have commercial success today must bank on emotionalization and sell feelings and experiences. The production of sentimentality and events is particularly noticeable in the ever-growing cultural industry.

The production of emotional realities is supposed to give certain target groups the possibility to feel alive, full of feeling, active, creative, dependent, stimulated, secure or full of passion. The endpoint of such a development is a world in which practically every activity becomes a produced or acquired experience. Life, and especially emotional life with its feelings, wishes, likes, and dislikes, becomes a commodity. Communication and culture industries produce it for us, and we buy from them life experiences and feelings in that we pay for admission to the world of experience offered to us.

The mention of these reasons—the fascinating technical possibilities for de-limitation, the more flexible professional world and the current success model of the capitalist economy to sell reality—should suffice to justify why more and more people are driven in their thinking, feeling and acting by the dissolution of boundaries.

3. The internalization of the pursuit for the dissolution of boundaries

Because de-limitation is experienced both as fascinating and threatening psychologically, two ways of internalization can be made out: one, an identification with the means to dissolve boundaries, the other, a reaction formation against the demands of boundary dissolution.

In internalization by identification, one defines oneself in relation to one's own being by the ability of these technical wonders: I am and define my feelings of self esteem by my access to the media that facilitate de-limitation.

Those identified to such an extent with the means of boundary dissolution identify themselves through an excitement for unbounded realities, although also through an existential dependency: If their do-everything phone is stolen or if their hard-drive gives out, then they feel lost, worthless, and totally powerless, because they no longer possess their means of unboundedness, that is, their access to and connectivity with the unbounded realities are called into dispute.

A pursuit of boundlessness can also result from reaction formation. Especially if one is confronted with a demand for boundlessness in a professional capacity, a demand to let go of everything valued, secured, orientating, and grounding, and instead, to reinvent oneself as the means of production, then de-limitation becomes experienced as a threat and results in psychological strain. But both the resulting anger and sorrow cannot be acknowledged or acted upon, because they are perceived as weakness, as an inability to work under pressure, and as lacking motivation and inspiration—as one says today—and would push one even more into a losing position.

In this psychically unbearable situation, there are two psychological escapes: the one leads to a build-up of symptoms and psychic illness, to anxiety disorders, depressive moods and depressions complete with somatic equivalents such as backaches or heart complaints. With the expression "burned out", the burn-out syndrome already discussed today makes these symptoms more graphic. The suffering at the exploitative demands of unboundedness uproots several energy resources.

Next to the formation of a symptom, which is the expression of an inadequate internalization of the pursuit of unboundedness, character

formation also offers a way out. In this, those mentioned identify with that which threatens them. Such a reaction formation leads to ego-syntonic behavior: One does not feel anger towards the dissolution of boundaries, but is excited for it; one doesn't suffer anymore from the lack of boundaries but seeks it out.

As different as the mechanisms to internalize the pursuit of unboundedness may be, the result is always that one gladly and passionately promotes that which the current economy and society needs to function and therefore also strives for unboundedness. On principal, there is nothing negative in this, because every person is always a social being, and has to strive to conform for the success of society, if he does not want to completely isolate himself socially.

We will ask in another segment about the possibilities of unbounding one's own personality, knowing that it's not about crossing boundaries through developmental steps (through the process of learning, training, practicing, parting and mourning etc.) that borders of human possibility let themselves be crossed. Instead, it is about means and ways that borders of one's own personhood can be eliminated.

4. Methods of dissolving bounds of one's own personality

There have always been methods in which an unbounded personality could be constructed. Some of these are regression (which we use in therapy), the dissolution of boundaries through psychotropic substances or excessive behaviors, or the enactment of reality. The enactment of reality, of particular interest here, existed before, for instance in closed societies or in psychiatric illnesses, but today, digitalization and electronic media allow for the construction of tailored virtual realities for all eventualities, in which anyone can afford to immerse oneself.

Because the problem of unboundedness through psychotropic substances and excessive behaviors is known to us from substance dependency, there will be a short discussion of the enactment of reality and a more thorough discussion of virtualization through simulation.

a) Unboundedness through enactment

De-limitation through enactment is about a fleeting identification with a different personality. Enactment takes place in art, in literature, in rituals, but also in courtly society or, today, in popular fantasy. Except for a few exceptions, most people are capable of telling the imagined, (enacted reality, the unbounded reality) from the factual and external reality.

The only new thing is that thanks to technical innovation, everyone can enjoy such enactment of reality anytime, almost anywhere. There is no dependency on specific people, places, situations, institutions, and mediumistic abilities, just those of electronic media.

Enacted realities have very different contents and want to establish access to realities and parallel worlds that are either contained in everyday experiences or bring a fantasy world into being. Even if they are completely fantastic and unreal, their character as enacted reality remains conserved and conscious to the consumer.

b) Unbounding through simulation and virtualization

Unlike enactment, the dissolution of boundaries through simulation typically aims at disabling the ability to distinguish between reality and fantasy, wishes and actuality, illusion and reality. What is true of a good flight simulator, namely that the ability of controlling reality is obscured, is also a precondition for every plunge into a virtual world. The more perfect the simulation, the less significant is the control over reality—and also the confrontation with a burdensome reality.

The virtualization of reality resulting from today's simulation techniques aims at an experience of reality that is no longer subject to any controls. This is already evident from the definitions of the words "virtual", "virtuality", and "virtual reality". By virtual reality, we understand something that does not exist in the same form in reality in which it appears to exist, but nevertheless shows all of the functioning and effects of such a reality. The opposite of virtual is therefore not "real" but "physical": the virtual doesn't exist "in reality" but has (as far as possible) all signs and identifying markers of reality in a person's perception. Science fiction writer William Gibson therefore is right in saying that "cyberspace presupposes a consensual hallucination" (Gibson 1984).

Going by everything we know today about the risks of a life in virtual worlds, the question is first and foremost what motivates people to want to unbound their perception of reality, that they want to submerge in virtual realities in order to feel more at home there than in physical reality. The neurobiological answer is that through virtual worlds (such as in shooter games) the reward centers of the brain are efficiently activated so that the body's naturally produced opiates such as dopamine are released and cause an intoxication-like state.

This clear definition also implies that other pos-

sibilities for the unbounding of reality such as ‘augmented reality’ and ‘enhanced reality’ could cause an expansion of the perception of reality with the support of computers or help of ‘cognitive enhancers’ such as Modafenil (‘brain doping’), but are not a phenomenon of virtual reality. (In constrast, terms like ‘hyperreality’ and ‘surplus reality’ also seem to be useful to describe virtual de-limitations, while the term ‘Fiction’ can be used to describe enacted reality as well as virtual reality).

Irrespective of one’s own mental state, and the personal imposition of life—but also independent of innate real possibilities—virtual reality therefore offers a great "advantage": to experience happiness and luck, in order to transfer oneself into an intoxication-like state. This can be repeated as often as one seeks out virtual reality for this purpose—with the result that it leads to an ever greater reinforcement of these activated nerve connections, while other synapses are deconstructed. This means nothing than that a certain use of virtual reality has similar effects as the unhinging of control over reality through drugs or excessive behavior and doesn’t just afford an escape from reality but also has a high potential for substance dependency.

The escape into a virtual parallel world is really problematic not only when certain states of suffering are avoided or feelings of joy are targetedly sought out, but when one’s personality is to be newly invented and constructed through simulation. One’s own thinking, one’s own feeling, one’s own wanting, one’s own judgment comes from a simulated virtual personality, so that this person or those in his or her environment cannot recognize that the personal has the properties of a virtual personality. More than producing a personality, virtualization leads to a de-activation of important ego functionality and abilities, which are the result of psychic structure formation. This will be the subject of the conclusion—even if just by insinuation (for further elaboration, see Funk 2011, pp. 166-187).

5. Results of the pursuit for unboundedness on the psychic condition

a) De-activation of innate striving

A first effect concerns innate psychic strivings. That which drives, motivates, enlivens, and interests a person barely has a chance anymore against the intoxicating, inspiring and stimulating effects of the offerings of produced and virtual experience. This de-activation of inner impulses is recognizable for instance in that one can feel a personal interest only when one is offered something interesting or tells oneself, "Yes, that is very interesting to me." After all, one learned over the course of personality training how important it is for successful communication to simulate and to show interest independent of whether something is actually interesting or not. What was first seen in American language use has now become conventional in other languages. One no longer wishes oneself to "be inspired" but to "get inspired!" The activity is ever less dependent on the inner strivings resulting from our psychic structure.

b) Deprivation of an authentic experience of self

Whoever really wants to experience himself has to leave the experience of an identity familiar to him behind and forgo a defined—limited—self ("defined" contains the latin word "finis" = boundary/limit). Moreover, depending on cause, situation, and desire, the self must be replaced by a newly invented self and by a simulated personality. When an unbounded person therefore talks of self-realization, he means something completely different than realization of an unmistakeable innate self. For him, it’s about the unboundedness of the self through a reinvention, a situationally staged or simulated experience of self. This no longer has anything to do with internalized self-representations. The requirement remains to be himself, however he chooses to re-invent himself. The same is true for the understanding of authenticity. He who cannot do anything but be how he is, is no longer authentic. He who is able to produce his self such that he perceives it as his own is authentic, though what he sees as his "own" has nothing to do with his internal self. Tomorrow he will perceive something totally different as his own.

c) Unbounded Relationship

If unboundedness implies the abolition of constraints, then being bound to others is as much at stake as being bound to himself. Unbounded people search among their interpersonal contacts for an unbounded relationship. They want to be free and unbounded and yet be connected by networking and social media.

Instead of feeling and practicing individual emotional relational ties such as tenderness, trust, yearning, remembering or missing, and building relationships with their help, one cares only about contact, feeling the enacted or simulated feelings offered by the media, or trying to simulate them from a situation on his own. In this way, a relatedness with others lets itself be constructed and realized, without feeling a bond or a dependency on such a connectedness.

d) Inner emptiness of feeling

What has already been said about the de-activation of individual emotional bonding force is true in general for the emotionality and experience of feelings in unbounded people. In reality, they characterize themselves through an emotional emptiness, even if feelings are "in" again and they are "totally into emotions". They re-invent feeling, and this by enacting feelings themselves or simulating them, or they share in a world of emotions, generated and offered constantly by an economy betting on emotionalization.

To share in orchestrated emotions instead of feeling one's own is advantageous for two other reasons: first, one can act out affects that one would never dare to feel—vengeful, destructive, envious, jealous, murderous feelings. Secondly, one can better repudiate one's own, seemingly unbearable feelings by sharing feelings that are not one's own.

More effective is the simulation of positive feelings. One wants and feels only the positive for oneself and others, so that in oneself and more so in others, only the neuronal reward centers are addressed and the corresponding neuronal networks are reinforced. All feelings and self-perceptions that are perceived negatively (that is, hurtful or painful) seem to have disappeared.

The fact is nevertheless: one can only really appreciate and love oneself and others when one does not obscure one's own and other's drawbacks—the difficult and critical—but is capable of accepting and appreciating and perhaps even loving them. Everything else is an idealization and allows positive thinking to become an ideology, as Barbara Ehrenreich convincingly portrayed in her book "Smile or Die" (2010).

e) Threatening loss of orientation

Finally, the internalized bodies of control stand in the way of a reconstruction of personality. What happens to the superego, the ego ideal and the conscience? As part of one's psychic facilities, they represent a requirement and measure from which the unbounded person has to release himself if he wants to live an unbounded life without permanent feeling of anxiety, guilt and shame. As with all points named so far, here too, one's own capabilities that accompany a mature psychic structure are replaced by something that comes from outside and are supposed to stop an imminent loss of orientation.

In the place of an internal regulatory system steps an all-encompassing external orientation. If today a cry is raised everywhere for regulations, for new and old values, for ethics in science and medicine, for occupational and professional ethics, for political and managerial correctess, then this need for role models, advisors, therapists, consultants and coaches has to do with the separation from internalized moral concept and orientation in unbounded people. The external orientation moreover requires a permanent review of the consultation or presence of guidelines or guiding concepts.

Doubtless the reconstruction of one's identity enables more self-determination and more subjectively experienced freedom. Equally doubtless is that the unbounding of one's identity leads to a withering of such abilities and competencies that have their base in our grown psychic structure. Their extensive de-activation necessarily leads to a stronger external orientation. The dependence on Id-surrogates in the form of "borrowed passions" (Allebrand 2012, pp. 57-74) and affects is also increasing, like that of auxiliary egos and auxiliary superegos. These, however, are not sought in other people, but in stimulating media and technical marvels, in personality training and suggestive applied therapy and in orientating communication offerings.

6. The unbounded self as a challenge for Psychoanalysis

As beneficial as today's possibilities to surpass limits in science and technology, its use for the reconstruction of personality holds first, high risks for mental health of unbounded people; second, it makes the public recognition and plausibility of the psychoanalytic idea of man and psychoanalytic methods of therapy more difficult. Because details about the risks to mental health have already been given, just a few more aspects should be mentioned here for why unbounded people have difficulties with psychoanalysis.

- Unbounded people recoil from everything that could limit them in their self-determination. A psychology that sees experience and action of people fundamentally determined by their internal representations and impulses, particularly of those, that have been constructed in childhood and should still be unconscious for the most part--such a psychodynamic psychology is difficult for unbounded people to accept and obsolete in their eyes. The pursuit of boundlessness aimed at their own personality wants to reinvent the self by replacing all structural requirements with self-determined beliefs and impulses and comes to bearing with the help of enact-

ments, simulations and suggestive techniques. That's why they are neither interested in a change of internal structures, nor working on structurally determined anxieties, conflicts, or fantasies and react with resistance when they are brought close to their boundaries.

- The psychoanalytic concept of a coherent self or of a definable experience of identity, but also the conception of an unconscious or repressed reality is not comprehensible for unbounded people, because those concepts are relics of theoretical paternalism, that are not covered by their experience of self.
- Therapeutic work with regression does not evoke resistance on principal because every regression is a form of de-limitation. The same is true for hypnotherapeutic processes. In some conditions, therapy is perceived as a pleasant virtual reality. However, if regression leads to transference relationships and emotional dependencies, then escape from the therapeutic relationship remains the only recourse.
- Because the process of psychoanalytic therapy is first and foremost interested in emotional perception of relationship (in transference and countertransference), unbounded people lean more strongly to transferential resistances.
- In therapeutic regard, unbounded people also prefer "technical solutions" with which they can distract from certain affects, depressive moods and from states of fear or pain. Moreover they are interested in techniques of suggestion, imagination, staging or simulation in order to psychically "realign".

These points already suggested that the social acceptance of psychoanalysis will dwindle more in unbounded people. This does not mean, however, that psychoanalysis does not have a future; just the opposite, in view of the psychic deficits and dependencies that accompany the reconstruction of personality, it is more important than ever and finds itself, from a social perspective in a similar misunderstood position as at the beginning of its history.

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Social Catastrophe and Social Trauma Amongst Unemployed Working Class Men in a Post-Industrial Community

Luis Jimenez

Abstract: This paper explores psychosocially young unemployed men's resistance to work they describe as 'embarrassing' and 'feminine'. The context is the closure of a steelworks in a town in the South Wales valleys, in which their resistance is mediated by father–son relationships that dictate what counts as proper manly work. In this study, young men, as well as their mothers and (where possible) their fathers, were interviewed. The interviews reveal a community suffering the effects of intergenerational trauma and riven with complex feelings about masculinity and femininity. These feelings are projected onto the young men, who feel bullied and shamed by their families, peers and others in the community because they are unable to find gender-appropriate work. The implications of these findings for understanding youth male unemployment are considered.

Traumatic Loss and its Intergenerational Impact on Men's Worker Identities

The aim of this paper is to think about the complex circulations of masculinity and femininity within the community during the era of the steelworks and to contrast this with the shifts necessary to accommodate the post-industrial new work situation. The psychosocial impact on the male worker identities after the loss of work for these ex-steel workers can be seen as a "social catastrophe" which is defined by psychoanalysts Davoine and Gaudilliere (2004) as a historical event which has catastrophic consequences for those at the receiving end of it. Although local conditions may mean that the fear, pain and anxieties produced by that event cannot be experienced immediately because of the need to survive and the defences brought into play to achieve this. Davoine and Gaudilliere argue that such anxieties might be transmitted silently across generations (e.g., intergenerational traumatic loss) so that the one who embodies the memory may not even know what the anxiety is that is being experienced and those who experienced it may be unable to talk about it.

While Davoine and Gaudilliere's work focuses on war, it seems relevant to place the closure of the steel works into this category because iron and steel production had been the centre of the community since the late 18th century and while the community had faced its share of redundancies, disasters and other problems, the closure of the steelworks could be understood as having a catastrophic impact on a town which depended upon it and which was in a geographical location in which other work was not easily reached. Besides this, the nature of available work changed. Basically, there remained in the area almost no heavy industry. Thus, men who had relied on the works and who had a history of poor school performance and even illiteracy, had nowhere to turn for similar work. Most of the work available to young men leaving school at 16 with no qualifications and poor literacy levels these days is unskilled service work, mostly in supermarkets, cleaning and food delivery (e.g. pizzas).

The story I want to tell here relates to the ways in which the conversations with the young men and their families, taken together with insights derived from the earlier fieldwork, begin to present a complex situation in which the difficulties faced by the young men is shown to be related to pain and shame experienced by older men and others in the community about the inability to do 'proper masculine' work.

Shame and Embarrassment

An example of this type of situation comes from an interview with Tony, 24, who is already a father of three children and who has neither school nor work credentials. He tells me about his difficult experiences with his step father when he took on a pizza delivery and a cleaning job:

> *… I was once a delivery driver for Dominos Pizza. I don't know whether you seen the uniform you got to wear cream trousers, a red t-shirt, a baseball cap, a bum bag and*

things like that and he (his stepfather) found that, well embarrassing. Urm you have to wear the full outfit you had a Dominos Pizza belt, and everything... If I was out doing a delivery, and he spotted me, he would purposely make out he didn't see me like, not be seen talking to me basically because of what I was wearing and what I was doing like. I then offered my brothers a lift home in the car and they all refused to get in the car with me and said, you look like an idiot basically, you know, what the hell are you wearing? You look a fool looking like that, and that was the attitude they had, they wouldn't get a lift home with me like, because of what I had to wear... They used to laugh all the time and they never once went to the shop as long as I worked there.

I don't know whether it was embarrassment or what they never showed their face at the shop, never once. Everybody, not just my father and my brothers but my mother too, they all used to laugh when I would go up in what I had to wear, that uniform, and my friends also used to laugh at me… My mother did say to me once, you know they are all taking the mickey out of your stepfather because of what you are doing, so basically get a proper job, my mother was basically saying… If I went to his house, like he'd go, you know, he'd go to the pub or something, you know he would go out to the pub every time I went there for a couple of weeks, as if he was physically embarrassed about, you know, too embarrassed to talk to his own son like or to be seen with me, and then I had to quit that job, and once I did that then he was back to normal, you know he'd stay and he would talk to me again and he'd say like come to the pub with us.

This painful story struck me forcibly. In Tony's way of telling the story, all of his family gang up on him to ridicule and embarrass him about the work and the uniform. So what he feels that he experiences is their shame at his work and his appearance, so much so that they will go out of their way not to be seen with him. Shunned, it seems by the whole family, he gave up the work. However, the kinds of jobs that the family appears to want him to get are no longer available, so we are left to wonder if they would actually have preferred him to be unemployed, a situation which he was trying to avoid in order to support his own young family. It seems as though he is caught in a pincer action but the pressure must have felt intense to give up the job rather than have the work, poorly paid as it doubtless was.

But in the next extract we see that Tony fared no better in another job he tried, working as a contract cleaner.

Tony:

Yeah, once I was working as a cleaner on the factory floor and you know I had to walk past with a bin or perhaps a mop and bucket and you know they (female colleagues) would start talking to each other and laughing at me and things like that like, you know. Yeah, it was quite embarrassing for a boy; you know to be laughed at by a bunch of girls.

Luis:

So can you remember, what did you say to those girls? How did you handle that?

Tony:

Well you know, I asked them what was so funny like and they were saying Mrs. Mop and things like that and calling me names and you know, so well like I say basically round here it is classed as a woman's job being a cleaner and things like that, they class it strictly as a woman's job. There is lot of boys as myself that wouldn't apply for that kind of job again, and I know a lot of friends who wouldn't even think about applying for that kind of job, but at the end of the day it was all that was going on, and I had to bring in money for my family and I took it, but you know, three weeks I stuck it out for and I couldn't take no more. I was going home and feeling depressed you know because people were laughing at me and aggravating me all day for eight hours.

We begin to see how Tony feels that there is nowhere to turn because he is not only shunned by his family, but by women cleaners to whom he is not related. We can begin to understand that the feelings of shame projected onto the young men are not simply confined to his family but are circulating around the community itself. Nor are they confined to men – his mother and female workmates also join in the ridicule. It is important to understand what is happening in the town that this shame is projected onto young men who have to bear the brunt of it and thus are placed in a kind of catch 22, where they need work but are ridiculed for taking the work that they can get. We can understand the women's reactions as the result of the resonance the young man doing cleaning had for them and therefore their own reaction to it.

Later on in the interview, Tony recalls other

similar incidents that some of his male friends had to face whilst working in the checkout in their local supermarket:

> *… I've got friends and if they see a boy working on the checkout in the local supermarket they kind of like call him all the sort of things, call him names and bully him. Like call him a woman and things like that and say you are doing a woman's job, you know. It is not a man's work it is a woman's job like, that is the way they see that kind of job, a woman's job like. They bully them and aggravate them. I know people who have and they tend to call them like gay and things like that you know and to some people it hurts being called that like. You know they call them a gay and mammy's boy working on the till and you know, there are a lot of things that they do say and a lot of it is using bad language like and not so polite words.*

We begin to understand the ferocity with which the shaming is emerging. If it is so ferocious, psychoanalysis tells us, there is a very large affective and energetic charge. In other words, there is a great deal going on, circulating toxically around the town. In order to understand this circulation within what we could call the community matrix, we will explore further the issues raised by Tony, including issues of femininity and heterosexuality, as well as thinking about the intergenerational transmission of trauma. However, first of all, let us try to understand what Tony's struggles with his stepfather tell us about the difficulty faced by young men like Tony in breaking free from the shame and bringing about a change for themselves and others.

Conformity as Compromise Formation

I was struggling in the interview to understand why Tony didn't stand up to his father, family and others, given that he had his own family. So, I asked why he still needed the approval of his stepfather when deciding what job to take, he replied:

> *I think it's because like I've always been his, like his closest son, really to be honest, I'm closer to him than the rest of my brothers and that's why he's sort of like picking on me to then follow him in his footsteps sort of thing and learn a trade like he has, and become a business man in that kind of way but, like I said yesterday, I'm not sure if that's what I want to do at the moment. I would rather make my own decisions, do what I want to do, not what others and my parents want me to do. I think instead of being against what I want to do, they should support me really in what I want to do.*

So it seems that the ridicule may be designed to force Tony to follow a path which his stepfather feels is not only more manly but with better prospects, but, perhaps it is because I asked a question which implied that he needed to stand up to his stepdad, that he tells me that he wants to find his own way, but he also tries to understand his particular treatment of him as a sign of specialness, closeness and love, rather than rejection. Thus, what seemed to be troubling Tony was the realisation that, although he could be critical of his stepfather, at the same time, he could not, at this moment, avoid being isolated from his parental family and by implication being isolated and ridiculed as an improper man or a loser by his local peers. So, Tony is caught in a pincer movement, one typical for young people, in which they wish to follow their own path, but are pushed and pulled by different parental expectations. This in itself marks a shift for young men like Tony in Steeltown, who would previously have gone to the works and there may well have been no question of their trying to do something different. But clearly here the conflict is extremely hard for Tony to bear, perhaps, not least because it is not only his stepfather who is shaming him, but, it seems, his entire family and other members of the community, an experience, so we hear, that is very familiar for young men, who indeed reinforce it by ganging up on anyone who dares to do service work.

As we have seen, the ways in which fathers transmit to their sons their own difficult feelings of loss pain and shame that there is no longer manly manufacturing work, get enmeshed in a complex context of disappointment, lack of hope, despair and grief that then gets rationalised and projected to their sons as the need of fathers to make sure their own sons will not be subject to the same difficult experiences that their own fathers have experienced after the succession of redundancies that have taken place over many decades in the community. Furthermore, the way in which the sons assimilate and think about their own fathers' projected feelings of despair are also connected in complex affective ways with the sons' own needs to see in their fathers some kind of idealised strong supportive image that would also serve to consolidate their own masculinity and would make them feel safe. In this context, it can be difficult for the sons to disentangle the extent to which their own difficult struggles in trying to find jobs and their avoidance of service work belongs to them or is a combined effect of the

relationship with their fathers' own difficult past and the associated expectations and values in relation to massive unemployment in their community.

The struggle to re-masculinize their sons might also give the fathers a further sense of moral purpose, agency and paternal authority.

Social Catastrophe and Gendered Trauma

The intergenerational transmission of aspects of masculinity through shame, embarrassment and bullying experienced by these men thus entails recognizing the way in which these feelings defend a very rigid, gendered division of labour that is under threat from all quarters: the closure of the steelworks, the rise in 'feminine' work and the larger female workforce.

This in turn can be understood not as some individual pathology but as a painful and perhaps not conscious response to the inability of this generation to prevent the closure, to stop the catastrophe from happening (which of course they could not, it being driven by economic and political forces quite outside their control). In other words: What this work reveals is a social trauma which emotionally affects the entire community.

Our first idea was that because some older men had understandably great difficulty in accepting that manufacturing work had really gone, some young men, who had themselves not experienced this work, may feel conflicted about the lost industrial masculinity of their fathers and in some ways may be trying to protect that masculinity or to be able to embody what their fathers could no longer do. Conflicts around this work did turn out to be at the heart of conflicts between fathers and sons, but they did not end there and so we have also discussed how others in the community were just as important in keeping this sense of masculinity alive for the young men. What we gradually learned from our interviews was that fathers and sons were experiencing considerable conflict and distress over the sons' taking up of service work.

To further explore the circulation of the intergenerational aspects of the transmission of hard masculinity, I also want to turn to the point made by Tony about the way young men who undertook feminine and embarrassing work could be understood as women, gays, or mammy's boys. In order to understand this we would then explore the production of masculinity as distance from the feminine.

All these terms are "other" to heterosexual masculinity and all demonstrate an anxiety with proximity to the feminine or the feminised. This suggests that what has been hailed as a 'crisis in masculinity' (Kimmel, 1987; Hearn, 1999; Mc Dowell, 2000) possibly presents this crisis in too realist a way. That is, it presents masculinity as a possession of an anatomical male, whose masculine identity has been threatened by changes in work.

What we begin to see here is rather that the problem is not a problem with the masculine per se, but a problem with the feminine. Or, indeed, we could argue that all problems of the masculine are indeed problems associated with proximity to the feminine. These three terms appear to articulate the problem as concerning too much proximity to, or not enough distance from, the feminine. This suggests to us that the problem is not the work per se but the proximity to the feminine it represents, which must be repudiated at all costs. In the days of the steel works, the feminine was kept in a domestic space, from which men were distanced by their working lives, but could always come home to. In other words, what we are saying is that in order to withstand the rigours of heavy and dangerous work, it was necessary to become 'hard'. This hardness meant an attempt to keep at bay all aspects of softness and dependency, which might impede withstanding the harsh conditions. 'Mammy's boys' are of course boys who are close to their mothers. If repudiation of the feminine was necessary and the pushing away of all that might be considered close to it, in order to survive, then all signs of weakness must be kept at bay. What we are proposing therefore is that alongside the material conditions there were sets of bodily dispositions, manly practices, ways of organising, modes of affective relations and unconscious defences, all designed to maintain a situation which was extremely difficult, but which had to be maintained in order to withstand the work. As we have shown in the interview extracts, at the heart of this matrix is anxiety – anxiety about the feminine mixed with anxiety about survival. Since mothers are central to the raising of children and to the nurturing of dependent beings within our culture, these two anxieties come together.

Similarly, ideas about survival and annihilation anxiety can be related to early experience. In this instance, we are attempting to understand a set of historically produced practices and defences which become normative in a historical context in which their appearance is necessary to the feeling of the possibility of survival and which can ultimately lead to the production of pride in the hardness sustained, which we can find in demands for increased productivity as well as successful union and political militancy

and resistance. I am not wishing to undermine these very important victories or resistances, nor to pathologise or to psychologise them. But I feel that it is necessary to understand the difficulties and anxieties which relate to the coping with difficult (or perhaps we should say almost impossible) work conditions for 200 years, that is the experience of exploitation, in order to understand just what the young men are telling us in the present.

The new work context available to them demands much greater proximity to the feminine, with its notions of service (and indeed low pay!) in a historical context in which the shift away from a macho masculinity towards a different view of the masculine. Of course, this form of masculinity has indeed oppressed women for many centuries but it is our view that nothing is helped by its pathologisation or de-historicisation. What is needed is to understand it. It is a form of masculinity which is itself historically specific. To understand this, we suggest, we have to understand it as having an enormous energetic charge, which we have explained by use of the idea of the place of the feminine in producing anxiety about dependency built so strongly into practices that even when the reason for the practices in the form of the works are gone it is the affective charge, the 'unthought known' (Bollas, 1987) which has become the community's holding pattern, as its matrix. If this is a projection onto the young men, it hits home. The young men are a vulnerable target, at the cusp of adulthood – struggling to break free of the family. What we need to understand therefore is about the transmission of these anxieties to the next generation. This has been described in clinical terms as the intergenerational transmission of trauma.

We suggest then that it is not the young men who are ashamed, but that they are made to keep the place of shame, a place passed down through the attempts of the previous generation to hang onto work and masculinity (often expressed thorough unresolved grief and melancholic longings), through various setbacks, redundancies, closures and its effect on their sons.

Freud's (1917) paper "Mourning and Melancholia" was an attempt to understand ways of dealing with and understanding the effects of loss and war neurosis. Within it, he proposed the idea that unresolved grief was caused by the survivor's internalized image of the deceased becoming fused with that of the survivor, and then the survivor shifting unacceptable anger toward the deceased onto a new complex self image. Judith Butlers (1997) has also re-read Freud's "Mourning and Melancholia" in order to produce an understanding of heterosexual gender development as melancholy. Butler has argued that gender identification is founded on, and is the expression of, forsaking the same-sex object choice (e.g. parents of the same sex as the first love object). Some of the implications of this mean that such a closing-off interrupts our inherent bisexuality such that identification with heterosexuality expresses but one aspect of our sexuality. What is lost or repressed through the early formation of a heterosexual identification is the loss of possibilities, the loss of what could have been. To Butler, this process represents a loss of possibilities that is generally unacknowledged in culture. Butler also suggests that heterosexual culture creates a dichotomy between male and female, and between masculinity and femininity, dictating that what one can "be" and what one can "have" are different (Jay, 2007). Thus, a boy ought to desire the feminine and be the masculine; for him, gender identity rests on the foreclosure of desiring men. Because early childhood homosexual attachments in heterosexual boys are never quite realised, they are quite never lost. Thus, Butler's re-reading of Freud's notion of melancholia as heterosexual gender also resonated with our data, although in a different way. It could be argued that for the young men these fears, reservations and the shaming and bullying that they produced, also constantly indirectly highlighted the presence of conscious gendered conflicts that, in turn, create an unconscious tie with homosexuality because the increased proximity to the feminine compromises and questions their whole sexual orientation. As we have outlined, collectively shared but unavailable to be acknowledged gendered conflicts cannot easily be mourned or resolved, thus creating an unconscious tie between heterosexuality and melancholy. It is in this context that Butler (1997) has reckoned that heterosexuality is a melancholic compromise and how gender is a symptom of this melancholy.

Conclusion

From the history that we have recounted, it seems that the closure represents the latest in a long line of work and family related suffering, which has its own complex affective impact. As I mentioned earlier, women were seen as the emotional bedrock of the community and we have argued elsewhere (Walkerdine & Jimenez 2012) that the place of women provided for many a sense of ontological security and safety, assuring the sense of the possibility of continuity of being and a defence against fears of annihilation that may have been endemic in a community beset with dangerous work in poor conditions.

What characterises most clinical work on trauma is the typical psychoanalytic gaze which wanders no further than individual development and parental relations, but what we were interested in was the way in which such complex unconscious gendered dynamics can operate as 'a frantic effort to bring a foreclosed social connection into existence'. Davoine and Gaudilliere (2004) have discussed these socio-historical dynamics in terms of the way in which the social link becomes a central aspect of a micro history which conveys and connects, forming the social. If the social link is broken, then a connection cannot be maintained and the link across generations is lost. Regaining a foothold in history, obviously, is not reducible to adaptation to social conformity. It involves the inscription of a dissociate truth, an "unthought known" (Bollas, 1987), known through impressions that have been split off and the awakening of a subject of history (having nothing to do with his de-subjectivized homonym of historical materialism).

These processes do not simply operate with repressed experiences, so much as embodied, known by the body but unable to be brought to thought. Just because these cannot be thought does not mean that they are not transmitted. They can be enacted, just as in the interview examples I have described above. The lesson we want to draw here is the centrality of history for understanding that which might be transmitted down generations even if it cannot be spoken. We suggest that the young men and their families and fellow townspeople are trying to communicate something of great importance to each other and to us. I also argue that these complex issues must be addressed – not just as an individual clinical issue, but rather to acknowledge its social and historical context and evolution for any possibility of regeneration to work.

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Care Giving and Social Character

Towards a Systematization of the Clinical Assessment of Social Character Traits and Their Relation to Mothers' Care Giving Quality in Urban/Rural Mexican Samples.

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Abstract: The theory of social character developed by Erich Fromm asserts that the significance of experience is intimately linked to the material conditions under which persons, located in a specific economic system, live. The shared character traits thus correspond to the social role that these persons play. In the case of women, existing literature does not focus on their function as reproducers of the work force within the family, although this is a generalized function and additional to out-of-home work. This function has a transcendent importance to the development and emotional health of children, as has been established in longitudinal research of attachment theory.

This study explores Mexican mothers' shared character traits, a systematized appraisal of their attitudes towards their lives and their children, their states of mind, and the quality of care they provide as well as their relationship to attachment patterns of their infants; some come from urban Middle, Middle-upper and Upper-class families and others from Poor indigenous peasant families.

The fundamental focus is on the woman's participation inside the family, although it does not exclude the possibility that some of these mothers handle not only the care giving and housework but also work outside of the home (the "double shift"). It concludes that the daily material conditions of existence are closely related to shared character traits and that these are in turn related to patterns of attachment in their infants, their sensitivity in the treatment of their babies, and the results of their Adult Attachment Interviews. Women have been the support and pillar of subsistence for urban populations as well as the most poor and disadvantaged communities. This role played by women is as widespread as undocumented in literature.

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The Theory of Social Character: Background

Psychoanalytical theory was enriched when its understanding of unconscious motivations was broadened to include not only "libidinal drives" (Freud, 1908) but also the human need to relate to others and the person's position within the economic social system in which he/she develops and performs (cf. Fromm, 1962; 1970).

In *Social Character in a Mexican village. A Socio Psychoanalytic Study,* Fromm and Maccoby (1970) tested their approach to the theory of character and essentially confirmed it through their observation of peasant labor and the type of demands placed upon them by the nascent industrialization of the sugar industry in the state of Morelos, Mexico. The role of the woman was analyzed as subrogated to that of the man, the provider. The peasant women are described as "fundamentally dominant hoarding" and with "masochistic tendencies" (ibid., pp. 144-145), while the demands of household duties such as maintaining order and cleanliness were central to their day-to-day activities. The feudal or traditional mindset made them ideologically "property of the man" and "they were expected to treat themselves as property" (ibid., p. 146).

The peasant village in Morelos, that Fromm and Maccoby studied, was composed of homes that, albeit humble, had some urban services, like streets, electricity, water and a health center, as part of the incipient modernization and industrialization of rural Mexico. The authors mention the problem of alcoholism and its negative effects, particularly among receptive-unproductive peasants. Later on, the inhabitants of the village experienced an admiration and yearning for the advancement opportunities that existed in the US, the prelude to a mass emigration that would take place decades later due to the abandoned rural support policies.

The Method

The research project was based on the social character study conducted in Mexico by the Seminario de Sociopsicoanálisis (SEMSOAC) (Gojman, 2000; 2003; Gojman & Millán, 2007; 2008; Gojman et al., 2012; Gojman et al., in press a and b) among 70 mother-infant dyads, 39 of which belonged to urban Middle- and Upper-middle- or Upper-class families and 31 belonged to Poor, rural Nahua families like so many others that exist in Mexico and are common throughout Latin America.

Because the questionnaire did not pose specific questions relating to the socio-economic status of respondents, we reviewed the answers to the questions and detected responses that might provide indicators of that status. The social character questionnaires were sorted into rural and urban based on the place the interviews were conducted. Based on the responses to the questionnaires, we were able to detect 10 aspects considered pertinent for determining the socioeconomic status of the women interviewed: type of home, means of transport, husband's occupation, woman's occupation, schooling, health services, use of free time, resources for services, parents' occupation, and type of toys. A series of indicative elements were selected for each aspect and an economic scale assigned. This information enabled us to classify the respondents into 5 socioeconomic brackets: Middle-upper/upper, Middle-middle, Middle-lower, Poor and Very poor.

Mothers responded to the Social Interpretative Questionnaire (Fromm & Maccoby, 1970) and the Adult Attachment Interview (Main & Goldwyn, 1984; Main Goldwyn & Hesse, 1998, Gojman, 2004); mother-infant dyads were videotaped twice in their homes (Ainsworth et al.,1978), interacting with their infants (at least two weeks apart), and infant-mother dyads participated in the videotaped Strange Situation laboratory procedure (Ainsworth et al. 1978).

We examined the following:

(1a) the pervading social character orientations of mothers in the different groups, assessed through their responses to the Interpretative Questionnaire as presented by Fromm and Maccoby (1970; 1996, and Maccoby 1995);

(1b) the score for their questionnaire responses on the 6-character scales, especially developed by SEMSOAC for assessing their attitudes towards their lives and their children (Gojman, Millán, Sanchez & Gonzalez, 2008); and

(1c) their basic Productive-Unproductive tendencies, considered independently of their character orientation types;

(2) their infants' patterns of attachment, assessed through the Ainsworth strange situation procedure (Ainsworth et al., 1978; Main & Solomon 1990);

(3) the quality of care provided by the mothers, assessed through the videotaped home observations on the Ainsworth sensitivity scale (Ainsworth et al., 1978) and

(4) their states of mind, assessed through the Adult Attachment Interview (Main, Goldwyn, 1984; Main, Goldwyn & Hesse, 2003/2008).

Participants

The participants were 70 mothers (ranging from 15 to 44 years of age at the time of assessment, M: 28.4) and their infants (ranging from 8 to 26 months, M: 13.5--40 boys and 30 girls). 11.4 % were illiterate, 8.6% had not finished elementary school, 4.3% had finished elementary school, 10% had studied something else than elementary school or finished high school, 12.9% had finished *preparatoria* (equivalent to college), 28.6% professional studies, and 5.7% graduate studies (18.6% were missing the information). 18.6% had full time jobs, 45.7% combined housekeeping with part time jobs and 35.7% were not working outside the home. 24.7% were Very poor, 13.7% were Poor, 9.6% were Medium low, 20.5% were Medium-medium, 30.1% were Medium-upper and 1.4% were Upper-income. These mothers were drawn from two different groups:

I. The urban group with 39 native Spanish speaking mothers plus one fluent Spanish speaking mother whose native language was Portuguese (ages 21-44, M: 31.8) and their infants (10-15 months, M: 13.1, 25 boys, 14 girls). Two were Poor, two were Middle-lower income and the rest were middle to Middle-upper and upper income, urban mestizo families who live in Mexico City: 11% had studied something else than elementary school or finished high school, 15% had finished *preparatoria* (equivalent to college), 64% professional studies, and 10% graduate studies; 14 % had full time jobs, 42% combined housekeeping with part time jobs and 44% were not working outside the home.

They were invited and voluntarily agreed to participate through a psycho-prophylactic training center, through the breast feeding league or a kindergarten that was starting an early stimulation project with infants.

II. The rural group with 31 mothers (ranging from 16 to 38 years, M: 26.1) and their infants (ranging from 9 to 26 month,s M: 14, 15 boys and 16 girls) from poor to very poor, peasant Nahua families who inhabit in a Nahua, coffee farming village of the Sierra Norte region in the State of Puebla. 38% were illiterate, 24% had not finished elementary school, 9% had finished elementary school, 5% had studied something else than elementary school or finished high school, 24% had finished *preparatoria* (an equivalent to college). 19% had full time jobs, 39% combined housekeeping with part time jobs and 42% were not working outside the home. They were classified as:

1) Very poor (peasant families without land, living in houses without basic services such as water supply or electric power, floors without cement, just leveled earth and/or straw ceilings);
2) Poor (peasants with their own land or working trades such as bus driver, construction or carpenter workers, their families counting with at least some of the elementary services of water and electric power) or
3) Medium-lower income (elementary school teachers, nurses or small grocery merchants whose families live in houses with the main services, cement floors and ceilings, as well as some domestic appliances).

Most of them were bilingual–although some are fluent and others have diverse levels of Spanish speaking abilities–since their native ancestral language is Nahua (two or three of them answered the Social Interpretative questionnaire with the help of Francisco Sanchez as a Nahua translator, who facilitated their understanding of the queries and our understanding of their Nahua answers or their rudimentary "Spanish"). These families were contacted by the SEMSOAC who had participated previously in community action projects with Prade, a group that has developed a 30 years participant observer research project (See Sanchez & Almeida 2005) to enhance the community's living conditions and preserve their cultural practices. The mothers voluntarily agreed to participate and were later on paid a symbolic sum for the time they spent coming from outlying areas to the village, in order to respond to the assessments.

Procedure

The 70 Participant mothers were assessed through the Social Interpretative Questionnaire and classified according to the central character orientations proposed by Fromm (Fromm, 1947; see also Maccoby, 1995).

Mothers' responses to the interview were written down and typed out by interviewers. The text interviews were then assessed on the 6 scales specifically developed by SEMSOAC (Gojman, Millán, Sanchez & Gonzalez, 2008) for appreciating mothers' attitudes towards their lives and towards their children: (a) Sensitivity to emotional needs, (b) Lovingness, (c) Joy of life (d) Attention to everyday survival needs of their children, (e) Passive hopelessness and (f) Active-violent hopelessness.

The basic tendency identified from the questionnaire responses of each participant, independently of their character orientation and only to observe whether the tendency was Productive or Unproductive was then assessed and compared between the two groups and within each group according to socio-economic level.

Materials

A. The Social Interpretative Questionnaire

The Social Interpretative Questionnaire is an instrument developed by Fromm (1932, 1970, 1984, Fromm & Maccoby 1970, 1996) to assess shared character traits in a group, based on the common material conditions of daily existence. The research "is based on the premise that not only is the energy of the individual structured in terms of Freud`s dynamic character concept, but that there is a character structure common to most members of groups or classes within a given society" (ibid, p. 16). It is this common character structure which Fromm has called *social character*. "The concept of social character does not refer to the complete or highly individualized, in fact, unique character structure as it exists in an individual, but to a "character matrix," *a syndrome of character traits which has developed as an adaptation to the economic, social, and cultural conditions common to that group."* (Ibid.)

"The interpretative questionnaire is a method that permits the application of psychoanalytic categories to the study of social groups, by the minute examination of the personality of each member of the group, by the simultaneous and equally minute observation of all social economic and cultural data, and eventually, by the attempt to use refined statistic methods for the analysis of the data." (Ibid., p. 8.) It is "an analogy between a social and a personal psychoanalytic interview….in which the psychoanalyst", and the researcher that interviews a person, "tries to understand the unconscious meaning of certain phrases and statements used by the patient" or the respondent of the interview, "a meaning which he did not intend to express or is not aware of expressing" (p. 25).

By analyzing each answer and the totality of the answers to the questionnaire (p. 26), Fromm's proposed method "attempts to arrive at the knowledge of the dynamic tendencies of a respondent's character most relevant to his social and political attitudes …a character structure found in each questionnaire with all others and with objective data such as age, income, sex, and education".

The main difference between this type of questionnaire, called *interpretative questionnaire*, and most other questionnaires used in social research is not that one is open and one is preformulated, but that the answers are used in different ways. The main effort is not to choose an adequate sample of relevant questions and toward the most fruitful statistical elaboration of them, but to interpret the answers with regards to the unconscious or unintended meaning. "The task of interpretation is, like any other psychoanalytic interpretation, difficult, and takes a great deal of time. It requires knowledge of psychoanalytic theory and therapy (including the experience of one's own analysis), a clinical psychoanalytic experience, and, as in everything else, skill and talent." (Ibid., p. 26.) "Uncertainty is the price the psychoanalytic researcher pays for the attempt to arrive at a deeper understanding of the most relevant data." (Ibid., p. 28.)

Scales for rating mothers on responses to the Social Interpretative Questionnaire *(Gojman, Millán, Sanchez & Gonzalez, 2008):*

a) *Sensitivity toward their children's emotional needs*. This scale deals with the mother's ability to perceive, notice, experience impressions and sensations, to identify the range of feelings, emotions and communications of another human being, in this case her child. The mother is in a state of vigilant serenity, open to all changes relating to her child's situation. This scale establishes the degree to which the mother is alert and empathetic, but above all accessible to her children, or to those who need from this person for her to respond promptly and appropriately, without distortion and in a manner consistent with their need.

b) *Lovingness*. This scale refers to the responses to the interpretative questionnaire that have to do with the ability or capacity of the interviewee to show affection to their children. "Lovingness", on this scale, involves various elements: caring for, physical contact, embracing, comforting, respect, and knowledge.

c) *Joy of living*. This scale deals with the existence and degree of the presence of a vibrant sense of joy in the life of people, particularly her children, but also her own and that of others. The person shows interest and seems awake, lively, tends to establish significant loving relationships, demonstrates capacity to enjoy and take pleasure from the activities she performs; expresses delight, is pleased by growth, development, which sprouts from the earth or what has just been born.

d) *Instrumental attention to her children's daily survival*. This scale measures the extent to which, through questionnaire responses, we may infer that the interviewee fulfills her duties and functions as mother of her children. She provides them with basic care. It also takes into account general aspects of responsibility toward herself and others. The mother responds with attention; care, promptly and directly, to her child's need for survival and physical care.

e) *Passive hopelessness* is an emotional state

in which defeat and powerlessness to change the adverse conditions of daily life are determinant, placing the subject in a condition of inertia and passive acceptance. This passivity excludes the capacity to even conceptualize, think or imagine alternate solutions, and in extreme cases, may lead them to not even be able to conceive compensatory fantasies or magical thought with regard to the possibility of some solution.

f) *Active or violent hopelessness*: This refers to an emotional state in which defeat and powerlessness to change the adverse conditions of daily life are determinant, placing the subject in a condition of irritability-hopelessness, impulsiveness that translates into aggressive or violent actions that can go from subtle harm, whether physical or emotional, to irreparable damage in the most extreme cases.

The first three scales—Sensitivity to children's emotional needs, Lovingness, and Joy in living—point in the direction of what we think might favor, over the long term, a humanly significant emotional development in the children, and therefore enable them to overcome or contend with adversity, which, in our view, is not the exception but rather the rule for human development.

The fourth scale, Instrumental attention to children's daily survival, refers to the mother's capacity to provide the essential, minimum, basic and necessary elements for development, offering her children an organized lifestyle.

The last two scales, Passive hopelessness and Violent hopelessness, in our view, may be contrary to or oppose the children's significant emotional development, and denote character traits in the mother that may indicate an affective or traumatic loss, which would not tend to facilitate the capacity to overcome adversity, either through resignation—the inability to search for acceptable alternatives or outcomes—expressed as passive hopelessness—or through violence, retaliation, and hopelessness—expressed as active or violent hopelessness.

The elements expressed on each scale, sometimes in subtle but meaningful ways, are identified and marked in order to arrive at point score or grade indicating the extent to which each characteristic seems to be present in the interviewee's treatment of her children.

The scales have to do fundamentally with the mother, in relation to the emotional needs of her children. The traits manifested throughout all the questionnaire responses are identified by marking the respective passages.

With the ratings from these 5-point scales, we then attempt to determine which characteristics are outstanding, how prominent or reticent they are, since many times a number of tendencies can be present simultaneously, although in different proportions and degrees.

Each scale is rated globally on the basis of what appears throughout the questionnaire, and on what can be detected from the responses when they are viewed as a whole.

Major Character Orientation

The interviews are once again seen as a whole, and discussed in group sessions to be classified as being Receptive, Hoarding, Exploitative-Authoritarian or Self-Developing and in these as mainly Productive or Unproductive, according to the liveliness or lifelessness of their expressions.

Receptive-productive: The interviewee tends to be loving, affectionate, close, shows signs of affection through physical contact; Describes her relations with authorities based on what she receives from them. Often refers to extreme sadness when she has been far from her parents; presents memories of fear of abandonment by her authority figures. Believes affection is important, she is generous, altruistic; the most important thing in life for her, is relationships with others and/or emotional life.

Receptive-unproductive: Maternity and children are seen as a burden, with no active interest; there is an absence of joy in living, or a rejection of life. A receptive-unproductive mother submits to what she has to do, but makes it clear, in one way or another, that she doesn't like the work, but it must be done. She cannot escape the traditional role of having to assume the necessary duties for the survival of the nuclear family. Her dreams, for example, may be a metaphor of what her life is, of her vulnerability, sometimes not even knowing where she is headed, or what will happen, or where she will end up; she tends to sees herself as impotent, unable to do anything, she finds no inner activity or strength to seek out some solution. The person tends to try to perform what is expected of her in order to be accepted into the social group to which she belongs (even at times by the person who is interviewing her). For example, she may tell someone else to tell her children not to misbehave and not to fight, because she is unable to exercise her own authority; she depends on the authority of her elders or of some anonymous authority. She never disobeys or disobeyed her parents and often believes it is good for children to be afraid of their parents, because fear means obedience.

Hoarding-productive. Methodical, tenacious,

and perseverant, the hoarding-productive mother may be sensitive but she does not express it physically. She is systematic, careful but not physically demonstrative. She tends not to openly show loving gestures, which results in mixed results in the scales of sensitivity and lovingness: lower points on the lovingness scale and higher on the sensitivity scale. She tends to intellectualize.

Hoarding-unproductive. Implies a distancing from other people; any intimacy with the outside world represents a threat this type of autarkic security system. This orientation makes people have little faith in anything new they might get from the outside world; their security is based upon hoarding and saving, while spending is felt to be a threat. They surround themselves as it were by a protective wall and their main aim is to bring as much as possible into this fortified position. Love is essentially a possession; they do not give love but try to get it by possessing the beloved.

Exploitative Authoritarian Narcissistic. Enterprising, courageous, dynamic: this is a person whose basic premise is the sense that the source of all good comes from the out; that anything that one wants must be pursued outside of oneself, the individual can produce nothing for him or herself. She does not, however, expect to receive goods from others as gestures of charity, but rather by taking them away by cunning or violence. Her activities are oven colored by a mix of hostility and calculation. Traits such as suspicion and cynicism, envy and jealousy, are foremost; which they often compensate through their belief that they are always right, and must impose their will on others.

Self-developing mothers might have a productive motivation for learning, for team work, and solving problems (Maccoby, 1995). They usually value independence, networking, and maintaining employability. She tends to pursue her own intellectual or professional development, even if it causes problems for her family members or co-workers. Narcissistic tendencies may, on the other hand be pronounced, and may override the authentic interests of personal development.

Basic tendencies shared by different character orientations

Once we had appreciated the dominant character orientation of each of the mothers, they were grouped according to the basic tendency toward productiveness or unproductiveness, as follows:

Productive, including Receptive-productive, Hoarding-productive, Self-developers/self-affirming, were grouped together in this study because they all denote the realization of the potentialities characteristic to the subject, in the sense that they were not only occupied in external activities but with a certain internal activity in favor of life, love and work (Fromm, 1947); they have an emotional life. This tendency is related to internal and external strengths and energies that move the individual; spontaneous activity is understood to mean activity of their own initiative. In this group we observe a certain freedom, a life with meaning, not dominated by fear or dependence on authority figures but which "generate with their own powers in reality, and not merely reproduce reality" (Funk, 1983). In their dreams, adversity is not absent and the dreamer may feel powerless, but she shows a strength or inner activity that enables her to respond, do something, run, scream, defend herself, and often find a solution.

Unproductive includes Receptive-unproductive, Hoarding-unproductive, and Exploitative-authoritarian as a group because they share a tendency to fail to use their potentialities, lack their own activating or energizing force. In this group, the passive tendency prevails, incapable of facing or changing a given situation; of influencing events, with a sensation of emptiness, of their vital energy being diminished or depleted by the conditions of life, by external forces. They express what they do in self-effacing terms, absent of emotional life, acting as a robot or automaton. The general character orientation is given by the function or prioritizing the material, appearance, objects, money and power over relationships and people.

B) Infant Attachment Assessment.

Infant attachment was assessed in the Strange Situation laboratory procedure (Ainsworth et al., 1978), a standardized laboratory assessment that consists of eight brief episodes designed to activate infant attachment behavior through an increasingly stressful series of infant-mother separations and reunions. Individual differences in attachment relationships are coded with respect to the infant's ability to gain comfort in the mother's presence when stressed and using the mother as a secure base from which to explore.

Based on the patterning of the infant's behavior across all episodes, infant-mother dyads are assigned to one of four major classifications: secure, anxious avoidant, anxious resistant, or disorganized/disoriented (Ainsworth et al., 1978; Main & Solomon, 1990).

C) Quality of Care giving

Mother-infant dyads were videotaped interacting in the home at two different times (at least two weeks apart). On each visit, observations included two activities, such as feeding, bathing, changing diapers or playing. Maternal behavior was rated on Ainsworth's Maternal Sensitivity/Insensitivity scale (Ainsworth, Bell, & Stayton, 1974). The focus of the 9-point Sensitivity/Insensitivity scale is the extent to which the mother reads and responds to her infant's cues and demonstrates an awareness of the infant's subjective state by adjusting her own behavior

D) Adult Attachment Interview (AAI)

Mothers responded to the Spanish version of the Adult Attachment Interview (George et al., 1985/1996; Gojman, 2004/2005/2010; Gojman et al., in Press). The Adult Attachment Interview utilizes a semi-structured interview format, focusing on an individual's descriptions and evaluation of salient early attachment experiences and the effects of these experiences on current personality and functioning (George et al., 1985/1996). Based on continuous 9-point ratings of the speaker's inferred childhood experiences and current state of mind, interview transcripts are classified into one of five general categories: secure-autonomous, dismissing, preoccupied, unresolved and cannot classify (Main & Goldwyn, 1984/1998; Main et al., 2003/2008). Classification focus is on the quality of discourse (rather than content), the extent to which communication is collaborative and provides a coherent, free flowing picture of the participant's experiences and related feelings (Main & Goldwyn, 1984/1998). Both validity and reliability among coders have been documented (see also Hesse, 2008 for an overview).

Results

(1) Character Orientation

As can be seen in Table I, we found that the Receptive orientation was the predominant trait in both groups; in the urban group the Receptive-productive orientation prevailed, and in the rural group, Receptive-unproductive.

Table I. Distribution of character orientations of the diverse socio-economic levels in the Urban and Rural samples

A. Urban Sample

Character orientations	Poor	Middle-lower	Middle-middle	Middle-upper	Total
Receptive-productive 28%		2+	6+	3+	11+
Receptive-unproductive 23%	2-		3-	4-	9-
Hoarding-productive 15%			1+	5+	6+
Hoarding-unproductive 10%			1-	3-	4-
Exploitative-authoritarian-narcissistic 18%			1-	6-	7-
Self-developing 5%			1+	1+	2+
Total	2 (2-)	2 (2+)	13 (8+ & 5-)	22 (9+& 13-)	39 (19+& 20-)

Note: +Productive -Unproductive.
Chi square (Productivity-Unproductivity) not arriving to a statistical significance

In the urban group, see Table IA (N=39) the Receptive orientation was more prevalent (in 20 cases) than the others; the most frequent variant was Receptive-productive (11 cases) followed by Receptive-unproductive (9 cases). The next most prevalent orientations were Exploitative- authoritarian-narcissistic- (7 cases), Hoarding-productive (6 cases), Hoarding-unproductive (4 cases) and Self-developing (2 cases).

Grouping them on the basis of their productivity tendencies, we found 20 were Unproductive (9

Receptive-unproductive, 4 Hoarding-unproductive and 7 Exploitative-authoritarian); 19 Productive (11 Receptive-productive, 6 Hoarding-productive and 2 Self-developing/Self-affirming);

By socioeconomic level, we found that: the 2 Poor mothers were Unproductive, the 2 Middle-lower were Productive, the Middle-middle were more Productive than Unproductive (8-5), and the Middle-upper were more Unproductive than Productive (13-9). The distribution did not attain the level of statistical significance.

B. Rural Sample

Character orientation	Very poor	Poor	Middle-lower	Total
Receptive-productive 23%	1+	6+		7+
Receptive-unproductive 45%	13-	1-		14-
Hoarding-productive 16%		1+	4+	5+
Hoarding-unproductive 6%	2-			2-
Exploitative-authoritarian-narcissistic 6%	2-			2-
Self-developing 3%			1+	1+
Total	18 (1+& 17-)	8 (7+& 1-)	5 (5+)	31 (13+& 18-)

Chi square =28.887 df=10 p <.001 - Note: +Productive –Unproductive

In the rural group, see Table IB (N=31) the Receptive orientation was also more prevalent (in 21 cases): 14 were Receptive-unproductive and 7 were Receptive-productive; 5 were Hoarding-productive, 2 were Hoarding-unproductive, 2 were Exploitative-authoritarian and 1 was Self-developing.

Grouping them on the basis of their productivity tendencies, we found 18 Unproductive (14 Receptive-unproductive, 2 Hoarding-unproductive and 2 Exploitative-authoritarian); and 13 Productive (7 Receptive-productive, 5 Hoarding-productive and 1 Self-developing/Self-affirming).

With regard to the impact of poverty on character orientation in this group, we found that there was a difference in character orientation among the Very poor, and the Poor and Middle-lower income mothers (see Table 1B). The first group (the Very poor), were mostly Unproductive, and the second group mostly Productive. These differences reached a very high level of statistical significance (Chi square =28.887 df =10 p < .001).

Among the Very poor group the tendency toward Unproductivity was the most prevalent (17 cases), and there was only 1 case of Productive; among the Poor, most were Productive (7 cases) and only 1 was Unproductive; among the Middle-lower group, all were Productive (5 cases).

We found that mothers in the Very poor group often underwent the presence of family or intergenerational violence and alcoholism.

(2) Scales of mothers' attitudes toward their lives and their children and their relationships to the basic Productive or Unproductive tendency.

As shown in Table II, the statistical tests exploring the relationship between the different scales to appreciate mothers' attitudes toward their life and toward their children—Sensitivity toward their children's emotional needs, Lovingness, Joy of living, Instrumental attention toward their children's survival needs, Passive hopelessness and Violent hopelessness—and the basic tendency of character orientation—Productive or Unproductive—in the urban and rural samples (N=70) were significant (Chi square varied between 45.316 and 4.015 with a probability between .000 and .048). In all cases, the observed frequencies percentage that match what is to be expected, called Observed Match, (meaning that Productive mothers present high Sensitivity, Lovingness, Joy of living and Instrumental attention to their children`s survival and low levels of Passive and Violent hopelessness) were significantly higher than chance. This indicates that the scale ratings and the basic tendency of character orientation ratings followed the same basic lines, having been rated independently. In this sense, we can consider them to be reliable.

Table II. Relations between scales of mothers' attitudes and basic tendency toward Productivity-Unproductivity.

Scales		Productive	Unproductive	
Sensitivity Observed Match=90% Chance Expected Match=51%	Low	6 (19.7)	**37 (23.3)**	Chi square=45.316 df=1 p < .000
	High	**26 (12.3)**	1(14.7)	
Lovingness Observed Match=80% Chance Expected Match=51%	Low	13 (22.9)	**37 (27.1)**	Chi Square =27.407 df=1 p <.000
	High	**19 (9.1)**	1 (10.9)	
Joy in Life Observed Match= 83% Chance Expected march= 52%	Low	14 (23.8)	**38 (28.2)**	Chi Square =28.774 df=1 p <.000
	High	**18 (8.2)**	0 (9.8)	
Instrumental Attention Observed Match =54% Chance Expected Match= 47%	Low	1 (3.7)	**7 (4.3)**	Chi square=4.015 df=1 p <.048
	High	**31 (28.3)**	31 (33.7)	
Passive hopelessness Observed Match=76% Chance Expected Match= 49%	Low	31 (21.5)	**16 (25.5)**	Chi Square =23.620 df=1 p <.000
	High	**1 (10.5)**	22 (12.5)	
Violent (Active) hopelessness Observed Match =79% Chance Expected Match= 47%	Low	31 (25.1)	**24 (29.9)**	Chi Square =11.729 df=1 p <.000
	High	**1 (6.9)**	14 (8.1)	
	High	**1 (6.9)**	14 (8.1)	

Note: Expected frequencies appear in parenthesis. Predicted cells are bold

(3) Relationship between basic Productive-

Unproductive tendencies in mothers and quality of care giving.

Table III shows the results of our preliminary tests of the impact that the mothers' basic Productive or Unproductive tendencies have on the quality of care giving they offer their children i.e Productive mothers more often have babies with a secure attachment pattern This is evident in the independent rating from the Ainsworth et al. Strange Situation Procedure for the mothers and their babies, which was statistically significant (Chi square=7.349 df=1 p < .006) taking the two groups together, urban and rural. The Observed Match (secure babies with Productive mothers and insecure babies with Unproductive mothers) was 66%, higher than the chance of 50% (see Table IIIA).

We also found that Productive mothers tend to be more sensitive in the treatment of their babies, rated according to the Ainsworth sensitivity scale (Ainsworth et al., 1978), in observation of home videos regarding the two groups together, urban and rural (Chi square=16.144 df=1 p <.000). The Observed Match (highly Sensitive mothers who are also Productive, and Insensitive mothers who are also Unproductive) was 67%, higher than chance of 45% (see Table IIIB).

In studying the results for Productive or Unproductive mothers, we found that Productive mothers more frequently present Autonomous-Secure transcripts of the Adult Attachment Interview than Unproductive mothers, who tend to present Non-Autonomous or Insecure transcripts, taking the two groups together, urban and rural (Chi square=10.353 df=1 p < .001). The Observed Match (mothers that rate as Autonomous in the AAI who are also Productive, and Non-Autonomous mothers who are Unproductive) was 64%, higher than the chance of 46% (see Table IIIC).

Table III. Relations between mothers' basic tendency toward Productivity-Unproductivity in urban and rural samples with attachment instruments

Attachment Instruments		Productive	Unproductive	
A. Infant Attachment Pattern Observed Match=66% Chance Expected Match=50%	Secure	**23 (17.4)**	15 (20.6)	Chi Square =7.349 df=1 p <.006
	Insecure	9 (14.6)	**23 (17.4)**	
B. Mothers' Sensitivity as observed in videotape Observed Match=67% Chance Expected Match=45%	Low	8 (15.8)	**27 (27)**	Chi Square =16.144 df=1 p <.000
	Middle/High	**20 (12.2)**	7 (14.8)	
C. Adult Attachment Interview Observed Match=64% Chance Expected Match=46%	Autonomous-Secure	**19 (12.7)**	8 (14.3)	Chi Square=10.352 df=1 p <.001
	Non-Autonomous-Insecure	11 (17.3)	**26 (19.7)**	

Note: Expected frequencies appear in parenthesis. Predicted cells are bold.

Discussion

This study may be considered as an attempt to facilitate the appraisal of mothers' emotional states which seem to be clinically transcendent to the care giving quality they offer to their infants. The assessment of the above mentioned 6, 5–point scales were very helpful for becoming aware of when and where the diverse attitudes considered in each of the scales were manifested throughout the responses to the questionnaires; the scores on the scales appeared, as we have mentioned before, significantly related to both the basic character tendency shown by mothers in the combined group and the attachment instruments.

The Receptive character orientation was prevalent among both groups and seems to be related to their everyday activities, dedicated basically to the care of the family and household. Their attitudes towards these may be vital and meaningful but may also be in other cases passive and with a pervading resignation quality.

The results show that the daily material conditions of existence were closely related to the shared character traits, especially the basic tendency toward Productivity-Unproductivity in the mothers. The Very poor mothers, in the rural group, were almost exclusively Unproductive (a finding that was proven through statistically significant results) even compared to the Poor mothers -the vast majority of whom were Productive, and in greater contrast to the other socio-economic levels studied in this rural group. A further careful analysis of what allowed the development of the exceptionally productive cases under these conditions (one in this study) should follow.

On the other hand Upper-middle and Upper class mothers in the urban group were more likely to be rated Unproductive than Middle-lower and Middle-middle income groups, although in this case the results did not reach statistical significance. Counting with economical resources beyond the required for fulfilling everyday life needs, seems to us to signal here to the possibility that these may not conduct by themselves to a better quality of life or care giving.

In fact the mothers studied in the urban group – as described in method- may have been filtered because most of them were coming from support groups like the Breast Feeding League or natural childbirth and early stimulation classes for their babies, thus perhaps being women especially interested in their children's development and thus having specific qualities that can make them not representative of the overall urban population.

These findings may be especially significant to us, as we found that basic tendencies toward Productivity or Unproductivity were in turn related with the babies' attachment patterns, the mothers' sensitivity in the treatment of their babies and the Adult Attachment Interviews.

Although we worked with a small group and further research is necessary among different and broader samples, we have found that recogniz-

ing and trying to decipher the specific characteristics of different economic everyday life conditions in diverse cultures, can allow to understand the effects of them on the mothers, and how they comply their central role in the emotional development of the children (see also extreme conditions in Gojman & Millán, 2008).

Our findings speak of the suffering of the poor excluded families. Also of the non productive tendency in Upper and Upper-middle class mothers.

The desire or conscious intention of mothers to favor their children's development may be generalized, but may ultimately not be achieved when raising them and thereby facing their own childhood experiences, which they may often involuntarily repeat in their care giving, and also importantly by being affected by the social conditions of a system that can bent them all to impulsive consumption, which divert and alienate them; something that—we believe—can only be countered to some extent by a genuine attitude in favor of life, joy and hope.

Let us end this preliminary report by still agreeing with the 1970 outlook of Fromm and Maccoby at the end of their study (p. 237):

> "The process of industrialization, increasing alienation and hunger for commodities, and the new values of industrial society, profoundly influence the mentality of the peasant in spite of the fact that economically he hardly participates in the new structure. What we find in the village, as in many peasant societies all over the world, is the victorious march of the spirit of technological industrialism destroying the traditional values and replacing them with nothing except a vague longing for the good life represented by the (*dream of the)* City".

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Sullivan Integrated

Marco Bacciagaluppi

My starting point for this article is a massive volume by Marco Conci, a most careful historian of psychoanalysis, on the life and works of Harry Stack Sullivan, which are at the center of his book (*Sullivan Revisited*. Trento (Italy): Tangram, 2010. 2nd edition, 2013). This subject may be of special interest to readers of *Fromm Forum*, because Sullivan is in many ways closely linked to Fromm, as will become apparent in what follows.

The core of the book is preceded by an overview of the developments in American culture leading up to Sullivan, and is followed by subsequent developments influenced by him. I am impressed by the scholarship displayed by the author, and am particularly sympathetic to its subject-matter, for I trained many years ago within the interpersonal-cultural school at New York Medical College with Silvano Arieti, who in turn trained at the William Alanson White Institute, co-founded by Sullivan, with Sullivan himself, Clara Thompson, Erich Fromm and Frieda Fromm-Reichmann – the main protagonists of the school (Arieti, 1978, p. 15). Still earlier than that, I attended American High Schools – another experience I share with Marco Conci. Back in Italy after my professional training, a teacher I had in common with Marco Conci was Gaetano Benedetti – another great specialist on schizophrenia, together with Arieti, and after Sullivan, who wrote the Preface to the German edition of Conci's book. Finally, both Marco Conci and I are members both of AAPDP (American Academy of Psychoanalysis and Dynamic Psychiatry: an association of independent American psychoanalysts founded in 1956) and of OPIFER (Organizzazione di Psicoanalisti Italiani – Federazione e Registro: an association of independent Italian psychoanalysts founded in 1996, of which I was the first President). I am also glad I was able to cooperate with Marco Conci on a revision of the English translation of the book. The page references in this article apply to the second edition of the book.

To begin with the central part of this book, Conci makes a careful survey of Sullivan's formative experiences at Saint Elizabeth's Hospital (directed by White) and the Sheppard and Enoch Pratt Hospital (directed by Chapman). He then speaks of the influence on Sullivan of the social psychologist George Herbert Mead and of his meeting the anthropologist Edward Sapir and, through him, establishing contacts with the Chicago School of Sociology and Harold Lasswell. He then describes Sullivan's move to New York, the founding of the Washington School of Psychiatry, and his cooperation of many years with the Chestnut Lodge Sanitarium. A crucial episode in the history of the interpersonal-cultural school was the meeting of Sullivan with Ferenczi in 1927. This was the meeting of two kindred souls, both disapproved of, albeit in different ways, by the orthodox. In my view, it represented the emergence of a loving maternal approach in psychoanalysis, which hitherto had been a typical manifestation of the authoritarian patriarchal culture. This is also the view held by Fromm in his defense of Ferenczi (Fromm, 1935). After the meeting, Sullivan advised Clara Thompson to go to Budapest to be analyzed by Ferenczi. She is the patient referred to as Dm in Ferenczi's *Clinical Diary* (Ferenczi, 1988). On her return, she briefly analyzed Sullivan. In New York, the meetings of the Zodiac Group, including, in addition to Sullivan himself, Silverberg, Thompson, Fromm and Horney, then began to take place, leading to what would later be called the neo-Freudian school - although, as Conci reports on p. 175, Fromm did not like to have that label applied to himself.

Marco Conci then leads the reader by hand, so to speak, in a painstaking examination of all of Sullivan's books and of the articles he published in *Psychiatry*, the journal he founded in 1938. He also mentions articles published by Fromm in the same journal. Of Sullivan's seven books, only one, *Conceptions of Modern Psychiatry*, was published in 1940 in *Psychiatry* and in book form in Sullivan's lifetime, in 1947, before Sullivan's premature death in 1949 at the age of 57. Like this book, all those following in the 1950s and 1960s were collections of lectures and seminars assembled by editors. Sullivan's very first book, *Personal Psychopathology*, written in 1932 and never published during the author's lifetime, only appeared forty years later, in 1972. I mention this in particular because it may be less familiar to readers than the

other books, just as it was unknown to me before I started reading Conci' book.

In reading these accounts of Sullivan's work, I was reminded of the remark made on Fromm by Greenberg and Mitchell in their classical book, *Object Relations in Psychoanalytic Theory*. (Greenberg & Mitchell, 1983). Fromm, together with Sullivan, was one of the co-founders in 1943 of what was later called the William Alanson White Institute, and was one of the great protagonists of the interpersonal-cultural school. Here is what Greenberg and Mitchell have to say: "Fromm addressed many contemporary psychoanalytic issues decades before they were popularized by other theorists" (*op. cit*, p. 106). "Yet Fromm's contributions to the development of psychoanalytic thought have gone unrecognized in many quarters" (*ibidem*). Conci makes the same quotation on p. 174 of his book. Exactly the same holds for Sullivan. Examples are countless. Here is one on p. 275, where Conci says: "Schizophrenia is treated as a form of psychological death, suffered by a family member or inflicted upon him/her so that the family can maintain its own internal homeostasis". This, to use Greenberg and Mitchell's expression, antedates by decades the literature on the family system. More examples will be given below.

The plight of Fromm and Sullivan, described by Greenberg and Mitchell, could be reformulated in the following terms. Ferenczi, Sullivan and Fromm are examples of heretics disapproved of by an orthodox religion. Ferenczi was actively excommunicated. Since he could not be burned at the stake, as was the custom in bygone days, the excommunication took the form of considering him insane, as Jones, "the loyal follower", as Conci defines him (p. 72), proclaimed. Ferenczi "suffered greatly", as Bowlby says (Bowlby, 1988a), and the excommunication may well have hastened his death, which took place shortly after, in May 1933. There may have been a psychological component to his pernicious anemia, which had been developing along with his silent rebellion to Freud. As Alice Miller says in the title of one of her books, "The Body Never Lies" (Miller, 2006). In the case of Sullivan and Fromm, as well of Alice Miller herself, who was constantly concerned with the issue of childhood trauma, the disapproval took the form of a wall of silence, mentioned in the title of another book of hers: *Breaking Down the Wall of Silence* (Miller, 1997). Conci's book could thus be viewed as a determined effort to break down the wall of silence in Sullivan's case. He gives a specific example of Sullivan's covert excommunication in the footnote on p. 315, where, in discussing Erikson, he remarks that he "never mentions Sullivan's name, apparently because his work had long been proscribed by the psychoanalytic mainstream".

Of central importance in Sullivan's conception of schizophrenia is the notion of dissociation, discussed by Conci on pp. 229-231 and again on p. 233. This concept was first formulated by the 19th-century French psychiatrist Pierre Janet, who is mentioned by Conci on pp. 44-45, and who initially influenced Putnam. It is also present in Breuer and Freud's *Preliminary Communication* (Freud & Breuer, 1895d) under the name of 'hypnoid states'. In the footnote on p. 361 Conci remarks on Sullivan's proximity to the early Freud. Then, after Freud abandoned the notion of real-life trauma in 1897 (a "disastrous volte-face", as Bowlby says in *A Secure Base,* (Bowlby, 1988b), dissociation was replaced in psychoanalysis by the concept of repression - a horizontal split in the personality, rather than a vertical one. In his stress on dissociation, again Sullivan is a precursor, although differentiating between the different degrees of dissociation in the hysteric and the schizophrenic (p. 354). The notion of dissociation has resurfaced in recent years in the vast literature on psychic trauma that led to the incorporation of PTSD in DSM-III in 1980. On p. 231 Conci quotes Sullivan as saying that dissociation "works by continuous alterness", which, of course, described as hyperstimulation, is one of the symptoms of PTSD.

Although he was an extraordinary innovator, Sullivan seems to have maintained a link with Freud's theoretical framework with his notion of "energy transformations", mentioned by Conci on p. 321, although, to be sure, Sullivan traced the immediate source of this concept to Whitehead. On a clinical level, he stresses the importance of anxiety in the mother, which can then be transmitted to the infant, but he seems to neglect the issue of aggressiveness on the part of a parent, which is recorded, to an extreme degree, in the horrifying radiographs of fractured skulls and broken bones of infants in *The Battered Child* by Helfer and Kempe (1968).

Equally illuminating is Conci's discussion, in the first part of the book, of those who may be regarded as Sullivan's precursors in American culture. He lists James, Putnam, Meyer, Hall, Jelliffe and White. Of special interest is James' notion, quoted on p. 39, that "man has as many social selves as there are individuals who recognize him". He was followed in this by George Herbert Mead with his concept of "multiple 'Me's'", quoted on p. 264. This antedates the modern view of the self as made up of many

self-states. In post-traumatic situations, these multiple selves can become dissociated. I may add that the notion of only one self may hold for the first few months of life, before the child enters onto new relationships. In this period, a series of stages in the development of self may be described, as Daniel Stern does in *The Interpersonal World of the Infant* (Stern, 1985).

Several of these authors came to Europe, took the best of European culture, and went back to apply it in America. For instance, Putnam, who, as Conci reports on p. 42, like Freud, started from neurology. When he came to Europe, also like Freud, he was in contact with Charcot, but above all was influenced by Pierre Janet, who was also a pupil of Charcot and in a way a rival of Freud. Another relevant American author, Morton Prince, discussed by Conci on p. 45, like Freud, studied hypnosis at Nancy and then described the dissociation of personality. The result of all this was the peculiarly interdisciplinary nature of American psychiatry, of which Sullivan partook. This was the soil onto which psychoanalysis was grafted, which led to the specially American development of "dynamic psychiatry".

Of central importance in these exchanges, as Conci discusses beginning on p. 199, was the Burghölzli, the Zürich mental hospital, which was directed by Eugen Bleuler and where Jung worked. A particularly important exchange took place in 1909, when Stanley Hall invited Freud, accompanied by Jung and Ferenczi, to give his *Five Lectures on Psycho-Analysis* (Freud, 1910*a*) at Clark University. As Conci states on p. 64, quoting Jones, William James, who knew German well, followed Freud's lectures. Conci stresses on p. 206 that Jung continued to exert an influence on the introduction of psychoanalysis in the United States, when he went back there in 1912 to give his lectures at Fordham University.

Of the developments subsequent to Sullivan, Conci emphasizes the role of Stephen Mitchell, who gave rise to the relational school in psychoanalysis and the journal *Psychoanalytic Dialogues*. Conci regards the relational school as an outgrowth of Sullivan's interpersonal school, and I entirely agree with this view. In the extensive quotes from *The Psychiatric Interview* (Sullivan, 1954), Conci highlights in his book (pp. 378-379) Sullivan's view of the reciprocal relation between therapist and patient, which is a constant theme of relational authors such as Merton Gill. When Sullivan speaks of "deteriorating communication", which may lead the therapist to "acknowledge his possible mistakes", he is converging with Ferenczi, who was the first to speak of the analyst's "mistakes", and may well be regarded as the originator of the whole relational model in psychoanalysis. What the relational school lacked was an adequate recognition of trauma, which had been rediscovered by Ferenczi. This final step was carried out in two outstanding books in the Nineties: *Treating the Adult Survivor of Childhood Sexual Abuse*, by Davies and Frawley (1994), and *Betrayed as Boys*, by Richard Gartner (1999).

I suggest that Sullivan's mainly sociological approach could be complemented by modern evolutionary biology. This is the approach followed by Arieti, after reading the ethological classics by Tinbergen and Lorenz in the 1950s. Confronted with an innate psychic trait, Arieti would consistently ask: "What is its survival value? Why was it selected in the course of biological evolution?" On the other side of the Atlantic, and influenced by the same authors, John Bowlby was asking the same questions, independently of Arieti. Arieti applied this framework chiefly to cognitive mechanisms. Bowlby instead applied it to the mother-child relationship, and came up with the definition of attachment behavior, which we have in common with all other mammals and with many birds, and the function of which is defense from predators. This is the reason why it was selected in the course of evolution. Thus, the time dimension of this powerful interspecies and inter-class theoretical framework is

millions of years. No other psychoanalytic theory even remotely approaches this time dimension. I may add that in the case of humans a further reason for selecting this behavior was the transmission of culture. I believe this framework could be usefully integrated with Sullivan's sociological outlook and lead to an even wider synthesis. It provides psychoanalysis and dynamic psychiatry with the widest possible theoretical framework. Fromm, by training a sociologist, followed this path when, towards the end of his life, he read Lorenz in order to write *The Anatomy of Human Destructiveness* (Fromm, 1973). Greenberg and Mitchell, quoted by Conci on p. 417, speak of "reconciling the clinical primacy of object relations with the theoretical primacy of drives". The real reconciliation was carried out by Bowlby: the innate drive is the need for relatedness.

Sullivan seems to be antedating Bowlby with his insistence on the mother-child dyad. Daniel Stern, quoted by Conci on p. 317, had already connected the two sides of the Atlantic when he said: "The British object relations 'school' and H. S. Sullivan, an American parallel, were unique among clinical theorists in believing that human social relatedness is present from birth … and does not lean on physiological need states". What Bowlby provides, in particular, is the ethological explanation of the need for relatedness. Sullivan converges with Bowlby on many other points. One is the central place of anxiety. According to Bowlby, the basic form of anxiety is separation anxiety, which is accompanied by anger. This leads to the next point. On p. 320 Conci quotes Sullivan as speaking, in the case of an infant, of "chances of success upon the resumption of crying after sleep". Here Sullivan seems to be describing what Bowlby called "the anger of protest", or "functional anger", more than 25 years in advance of *Separation* (Bowlby, 1973). Another relevant point is on p. 324, where Conci quotes Sullivan as speaking of "the subjection of the infant to a person, to a mothering one, who regrets the fact that the infant must grow up, and in a good many ways encourages him to say put". Or again, on p. 335: "many an adolescent has been ridiculed practically into very extreme anxiety by parents who just do not want him to become, as they think of it, an adult interested in such things as sex, which may get him diseased or what not, or may result in marriage and his leaving home". Here Sullivan seems to be antedating Bowlby's notion of role reversal (Bowlby, 1973), whereby a child is kept at home, by various binding mechanisms, in order to look after its parents. Another convergence concerns what Sullivan calls the "theorem of escape". As quoted by Conci (p. 326), he says: "the self-system from its nature … tends to escape influence by experience which is incongruous with its current organization and functional activity". This can be compared to Bowlby's description of multiple developmental pathways, when he says that there are pressures from both the environment and from the organism to keep a developing personality on whatever pathway it is already on (Bowlby, 1973, p. 368).

There is an even more basic convergence in Sullivan's distinction between the needs for security and satisfaction and Bowlby's distinction between the need for attachment and the satisfaction of physiological needs. These two needs obviously overlap when a mother is breast-feeding her infant. The distinction may be made on the basis of both naturalistic and experimental observations. At a naturalistic level, chicks follow the hen for protection and not in order to be fed, for they are quite capable of pecking food for themselves. At an experimental level, there are the famous observations of Harlow on infant rhesus monkeys: if confronted with two wire surrogate mothers, one holding a bottle with milk and the other covered with cloth, the infants will at first feed from the bottle, then turn to the cloth-covered mother for "contact comfort" (Bowlby, 1969, p. 213). Bowlby defines the infant's attachment need as the need for "a secure base". Here he converges with Sullivan not only at a conceptual but also at a literally verbal level in the use of the root "secure".

A determined effort to integrate Sullivan with attachment research was made by Mauricio Cortina at the First AAP/OPIFER Joint Meeting held in Venice on Nov 1-3, 1999. In this paper, Cortina makes a connection between Sullivan's "not-me" concept (described by Conci on p. 230) and the description by Mary Main (Main & Hesse, 1990) of disorganized attachment, now widely recognized as a precursor of dissociative and borderline pathology in the adult, and due to maternal rejection at birth. Obviously, biological evolution did not foresee a rejecting mother at birth. Infants are not equipped to cope with what is the severest trauma of all, and can only disintegrate.

Bowlby developed his concepts independently of Sullivan, but he recognized the convergence. This is what he says in *A Secure Base*: "The principles set out have a great deal in common with the principles described by other analytically trained psychotherapists who regard conflicts arising within interpersonal relationships as the key to an understanding of their patients' problems, who focus on the transference and who also give some weight, albeit of varying degree,

to a patient's earlier experience with his parents. Among the many well-known names that could be mentioned in this context are those of Fairbairn, Winnicott and Guntrip in Britain, and Sullivan, Fromm-Reichmann, Gill and Kohut in the United States" (Bowlby, 1988b, pp. 139-140).

By suggesting this further integration between Sullivan and Bowlby I am pointing to the fruitfulness of Conci's work. Fromm was moving in the same direction towards the end of his life. In the Fromm Archives in Tübingen there are notes in Fromm's handwriting on a copy of Bowlby's *Attachment.* In my book, *Paradigms in Psychoanalysis*, I discuss at length the links between Fromm and Bowlby on pp. 142-146. I thus hope to contribute to more integration between relational authors on the two sides of the Atlantic.

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Lawrence J. Friedman

The Lives of Erich Fromm. Love's Prophet

Review by Marco Bacciagaluppi

Lawrence J. Friedman: *The Lives of Erich Fromm: Love's Prophet*, New York: Columbia University Press, 456 pp. (ISBN-Nr: 978-0-231-16258-6). For a detailed description see: >www.cup.columbia.edu/book/978-0-231-16258-6/the-lives-of-erich-fromm<.

Erich Fromm, once a prominent figure in psychoanalytic circles and for the wider reading public, has been somewhat neglected in recent years, except for psychoanalytic institutions in which he was active, such as the William Alanson White Institute in New York and the Mexican Psychoanalytic Society and, at an international level, the IFPS (International Federation of Psychoanalytic Societies) and a quite active International Erich Fromm Society. This scholarly biography by Lawrence Friedman is thus most timely in reaffirming Fromm's continuing relevance. A well-known biographer, the author has also addressed Erikson and Menninger in the field of psychoanalysis.

This is not the very first biography of Erich Fromm. The first was written by Funk in German in 1983, three years after Fromm's death in 1980. It is full of first-hand material, since the author cooperated closely with Fromm in the last years of his life as research assistant on *To Have or to Be?,* then became his literary executor and Editor of Fromm's Complete Works in German and founded the IEFS (International Erich Fromm Society). The second is Burston (1991), which is an intellectual biography, concentrating on ideas rather than on life events, similar to the third biography that Hardeck published in 2005. On the occasion of Fromm's centenary in 2000 Funk published a biography of Fromm based on pictures, including many quotations from the so far restricted correspondence of Fromm.

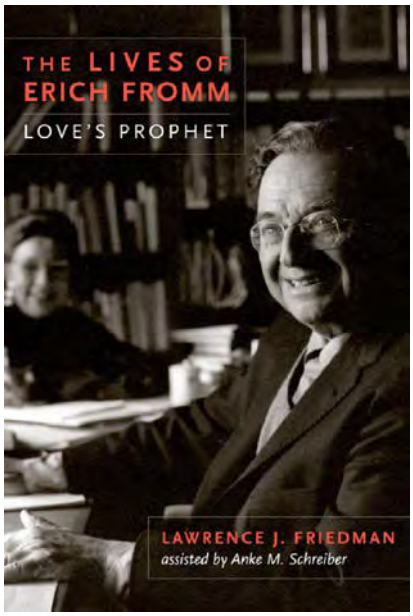
The book by Friedman is by far the most detailed account of Fromm's life and works, based on years of research, chiefly carried out in the Fromm Archive in Tübingen, but also in other archives such as the New York Public Library. It is also based on tape-recorded, telephone and personal interviews. Much of this work was necessary to make up for the partial destruction of Fromm's private correspondence, carried out after his death by his third wife following his instructions (p. xvii). In his book, Friedman carries out a systematic examination of Fromm's writings in chronological order, thus providing a good guide to reading, or re-reading, Fromm's vast production.

The title of the book (*The Lives*, in the plural) refers to Fromm's multiple interests, ranging from his early Jewish religious background and the influence of Rabbi Nobel and Salman Rabinkow (which is evident in Fromm's dissertation on the function of Jewish law in maintaining cohesion in three Diaspora communities), his training in sociology with Alfred Weber, his later training in psychoanalysis, and his involvement with the critical theory of the Frankfurt School, to his post-war political activism. The subtitle (*Love's Prophet*) refers to love as one of his main themes, which is explicit in *The Art of Loving*, his best-selling book (twenty-five million copies). Basically, Fromm was referring to the love of life, or "biophilia" in his later terminology in *The Heart of Man* (Friedman, p. 255). The subtitle also refers to a certain prophetic stance, which according to Friedman characterizes Fromm's later works. This was probably rooted in Fromm's reading of the Old Testament prophets, and this root is made explicit in *You Shall Be as Gods.*

The book is divided in three parts. Part One is devoted to Fromm's roots in Germany. Part Two bears the title "The Americas", which refers to Fromm's move to the U.S. in 1933 and his twenty-three-year stay in Mexico after the war. Part Three, "Global Citizenship", refers to Fromm's political activism. In this connection, in the Foreword Gerald Grob gives first place to Friedman's stress on Fromm's political activism during the Cold War. He next says that the analysis of Fromm's early life is "another first" for this volume. I do not agree on this point, because I find Funk's biography is very revealing in this connection. As a concluding remark on the parts of the book, I may suggest that

Fromm's return to Europe towards the end of his life was for him a home-coming, much like Ulysses returned to Ithaca.

In the Prologue to the book, the author says that his emphasis on Fromm's political activism is rooted in his own political involvement in the 1960s (p. xxi). He then states his opinion that *Escape from Freedom*, Fromm's first book in 1941, is "the deepest and most important" of his books (p. xxii). Accordingly, he devotes the whole of Chapter 4 to it. There are two focuses in *Escape*: totalitarian regimes and conformity in democracies, but, since the war was on, Fromm concentrates on the first. *Escape* was the outcome of Fromm's pre-war cooperation with the Frankurt School of critical theory and its Marxian orientation, in the course of which he wrote his early papers, which according to Friedman were his most scholarly works. In particular, in those years Fromm developed his concept of the "social character", possibly his most important contribution, fully described at the end of *Escape*. According to Fromm, society reproduces itself by creating through the family the suitable character structure in individuals. He applied this concept in two important research projects: before the war, impelled by the rise of Nazism, he studied the character structure of German workers, and after the war that of Mexican peasants. Other themes of *Escape* will be taken up again in later works: the distinction between selfishness and self-love (p. 107) returns in *Man for Himself* and again in *The Art of Loving*, and destructiveness (p. 114) is at the core of *The Anatomy of Human Destructiveness*. Fromm's optimism in *Escape* (p. 114) was based on the development of democracy, and was eventually justified by the outcome of the war.



Another important contribution in the pre-war years was Fromm's re-discovery of Bachofen's concept of matriarchy as a stage in human development antedating patriarchy.

Another point made by Friedman in the Prologue is that Fromm's ideas were closely intertwined with personal events in his life. An example provided later in the book (p. 170) is *The Art of Loving*, which Fromm wrote while deeply in love with his third wife, Annis Freeman. Fromm's childhood was marked by a depressed mother and tension between the parents, whereby he felt that the mother asked him to defend her against the father (p. 5). As is obvious from Figure 1, as a child Fromm's mother kept him for a long time with long hair and a girl's attire. As a result, according to Friedman, Fromm developed an "emotional triangle". "The three corners represent exuberance, depression and marginality" (p. xxx). "The first corner, exuberance, consisted of what clinicians too readily label 'hypomania'" (ibid.). In this connection, being a clinician, I think it may well be that Fromm's mother, in addition to an adverse relational atmosphere, also transmitted to her son a genetic predisposition to bipolar disorder. In connection with the second corner, the author says that "major illnesses throughout his life were also dispiriting" (p. xxxi). I suggest that there may have been a reciprocal relationship between Fromm's somatic complaints and psychological factors. Hypomanic behavior, such as "gorging on high-cholesterol food" (p. xxxi) may have contributed to his heart attacks, and these in turn would induce depression. It is very likely that many of his somatic complaints had a psychological component. As Funk reports in his biography, Groddeck was very determined in ascribing Fromm's pre-war bouts of tuberculosis to his difficulty in separating from Frieda Reichmann. As regards marginality, Friedman mentions Fromm's expulsion from the Frankfurt Institute and his later estrangement from the White Institute (p. 122). As a defense against his psychological problems, at the end of the Prologue Friedman lists four "stabilizers" utilized by Fromm: a regular daily schedule, writing, the participation in groups, and spirituality (prophetic Judaism, the Christian mysticism of Meister Eckhart, and Zen Buddhism).

In connection with the group to which Fromm belonged at the end of his life in Locarno, Switzerland, I must correct Friedman on one detail. He describes Boris Luban-Plozza, one of this group, as an "Italian psychoanalyst". Actually, Luban was not Italian but Swiss, from the Italian-speaking part of Switzerland, and was Fromm's doctor. His psychological involvement was with Balint groups, although he may well have had the ambition of being a psychoanalyst.

In the Prologue (xxvii, xxx) and on p. 160, Friedman stresses Fromm's urge to "move on"

from one situation to another throughout his life. I suggest that these moves were periodical attempts to break away from his internalized parents, but the repetitiveness and his illnesses show that these attempts were illusory.

In the section on Germany, World War I was later described by Fromm as "the most crucial experience in my life" (p. 9), exposing him to collective violence and predisposing him to his enduring commitment to peace. After his University experience in Heidelberg, Fromm started psychoanalytic training with Frieda Reichmann, but their relationship acquired sexual overtones and they got married. Frieda was eleven years older than Fromm. He may have viewed her as a mother figure, which explains his distress, discussed above, when they separated.

To follow up on this theme, in the section on America Friedman describes Fromm's involvement with Karen Horney, fifteen years older than he was. At a scientific level, together with Horney, Sullivan and Clara Thompson, Fromm took part in what is known as the "neo-Freudian" group, although he objected to having that label applied to himself. This group was part of the broader "Culture and Personality" movement, including anthropologists such as Margaret Mead, Ruth Benedict and Edward Sapir. This moving away from Freud eventually led to Fromm's expulsion from the Frankfurt Institute in 1939, and in the mid-Fifties to his debate with Marcuse in *Dissent* (p. 191). Soon after the war, Fromm's most important work was perhaps *Man for Himself* (p. 142), with its distinction between humanistic and authoritarian conscience and its stress on the mother-child relationship.

In Chapter 5 Friedman discusses Fromm as a clinician and his concept of center-to-center relatedness. Here a central point is Fomm's move "from couch to chair", as expressed in the title of a paper by his analysand, Marianne Horney Eckardt (2009) and described by Friedman on pp. 125-126. Establishing eye-to-eye contact is justified by modern neurobiology. It belongs to the analogic mode, stemming from the right hemisphere, which is dominant at the beginning of life.

The last period of his life is when Fromm showed his political activism. During the Cold War he was much concerned with the prospect of a nuclear war and the extinction of humankind. He drafted a Manifesto for the American Socialist Party, with the aim of building a "third way" of socialist humanism between American corporate capitalism and Soviet state capitalism, to which he hoped the nonaligned countries could contribute. He advocated reciprocity between America and Russia in achieving nuclear disarmament. To achieve these aims he was in touch with Bertrand Russell and Senator Fulbright (p. 207), and also testified before US Congressional committees. He also contributed to the unsuccessful Presidential campaigns of Adlai Stevenson and Eugene McCarthy. It may also be that he exerted some influence on President Kennedy during the Berlin Crisis and the Cuban Missile crisis.

In this last period, Fromm's central work is *The Anatomy of Human Destructiveness*. In order to write it, Fromm went back to his scholarly tradition and studied areas with which he was unfamiliar, such as ethology and the neurosciences. In it, after challenging the views of Konrad Lorenz (described on p. 301, with an obvious misprint, as a founder of "ethnology" instead of "ethology") on innate aggression, he distinguishes between benign and malignant aggression. In turn, malignant aggression includes sadism, in which the perpetrator enjoys the victim's suffering, and necrophilia, in which the perpetrator wishes to destroy the victim. As an example of the first Fromm describes Himmler, of the second, Hitler. He states that malignant aggressiveness arises in unnatural living conditions, and in this connection cites the observations of Zuckerman on the aggressiveness that broke out in the baboons held in overcrowded conditions in London Zoo.

In fairness to Lorenz, he qualifies his statement on innate aggression. He points out that in other species predation is interspecific, and aggression within the same species is ritualized. Only in humans is aggression intraspecific. This is due to what Lorenz calls "pseudospeciation": humans view members of other groups as belonging to a different species. This process is favored by the increasing diversification of cultures in the course of history, as compared to the cultural uniformity of prehistory. It may serve to overcome an innate reluctance to kill other members of our own species. Another valuable concept of Lorenz is that of the "imprinting" of experience in sensitive periods of childhood.

I now wish to add other comments of my own to this description of the book. I suggest that Fromm's views could be usefully integrated with later developments. In 1983, shortly after Fromm's death, Greenberg and Mitchell published *Object Relations in Psychoanalytic Theory*, which has become a classic. In it they make a fundamental distinction between drive models and relational models in psychoanalysis, and within the relational model they discuss Fromm extensively. They state (Greenberg and Mitch-

ell, 1983, p. 106) that Fromm addressed many contemporary psychoanalytic issues decades before others, yet his contributions have gone unrecognized in many quarters. In their book Fromm is not placed within the narrow confines of "neo-Freudians", but in a much wider framework, together with Heinz Kohut in the USA and the British school of object relations on the other side of the Atlantic. In his biography, Burston (1991, p. 63) speaks of the "profound affinities" between Fromm and the British school. According to the relational model, relatedness is a primary need and is not secondary to the satisfaction of physiological needs, as Freud maintained. This is borne out by experimental research and naturalistic observation: chicks follow the hen for protection from predators and not in order to be fed, for they are quite able to peck food for themselves.

According to Greenberg and Mitchell (1983, p. 182), Ferenczi may well be considered the initiator of the relational model. He has a special historical importance, because towards the end of his life he re-discovered the importance of sexual trauma, the reality of which had been denied by Freud in 1897 (a "disastrous volte-face", according to Bowlby, 1988, p. 78). This leads to distinguishing between the early Freud, when he developed "the most valuable aspects" of his work (Friedman, p. 226), which Fromm always recognized, and the later Freud, when he became the authoritarian leader of an orthodox church. Ferenczi's re-discovery of trauma led to his excommunication, which took the form of considering him insane. Fromm, who had met Ferenczi in Groddeck's institution in Baden-Baden (Friedman, p. 333), rose twice in his defense: the first time in one of his early papers in 1935, in which he juxtaposed Ferenczi to Freud's "patricentric" authoritarian attitude, and the second time in 1958, in opposition to Jones' biography of Freud, in which Jones reiterated the charge of insanity against Ferenczi. Ferenczi may be regarded as the predecessor of the vast literature on trauma which developed after World War 2, following two strands, the emphasis of feminists on the abuse of women and children, and that of Vietnam veterans on war trauma, and which led to the concept of PTSD and to its incorporation into the DSM-III in 1980 - an event that Fromm did not witness, owing to his death that year.

The British school leads me to another connection, that with John Bowlby's attachment theory, which is only mentioned once, on p. 50, in Friedman's book. Fromm could not have been familiar with the whole of attachment theory, because the third volume of Bowlby's trilogy, *Loss*, was published in 1980, the year Fromm died. However, in the Fromm Archive there is a copy of the first volume, *Attachment*, with notes in Fromm's handwriting. On p. 97 of Friedman's book there is a quote from *Escape from Freedom*: "the primary bonds that give security". This is an anticipation of Bowlby's definition of the mother-child relationship as a secure base. Fromm was quite right in making the "universalist assumption" (p. 102) concerning the mother-child bond, so much so that, as Bowlby points out, we have attachment behavior in common with all mammals and with many birds. The bond is innate, but an alienated culture can affect its quality. A frustrated mother can take it out on the child.

Another connection concerns aggression. According to Bowlby's observations, the reactions of a child separated from the mother, either physically or emotionally, go through three stages: at first there is protest, fuelled by what Bowlby calls the "anger of hope", where hope refers to reunion with the mother; if protest is ineffective in achieving reunion, it is followed by despair, fuelled by the "anger of despair"; finally, the third stage is that of detachment, which covers up the underlying despair. I suggest that the anger of hope corresponds to what Fromm calls benign aggression in *The Anatomy of Human Destructiveness*, and the anger of despair to malignant aggression.

Within attachment theory, empirical research carried out by Grossmann is relevant to Fromm's pre-war work on German workers. The research concerned the patterns of attachment observed in Mary Ainsworth's Strange Situation in North Germany compared to South Germany. The avoidant pattern was much higher in the North than in the South. This difference correlated with difference in the quality of mothering as noticed in home observations. In the North, mothers were generally less tender and affectionate. "The ideal is an independent, non-clinging infant who does not make demands on the parents but rather unquestioningly obeys their commands" (Grossmann et al., 1985, p. 253). I suggest that in the avoidant Northern children we see the early ontogeny of the authoritarian character.

Another comment concerns matriarchy. In *The Anatomy*, Fromm discusses the archaeological excavations carried out by James Mellaart in the town of Çatal Hüyük in Anatolia, which reveal the remains of a peaceful community dating back to the Early Neolithic, characterized by the worship of the Mother Goddess. Fromm was not aware of other excavations carried out by Marija Gimbutas in the Danube region, which confirm Mellaart's findings. Evidence of the peaceful nature of these communities is at-

tested by the fact that towns were not surrounded by walls and were not built on hilltops for safety. According to Gimbutas, this culture was destroyed by repeated waves of invasion of a patriarchal and warlike culture from Central Asia. In a recent book, Riane Eisler (2007) discusses the possible origins of this patriarchal culture. All this confirms Fromm's early views on matriarchy, although I find that the term "maternal culture" is preferable, because "matriarchy" implies a symmetry with "patriarchy", both belonging to what Eisler (1987) calls a "dominator" model, which implies that one gender dominates over the other, whereas the maternal culture belongs to what she calls a "partnership" model. In the original hunter-gatherer culture of the Upper Paleolithic there was a spontaneous division of labor. Women were gatherers because this activity was compatible with carrying a baby (Bowlby, 1969, p. 293). Modern totalitarian states such as Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union may be regarded as a patriarchal backlash.

Finally, the archaeological evidence for these peaceful communities is compatible with the views of modern evolutionary biology on the evolution of altruistic behavior (Sober & Wilson, 1998; Boehm, 1999). This development confirms Fromm's basic optimism concerning human nature. Evolutionary biologist W.D. Hamilton presented in 1964 what he called kin-selection theory. As Mark Erickson (2006) says: "It is nothing short of a paradigm shift. Many now regard Hamilton's contribution as the most significant amendment to evolutionary biology since Darwin. … Natural selection maximises the ability of individual organisms … to gain genetic representation in future generations. … The most obvious prediction of kin-selection theory is that altruistic behaviors (e.g., parental care, defense against predators) will be … preferably bestowed on kin".

The frustration of this basic need may explain Fromm's pain, described by Funk and reported by Friedman (p. 23), at not having had children. His parental inclination showed in his paternal attitude towards Joseph Gurland, his second wife's son by a previous marriage. At first Fromm married a much older woman (Frieda Reichmann), then a sick and depressed woman who committed suicide (Henny Gurland: p. 133). When finally he had a happy marriage with Annis Freeman, it was too late. Why did this happen? Again, Bowlby can be of help with his concept of role reversal. A depressed mother cannot give because she wants to receive, and therefore tries to keep the child bound by multiple binding mechanisms. Depression in the mother elicits premature and inappropriate caregiving behavior in the child. There was also implicit seductiveness on the part of Fromm's mother in making her son feel he had to defend her against the father. At a deep unconscious level, I suggest that Fromm could not have children of his own because he had to look after his mother as his child.

These additions to Friedman's biography establish connections between Fromm and later developments after his death (attachment theory, the trauma literature, evolutionary biology, neurobiology). They confirm the continuing relevance of Fromm's views and hence the timeliness of this book.

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Digital Erich Fromm Document Center

www.opus4.kobv.de/opus4-Fromm/

Rainer Funk

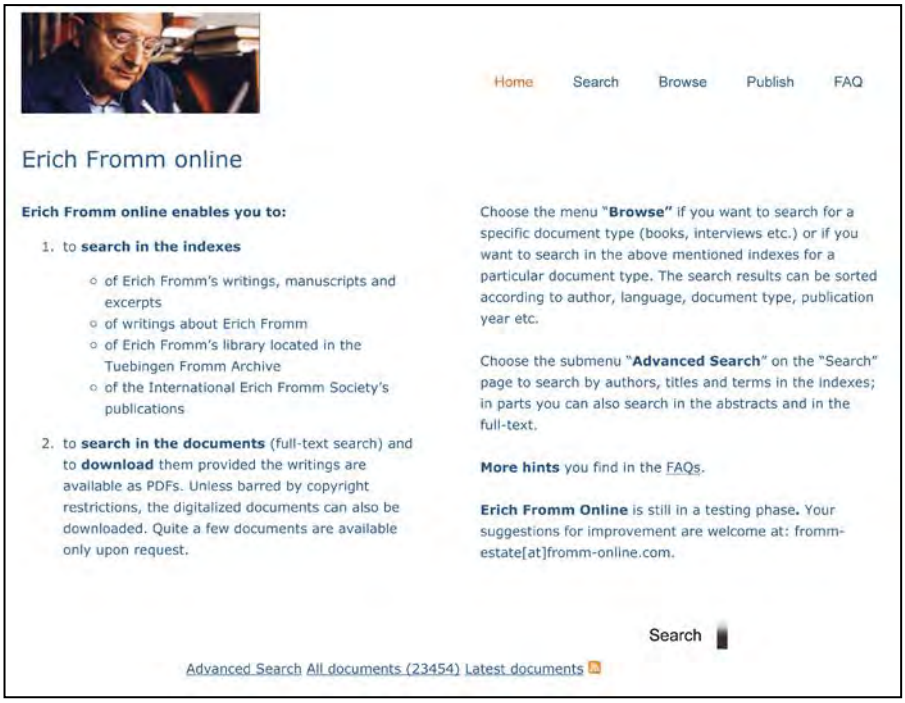
Besides the website of the Fromm Society (>www.frommsociety.com<) you find in the internet also a newly rebuilt Erich Fromm website in English and German – called *Erich Fromm online* (>www.erich-fromm.com< or >www.erich-fromm.org<).

Erich Fromm online is the digital platform of the **Erich Fromm Document Center** at Tuebingen (Germany) that houses

- the Erich Fromm Archive (including Fromm's reference library, a collection of the literature about Erich Fromm, and the publications of the Fromm Society)
- and the Literary Estate of Erich Fromm with Fromm's published and unpublished writings, tapes, excerpts, drafts, typescripts, proofs and with his correspondence.

Erich Fromm online is connected with a server at the Zuse Institute in Berlin and enables by a comfortable search machine:

1. to **search in the indexes**
   - of Erich Fromm's writings, manuscripts and excerpts
   - of writings about Erich Fromm
   - of Erich Fromm's library located in the Tuebingen Fromm Archive
   - of the International Erich Fromm Society's publications
2. to **search in the documents** (full-text search) and to **download** them provided the writings are available as PDFs. Unless barred by copyright restrictions, the digitalized documents can also be downloaded. In addition and similar to the interlibrary loan of a print library, quite a few documents are available upon request at the digital document center without charge.



You get access to the digital Erich Fromm Document Center either via the website >www.erich-fromm.com< (by using the search routine at the bottom of the homepage) or directly via >www.opus4.kobv.de/opus4-Fromm<. On the following pages you find detailed hints about how to make your search successful.

Erich Fromm Online is still in a testing phase**.** Your suggestions for improvement are welcome at: fromm-estate@fromm-online.com.

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How to Use *Erich Fromm online*

Which language do you prefer?

Above the Fromm photo you can choose between English and German

What can you search for?

"Erich Fromm online" provides access to indexes and in part also to the writings themselves (PDF full text)

"Erich Fromm online" includes the indexes of four different libraries:

(1) The **Writings by Erich Fromm** in all editions and translations. Also available are drafts, typescripts and proofs discovered in the literary estate of Erich Fromm
(2) The **Writings about Erich Fromm** ranging from reviews, articles, to theses and dissertations
(3) **Fromm's own library** as well as publications that were added posthumously to the collections of the Erich Fromm Archive
(4) The publications of the **International Erich Fromm Society**. Here you can search specifically for the journals published by the Fromm Society ("Yearbook" and "Fromm Forum" in both English and German editions)

The (simple) search field

The simple search field enables to search more or less for all:

- for authors
- for titles as well as for names and terms that are part of the title
- for the year of the first publication
- for URLs of print- and ebook publications offered in the internet by searching for "http"
- for titles of journals and collections
- for call numbers of the Fromm Archive ("C 158" for instance refers to "Fromm Forum") and for the identification numbers of Fromm titles ("1941a" denotes "Escape from Freedom"). An overview of the identification numbers of all Fromm titles you will find here

[Link: www.erich-fromm-online.de/images/stories/pdf/22.pdf].

Please note:

Searching by the simple search field leads to results that refer not only to the indexes but also to searchable full text PDFs.

Therefore an **advanced search** is recommended via

- "Advanced Search " or via
- "All documents" or via
- the menu "Browse"

Searching via "All documents"

Confines the search to the indexes of the four libraries. By using the filters the search can be refined. You specifically can search

- for titles in a certain language
- for a specific document (book, review, etc.)
- for the year of first publication

By entering the name "Erich Fromm" in the filter "author" you will find all Fromm titles in a certain language – or all book titles that were published at all or in a particular language.

Examples

Question: Which books by Fromm were translated into Polish?

Answer: Go to "Search" and then to the submenu "All documents." Choose the filter "Author" and enter the name "Erich Fromm." Under the list "Document Type" select "Books" and finally in the filter "Language" "Polish." The displayed titles can be sorted chronologically according to the year of publication or alphabetically according to the title. Clicking on the title opens the record.

Question: Which reviews written in Spanish are included in the indexes of the four libraries?

Answer: Go to "Search" and click on "All documents." Choose "Spanish" in the filter "Language." Select "Reviews" under Document Type. Now you can sort up and down the listings chronologically or alphabetically or according to the authors.

The "Advanced Search"

The submenu "Advanced Search" in the menu "Search" is suitable to search for authors, for titles and for the year of the first publication in the indexes of the four libraries; in addition, it is suitable for the search in the full texts and in the abstracts.

The option displayed in the search fields of "Advanced Search" ("All words", "At least one word" and "None of the words") allows complex search routines. This way, you can search for records when you only have incomplete information. Or you can search for titles on the subject of "love" while excluding Fromm's own work. (Concerning this, search for "love" in the field "Title," type the name "Fromm" in the searching field "Author" and chose at the same time the option "None of the words".) See also below the paragraph "More Hints", where the application of Boolean Operators and of Wildcards is explained.

Examples

Question: Which writings of the Fromm scholar Michael Maccoby are recorded in the four libraries?

Answer: Go to "Search" and then to the submenu "Advanced Search." Type "Maccoby" into the search field "Author". In addition, the search results can be filtered according to "Language," "Document Type" or "Year of publication" and it can be sorted chronologically and alphabetically.

Question: Which Italian literature about Erich Fromm is filed?

Answer: Go to "Search" and then to the submenu "Advanced Search." Type "Fromm" in the search field "Title." By this you search for all titles that include the name "Fromm" (and generally holds true for the secondary literature). The search results can be selected by choosing "Italian" in the filter "Language" and they can be sorted chronologically and alphabetically according to authors and titles. An icon left of the title gives access to an abstract. By clicking on the title all dates and abstracts are shown in the record.

Question: I am searching for literature about the topic of "alienation?"

Answer: Go to "Search" and then to "Advanced Search." Type "alienation" or "Entfremdung" (or even better "alienation OR Entfremdung" into the search field "Title" to get displayed the results. If you delete the terms in the search field Title and put them into the search field "Abstract" or "Fulltext" all titles will be displayed where the terms you are searching for are included in the abstract or full text.

The menu "Browse"

This search feature particularly is suitable to find certain document types in one of the four libraries of "Erich Fromm online." The search bears exclusively on the indexes of these four libraries.

The collection "**Writings by Erich Fromm" by document types** allows to targeted search for different types of published documents (book, articles, reviews, interviews, etc.).

In the collection "**Writings by Erich Fromm by kind of publication**" you will find especially

- the original publications of Fromm's writings
- the excerpts drawn up by Fromm and his assistants about the publication of others
- the drafts of own publications written by Fromm himself
- Fromm's typescripts for publication
- some galley proofs of books by Fromm
- the Fromm titles included in the twelve volumes of the German Collected Works of Erich Fromm

The search results can be selected according to "Language" and "Document type."

The collection "**Writings about Erich Fromm (Secondary Literature)**" not only allows to targeted search for scholarly publications about Fromm (Dissertations) but for instance also for Obituaries on Fromm ("Necrologues") or for Interviews with Fromm.

The collections "**International Erich Fromm Society's Writings**" and "**International Erich Fromm Society's Journals**" contains the publications of the Fromm Society and its members. The collection "International Erich Fromm Society's Journals" allows to targeted search in the "Yearbooks" published between 1990 thru 1995 and in the issues of the journal "Fromm Forum" that is published from 1997 on in an English and a (textually different) German edition.

Full-text downloading

Provided the documents are available as PDFs (scans of the texts) and unless barred by copyright restrictions, the digitalized documents can also be downloaded. Quite a few documents are only available upon request. Please use the form to order those documents by email.

How can I export the search results?

In the record display, the results can be exported individually via "RIS" or "bib TeX" in reference management systems (eg Citavi or RefWorks).

So far Erich Fromm online has no tool to export the search results. We hope to add this function shortly.

More hints

1. The Boolean Operators AND, OR, and NOT

Using the simple "Search," all terms are combined by "AND" automatically.

In the submenu "Advanced Search" different search terms can be combined by using the Boolean operators AND, OR and NOT (the operators must be written in capitals!)

AND means: The document has to contain all search terms.

OR means: The document has to contain one of the search terms. This function broadens your search and is recommended, when there are different terms for the same meaning, for instance technical terms in German and English.

NOT has an excluding effect and might be useful to reduce a large result list: Documents, which contain the one term, may not contain the other: apple NOT fruit.

2. Wildcards

If there a doubts about the correct spelling of a name or a term you may use * and ? as wildcards. You cannot use them in front of a word or search string.
Example 1: "chemi*" finds "chemical" but also "chemistry" or "chemist."
Example 2: "licen?e" finds "licence" and "license."

3. Search for phrases

With the help of double quotes (") in the search field "Title", "Abstract" or "Fulltext" you can search for phrases.

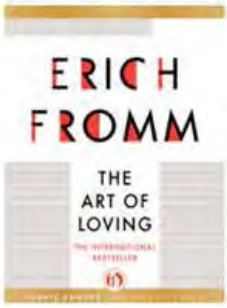
Open Road Media:

The First Erich Fromm E-book Library

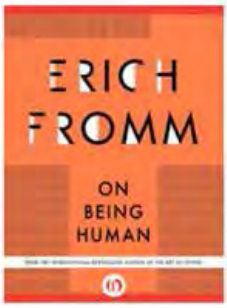
Though in Europe the e-book market is still in its infancy, this technology creates new opportunities to make Erich Fromm's writings available all over the world and independently from print products. The e-book format enables users to download a book, but also shorter writings and documents to a personal computer, laptop, iPhone, iPad, tablet or a special electronic reader. You can shape the character font and read and add notes to the text. And whoever has a bias towards print products will profit from e-books: these digital books can also be made into print books with new "print-on-demand" technology.

Given these prospects it is obvious to make Erich Fromm's writings available as e-books in different languages – as "Erich Fromm E-book Libraries". A first step in this direction is done in regard to most of the originally English written books by Erich Fromm. The E-book publisher OPEN ROAD MEDIA in New York (http://www.openroadmedia.com/search/?q=Fromm) has offered since March 26 nineteen book titles of Fromm as e-books.

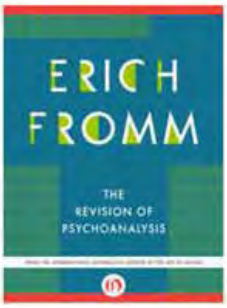
The notion is indeed to make also articles, interviews, and smaller writings available as e-books and that way finally have "Collected Works of Erich Fromm" in different languages.



The Art of Loving
by Erich Fromm



On Being Human
by Erich Fromm



The Revision of Psychoanalysis
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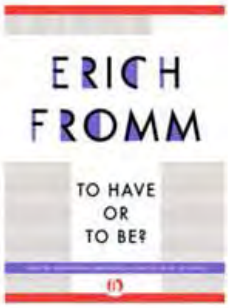

To Have or To Be?
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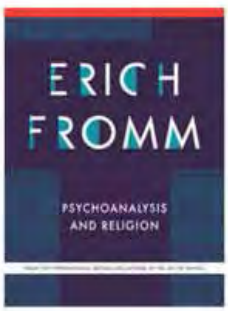
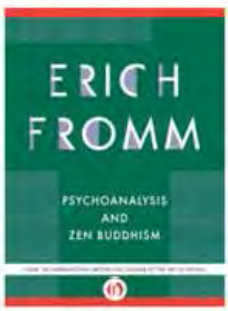
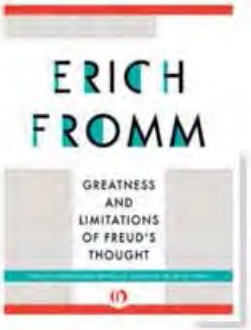
May Man Prevail?
by Erich Fromm



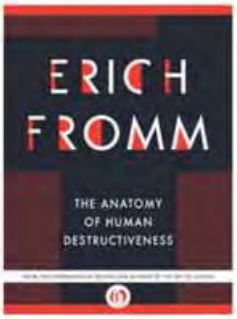
Psychoanalysis and Religion
by Erich Fromm



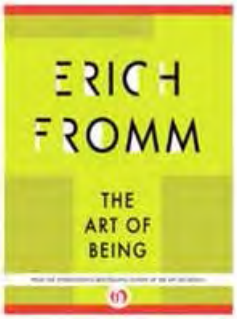
Psychoanalysis and Zen Buddhism
by Erich Fromm



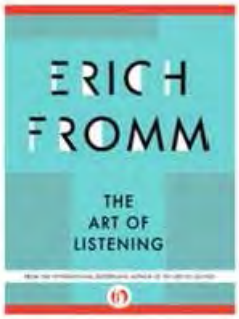
Greatness and Limitations of Freud's Thought
by Erich Fromm



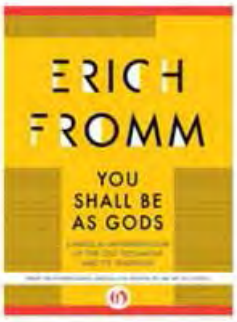
The Anatomy of Human Destructiveness
by Erich Fromm



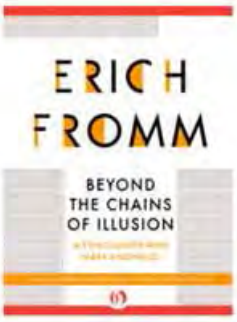
The Art of Being
by Erich Fromm



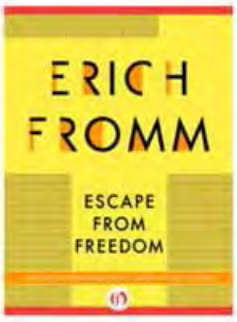
The Art of Listening
by Erich Fromm



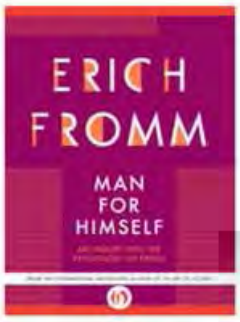
You Shall Be As Gods
by Erich Fromm



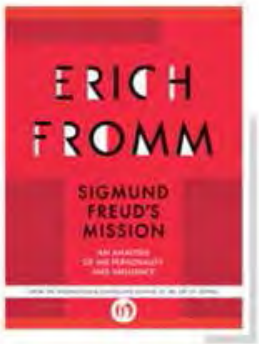
Beyond the Chains of Illusion
by Erich Fromm



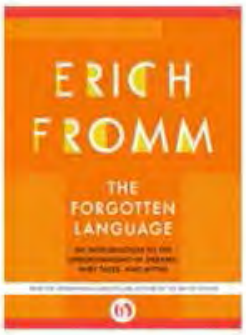
Escape from Freedom
by Erich Fromm



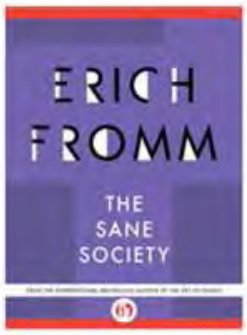
Man for Himself
by Erich Fromm



Sigmund Freud's Mission
by Erich Fromm



The Forgotten Language
by Erich Fromm



The Sane Society
by Erich Fromm

INTERNATIONAL ERICH FROMM SOCIETY

The 2013 Erich Fromm Prize was awarded to

Gesine Schwan

On the 21st of March, 2013 in Stuttgart the political scientist Gesine Schwan was awarded this year's Erich Fromm Prize, endowed with 10,000 euro. Schwan in 2004 and 2009 ran for president in Germany. Her main fields of research are Political Philosophy and Theories of Democracy. She has also worked on problems of Political Psychology and Political Culture. From October 1999 to October 2008 she was president of the Europe University Viadrina in Frankfurt (Oder). Here, Polish and German students learned together through political and cultural dialogue. Through these and other initiatives Schwan has accomplished an enormous amount to bring Europe together – particularly in regard to the most sensitive relationship between German and Polish people. She practiced on a political and social level what Fromm called "atone-ment." In addition, Schwan is one of the joint founders and president (since June 2010) of the HUMBOLDT-VIADRINA School of Governance that is devoted to humanistic values in leadership.

What links this politically and socially engaged scientist to Erich Fromm is her conviction that individuation and solidarity must to be reconciled by a new consciousness and political practice where the mode of being and social well-being prevails.

The Erich Fromm Prize is awarded each year by the International Erich Fromm Society to an individual whom "has shown and continues to show outstanding commitment for the preservation or the recovery of humanistic thinking and action in the spirit of Erich Fromm's work."

Previous recipients of the award have included Heribert Prantl and Hans Leyendecker, Eugen Drewermann and Konstantin Wecker, Jakob von Uexküll, Gerhart R. Baum, Noam Chomsky, Anne-Sophie Mutter, and Georg Schramm.

The public award ceremony has taken place on March 21st, 2013 at 6 p.m. in the Weißen Saal of the Neues Schloss in Stuttgart. The Laudatio for the Award winner was presented by Micha Brumlik, a professor of educational science of the Frankfurt University. Gesine Schwan herself delivered the Fromm Lecture accompanying the Prize on the theme: "Taugt Erich Fromm heute für die politische Praxis?" ["Is Erich Fromm still suited for policy?"]. (Photo: Sarah Haupt)

International Conference in Riga (Latvia) (May 10-11, 2013)

and Round trip through Baltic countries (May 14-20, 2013)
including a Conference in Kaunas (Lithuania) (May 17, 2013)

The international conference in Riga is organized by the University of Latvia, The Goethe Institute of Latvia, the International Erich Fromm Society, and patronized by the former president of Latvia: Vaira Vīķe-Freiberga. The conference languages in Riga will be Latvian and German.

It is only since 20 years that Latvians are not under foreign domination. They had to submit and to hide their own identity for more than 800 years – first under the rule of the Teutonic Knights and in the most recent past under the rule of Nazi Germany and the Russians. Now the Latvians are confronted with the totally different neoliberal understanding of freedom where limitlessness and unboundedness are practiced. Due to this background the topic of the conference will be:

Freedom and Liberties – Possibilities and Dangers

The conference will begin in the Great Aula of the University of Latvia on Friday, May 10, 9:30 a.m. to 1:00 p.m. with lectures on the topic of freedom and liberties in the context of authoritarianism and neoliberal unboundedness.

The second and third part of the Riga conference will take place in the Goethe Institute of Riga on Friday afternoon from 3:30 to 7:00 p.m. and on Saturday from 10:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m. The lectures will discuss problems of subordination and the need for a sense of identity and speak about the psychic situation of the population and the situation of psychotherapeutic care. Last but not least function Latvian cultural tradition and of Hasidic Judaism will be discussed.

Friday, May 10, 2013, 09:30 a.m. – 01:00 p.m.
(Great Aula of the University of Latvia)

09:30 a.m. Opening of the Conference (Prof. Dr. phil. Igors Šuvajevs)
09:35 a.m. Welcome Speech of the former president of Latvia (Professor Dr. Vaira Vīķe-Freiberga)
09:50 a.m. Welcome of the University (Prof. Dr. phil. Maija Kūle)
10:00 a.m. Welcom of the Fromm Society (Günther Mehren)
10:10 a.m. Latvija un bēgšana no brīvības / Lettland und die Flucht vor der Freiheit (Prof. Dr. phil. Igors Šuvajevs)
10:40 a.m. Die Freiheitsfrage 70 Jahre nach Erich Fromms "Escape from Freedom" / Jautājums par brīvību 70 gadus pēc Ēriha Fromma darba "Bēgšana no brīvības" (Dr. Rainer Funk)
11:30 a.m. Izdzīvošanas stratēģijas: brīvība un valoda / Strategien des Überlebens: Freiheit und Sprache (Prof. Dr. phil. Maija Kūle)
12:15 a.m. Selbstachtung, Schuldgefühle und Freiheit – Welche Rolle spielen sie im Überlebenskampf der Letten? / Pašcieņa, atkarība un brīvība latviešu sabiedrībā ārsta skatījumā (Prof. Dr. med. Gunta Ancāne)

Friday, May 10, 2013, 3:30 p.m. – 7:00 p.m. (Goethe Institute of Riga)

3:30 p.m. Welcome of the Goethe Institute Riga (Ulrich Everding)
3:45 p.m. Die Bedeutung des Chassidismus in Lettland (Rabbiner Menahems Barkahans)
4:30 p.m. Erich Fromm – eine biografisch-ideengeschichtliche Einführung / Ērihs Fromms — bio-

grāfiski idejvēsturisks ievads (Dr. Helmut Johach)
6:00 p.m. Lettland – Geschichte eines okkupierten Landes (Prof. Dr. Valters Nollendorfs)

Saturday, May 11, 2013, 10:00 a.m. – 4:00 p.m. (Goethe Institute of Riga)

10:00 a.m. Ēriks Fromms un "Gara zinātnes" Latvijā 20. gadsimta sākumā / Erich Fromm und die "Wissenschaft des Geistes" in Lettland zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts (Prof. Dr. phil. Solveiga Krūmiņa-Koņkova)

10:45 a.m. Psihosomatiskā medicīna Latvijā un Ērika Fromma filosofija: krustpunkti un atšķirīgais kritiskās domāšanas skatījumā / Die Psychsomatische Medizin in Lettland und Erich Fromm: Gemeinsamkeit und Unterschiede (Dr. Artūrs Utināns)

11:30 a.m. Lieder – Symbole – Rituale. Wie ein Volk seine Identität schützt und bewahrt. Versuch einer Hommage an Lettland / Dziesmas, simboli, rituāli — kā tauta sargā un saglabā savu identitāti. Mēģinājums apliecināt cieņu (Günther Mehren)

1:30 p.m. Juden in der Zeitgeschichte Lettlands (Prof. Dr. hist. Leo Dribins)

2:15 p.m. Ebreju pretetstība PSRS valdošajam režīmam / Jüdischer Widerstand gegen das Regime der UdSSR (Olga Aleksejeva)

3:00 p.m. Erich Fromms Wertschätzung des Chassidismus / Ēriha Fromma hasīdisma vērtēšana (Dr. Rainer Funk)

2013 Annual Conference of the International Erich Fromm Society

Enemy Stereotypes and Projections Between Christians, Muslims and Jews

Friday, September 13, 2013 - Sunday, September 15, 2013
at Haus Venusberg in Bonn

Prejudices, clichés, and stereotypes are not unusual in our personal life or in our society. Psychologically speaking, we use projections to increase our self-esteem and to look at the others as the bearer of what we don't like to bear and to associate with ourselves. The Other is thwarting, aggressive, uneducated – the problem. We scapegoat others in order to have a good feeling, self esteem or conscience.

This ubiquitous tendency obtains a menacing dimension in the light of anti-Semitism, persecution of Christians and the fight against Islamism. Thus, the conference will focus on religiously motivated enemy stereotypes and projections. In psychological perspective religions make a particular claim to truth, purity and salvation. Hence they are not all freed from the tendency to see in those who do not belong to the own community the bearer of what is contradicting their own values and convictions.

Lectures will be given by Dr. Rainer **Funk** about the psychological functions of enemy stereotypes and projections; by Dr. Hamid **Lechhab**, school social worker in Austria and coming from Morocco about how to escape religious motivated stereotypes. Dr. Andreas **Pangritz**, Professor of Christian Theology, discusses anti-Semitism in Christian theology. Dr. Peter **Waldmann**, Rabbi in Mainz lectures about the relationship between Jews and Non-Jews in Germany since 1945, and Dr. Hamid Reza **Yousefi**, an Iranean born philosopher will speak about the possibilities and limitations of communication concerning prejudices.

Erich Fromm and the Berlin International Psychoanalytic University

The willingness of our new Honorary Member Karl Schlecht to promote the reception of Erich Fromm's scientific contributions in the academic world has spawned a partnership with the private International Psychoanalytic University (IPU) in Berlin.

Being a most ingenious engineer, Karl Schlecht developed the beton pump and became world leader producing them. Yet his interests are not only of technical nature. He sponsors the idea of "world ethics" and he is a great friend of Fromm's psychoanalytic and social psychological ideas of character formation and its application to ethics in economy and leadership.

Besides other initiatives (for example supporting the digitalization of parts of the Fromm Archive) Schlecht particularly wants to further the reception of Fromm's psychoanalytic ideas in the academic world. Considering the fact that psychoanalysis and dynamic concepts of psychology are more and more displaced from the curricula of the training facilities at universities and – sad to say – is at the most no longer part of the bachelor and master courses, students usually do not get in contact with psychoanalysis and in the sequel with Fromm's scientific contributions any more.

This development lead to the foundation of the private International Psychoanalytic University in Berlin where bachelor and master students get also acquainted with psychoanalytic concepts and – this are the news – shall get acquainted with Erich Fromm's concept of personality and with his theoretical and methodological discoveries concerning social psychology and their impact for ethical and therapeutic trainings.

From fall 2013 on Erich Fromm's concept of personality and his social psychological theory and empirical research methods will be lectured in the bachelor and master courses offered by the IPU.

First International Erich Fromm Research Conference

June 26-28, 2014 a First International Erich Fromm Research Conference will take place at the IPU in Berlin. Invited are specialists in Fromm and Frommian topics from all over the world to present their research findings (in 20 minutes presentations) and to discuss the need for more research in Frommian ideas and concepts and its applications. The conference language will be English. Subsidies for travel costs and the stay in Berlin will be provided upon application. A second research conference is planned for 2017.

If you are interested to take actively part in this first research conference don't hesitate to contact Rainer Funk (frommfunk@gmail.com) to indicate your interest and to mention the research topic you would like to present. A specified invitation will follow in June 2013.

Study Group Activities

Privately organized study groups offer the opportunity, within the German language area, converse with other interested parties about Erich Fromm's thought, work and impact.

Normally, these study groups are open to any interested party, including non-members. It is always advisable to reach out to coordinators of the groups if interested.

Study Group: "Ways out of alienation"

This study group offers mostly deeper discussion of the Erich Fromm Society conference themes. The last meeting took place in October 2011 near Kassel and discussed the question of "How impeachable is the dignity of men?" The next meeting is planned in 2014.

Coordinator: Prof. Dr. Otto Lüdemann, Sportzenkoppel 21, D-22359 Hamburg, Tel. +49-(0)40-6482464; E-Mail: otto.luedemann@googlemail.com.

Rhineland Study Group

On the occasion of its last meeting in February 2013 in Moenchengladbach, the Rhineland Group reviewed the communication theory of Marshall B. Rosenberg. At the next meeting in July 2013, in Bad Neuenahr the ideas of Raimund Allebrand in his book "Die Burnout Lüge" ("The Burnout Lie") will be discussed.

Coordinator: Gisela Gnau, Fröbelstr. 16, D-40764 Langenfeld; E-Mail: Koord03_RhAK@t-online.de.

Study Group: "Respect for Life—Acting Socially"

The study group for the area Palatinate-Heidelberg-Frankfurt worked primarily on the question of the currency of *Escape from Freedom* and the question of freedom today in its last meetings.

Coordinator: Volker Beyer, Freundchenstr. 4, D-67269 Grünstadt, E-Mail: volker.beyer@jubey.de

Study Group: "Growing Old and Being Old"

The last meeting took place on March, 4-6, 2013 in Muenster and was focused on the topic: "The interreligious dialogue and Erich Fromm's humanistic Credo". – The next meeting takes place October 28-30, 2013 again in Muenster. On the agenda are the contributions presented at the Fall Conference 2013 in Bonn discussion the question "How to cope with enemy stereotypes."

Coordinators: Martha Pelster, Schellingstr. 1, D-59063 Hamm, Phone: +49-(0)2381-51919, Dr. Dietmar Seifert, Eilenburger Str. 13, D-04509 Delitzsch, Phone: +49-(0)34202-54175; E-Mail: Dr.med.Dietmar.Seifert@web.de.

Berlin Study Group

The Berlin group "Erich Fromm and Everyday Life" meets on the first Saturday of the month for 3-4 hours in Blankenfelde, a southern suburb of Berlin.

Coordinator: Dr Frank Heimberger, Brandenburger Platz 26, D-15827 Blankenfelde, Phone: +49(0)3379-310326. E-Mail: FHeimb9648@aol.com.

The Swiss Study Group

Specifically for Swiss members, this study groups meets sporadically to discuss and deepen topics Erich Fromm and his pupils has written about.

Coordinator: Oskar Jäggi. Brandenbergstr. 9, CH-8304 Wallisellen, Switzerland, Tel. +41-44-8831613; E-Mail: ojrj@wwg.ch.

Study Group "Laacher See Kreis"

This study group was established in March 2012 and discussed at its first meeting Fromm's concept of "biophilia vs. necrophilia". The next meeting will be April 13-14, 2013 in Laacher See Haus and be focused on Fromm's "Authentisch leben".

Coordinator: Guenter Pohl, Phone: +49-(0) 2241-1653560. E-Mail: g.h.pohl@web.de.

Munich Study Group

At the last meeting on March 19, 2013 Fromm's alternative "To Have or To Be?" was discussed, particularly concerning his idea of a guaranteed income. At the next meeting on May 19, 2013 at Seidlvilla in Munich is devoted to Fromm's "Escape from Freedom".

Coordinator: Bernhard Schindler, Max Lebsche Platz 39, D-81377 München; E-Mail: fromm-muenchen@gmx.de.

Calendar of Events

The meetings of the "Berlin Study Group" usually are at the first Saturday of the month between 12 a.m. and 3 p.m. in Berlin-Blankenfelde

April 13-14, 2013: Meeting of the Study Group "Laacher See Kreis" at "Waldhaus am Laacher See" near Nickenich (conference language: German)

April 19-20, 2013: Meeting of the Enlarged Board of the Fromm Society in Tuebingen

May 9-20, 2013: International Conference in Riga and tour through the Baltic countries

May 10-11, 2013: International Conference in Riga on "Freedom and Liberties – Possibilities and Dangers" (conference languages: German and Latvian)

May 16, 2013: Conference in Kaunas (Lithuania) on "Fromm's Relevance for Psychotherapy" (conference languages: English and German)

June 18, 2013: Guest Lecture (in German) of Rainer Funk at the International Psychoanalytic University of Berlin on "Erich Fromm's Relevance for Today"

July, 2013: Meeting of the "Rhineland Study Group" in Bad Neuenahr (conference language: German)

September 13-15, 2013: Annual Conference on "Enemy stereotypes and projections between Christians, Muslims and Jews" at "Venusberg" in Bonn (Conference Language: German)

September 14, 2013: Annual Members' Assembly in Bonn

October 19-20, 2013: Meeting of the Study Group "Laacher See Kreis" at "Waldhaus am Laacher See" near Nickenich (conference language: German)

October 28-30, 2013: Meeting of the Study Group "Growing Old and Being Old" in Muenster (conference language: German)

October 14-15, 2013: Meeting of the Study Group "Laacher See Kreis" at "Waldhaus am Laacher See" near Nickenich (conference language: German)

May 16-18, 2014: Annual conference on ">Fortress Europe<. Dealing with refugees and asylum seekers" at "Haus am Maiberg" in Heppenheim (conference language: German)

June 26-28, 2014: First International Erich Fromm Research Conference at the International Psychoanalytic University in Berlin (in English)

For other meetings please visit www. fromm-gesellschaft.de or www.fromm-society.com.

The International Erich Fromm Society

With regard to the aims and objectives of the International Erich Fromm Society, Paragraph 2 of the Constitution states:

> **"SEC. 1: The International Erich Fromm Society ... is being founded to maintain, to research, to develop further and to pass on the scholarly findings and ideas of Erich Fromm as the fitting continuation of his international work and in recognition of his worldwide significance."**

1. The Society shall establish, expand and maintain the ERICH FROMM ARCHIVES.
2. The International Erich Fromm Society advances INTERNATIONAL scholarly RESEARCH into Erich Fromm's thought in the fields of social sciences, psychoanalysis, philosophy and religion, including the relevance it may have to other scholarly disciplines or to issues concerning its economic, social, political, intellectual, and cultural interpretation or application.
3. It promotes the INTERNATIONAL EXCHANGE of discoveries and research findings, providing support for international PROJECTS set up to further Erich Fromm's scholarly thinking."

FOUNDATION IN 1985

The edition of the German ten-volume Collected Works of Erich Fromm in 1980/1981 stimulated scholarly interest in Fromm's ideas, especially in Germany. Thus a group of some 15 members in Europe, who were working on a dissertation on Erich Fromm held regular meetings in Tübingen, where Rainer Funk, Erich Fromm's literary executor, established the Erich Fromm Archives to accommodate Erich Fromm's library, his unpublished writings and other scientific and personal documents. Here the idea came to establish the International Erich Fromm Society. Friends and acquaintances of Erich Fromm, as well as personalities from scientific and public life who were concerned with Fromm's thought and the spreading and promoting of his work, were asked to become patrons to support the foundation of the International Erich Fromm Society. In autumn 1985 the Society was founded in Schloss Haigerloch near Tübingen in Germany.

ACTIVITIES AND EVENTS

National and International Conferences
There are some study groups where members are working on special topics. We also organize conferences on a national and international level. The conferences were or are focused on the following themes:

- Technology and Necrophilia (Tübingen 1987)
- Life and Work of Erich Fromm (Locarno 1988)
- Fromm's Contribution to Education (Böblingen 1989)
- Karl Marx and Erich Fromm (Bologna 1989)
- Humanism and Society (Heidelberg 1990)
- Character Structure and Society (Pécs, Hungary 1990)
- Erich Fromm 10th Anniversary Conf. (San Antonio, 1990)
- Erich Fromm and the Frankfort School (Stuttgart 1991)
- Fromm as Therapist (Verbania, Italy 1991)
- Work and Character (Magdeburg 1992)
- Psychoanalytic Social Character Research (México City 1992)
- Hatred of Foreigners (Tübingen 1992)
- Man Is Not a Thing (Neumünster 1993)
- The Art of Loving in Our Society (Kassel 1993)
- Dealing With the Alien (Verona 1993)
- Gender and Religion (Tübingen 1994)
- Erich Fromm International Symposium (Washington 1994)
- Social Character Field Research (Tübingen 1994)
- Dealing With Anxiety (Plaue, Thüringen 1994)
- Social Changes and Erich Fromm's Humanism (Prague 1995)
- Psychoanalysis in 20th Century Cultural Life (Reichenau 1995)
- Humanism and the Problems of Our Time (Bratislava 1996)
- The Art of Being Environmentally Friendly (Osnabrück 1996)
- Erich Fromm—Psychoanalyst and Supervisor (Ascona 1997)
- The Art of Learning in a Biophilic Way (Hamburg 1997)
- New Fishers of Souls—Religion Between

Dependence and Self-Determination" (Berlin 1998)
- Civil Courage in Everday Life (Freudenstadt 1998)
- Service at Man Checked up by Minutes? About the Economization of the Social (Hamburg 1999)
- "Productivity"—Economy vs. Human Ideal (Wiesbaden 2000)
- Love in an Unsocial Society. Marketing and the Alteration of Values (Moritzburg near Dresden 2000)
- Where Do We Search for our Salvation? Erich Fromm and Religious Experience Today (Kassel 2001)
- Violence, Destruction, Necrophilia (Lilienthal near Bremen 2002)
- Authentic Living: The Post-modern and Erich Fromm's Conception of Humanity (Bad Boll near Stuttgart, 2003
- Quo vadis iuvenis?, Erich Fromm and beyond: lifestyles, values and 'character' of European Youth. (Bologna, 2003)
- Coping with Perceived Powerlessness (Gummersbach near Cologne, 2004)
- Religion and policy marked by war and reconsiliation (Bad Marienberg, 2005)
- Productive Orientation and Mental Health (Magliaso near Lugano, 2005)
- What can, what shall we do? Ethics and Biology (Hofgeismar near Kassel, 2006)
- Mysticism and Social Responsibility (Niels-Stensen Haus near Bremen, 2006)
- Erich Fromm and the Dialogue of Cultures (Fes, Morocco, 2007)
- Karl Marx and Erich Fromm (Trier, 2007)
- Let Man Prevail! Alternatives to Neoliberalism (Friedensau near Magdeburg, 2007)
- Erich Fromm and the Dialogue of Cultures (Kassel, 2008)
- Martin Buber and Erich Fromm (Heppenheim, 2008)
- Albert Schweitzer and Erich Fromm—Their Concepts of Man and Education (Koenigsfeld, 2008)
- Boredom and Addiction (Schwarzach 2009)
- Work—Laziness—Guaranteed Income (Kassel 2009)
- Counseling Practice and Its Alienating Effects (Bad Boll 2010)
- Death and the Love for Life in Psychoanalysis (Ravenna 2010)
- How re react to the climate change? (Hofgeismar 2010)
- Power and Media (Mainz 2011)
- Is industrial animal production responsible? (Loewenstein 2011)
- On Human Dignity (Kassel 2011)
- War as a means for politics? (Trier 2012)
- The Relevance of Fromm's "To Have Or to Be?" for Today (Hofgeismar 2012)
- Freedom and Liberties – Possibilities and Dangers (Riga, Latvia, 2013)
- Fromm's Relevance for Psychotherapy (Kaunas, Lithuania, 2013)
- Enemy stereotypes and projections between Christians, Muslims and Jews (Bonn 2013)

STUDY GROUPS

The following study groups hold regular meetings (in German):

- Munich Study Group
- Rhineland Study Group
- Study Group: "Growing Old and Being Old"
- Berlin Study Group
- Study Group: "Ways out of alienation"
- Swiss Study Group Erich Fromm
- Study Group: "Respect for Life—Acting Socially"
- Study Group "Laacher See Kreis"

PSYCHOANALYTIC INSTITUTES

The following Psychoanalytical Institutes are especially interested in Fromm's understanding of psychoanalysis:

- Florence: Istituto Sullivan (= "Istituto di Psicoterapia Analitica di Firence" e "Associazione Fiorentina di Psicoanalisi Interpersonale"), Via G. B. Amici n° 17, 50131 Firenze, Italy, Tel/fax +39-055-574213. E-Mail: info@ipasullivan.it; www.ipasullivan.it.
- Florence: Associazione Erich Fromm, Dr. Paolo Cardoso, Viale Cialdini,19, I-50137 Firenze C.F., Italy, Tel. +39-941778504-87;E-Mail: info@erichfrommfirenze.org
- Helsinki: Therapeian Psychoanalysts, Ehrensvärdintie 1 A 4, 00150 Helsinki Finland Tel. + 358 400441499 Correo Electrónico: malla.lindqvist@kolumbus.fi ó kari.alankoja@auriamail.fi
- Kaunas Society for the Studies of Psychoanalysis and Psychotherapy, c/o Dr. Darius Leskauskas, Gaiziunu 50-3, Kaunas 50111, Lithuania; Tel: +37068-568388; Homepage: www.psichoanalizes-studijos.lt; E-Mail: dleskauskas@yahoo.com
- Barcelona: Instituto Erich Fromm de Psicologia Humanista, c/o Ramón Rosal, Madrazo 113, enlo 2a, E-08021 Barcelona, Spain; Phone: +34-3-2011016.
- Madrid: Centro de Estudios y Aplicación del Psicoanálisis, Attn. Dr Javier Naranjo. Jose Ortega y Gasset 11,2D, E-28006 Madrid, España. Tel. and Fax: +34-1-4355889; www.centroceap.info; Correo Electrónico:

ceaplista@eresmas.com o jnaranjo58@yahoo.es
- Zürich: Institut für Psychoanalyse, Hardturmstr. 344, CH-8052 Zürich; Contact: Dr. Klaus Hoffmann, Sonneblumenweg 5, D-78479 Reichenau; Fax: +49-7531-977579; E-Mail: K.Hoffmann@ZFP-Reichenau.de
- New York: The William Alanson White Institute of Psychiatry, Psychoanalysis and Psychology, 20 West 74th Street, New York, N.Y. 10023, USA; Phone: (212) 8730725; Fax: (212) 3626967. Contact: Dr. Carola Mann; E-Mail: c.mann@ psychoanalysis.net.
- Mexico-City: Instituto Mexicano de Psicoanálisis, C. de Odontologia 9, Delegación Coyoacán, 04360-México D.F. Phone: +52-55-56589822; Contact: Rebeca Aramoni, E-Mail: rasgas@yahoo.com.mx.
- Seminario socio-psicoanalitico A.C. For more information contact Dra. Sonia Gojman de Millán, Callejón del Horno #6, 04000 Villa Coyoacan, México, D.F.; Phone: +52-55-5546383; Fax: +52-55-5540925; E-Mail: sgojman@yahoo.com.
- Instituto de Psicanálise Humanista, c/o Dr. Salézio Plácido Pereira, Rua dos Miosótis, 225—Patronato, Santa Maria—RS, Brasilien—CEP: 97020-800; E-Mail: saleziop@gmail.com
- Erich Fromm was one of the founders of the International Federation of Psychoanalytic Societies (IFPS). For more information about the IFPS contact the Secretary General, Juan Flores, Santiago de Chile, E-Mail: jflores555@gmail.com.

THE EXECUTIVE BOARD

Three executive directors represent the Society intramurally and extramurally.

- Monika Niel, Marienstätterweg 23, D-53498 Bad Breisig, Tel.: +49-(0)2633-473730, E-Mail: monika-niel@t-online.de
- Dr. Rainer Funk, Ursrainer Ring 24, D-72076 Tübingen, Phone: +49-(0)7071-600004; Fax: +49-(0)7071-600049, E-Mail: frommfunk@googlemail.com.
- Marc Leesch, Seestr. 5, D-15377 Waldsieversdorf, Tel. +49 (0)33433-57617, E-Mail: marcleesch@tomole2.de.

THE ADVISORY DIRECTORS

There are four advisory directors, who are responsible for the Society's academic status and are able to assist the executive directors in an advisory capacity. The members are:
- Dr. Martina Becker, D-56272 Mayen; E-Mail: info@martina-becker.com
- Prof. Dr. Jürgen Hardeck, Alfred Mumbächer Str. 34A, D-55128 Mainz, Tel. +49-(0)6131-362238, E-Mail: juergen.hardeck @bertas.de.
- Dr. Helmut Johach, Walpersdorfer Str. 13, D-91126 Rednitzhembach, Phone/ Fax: +49-(0)9122-72311, E-Mail: helmut.johach@web.de.
- Beatrix Mattes, D-22453 Hamburg, E-Mail: beatrix.mattes@gmx.de

MEMBERS

In March 2013, the International Erich Fromm Society had about 700 members worldwide. The largest group, with some 430 members, are living in German speaking countries; some 35 each in USA and Mexico; some 40 in Italy. The addresses of all the members cannot be published here for reasons of data protection.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP

"Members can be individuals or official organizations of any nationality as long as they are prepared to further the goals of the Society." (Paragraph 3). Members can join the Society by applying to do so. The attached application form should be used for this purpose. Membership is confirmed by the decision of the executive board.

MEMBERSHIP FEES

The organization of the International Erich Fromm Society and the financing of its activities rely on the membership fees and contributions of the members.

The annual membership fee is normally US-$ 80 or sFr 100 or Euro 50 for advanced industrialized countries (reduced to US-$ 40 or sFr 50 or Euro 25) for unemployed and family members); for Eastern European countries as well as the developing world, the fee has been set at US-$ 40 or Euro 25 (again sometimes reducible to US-$ 20 or Euro 12,50).

As a rule, the fee can be waived if payment demands seem unreasonable due to differences in the exchange rate. For incorporated groups, membership is set at US-$ 160 or Euro 100 or sFr 200 per annum.

Students are freed from payment while they are studying at a High School or University.

Receipts will be sent for all payments and donations in January of the following year latest.

For members within Germany it is simplest to pay by deduction from a bank account. A form will be provided. The bank account No. is 254

313, Kreissparkasse Tübingen (BLZ: 641 500 20).

For members living in other European countries the best is to pay by bank transfer in Euros using the following codes:

IBAN: DE 63 6415 0020 0000 2543 13
BIC: SOLADES1TUB

Internationale Erich-Fromm-Gesellschaft, Account No. 254 313 Kreissparkasse Tuebingen.

For overseas payment please send checks only if they are drawn on a German or American bank (including the applicable bank fees) or pay by Paypal as instructed on our website www.fromm-society.com.

About the Erich Fromm Archives

When Erich Fromm died in 1980, he left his library and papers to the executor of his literary estate, Rainer Funk of Tübingen. Dr. Funk has made Fromm's published papers and the contents of the library from Locarno, Fromm's last place of residence, available to scholars in an Erich Fromm Archive. The archives have also been made available to the members of the International Erich Fromm Society with the aim of furthering the reception of Frommian work and thought.

In regard to the contents of the Archives please see the website >www.erich-fromm.com< for detailed information.

The works collected in Tübingen do not represent Fromm's complete literary estate. In the fifties Fromm donated part of his estate to the New York Public Library and he also gave part of his library to the Psychoanalytical Institute in Mexico when he left Mexico in 1974. (For questions about the Mexican part of the Fromm library please contact the Library of the Instituto Mexicano de Psicoanálisis, C. de Odontologia 9, Col. Copilco Universidad, Deleg. Coyoacán, 04360-México D.F.)

All members of the International Erich Fromm Society and especially master's, doctoral, and post-doctoral students, have access to the Archives. Since it is not possible to provide regular opening hours, use of the archives must be arranged by contacting Rainer Funk.

Still the Erich Fromm Archives are located on the ground floor of Rainer Funk's house in Tübingen. There are plans for the next years to integrate the Archive into an Erich Fromm Institute, located downtown Tuebingen.

The purpose of the Erich-Fromm-Archive is to support the understanding and further development of Frommian work and thought. Unfortunately the Society is not in a financial position to generously support research through scholarships or projects. It would be of great value to the Society if members could contribute copies of their own published or unpublished work about Fromm, or letters, photos, videos, and tapes by, with, or about Fromm, to the Archive.

Please address your correspondence to:
The Erich Fromm Archives
Dr. Rainer Funk, Ursrainer Ring 24
D-72076 TUEBINGEN / GERMANY
Phone: +49-(0)7071-600004;
Fax: +49-(0)7071-600049
E-Mail: fromm-estate@fromm-online.commailto:frommfunk@aol.com

Humanismus in der Postmoderne

Festschrift on the Occasion of Rainer Funk's 70th Birthday

On the occasion of Rainer Funk's 70th birthday on February 18, German members and friends of the International Erich Fromm Society congratulated him with a voluminous Festschrift. Rainer Funk wrote in the seventies his dissertation on Fromm's social psychology and ethics ("Erich Fromm – The Courage to Be Human", Stuttgart 1978, New York 1982), collaborated with Fromm as his last assistant between 1974 and 1980 and was designated by Fromm as his sole literary executor and administrator of his rights. He edited Fromm's Collected Works in a ten volume German "Gesamtausgabe" (1980/ 1981). From 1989 on he edited Fromm's posthumous published writings (which finally were published in a 12 volume "Gesamtausgabe" in 1999).

After Fromm's death in 1980 he established the Erich Fromm Archive in Tuebingen and opened Fromm's reference library and his scientific estate to scholars interested in Fromm. In 1985 he became a co-founder of the International Erich Fromm Society. He remains an active member of the Executive Board. Besides his editing work and his publications about Fromm's life and work he went on in investigating the present day social character orientation ("Ich und Wir" – about the "ego-oriented" character, 2005; "Der entgrenzte Mensch" – "The Unbounded Self", 2011).

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Humanism in der Postmoderne. Rainer Funk zum 70. Geburtstag, edited by Helmut Johach and Burkhard Bierhoff, Darmstadt: Self publishing, 2013 (358 pp., ISBN 978-3-00040-719-2) was published by the Fromm Society and can be ordered for 11 Euro plus 4 Euro shipment (presupposed payment with SEPA or by Paypal). Mail to: fromm-estate@fromm-online.com.

Application Form

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Application for Membership

I herewith apply for active membership in the International Erich Fromm Society

Name | First Name

Profession | Academic degrees

Date of birth | Nationality

Address

Phone / Fax / E-Mail | Annual fee

Place, date | Signatur

Int. Erich Fromm Society
c/o Klaus Widerström

Die Kleine Beune 12

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