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1. Learning Outcomes

After studying this module, you shall be able to

- Reflect on Fromm’s life history.
- Identify the cornerstones of Humanistic Psychoanalysis.
- Review the idea of human needs and mechanisms of escape as proposed by Fromm
- Understand the structure of personality in terms of character orientations, personality disorders and psychotherapy.
- Evaluate Humanistic Psychoanalysis.

2. Introduction

Erich Fromm was trained in Freudian psychoanalysis and persuaded by ideas of Karl Marx, Karen Horney and other socially oriented theorists. Fromm was a social critic, biblical scholar, psychotherapist, cultural anthropologist, philosopher and psychobiographer. He created a personality theory that highlighted the effect of socio-biological factor, history, economics, and class structure. Despite being a psychological school of thought, humanistic psychoanalysis takes in account the historical and cultural perspective and it deals with characteristics mutual to a culture than peculiar to an individual.

Fromm’s elementary view was that contemporary people are not connected with their prehistoric unification with nature as well as with one another, nevertheless possess the power of reasoning, foresight and imagination. With the presence of rational thought process and lack of animal instincts makes them ‘freaks’ of the universe. The reason behind an individual feeling lonely, isolated and homeless is self-awareness. For escaping from these feelings, people endeavour to reunite with their fellow human beings and subsequently nature.

Taking an evolutionary view of humanity, Fromm suggested that evolution resulted in the loss of animal instincts and development of brain which allows the individual to become aware of one’s self, imagine, plan, and doubt. This amalgamation of weaker instincts with highly developed brain make humans different from other animals. Although the rise of capitalism has provided us with leisure time and individual freedom, it has also lead to feeling isolated, anxious and powerless. Fromm purported that freedom is now not cost effective. The isolation created by capitalism is now agonizing and has left people with the following two options: First of escaping from freedom into interpersonal dependencies or; Second of moving to self-realization through productive love and work.

3. Biographical Sketch

On March 23rd, 1900 Erich Fromm was born in Frankfurt, Germany becoming an only child of his neurotic parents. As a boy, Fromm deliberated on the Old Testament with prominent scholars regarded as “humanists of extraordinary tolerance” (Landis & Tauber, 1971). Fromm’s humanistic psychology can be traced to the work of prophets, “with their vision of universal peace and harmony, and their teachings that there are ethical aspects to history— that nations can do right and wrong, and that history has its moral laws”. Despite the strong Jewish influence, he rejected organized religion at the age of 26.

A Jewish family life, the suicide of a young woman and the extreme nationalism of
the German people urged Fromm to his idea of humanity. Fromm was 14 when World War I began and the absurdity of the German nationalism, the British and the French shocked him. During adolescence, Fromm was intensely stirred by Freud’s and Karl Marx’s writings especially the differences between the two. Post the war, Fromm became a socialist and focused on his studies in psychology, philosophy and sociology at the University of Heidelberg. He received his PhD in sociology from the same university. Continuing his studies he further went to attend the internationally renowned Berlin Psychoanalytic Institute.

Fromm visited the Chicago Psychoanalytic Institute in 1933 as guest lecturer and emigrated to the United States next year. In the year 1941, Fromm went to join Horney’s newly formed Association for the Advancement of Psychoanalysis (AAP). Even though he and Horney had been lovers, by 1943, discord within the association on Fromm’s qualifications had made them rivals. With Horney against him, Fromm, with Harry Stack Sullivan, Clara Thompson and others quit the association and established the William Alanson White Institute of Psychiatry, Psychoanalysis, and Psychology, in 1946 with Fromm as the chair. He taught at Columbia University, Bennington College, Yale University, Michigan State University, New York University and the New School for Social Research. Fromm served as professor of psychiatry at the National University in Mexico for 16 years. He died of a heart attack at his home in Muralto, Switzerland, on March 18, 1980.

In the beginning of his psychotherapy career, he used the orthodox psychoanalytic techniques. But within 10 long years, he got “bored” of the Freudian Approach, thus leading to the development of his active and confrontational methods (Fromm, 1986, 1992; Sobel, 1980). Over time his cultural, social, economic, and psychological ideas have gained great popularity. Among his best-known books are Escape from Freedom (1941), Man for Himself (1947), Psychoanalysis and Religion (1950), The Sane Society (1955), The Art of Loving (1956), Marx’s Concept of Man (1961), The Heart of Man (1964), The Anatomy of Human Destructiveness (1973), To Have or Be (1976), and For the Love of Life (1986).

Fromm’s theory of personality borrows from myriad sources. Landis and Tauber (1971) listed five important influences on Fromm’s thinking: (1) the teachings of the humanistic rabbis; (2) the revolutionary spirit of Karl Marx; (3) the equally revolutionary ideas of Sigmund Freud; (4) the rationality of Zen Buddhism as espoused by D. T. Suzuki; and (5) the writings of Johann Jakob Bachofen (1815–1887) on matriarchal societies.

4. Fromm’s Theory of Humanistic Psychoanalysis

4.1 Fromm’s Basic Assumptions

Fromm assumed that personality of an individual can be studied by taking into consideration human history. “The discussion of the human situation must precede that of personality, [and] psychology must be based on an anthropologic—philosophical concept of human existence” (Fromm, 1947).

Humans lack potent character of adjusting to changes in the world; instead, they possess the ability reasoning—a circumstance Fromm titled human dilemma. The reason behind why people experience this basic dilemma is that, apart from the fact that people can separate themselves from nature, they possess the ability to acknowledge their own self as isolated beings. Therefore, the capacity of reasoning becomes both a blessing and a curse. Not only it helps in surviving but also puts us in endeaver to resolve basic insoluble dichotomies or “existential dichotomies” as labelled by Fromm as being rooted in an individual’s very existence. Humans can only act in
response to these dichotomies relative to their cultural and personal baggage, but cannot do away with the three dichotomies:

1. Dichotomy between life and death, awareness of one’s self and reasoning tell us that we would die, but people attempts to disprove this dichotomy by suggesting life after death, a futile effort as it fails to change the reality that our lives come to an end with death.

2. Dichotomy that humans are gifted to conceptualize the goal of complete self-realization but in complete awareness of the life not being long enough to reach this goal. If an individual’s life span was equivalent to that of mankind, only then it would have been possible for him to participate in the human development occurring in the historical process. Humans try solving this dichotomy by imagining that their own historical period is the ultimate accomplishment of humanity, while others claim life after death.

3. Dichotomy that people are ultimately alone, without the threshold for isolation. Despite awareness of themselves as separate individuals, they desire happiness in union with their fellow human beings. It is impossible to completely solve this dichotomy leaving individuals to make that endeavour or run the risk of being insane.

4.2 Human Needs
The basic human motivation is by physiological needs of hunger, sex and safety as they have evolved from animals, but satisfying these needs does not lead to resolution of their human dilemmas. The unique human needs move individuals towards a reunion with the natural world. For Fromm, these existential needs surfaced as offshoots of the search for answers for existence and avoidance of insanity during the evolution of human culture. According to Fromm (1955) a mentally healthy individuals find answers to their existence which wholly relate to their total human needs while neurotic or insane individuals can’t. Simply, people who are capable of finding better ways to reunite with the world by solving the human needs of relatedness, transcendence, rootedness, a sense of identity and a frame of orientation are healthy individuals.

- Relatedness
It is the drive for uniting with another individual or institution and can be achieved through the three basic ways: (1) submission, (2) power, and (3) love. Fromm considered love to be the sole way of uniting an individual with the world yet maintain originality and integrity. Love was defined as a process of uniting with someone, or something outside one’s own self on the condition of maintaining uniqueness and integrity of oneself.

- Transcendence
The role of creature does not satisfy the humans. It is imperative for us to transcend the animal state and affect environment in significant ways. According to Fromm, the innate tendency of achieving such superiority in constructive ways exists. Human consent or approval is not taken into consideration and are thrown into and removed from the world. The urge rising above a passive and accidental existence, into the realm of purposefulness and freedom is defined as the need for transcendence. Achieving one’s positive potentials is not an easy task. Along with a genetically determined impulse of preserving ourselves against threat by attacking (benign aggression), we also have the ability for non-organically motivated destructiveness which has no rational defensive purpose (malignant aggression). If normal personality development is blocked, say for example by pathogenic parental behaviours, then transcendence may be sought through malignant aggression.

- Rootedness
The need of establishing roots in order to get the feeling of being at home again in the world is a need that has evolved as a outcome of losing home of the natural world. Realizing that we are homeless and rootless make one feel isolated and helpless which is unbearable. Productively rootedness is sought by becoming fully born by weaning from the orbit of the mother; that is by being active and creative when it comes to relating to the world in order to become whole or integrated. Individuals using the non-productive strategy of fixation have a stubborn unwillingness of moving beyond the protection and secure environment provided by one’s mother. Rootedness could be observed in the growth of the human species phylogenetically. Like Freud, Fromm believed incestuous desires to be universal, but did not agree with Freud’s belief of being essentially sexual. Fromm in 1955 contended that incestuous feelings were grounded in “the deep-seated craving to remain in, or to return to, the all-enveloping womb, or to the all-nourishing breasts.”

- **Sense of Identity**
  It refers to an individual’s capacity to be conscious of one’s self as a separate entity is indispensable as after being detached from nature, we still require to possess the ability of saying, “I am I,” or “I am the subject of my actions.” In 1981, Fromm believed that primeval and medieval individuals saw themselves as only members of a social group with strong ties. Fromm, drawing from Marx, suggested economic and political freedom of people is due the rise of capitalism. However this freedom has provided a true sense of “I” to a small minority of people. Most people’s identity surfaces from their attachment with another individuals or institution like nation, religion, occupation or social group. The new herd identity that is required to develop solely rests on the sense of an unquestionable belongingness to the crowd. Healthy people in order to maintain sanity through identity have a minimal need to adapt to the herd and to give up their sense of self. An authentic sense of identity provides an individual with freedom and individuality, which they do not have to surrender in order to fit into society. However, neurotic individuals attempts to accord themselves with other individuals or to social or political institutions.

- **Frame of Orientation**
  It is needed by humans so as to make their way through the world since they are split off from nature. The lack of such a frame could lead to confusion and inability of acting purposefully and consistently. Organization of the various stimuli that encroach individuals could be done through this frame making it is easier to understand the idea behind various events and phenomena. People lacking a reliable frame of orientation will nonetheless struggle with making out the sense of such events. Each person has a frame of reference which is, anything consistent is common sense while anything at odds is evaluated as crazy or unreasonable. People can go to any lengths to attain and retain a frame of orientation. They end up following illogical philosophies promoted by fanatical politicians and religious leaders. The frame of orientation is like map of the road, and this map much have a goal. Humans possess the mental capacity of imagining a substitute paths to follow. Having a goal is necessary as it not only keeps people from going insane but also allows people on focusing all of their energy in a single direction, enabling them to transcend their isolated existence and granting meaning to their lives.

### 4.3 The Burden of Freedom and Mechanisms of Escape

According to Fromm, humans are torn from the nature nevertheless they still share the natural world, subjected with physical limitations like any other animal. Humans, being the self-aware
animal with the capability of imagining and reasoning, they are often referred to as the freak[s] of the universe. Though the ability to reason is why humans feel isolated and lonely, it is also responsible for uniting individuals with the world.

With political and economic freedom, people gradually became more isolated. For instance—People of the Middle Ages had comparatively less personal freedom. During that time, roles were prescribed which made the individuals of the society secure, certain and dependable. Further, when more freedom was obtained of moving socially and geographically. This made people free from the security of a fixed position in the world, no longer tying them to a particular region, social order or any occupation per se becoming more and more detached from the roots and secluded from one another.

A comparable experience exists on a personal level. As a child become matures, they gradually become more independent of their mothers, thus getting space and liberty to put across their individuality, to move about without supervision, to decide their clothes, friends etc. Simultaneously, they feel the burden of freedom meaning that the children getting freedom from the security of being one with the mother. Both individually and socially, the burden of freedom causes basic anxiety i.e. the feeling of being alone in the world which makes people attempt to run from freedom using variety of escape mechanisms. These mechanisms operate at individual as well as collective level.

**Authoritarianism**

Authoritarianism was defined as the propensity of giving up the freedom of one’s individual self and blending with somebody or something outside oneself, with an aim of acquiring the strength that the individual lacks (Fromm, 1941). It can result in: masochism or sadism. Contrasted with masochism, sadism is irrational and more socially damaging.

- Masochism aims to join the self with a more powerful individual or institution as the person feels weak, powerless and inferior. This phenomenon is frequently camouflaged as love or loyalty, with zero positive contribution to independence and authenticity.
- Sadism aims to basically reduce anxiety by uniting an individual with another individual or institution. According to Fromm, there are three kinds of sadistic tendencies:
  - The want of making other individuals depend on oneself and gaining authority over the weak.
  - Urge of exploiting others and taking advantage of them, using them for one’s profit or pleasure.
  - The need of seeing others suffering physically or psychologically.

**Destructiveness**

Destructiveness stems when one feels alone, isolated and powerless, not depending upon a constant relationship with another individual; somewhat, it tries to do away with other individuals. This technique of destroying people, objects with an aim to restore the lost feeling of power is used at both individual and national level as a mechanism of escape. Though, in this process, destructive individuals eliminate the outer world and come to possess a perverted form of isolation.

**Conformity**

People who conform tend to give up their individuality and become whatsoever other persons want them to be to escape the burden of freedom. Like robots, their reaction is
predictable and mechanical to the whims of others, appear stiff and automated, seldom articulate their opinions and cling to expected standards of behaviour.

Modern era individuals have freedom from external bonds thus, act as they wish, but they lack the knowledge of how they feel, what they want or think which results in them conforming like automats to an unknown authority and adopting an inauthentic self. According to Fromm, it is important for people to break out of this cycle of conforming and feeling powerless through attaining self-realization or positive freedom.

The bondage of isolation and powerlessness is not the only outcome of political and economic freedom and development. An individual can feel free and not lonely, critical and but not filled with doubts, independent and yet an integral part of mankind. Positive freedom could be attained by a natural and absolute manifestation of rational and emotional potentialities. Positive freedom is a process where individuals can overcome the fear of isolation, unite with the external environment and maintain individuality.

5. Fromm’s Structure of Personality

5.1 Character Orientations

According to Fromm personality can be discovered by one’s character orientation, i.e., how an individual relates to other individuals and things. According to Fromm personality is a sum of innate and acquired psychic abilities which are characteristic of one individual making every one of us unique.

One of the key acquired quality of personality is character which according to Fromm is a surrogate for the lacking instincts, i.e., character, instead of instinct determines human action. Further Fromm purports that if humans had to think before acting, then the actions would be inconsistent and incompetent but humans can behave both consistently and efficiently by acting in line with one’s character traits.

Individuals relate to the world when they obtain and utilize things (assimilation) and when they relate to self and others (socialization). This process of relating to things and individuals can either be non-productively or productively.

- **Non-productive Orientations**: Individuals obtain things by any of four non-productive orientations: (i) passively, by receiving or getting them, (ii) through exploitation, or taking things by power, (iii) hoarding objects and (iv) marketing or exchange of things. Fromm used the term “non-productive” to propose tactics that are unsuccessful in moving people closer to self-realization and positive freedom. Non-productive orientations are nonetheless not totally negative; rather have both negative and positive facet. Personality is always a combination of several orientations, although is dominated by one.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1 Non Productive Orientations</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Receptive</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
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<tr>
<td>✓ Believes that one</td>
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PSYCHOLOGY

Paper No 5: Personality Theories

Module No 13: Humanistic Psychoanalysis: Erich Fromm
**Personality Theories**

**Module No 13: Humanistic Psychoanalysis: Erich Fromm**

- They want aggressively rather than receiving them passively.
- In social relations, they are likely to use force or cunningness to take someone else’s property, ideas or relations.
- Willingness to express pilfered opinions.
- Keep everything inside, unable to let go, keeping money, thoughts and feelings to themselves.
- Instead of allowing relationships to grow, the attempt is to have the loved one and to preserve status quo.
- Inclined to live in the past and resist new things. Anal traits are exhibited not because of sexual drives but because of their general interest in all that is not alive, including faeces.
- Personal value depends on one’s exchange value.
- Need to see themselves as being in constant demand; show others that they are skilful and saleable.
- Shaky notion of one’s own security as they adjust their personality to fashionable trends.
- Steered by the dictum ‘I am as you desire me’
- Have no permanent principles or values and operate without the notion of a past or future

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Negative Traits</th>
<th>Positive Traits</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>✓ Passive</td>
<td>✓ Loyalty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>✓ Lack of Self-Confidence</td>
<td>✓ Acceptance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>✓ Submissive</td>
<td>✓ Trust</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>✓ Ego-centric</td>
<td>✓ Impulsive</td>
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<tr>
<td>✓ Conceited</td>
<td>✓ Proud</td>
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<tr>
<td>✓ Arrogant</td>
<td>✓ Charming</td>
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<tr>
<td>✓ Seducing</td>
<td>✓ Self-Confident.</td>
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<tr>
<td>✓ Rigid</td>
<td>✓ Orderliness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>✓ Lack of Creativity</td>
<td>✓ Cleanliness</td>
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<tr>
<td>✓ Sterile</td>
<td>✓ Punctuality</td>
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<tr>
<td>✓ Obstinate</td>
<td>✓ Changeable</td>
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<tr>
<td>✓ Compulsive</td>
<td>✓ Generous</td>
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<tr>
<td>✓ Aimless</td>
<td>✓ Open-Minded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>✓ Opportunistic</td>
<td>✓ Adaptable</td>
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<tr>
<td>✓ Inconsistent</td>
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<td>✓ Wasteful</td>
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**Productive Orientation:** The singular productive orientation consists of three facets—work, love and reason. Productive individuals work towards a continuing realization of their potential and positive freedom becoming the healthiest of all character types. Through productive activity of work, love and thought can people unite with others and world while retaining uniqueness and individuality. Healthy people consider work to be a creative way of expressing one’s self, not particularly as an end in itself.
Productive love is regarded by the four qualities of love—caring, respecting, knowledge and responsibility. In addition to these, healthy individuals possess bio-philia i.e., obsessive love of life and everything alive. Biophilic individuals want to contribute in growth of life of other individuals, flora, fauna, ideas and cultures. Biophilic people wish to influence other individuals by showing love, reason and example and not force.

According to Fromm, a healthy individual is a blend of all five character orientations. Healthy individual’s survival is based on one’s capability to receive, take, preserve, exchange things and to work, think and love effectively.

5.2 Personality Disorders

Unhealthy individuals face problem with their ability of working, thinking and loving productively.

According to Fromm (1981) psychologically disturbed individuals are unable of loving and establishing union with other individuals. He discussed 3 severe personality disorders— necrophilia, malignant narcissism and incestuous symbiosis.

- **Necrophilia:** Fromm (1964, 1973) used necrophilia in a global sense for referring to magnetism to death. Necrophilia is somewhat opposite to biophilia. People, by nature, have love for life but whenever a social conditions stunt expression of biophilia, a necrophilic orientation is adopted.

  Necrophilic personalities abhor humankind, for example, racists, warmongers and bullies; they like shedding blood, torturing, terrorizing and destructing life. Being strong supporters of rules, they enjoy talking about sickness, death and burials and are attracted by decay, dirt, faeces and corpses. Usually fancy night over day and darkness over shadow. Destructive behaviour is a reflection of the basic character of necrophilous people.

- **Malignant Narcissism:** Healthy individuals show a nonthreatening practice of narcissism i.e. giving importance and showing interest in themselves. Narcissism in a malicious form hampers the view of what is real such that everything personal is highly valued and anything else is devalued.

  Narcissistic people are always occupied with their bodies, often admiring themselves in a mirror but also such a preoccupation usually leads to hypochondriasis or an obsession of one’s health. Fromm talked about a preoccupation with guiltiness about previous transgressions labelling it as moral hypochondriasis. Being fixated on one’s self, one is expected to internalize experiences and dwell over physical health as well as moral virtues.

- **Incestuous Symbiosis:** A risky dependency of an individual on one’s real or surrogate mother – incestuous symbiosis – is an exaggerated form of mother fixation. In a relatively normal form, males with a mother fixation requires females to admire and care for them and tend to feel depressed and anxious when their needs are not fulfilled. In incestuous symbiosis, people lose their individual identities and it is difficult to separate them from the host person. Incestuous symbiosis surfaces during infancy as a normal biological affection to the mother making it fundamental than any sexual interest that may develop during the oedipal period. Individuals living in such relationships suffer with anxiety and panic if the relationship is threatened. They are convinced that they need the mother figure to survive. The incestuous orientation obliterates the capability for authentic love, warps reasoning powers and thwarts people from realizing independence and integrity.
Some pathologic persons have all 3 personality disorders i.e. they are fascinated by death, take delight in put an end to those individuals who are regarded as inferior and share a neurotic symbiotic relationship with one’s mother. Such individual’s develop the syndrome of decay which is the opposite of syndrome of growth which has biophilia, love and positive freedom.

5.3 Psychotherapy

Fromm agreed to most tenets and procedures of Freudian psychoanalysis like free association, dream interpretation, transference, resistance, counter-transference, working through to bring unconscious to consciousness. According to Fromm, Freud’s psychoanalysis is not appropriate for everyone and cannot guarantee improvement. Fromm preferred transference neurosis and wanted the analyst to be perceived as an authentic human being by the patient. He favoured the Adlerian technique of early recollections and shared Horney’s take that insights must be achieved on an intellectual as well as an emotional level to be effective. Analytic therapy aims at assisting the patient swap from selected non-productive frame of orientation with the productive one.

According to Fromm, the reason behind a patient’s visit to therapy is to seek satisfaction of their basic five human needs. That is why it is necessary to build it on a personal relationship between patient and therapist. As truthful contact is crucial to therapeutic growth, it is important for the therapist to relate to the patient with total attention and genuineness. This relatedness will rejuvenate the patient by uniting with other individuals. Even though transference and countertransference would exist in this relationship, involvement of two real individuals with one another would be there. As part of his endeavour to attain shared communication, Fromm (1951), in the belief that dreams, fairy tales and myths are symbolic and universal language, asked patients to disclose their dreams.

In essence, Fromm’s psychological prescriptions are not for the people, rather for the society. He warned that the fading global food supply, deterioration of the environment from pollution and the propagation of nuclear weapons threaten the survival of our species. To Fromm, a radical remodelling of society is the only way to avert disaster.

6. Evaluative Comments

Erich Fromm was a dazzling essayist of all personality theorists. He has written attractive essays on Marx, Christ, Hitler, Freud, international politics (Fromm, 1961), psychological difficulties of the aging (Fromm, 1981), significance of holy prophets for individuals today (Fromm, 1986) among others. Fromm’s universal method to theory formation, erecting a grand, abstract model – were philosophical than scientific. His views about the nature of the human do strike a receptive chord. The breadth of Fromm’s theory allows organization an explanation of what all is known about human personality. His socio-politico-historical perspective provides deep understanding of the conditions of human; but the lack of precision in his theory makes it difficult to predict and falsification impossible. Contrasting from Freud, Fromm did not elucidate the relationships among terms used in his former and later writings. Fromm’s theory has generated modest empirical research and an ignorance of important similarities between the constructs of other theorists and his own is at display. As an action guide, the principal of Fromm’s writings is to kindle readers to think productively. Regrettably, neither the therapist nor the researcher obtains useful information from Fromm’s treatise. Fromm’s all-encompassing recommendation for social reform have been exceedingly contentious. His socialistic approach is objectionable to capitalism believers. Some of his proposals lack detail, while others are exceptionally complex to execute.
8. Summary

- People are disconnected from the early union with nature and with one individual, however they possess the ability to reason and imagine. The reason behind an individual feeling lonely, isolated and homeless is self-awareness.
- For escaping from these feelings, people endeavour to reunite with their fellow human beings and subsequently nature.
- Fromm acknowledged the significance of unconscious processes, repression and defense mechanisms, rejecting Freudian idea of id, ego and superego and did not support any other structural model.
- The survival of healthy individuals is based on the capacity to receive, take, preserve, exchange things and to work, think and love effectively. Unhealthy individuals face problem with their ability of working, thinking and loving productively.
- Severe personality disorders motivated by the syndrome of decay are necrophilia, malignant narcissism and incestuous symbiosis.
- According to Fromm, the reason behind a patient’s visit to therapy is to seek satisfaction of their basic five human needs. That is why it is necessary to build it on a personal relationship between patient and therapist.
- Fromm’s psychotherapy aims at establishing a union with patients so as to reunite with the world.
- To Fromm, a radical remodelling of society is the only way to avert disaster. Fromm’s proposals of social change seem excessive and unscientific.