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5

The New Wave in the Psychoanalytic Tradition

"Sometimes misfortune brings opportunity."

—Jocelyn Murray (b. 1970), American author

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Learning Objectives

After reading this chapter, you should be able to:

- Compare Freud's views with those of the new wave psychoanalysts
- Summarize the key findings of ego psychology, including Erikson's stages of development
- Discuss the theoretical expansions that moved away from the Freudian concept of libido
- Discuss the development of fields of study that apply psychoanalysis to social behavior
- Identify four contributions of the new wave psychoanalysts to personality psychology
- Identify ways to apply the key principles of the new wave in the psychoanalytic tradition to individual experience and behavior

Long before Christiane Amanpour, Amy Kellog, and other network journalists began reporting from war zones, there was Martha Gellhorn. She was in her 20s when she went to Spain in the 1930s to report about the unfolding civil war there. Then she went to Finland to write about the coming Soviet military invasion. Gellhorn reached the beaches of Normandy on D-Day in 1944 and acted as a stretcher-bearer after hiding in the bathroom of a ship (at that time, women reporters were not allowed to be on the front lines). She spent the rest of the war in Europe. She traveled to Vietnam in the 1960s to write about the war there. During a time when journalism was still overwhelmingly a male profession, Gellhorn became one of the first female reporters to be accepted by male colleagues as an equal.

Some people keep doing what they are told to do. Others stay within the mainstream. Yet others challenge the established rules. Why? What motivates them? What kind of an internal force pushes them to do something that others do not dare to do? Gellhorn herself said she was trying to figure out what motivated her to do what she was doing.

She read Freud but disagreed with him. She did not believe that unresolved infantile conflicts were the source of her actions. She had a happy childhood and loving parents. She disliked self-pity and believed that people must take responsibility for their own lives. She even criticized Freud for giving people the right to blame someone else for their own problems.

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Maybe you think Adler's logic is applicable here as a way to explain that Gelhorn's journalism was a chance for her to overcome her "inferiority" and ineptness in social relationships, but that doesn't fit either, as Gellhorn had a very busy social life. She befriended many powerful politicians, renowned writers, and famous musical conductors. Her house was full of guests. She was married several times, and one of her spouses was the famous writer Ernest Hemingway. She had several love affairs, including ones with a legendary World War II general and a billionaire. She was acquainted with Eleanor Roosevelt. She wanted to create more, and she was never satisfied with what she had achieved. She often mistrusted top generals and politicians and preferred to interview the rank and file.

Perhaps Gelhorn was motivated by her anger. She was once asked if she was ever afraid, and she replied, "I feel angry, every minute, about everything." She maintained a consistent, lifelong anger toward the liars and frauds. She believed that the main problem with the world was that the crooks were running it. She also complained about a fear of boredom. Paraphrasing a Russian poet, she said, "If there is nothing else to do, scream." Gellhorn was longing to scream (Moorehead, 2003).

According to her own admission, there is "too much space in the world. I am bewildered by it, and mad with it. And this urge to run away from what I love is a sort of sadism I no longer pretend to understand" (Amidon, 2006, para. 3). She also revealed that she had never known complete love—except from Miss Edna, her mother. Gellhorn often compared herself to her mother, specifically to her integrity and honesty—ideals Gellhorn always wanted to achieve.

Maybe the true source of her motivation was her own self-challenge. She believed it was a constant desire to discover something within, to make a difference. Maybe her motivation was coming out of the search for a bigger, more meaningful self.

Are we all searching for a better self? Some of us quit in the middle of the search. Others never stop.

Sources: Amidon, 2006; Kozaryn, 1998; Moorhead, 2003.

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Psychoanalysis and Society

Psychoanalysis influenced the studies of personality in several directions. The first influential wave already

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discussed in Chapter 4 included the development of the original psychoanalytic concepts of Freud, Jung, and Adler. We will call it classical psychoanalysis, for convenience. Its popularity grew in various aspects of society in the United States and in other parts of the world in the first half of the 20th century. The second wave included the new psychoanalytic theories that significantly advanced and changed classical psychoanalysis later in that century. The wave path involved the expansion and practical advancement of psychoanalysis in the fields of history, the humanities, and social sciences. We will discuss the new wave in this chapter.

Professional Applications

Few people in the early 1900s could foresee the degree of public fascination with psychoanalysis that would appear two decades later. In Europe, North America, and South America, classical psychoanalysis was gaining recognition as a legitimate theory and a form of therapy. Psychoanalytic clinics appeared. Clinicians used these facilities for at least two purposes: (1) to provide psychological help and (2) to train professionals interested in psychoanalysis. One of the earliest clinics was opened in London in 1920 and became an important center for training mental health specialists (Fraher, 2004).

Many followers of psychoanalysis wanted to study all areas of human behavior, not only those limited to mental illness. Psychiatrists, anthropologists, literary critics, journalists, and other professionals gradually discovered that their use of psychoanalysis generated money and could even bring a stable income. Where did the money come from? It came from several sources. One key source was paying clients with psychological problems. These people had money and needed help from professional therapists. Others were people who paid for books, journals, and magazines. Many also attended psychoanalytic lectures for a fee. They already had medical degrees and paid tuition to study psychoanalysis and learn therapeutic skills with the goal to become practitioners in the fields of psychoanalysis. Psychoanalysis, in a way, became a "product" for sale and purchase. Psychoanalysts could advertise their ideas, generate the demand for them, and create jobs. University students saw in psychoanalysis an interesting and rewarding career.

Popular Appeal

Learn about *self*! A new trend emerged among the educated circles mostly in the United States and Europe as early as in the 1920s. Newspaper articles, magazine stories, and pop-psychology books contributed to this frenzy. Upper-middle-class professionals, students, professors, and artists wanted to be psychoanalyzed or "psyched" (as people called it then). People were analyzing one another at home parties and other informal gatherings. Words such as *ego* and *libido* from the Freudian dictionary entered the vocabulary of the educated. In the spirit of American entrepreneurship, some people in the United States registered new educational companies and offered crash courses in psychoanalysis. For a fee, they promised a top-rated training in psychoanalysis. Criminologists turned to psychoanalysis to understand the personalities of violent criminals, thieves, habitual sex offenders, and swindlers. Educators learned about the superego to understand the inner world of the student. To explain

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an individual's behavioral problems as having something to do with his or her parents (as Freud taught), inferiority problems (as Adler suggested), or archetypes (based on Jung's theory) appeared scientific and modern. Serious discussions of human sexuality and its psychological attributes produced significant magazine sales.

The books by fiction writers such as Fyodor Dostoevsky (1821–1881), Franz Kafka (1883–1924), James Joyce (1882–1941), and Stefan Zweig (1881–1942), among others, generated special attention of the educated. These writers emerged to the reading public and critics as skilled "analysts" in their own way because they exposed the intimate, conflict-ridden, and seemingly bizarre worlds of some of their literary characters. Their obsessions, insecurities, suicidal thoughts, fantasies, psychological metamorphoses, and their constant soul searching appeared somewhat understandable, less mysterious, and in a way, human. The individual's inner world, thanks to psychoanalysis, was emerging as an interplay of identifiable forces. Psychoanalysts studied real, not imaginary, people with real problems (Karon & Widener, 2001). This focus on helping others and applying psychoanalytic theories contributed to a rise in the academic reputation and legitimacy of psychoanalysis.

Psychoanalysis and Ideology

Each country's conditions influenced the fate of psychoanalysis as a theory, as well as the application of its ideas in clinical, educational, and other spheres. Psychoanalysis gained attention in many countries. Freud's works appeared in several translations, including French, English, Spanish, Italian, and Russian. In the Soviet Union in the 1920s, some government officials initially supported psychoanalysis. Although they followed the official communist doctrine of "banning" or limiting the spread of scientific knowledge from capitalist countries, they saw psychoanalysis differently. They believed that psychoanalysis could help them reveal all the psychological weaknesses and flaws of the individual living in a capitalist society (Mursalieva, 2003). Several Soviet scholars received government funding to start psychoanalytic centers. For example, the Soviet psychoanalyst Sabrina Spielrein (1885–1942), Jung's former patient and confidante, returned to the Soviet Union in hopes of using psychoanalysis in her work with children (her life was popularized in the 2011 Hollywood movie *A Dangerous Method*, in which Keira Knightley played the role of Sabrina Spielrein).

However, official support of psychoanalysis in the Soviet Union ended by the 1930s. The theory of the power of unconscious processes in the life of the individual did not fit into communist ideology, which emphasized the importance of logic and reason. According to the communist ideology, all inner conflicts within the individual should disappear as soon as this person is placed in the conditions of social equality under the rules of communism (Etkind, 1993). From the 1930s to the 1980s, psychologists in the Soviet Union were permitted to write or teach about Freud and his views of personality only from a critical perspective.

In Germany after the Nazi party came to power in 1933, people who studied and taught psychoanalysis found themselves under attack. Nazism as an official ideology of the German state was rooted in deep-seated attitudes of racism, nationalism, and homophobia. Psychoanalysis was attacked for its alleged "decadent" and "perverted" views of the individual because it undermined the values of the German nation. In a short

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CHECK AND APPLY YOUR KNOWLEDGE

1. What was the purpose of psychoanalytic clinics?
2. Why did many professionals turn to psychoanalysis in the first half of the 20th century?
3. Which movie or literary character (classic or modern) would you consider most interesting for psychoanalysis and why?

period, psychoanalysis was declared a "Jewish" science (because many early psychoanalysts were Jewish), which allowed the government to launch an open attack on professors and clinicians. Freud's books were confiscated from libraries and bookstores and burned; professors were openly insulted and physically attacked. Only a few lucky ones were able to emigrate from Germany to the United States or other countries. Many others perished in concentration camps. Psychoanalysis soon was officially banned in Germany as a theory and treatment method (Frosh, 2009).

Psychology and Psychoanalysis

Over the years, Western (and later non-Western) psychologists maintained an ambivalent position about the psychoanalytic view of the individual. From the early days of psychoanalysis, some psychologists saw it as just a fashionable trend. The American psychologist James Cattell, for example, called psychoanalysis an educated obsession. Many critics evaluated psychoanalysis as something that should be forgotten (Scott, 1908). Others saw psychoanalysis as a sophisticated conversational technique that could be useful in psychological therapy. Others saw the works of Freud, Adler, and Jung as an innovative contribution to psychology and an in-depth step into the study of the individual's personality. Still others reserved their judgment of psychoanalysis and wanted to see more studies before expressing their opinions about psychoanalysis and its theoretical and applied value (Dunlap, 1920).

Despite criticisms, psychoanalysis generated a growing public interest worldwide, especially in the West, and motivated many people, especially the young, to read psychology books and take psychology classes. A new crop of psychoanalysts, who were coming mostly from the clinical field, emerged. Not all of them liked to be called "psychoanalysts," yet the impact of the original psychoanalysis on their work was obvious. At the same time, they significantly changed the classical psychoanalysis and introduced a more dynamic, sophisticated view of personality.

Theoretical Expansions: Ego Psychology

Very few theories have had such a long-lasting impact on psychology as psychoanalysis. The followers of this theory were supporting some elements of it, refining others, and outright rejecting yet others. Overall, they were contributing to personality

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psychology by paying serious attention to a wide range of social factors contributing to an individual's development and experience.

Most of Freud's followers accepted the general idea that infantile conflicts should affect the individual's adult experiences and thus his or her personality features later in life. They also acknowledged that the individual is generally unaware of such conflicts. The awareness may be achieved in psychoanalytic therapy. After this point, with years passing, the interpretations grew increasingly diverse. Several trends in the new wave of psychoanalysis emerged (Fairbairn, 1963). Some psychoanalysts focused on a further examination of the ego and its functioning. As you remember, in Freudian theory the ego mostly represents the conscious aspects of the individual's personality. At this point, instead of looking at unconscious motives and their impact on the ego, researchers approached the individual as functioning in real-life circumstances. A new field of research called **ego psychology** began to focus on how the ego interacts with this social environment.

Ego psychology
Ego psychology focuses on how the ego interacts with its social environment.

It was a promising approach. The emerging ego psychology was in some ways a compromise between classical psychoanalysis and experimental psychology taught at universities: Psychoanalysts could now claim more legitimacy among professional psychologists who still had a difficult time accepting major postulates of psychoanalysis. Ego psychology also reintroduced consciousness as a legitimate area of study (Hartmann, 1958). Because of the emphasis of ego psychology on rationality, its basic research and findings were seemingly applicable not only to therapy but also to learning, education, and psychological testing (Sandler, 1985).

Ego psychology has never been a cohesive theory with an undisputed list of key terms and an advanced methodology. Ego psychology was frequently used to describe a wide range of studies generally focusing on the mechanisms of ego functioning. To describe the most important findings of ego psychology, as well as its contributions to personality psychology, we will examine the work of two prominent psychologists: Anna Freud and Erik Erikson.

Works of Anna Freud

Anna Freud (1895–1982) was the youngest of Sigmund Freud's six offspring. Born and raised in Vienna, she expressed her interest in psychoanalysis very early in her life. She started reading her father's articles and books at the age of 15 (some commentators considered this inappropriate because of the strong sexual context of these works). She chose a career as a schoolteacher, for which she received professional training in Germany. Anna escaped persecution by the Nazis and emigrated with her parents from Austria to London in 1938. There she founded a child therapy clinic, which is still in existence and is now called the Anna Freud Centre. She continued to work in the United Kingdom for many years, earning many awards and honorary degrees, including the Decoration of Honor for Services to the Republic of Austria, which was her birth land.

Anna could not escape the fact that she was the daughter of an internationally famous researcher and therapist. Nevertheless, it wasn't her father's reputation alone that brought Anna worldwide recognition and a place in psychology textbooks. She was above all a talented scholar, a dedicated teacher, and a successful therapist. Her training as a teacher and work with children informed her later work as a therapist.

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Photo 5.1 Anna Freud helped to break the "glass ceiling" for women in psychology. Today, more women than men in the United States and Canada major in psychology. Why do you think this trend occurred?

She emphasized that children could not explain their psychological problems as efficiently as most adults could. Medical and educational professionals working with children, she argued, should develop special skills to understand children's symptoms and interpret them (Bruehl, 1990).

Her most influential book was *The Ego and the Mechanisms of Defense* (1966), in which she focused on the inner struggles of the individual. It was above all the struggle of the ego with the overwhelming demands of the id, on the one hand, and powerful restrictions imposed by reality, on the other. Ego defenses or **defense mechanisms** are specific unconscious structures that enable an individual to avoid awareness of unpleasant, anxiety-arousing issues. The function of the ego is to defend itself from these issues. Such a defense is set to protect a person's ego against anxiety, shame, guilt, or other emotional challenges. The defense is launched automatically and remains mostly unconscious. This means that a person's defenses occur without this individual's awareness of them.

Defense mechanisms The specific unconscious structures that enable individuals to avoid awareness of unpleasant, anxiety-arousing issues are called defense mechanisms.

To an outside observer, there is quite often a puzzling connection between specific circumstances and the person's responses to them. For example, why does a young man suddenly start acting immaturely and irresponsibly after announcing an engagement to his girlfriend? One would expect quite the opposite type of behavior from a man who is about to get married, right? The problem is that we sometimes cannot find rational explanations for someone's behavior because defenses are launched to

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protect a person's ego and not necessarily to produce a rational response to a situation or a conflict. So how would have Anna Freud explained the childish behavior of the man in this example? She would have suggested that his behavioral immaturity is an example of responsibility avoidance. This young man subconsciously does not want to accept the responsibility of being an adult, and thus, he protects the ego from a tough battle between his desires and his duties by acting immature.

Anna Freud suggested ten basic defense mechanisms (there are other defense mechanisms, the exact number of which has always been disputed): repression, regression, reaction formation, isolation, undoing, projection, introjection, turning against, compensation, sublimation, rationalization, and displacement (Cramer, 1991; see **Table 5.1**).

How can one detect and study defense mechanisms within an individual? A trained analyst is capable of doing so in the process of a clinical interview and by

TABLE 5.1 ● Examples and Brief Descriptions of Defense Mechanisms

Defense Mechanism	A Brief Illustration
Repression: Shoving thoughts and urges—socially unacceptable or distressing—into the unconscious. The exclusion of certain psychological activities from conscious awareness.	Not remembering, thinking, or talking about a violent incident that took place years ago.
Regression: Reversion of the ego to earlier, "childish" or infantile ways of acting or feeling even though more mature responses have been learned.	Instead of planning his wedding, the fiancé spends all day long under the blanket playing video games.
Reaction formation: Establishment of a trait or behavioral pattern that is exactly opposed to a strong unconscious trend. Typically, such an unconscious trend is anxiety provoking and, therefore, appears as a threat to the ego.	A person who dislikes little children (especially noisy ones) volunteers to be a babysitter in the neighborhood.
Isolation: Manifesting a mental gap or a period of inactivity between a strong unconscious impulse and subsequent other thought and behaviors.	A client takes a long pause during a therapy session before talking about his or her traumatic experience 10 years ago.
Undoing: Overcoming or taking back threatening thoughts or actions by engaging in behavior or thinking that new ideas or deeds are supposed to "undo" the threatening actions or thoughts.	Turning to cooking dinner after feeling guilty for a particular act or a thought.
Projection: Self-denial and unwittingly attributing one's own unacceptable thoughts and impulses to others.	A person who is jealous of his friend's success accuses other friends of being jealous.
Introjection: Bringing external events or other people's experiences and behaviors to own mental processes and actions.	An individual imitates the voice or manners of a particular movie character.

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Defense Mechanism	A Brief Illustration
Self-Harm: Turning against oneself in words and actions.	A person is spreading disparaging yet unwarranted remarks about him- or herself.
Compensation: Exclusion of awareness of any anxiety-provoking deficiency by engaging in some activities or excelling in some way.	After a breakup, a woman turns to songwriting.
Sublimation: Transforming unacceptable ideas and impulses into socially acceptable ambitions and actions.	Instead of breaking up with his partner, an unhappy man begins studying yoga and meditation.
Rationalization: Giving improbable (or other) excuses for own shortcomings and mistakes, thereby avoiding responsibility.	A person says to her family members who ask her to make an important life decision: "I am a thinker not a decision-maker!"
Displacement: Redirecting impulses, emotions, fears, and so on, from the real Person A to a "substitute" Person B.	A person is frustrated with his boss at work and kicks his dog after returning home.

Sources: Freud (1966); English and English (1958).

CHECK AND APPLY YOUR KNOWLEDGE

1. Who was Anna Freud? What did she do as a professional?
2. What is ego psychology's main subject?
3. Explain a defense mechanism.
4. Give an example of regression using your personal observations of other people.

examining a person's everyday behavior and decisions. All they need is paper and a pen or pencil to record their dialogues with an individual, write down observations, and suggest their interpretations.

Many psychologists used the concept of the defense mechanism in their theories and practical work. For this and many other reasons, Anna Freud has earned respect among many generations of psychologists.

Erik Erikson's Stages of Development

One of Anna Freud's most prominent followers was Erik Erikson (1902–1994), whom she met in Vienna. Erikson was born in Germany and received initial training at the Vienna Psychoanalytic Institute before his immigration to the United States. He worked in America as a psychology practitioner and professor, teaching in different

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schools that included Yale, the University of California at Berkeley, and Harvard. Erikson made a significant contribution to the psychoanalytic tradition by turning to sociocultural influences on an individual's development.

Developmental stages (Erikson's) In Erikson's view, developmental stages are the periods of a life-span in which the ego faces age-related developmental challenges, usually resulting in a conflict.

On the basis of his observations of hundreds of patients, Erikson proposed that the ego is supposed to develop in stages. The individual is likely to pass through eight of such **developmental stages** (see **Table 5.2**). At each of them, the ego faces age-related developmental challenges resulting in a conflict. Different challenges may lead to different types of thinking and acting. A person's ego may be weakened or strengthened by gaining a greater adaptation capacity (Erikson, 1950). Only then, through a healthy adaptation, is a positive, healthy outcome of a conflict possible. But if the crisis has not been resolved, the ego loses strength, which results in poor adaptation. For instance, a 4-year-old girl helps her parents clean the table after dinner (the girl initiates this action), but unfortunately while doing so, she breaks an expensive plate. However, the parents do not punish the girl for this accident and even praise her for her willingness to help. In this case, her initiative has been rewarded. This reward contributes to the development of a sense of direction or purpose. If the parents had focused on the broken plate instead and angrily told their daughter not to help anymore, this could have generated a negative outcome—the girl would have begun forming a sense of unworthiness. We will return to another discussion of these stages in Chapter 11.

Identity crisis An identity crisis is an inner state of tension due to a person's inability to see and accept self with confidence and certainty.

Erikson coined the term **identity crisis**—an inner state of tension due to a person's inability to see and accept self with confidence and certainty (see **Figure 5.1**). Erikson maintained that every individual has to possess the sense of personal sameness and continuity. This sense should not be significantly different from the image we form of the outside world, which also has these features of sameness and continuity. Identity crisis is a result of tension or conflict between the developing ego and the changing world.

TABLE 5.2 ● Developmental Stages According to Erikson (1950)

Stage	Ego Crisis	Age	Positive Outcome
1	Basic trust versus mistrust	0–2	Hope
2	Autonomy versus shame and doubt	2–3	Will
3	Initiative versus guilt	3–5	Purpose
4	Industry versus inferiority	5–12	Competence
5	Ego identity versus role confusion	Adolescence	Fidelity
6	Intimacy versus isolation	Young adult	Love
7	Generativity (nurturing things that outlast the individual) versus stagnation	Adulthood	Care
8	Ego integrity versus despair	Maturity	Wisdom

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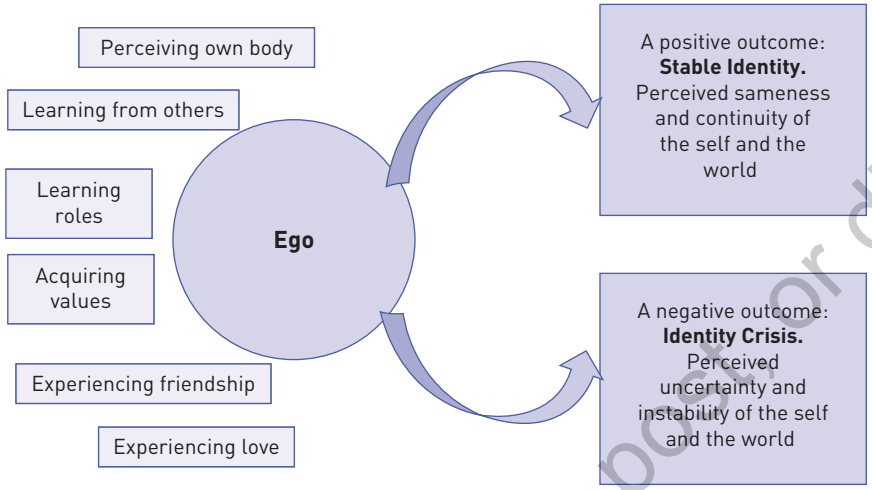
FIGURE 5.1 ● Identity Stability and Crisis According to Erikson



Because the world is continuously transforming, new challenges continuously arise. This is where Erikson broke with a main postulate of psychoanalysis, according to which the personality is shaped primarily during infancy and early childhood. He insisted on the importance of continuing experiences and adjustments in an individual's life.

Identity crisis is not necessarily a problem or a malady. It can simply be the source of a person's new mode of thinking and actions. To illustrate, Erikson turned to historic figures and speculated about their lives. For example, he interpreted the life of Martin Luther (1483–1546), one of the most significant, historic figures of the Protestant Reformation (Erikson, 1962). Erikson claimed that Luther's challenge against the Catholic Church was, in fact, an attempt to address his personal identity crisis. He speculates that Luther carried an unconscious goal to do something significant in life, and when he did not achieve this goal, he experienced an inner crisis, which was exacerbated by his conflict with his father. So the inner conflict of one man apparently resulted in the historic transformation of the entire Western culture!

In another book (1969) written about the great Indian revolutionary Mohandas Gandhi (1869–1948), Erikson further developed the idea of different forces shaping the individual's personality. The early death of Gandhi's father and an unsuccessful marriage brought Gandhi significant challenges. Along with these challenges came the powerful unconscious desire to overcome his personal imperfections. Yet his early experiences with political protest in India helped Gandhi reach a conclusion about the dangers and uselessness of violence. In his view, nonviolence, called *Satyagraha*, should be the solution to most social injustices. *Satyagraha* should come not from our weakness but rather from our strength. This strength is found not in muscles but rather in our sense of dignity. Erikson sincerely believed that nonviolence was a perfect condition to develop a healthy ego. Longitudinal studies showed that engagement

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SELF-REFLECTION

Have you ever experienced an identity crisis? Have you ever lost confidence and certainty about who you are as a person and where you are going with your life? Psychologists believe that such "crises" are very common. Yet the degree or depth of such crises differs from person to person. How significant was yours? When did it happen? Most importantly, how did you solve this crisis? Feel free to share your ideas with others, if you feel comfortable. There is always someone who will learn from your experiences.

in multiple roles during early adulthood was positively correlated with generativity in Erikson's theory (Vandewater, Ostrove, & Stewart, 1997). Erikson defined an individual with a healthy or mature personality as one whose ego possesses the eight virtues—hope, will, purpose, competence, fidelity, love, care, and wisdom. These virtues emerge in progression, from a positive resolution at each stage of development. Erikson believed the goal of psychotherapy was to encourage the growth of whatever virtues a person was missing so that person could achieve happiness (Erikson, 1968). His ideas generated interest and found support with many psychologists in the West.

Erikson and Global Applications

Erikson's views allow us to approach the issue of whether psychological ideas established in one culture are applicable to another. Some studies show that on the one hand, Erikson's theory of the developmental stages could be applicable to various cultures (Gardiner, Mutter, & Kosmitzki, 1998). For example, Erikson's views correspond in many ways with Indian philosophical traditions aimed at self-transformation through insight into the nature of self (Paranjpe, 1998). However, Erikson's developmental stages indicate a general sequence that is not necessarily parallel to the stages of other ethnic groups. Unlike most adults in economically developed societies, people in many underdeveloped parts of the world face a very insecure reality. Hunger, violence, instability, chronic ecological problems, and political cataclysms are often the permanent focus of these people's daily concerns. Various erratic disturbances present a wide range of unpredictable problems, and the sequence of these problems is different from what appears in Erikson's classification. Therefore, more immediate strategies of survival "here and now" are likely to dominate these people's lives, not necessarily long-term inner conflicts related to the past. Furthermore, the issue of an individual's identity is likely not concluded by adolescence, as Erikson suggested. Studies of immigrants to the United States show that identity continues to evolve in many people during adulthood, long after the period Erikson had proposed in his classification (Shiraev & Levy, 2013). With increasing global migration, people's identity is likely to undergo changes as they experience social transition in their lives. Erikson assumed that people should have choices in terms of their identity or beliefs. However, in many parts of the world, people's identities and lifestyles are prescribed at birth. They have to accept a particular religion, social status, profession, and place

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Photo 5.2 Erikson said that people should have choices when selecting identities, such as religious, social, and political views. In your opinion, are most people really free to choose their identities?

to live. People have fewer choices, and therefore, their transition from one stage to another may be "smoother" than for people who have more choices.

It is also important to realize that in some cultures, social maturation is not associated with increased independence, as happens in the West, but rather with increased interdependence. In India, for example, the Hindu concept of self historically has not been focused on one's autonomy but rather on being an integral part of a larger whole or group (Kurtz, 1992). Studies show that the sequence and timing of the developmental stages may be at times similar and yet different in varying ethnic groups—for example, in black and white samples in South Africa: White women were expected to solve the identity crisis earlier than men, and black men tended to resolve the identity crisis only after age 40 (Ochse & Plug, 1986).

Like Erik Erikson and Anna Freud, other prominent scientists preserved some of the initial ideas of psychoanalysis, but moved further away from it.

CHECK AND APPLY YOUR KNOWLEDGE

1. What is an identity crisis?
2. Why did Erikson study Martin Luther and Mohandas Gandhi?
3. Is Erikson's theory applicable across cultures? What are these theory cross-cultural limitations?

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Theoretical Expansions: Away From the Libido Concept

This section focuses on the works of Karen Horney, Henry Murray, Harry Stack Sullivan, and Jacques Lacan, who made significant contributions to personality psychology. One of the major areas of their revision of classical psychoanalysis was the libido concept.

The Individual's Basic Anxiety

A significant revision of the Freudian concept of libido came from Karen Horney (1885–1952). Born and raised in Germany, she received a medical degree from the University of Berlin. In 1920, Horney took up a position within the Institute for Psychoanalysis in Berlin, where she lectured for several years. She immigrated to the United States in 1930, where she continued her medical work and research. She recognized the power of unconscious conflicts and their roots in infancy and childhood. Yet she criticized Freud's approach to sexuality and the concept of libido. She moved beyond these classical postulates as she began focusing more on the psychology of women.

Horney rejected the Freudian view that the main source of female unconscious conflicts is the woman's sense of inferiority. Men also have reason to feel inferior to women and to be envious of women, she argued. One of the several reasons for envy is men's inability to bear children. She also critiqued the concept of the Oedipus complex, suggesting that children's ambivalent relationships with their parents are most likely caused by specific circumstances of their lives and not necessarily by sexual factors alone (Horney, 1950).

Karen Horney broadened the traditional understanding of *neurosis*, a catchall label popular in the 20th century to describe a range of the individual's persistent anxiety- and mood-related symptoms. She considered neurosis a more common, widespread phenomenon among individuals than most psychologists believed. In Horney's view, neurosis was a general maladjustment between an individual and a traumatic event or development. She argued that we pursue our basic needs, including but not limited to affection, power, companionship, perfection, and achievement; we try to satisfy these needs, yet we cannot satisfy them all. So we develop coping strategies: In some cases, we move forward to satisfy our needs, and in others, we shift away from our needs or defy them. For example, a person feeling lonely after a breakup will be open to new experiences and seek new acquaintances. This could be a healthy solution. Under different circumstances, however, loneliness can lead to a deepening frustration, further social isolation, depression, irritation, or even aggressive behavior.

Basic anxiety In Karen Horney's system, basic anxiety is exhibited in feelings of loneliness, hopelessness, and counter-hostility (emotional responses to hostile situations).

Horney referred to **basic anxiety** to describe an individual's feelings of loneliness and hopelessness. Basic anxiety often causes *counterhostility*, which is an individual's emotional response to intimidating situations. Such negative feelings originate mostly during childhood and are based on the child's relationships with parents. Horney emphasized that the nature of these early traumatic events does not have to be sexual. The child's fear of becoming helpless or lonely creates anxiety, which may produce abnormal responses that constitute the foundation for a neurosis. Looking for sources

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of basic anxiety, Horney focused on broad social and cultural factors affecting the child's development (Paris, 1994).

She paid particular attention to the psychological development of women and the problems they faced in society. She pointed out that many psychological problems relating to women's self-esteem, confidence, and psychological stability are due to old sexist customs and traditional societal expectations about women's role in society. In her view, society encourages women to depend on men and worship their strength and wealth, but she sees therapy, including self-therapy, as the solution to social inequalities between men and women.

Interpersonal Psychoanalysis

Harry Stack Sullivan (1892–1949) made an important contribution to the study of personality. He focused on interpersonal relationships. Born in the United States, he enriched and expanded psychoanalysis based on his theoretical research and clinical work with patients. Sullivan laid the groundwork for understanding the individual based on the network of relationships in which he or she is involved. He believed that cultural forces are largely responsible for the individual's psychological problems (Rioch, 1985). He was among the first to introduce the term **significant other** to refer to the most intimate and important person in the individual's life: a partner, a fiancée, or a spouse (Sullivan, 1953). Sullivan also wrote about self-esteem as a special arrangement of traits developed in childhood. These traits often receive positive appraisal and support from adults, which helps the child avoid excessive anxiety.

Significant other The most intimate and important person in a person's life—a partner, a fiancé(e), or a spouse—is known as a significant other.

Sullivan preserved several core concepts of the Freudian system by emphasizing the importance of unconscious mechanisms and dedicating significant attention to a person's early childhood experiences. Like Karen Horney, he studied loneliness and its early impact on psychological development of the child. Like Anna Freud, he believed that defenses reduce an individual's anxiety, yet they often lead to inaccurate interpretations of reality. During early development, children develop certain self-perceptions and thus construct the world based on such perceptions. For example, early in life, the child develops the concept of the **bad-me**: an early awareness of self as disapproved by the adults. This awareness is a center for the development of later anxiety. However, children can see themselves from a different angle. The **good-me** is the child's awareness of an aspect of self that brings rewards, such as approval or kindness from the parents or other adults. This awareness serves as a foundation for understanding the whole self as good. The **not-me** refers to awareness of certain individual features that the child does not want to consider as part of his or her life and experience. The not-me is kept out of awareness by pushing it deep into the unconscious. An individual's personality is formed through a complex set of relationships and interactions. Sullivan maintained that people develop their psychological traits during adolescence and even later during adulthood.

Bad-me In Sullivan's system, the bad-me is an early awareness of self as disapproved by the adults.

Good-me In Sullivan's system, the good-me is an early awareness of an aspect of self that brings rewards from the parents or other adults.

Not-me In Sullivan's system, not-me refers to the early awareness of certain individual features that the child does not want to consider as part of his or her experience.

A Complex Identity

The French psychiatrist and social scientist Jacques Lacan (1901–1981) made a contribution to personality psychology in his studies of the individual's identity and its

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CHECK AND APPLY YOUR KNOWLEDGE

1. What is a significant other? Who are your significant others? Why are they so significant to you?
2. Explain the good-me, the bad-me, and the not-me concepts.
3. Which role do "they" (in Lacan's theory) play in a person's development?

development. Lacan was a practicing therapist whose educational seminars in the 1950s attracted significant attention in France, and beyond. His theory was rooted in a diverse set of ideas from psychiatry, history, philosophy, and anthropology. One of his assumptions referred to the significance of others in an individual's formation of identity. By the middle of the second year, children are capable of recognizing their own images in the mirror. This experience brings the child pleasure because he or she perceives this image as something unified, holistic, and separate. Children perceive their own bodies as a collection of poorly coordinated pieces. The child initially feels tension because of the contradiction between the image of the self and the image of the body. To reduce this tension, the child soon identifies with the image, which forms the ego (Evans, 2005). This is a moment of joy because the child is capable of feeling his or her mastery over the body. However, soon the child realizes this mastery is insufficient because of the parent's power over the child. This may cause the formation of anxiety (Lacan, 2007).

Lacan retained one of the main postulates of the classical psychoanalysis: The individual is born into the world with essential needs that require constant gratification. However, other people begin to play a crucial role in the development of these needs. Early in life, individuals learn to desire things not because they need them, but because other people *tell* them that they need them (Lacan, 1988). In early years, as Lacan suggested, the child primarily tries to grasp what the mother or father desire. Then come symbols, such as the spoken and written language. What is important in our lives is largely decided by others. Certain words begin playing an important regulatory role in our lives. For example, using the name of the father ("Your father will be very angry") emphasizes a prohibitive function of the father (Johnston, 2014; Sharpe, 2008).

Psychoanalysis and Social Behavior

Psychology of Women

Many ideas of psychoanalysis that applied psychoanalysis to the individual's social behavior were positively received among social scientists. Helene Deutsch (1884–1982), was Freud's favorite student and a follower as a researcher and professional. After

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working in Vienna as a therapist, she moved to the United States in 1935 to escape her imminent arrest and death due to the unfolding political terror in her country. There she published a number of scholarly articles, but she became well-known for her two-volume book *The Psychology of Women* (Deutsch, 1944, 1945).

This book was a major early contribution to the field of psychology of women (Chapter 11), and it received attention from many professionals. Like Karen Horney, she received significant support and at the same time faced criticisms for her vision of the woman's role in contemporary society. She described women's ego as affected by the unconscious desire to overcome psychological deficiencies associated with their realization as young girls that their destiny is as a wife and mother. Deutsch believed that women have to challenge and overcome many complexes associated with their biological and social roles. Among such problems were their unconscious tendency to masochism (self-inflicted pain and suffering) and self-enslavement. While most social scientists at that time were looking into social and political causes of gender inequality, Deutsch emphasized psychological ones. Critics dismissed these ideas and believed Deutsch focused on the wrong causes, claiming problems that women faced were not about their psychological complexes but rather about social injustice and gender inequality.

Personality and Politics

A creative view of personality emerged from the works of Erich Fromm (1900–1980). His *Escape From Freedom* (published first in Britain as *Fear of Freedom*) is one of the most significant early significant contributions to psychology and social sciences (Fromm, 1941/1994). True freedom, Fromm wrote, is the individual's ability to have power and resources to realize their own potentials. Unfortunately, many people cannot embrace their freedom because they cannot make their own choices. They have too many of them. As a result, people follow three destructive paths: conformity, authoritarianism, and destruction. When people conform, they avoid anxiety by uncritically accepting someone else's ideas and actions. They also accept authoritarianism as an uncritical, judgmental form of intolerance against other people and ideas. Ultimately, some individuals turn to destruction because the authoritarian social order causes anxiety and insecurity (Fromm, 1947).

Fromm criticized dictatorship, Nazism, fascism, and communism as abusive forms of government and destroyers of individual freedom. He was also critical of capitalism. In his view, capitalism forces people to embrace consumerism and makes them long for material success. Fromm believed that the individual could be improved only if capitalism undergoes a transformation after the government chooses collectivist policies of equality.

Fromm researched **authoritarian personality**—a complex pattern of behavior and thought based on the individual's faithful acceptance of the power of authority, order, and subordination (see **Figure 5.2**). Discussions about authoritarian personality drew significant attention and sparked new research on this subject for many years (Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson, & Sanford, 1950). The interest in these studies continues today. One of the main assumptions of this research, which used

Authoritarian personality An authoritarian personality is exhibited in a complex pattern of behavior and thought based on the individual's faithful acceptance of the power of authority, order, and subordination.

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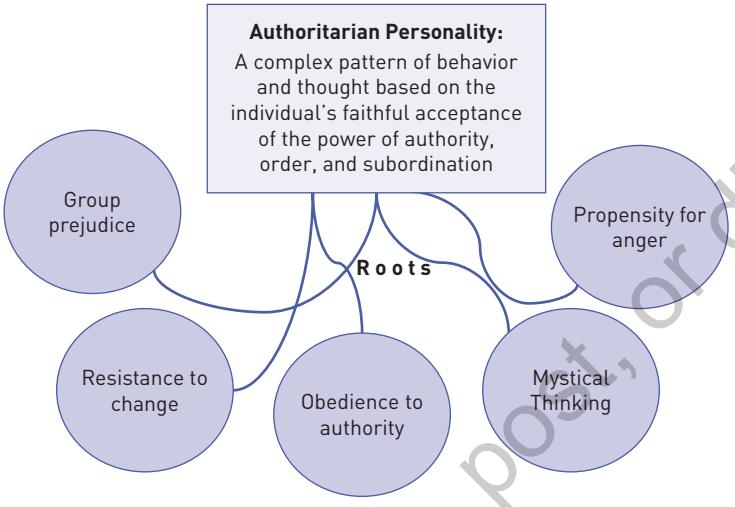
FIGURE 5.2 ● Model of the Authoritarian Personality



methods including psychobiography, surveys, and laboratory experiments, was that some individuals develop a stable pattern of authoritarian traits due to their childhood experiences. Such individuals are prone to mystical thinking and prejudice against particular individuals and social groups, especially ethnic minorities and gays. They are obedient to authority figures, such as parents, teachers, and political leaders, and resistant to social innovation while rejecting new societal trends. These individuals are also prone to anger and violence. The most remarkable finding of early and later studies was that the authoritarian personality type is very common in ordinary people. These individuals tend to endorse authoritarian methods of government and enthusiastically support dictators. They also tend to welcome injustice, oppression, and discrimination because they feel comfortable discriminating and oppressing. High scorers on authoritarianism have been associated with a punitive parenting style that had adverse consequences for parent–child relationships (Peterson, Smirles, & Wentworth, 1997). We will return to this subject again in Chapter 7.

Psychoanalysis and Judaism

Stereotypical claims that psychoanalysis was a cultural "creation" of a few Jewish researchers and doctors are as old as psychoanalysis itself. Sigmund Freud was aware of this critical view and constantly denied that psychoanalysis had something to do with Judaism (Freud, as you remember, did not practice his religion). Yet among the founders of psychoanalysis, there were many from the Jewish faith. At least two points of view exist on this matter.

Some historians believe that psychoanalysis as a theory and movement was indeed rooted in Jewish cultural and group identity. For the Jews, psychoanalysis of the early 20th century appeared as a cultural affair—a source of confidence and collective

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self-verification. It was a suitable way out of the collective mentality of an oppressed people (Cuddihy, 1974). Until the 20th century, most European countries had legal restrictions limiting the participation of Jews in public education, politics, and social life. Russia simply restricted most Jews early in the century from living in big cities. The rapid development of psychoanalysis coincided with both political and social liberation of the European Jews. Many young Jewish college graduates and doctors turned to psychoanalysis because it offered them inspiration, a chance to have an occupation, and a stable income.

On the other hand, a critical thinker should express caution about a strong connection of psychoanalysis to the Jewish culture. Fechner, Wundt, James, Watson, Bekhterev, and Skinner were Christians, but there is little reason to define experimental psychology as a Christian cultural phenomenon. Furthermore, in countries such as Great Britain, Russia, and Switzerland before the 1920s, there were few Jews among psychoanalysts (Leibin, 1994; Shorter, 1997). An influx of Jewish psychoanalysts to North America in the 1930s was part of a massive emigration of European Jews from Germany and Austria due to genocidal policies. However, a sizable portion of these psychoanalysts as well as other scientists and professionals were secular, and some of them were distinct atheists.

Contributions of the New Wave's Psychoanalysts

Most psychoanalysts of the "new wave," despite disagreements, shared several basic views of the individual's experience and behavior:

1. They focused on unconscious processes regulating an individual's experience, action, and personality. They also emphasized the crucial role of unconscious factors in psychological abnormalities.
2. They all stressed the crucial role of childhood and its impact on an individual's personality and its development.
3. They offered a therapeutic method to address a patient's psychological problems and treat them.
4. Many psychoanalysts maintained that not only an individual's life but also society and culture could be explained with the help of psychoanalytic ideas.

The main reformation of "classical" psychoanalysis in the mid-20th century was taking place in several areas. Anna Freud and Karen Horney turned to a more rational or conscious aspect of an individual's experience and began to examine the functioning of the ego. This focus allowed them to turn to empirical data accessible through direct observation, which improved the reputation of psychoanalysis among psychologists. Next, most psychoanalysts moved away from the Freudian assumptions about the sexual nature of the unconscious conflicts. Furthermore, social scientists such as Helene Deutsch and Erich Fromm began to apply psychoanalytic ideas to other fields of social sciences and the humanities.

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CHECK AND APPLY YOUR KNOWLEDGE

1. Who wrote *The Psychology of Women*? What was the book about?
2. Who wrote *Escape From Freedom*? What was the book about?
3. Explain the authoritarian personality. Describe its main features. What is a modern example of this type?

Psychoanalysis was based on scientific determinism, a fundamental position according to which mental processes are determined by past events (Bjerre, 1916). The belief that human behavior and experience could be explained in terms of their predetermining causes—the idea defended in behaviorism and psychoanalysis—is a mainstream view of today's academic psychology.

Psychoanalysts also shared a view that an individual should adjust to the demands of inner drives and societal restrictions. Psychological problems reflect a person's inability to adjust. The major goal of psychoanalysis as a therapeutic method is to restore lost balance or reduce the suffering caused by inner conflicts. Psychoanalysts believed in guided therapies, deeper self-understanding, and gradual self-improvements. Furthermore, many analysts expanded the earlier suggestions of Freud about the necessity to improve humanity via societal changes. This was not about a social revolution. The main idea was that people could improve as human beings if they encountered fewer restrictions and social taboos related to gender roles, unlearned their ethnic and religious prejudices, and found socially accepted ways of displaying their aggressive tendencies.

@ *On the companion website, see a discussion of the Murray report on Hitler. Get access to the original report.*

Questions

1. *What were Hitler's most significant psychological problems reflected in the report?*
2. *What evidence did the report provide to support these conclusions?*

Applying the Psychoanalysis of the New Wave

Psychoanalysts believed that the path to understanding the minds of other people begins with an examination of our own mind. Personal letters, diaries, and self-portraits become rich sources of information about the individual's personality. Nobel Prize winner Eric Kandel, for example, examined self-portraits of several famous artists living about 100 years ago. Knowing facts of their biographies, he compared these facts with their self-portraits. His goal was to find the connections between the portraits and emotions that the artists should have experienced in their lives (Kandel, 2012). If self-portraits are a way of knowing about the personalities of their artists, then we should be able to apply the same method to analyzing people's online posts.

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Early Political Psychology

Another noticeable application of the psychoanalytic view belongs to Henry Murray (1893–1988). Murray built foundations for **political psychology**—the field examining psychological factors in politics as well as an individual's political behavior. Murray and his colleagues wrote a psychological profile of German dictator Adolf Hitler (Murray, 1943). Their report was a detailed psychological examination of the facts known about Hitler combined with psychoanalytic discussions about the causes of his cruelty and erratic behavior. Murray gave specific recommendations for anti-Hitler propaganda that could have been launched via mass media and leaflets. This analysis of a political leader was one of the earliest attempts at "long-distance" psychological profiling—a method that is used today by practitioners as a source of supplementary information about certain individuals, such as political leaders of foreign countries. Today, political psychology is an influential field of studies and applications.

Political psychology Political psychology is the field of study that examines psychological factors in politics as well as an individual's political behavior.

Testing

Main ideas of psychoanalysis influenced testing methods used in clinical practice. One of Henry Murray's major contributions to psychology was the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT) developed with Christina Morgan (Murray, 1938). It was a projective test, which in its original form contained 19 pictures. A person undergoing testing was asked to tell a story about each of these pictures, which were sufficiently vague to leave enough to the imagination of the person taking the test. Murray's main idea was that the test taker in the process of picture interpretation would reveal specific psychological needs that are difficult to identify by other methods. Murray used the term **themas** to describe stories or interpretations projecting fantasy imagery onto an objective stimulus, such as a picture. When a person experiences a press (an external influence) on his or her needs, a thema is activated to bring this person satisfaction and the sense of power, affiliation, and achievement. By studying these themas, a trained psychologist could reveal the true nature of this person's hopes, wishes, or specific psychological problems (Murray, 1938). TAT received global recognition and was translated into many languages.

Themas In Murray's system, themas are stories or interpretations that project fantasy imagery onto an objective stimulus.

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Photo 5.3 Murray believed that by studying a person's descriptions of pictures, a trained psychologist could better understand this individual's inner world. What are the weaknesses of this method?

Contributing to Neurophysiology

Many psychoanalysts believed that the structure and functions of the human mind were intimately related to the structure and functions of the brain. For example, an individual obsessive or avoidant behavior or defense mechanisms that make one individual different from another were supposed to be explained by the brain's functioning. Yet for decades in the past century, brain researchers did not have the

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Neuropsychoanalysis
Neuropsychoanalysis is a discipline that provides a link between psychoanalysis and the neurosciences.

tools to explore these relationships. One of several intriguing applications of psychoanalysis is **neuropsychoanalysis**, the discipline that provides a link between psychoanalysis and the neurosciences. Neuroscientists have begun to investigate various topics that have traditionally been an "intellectual sanctuary" of psychoanalysts. Neuropsychoanalysis generated many new insights into numerous problems of vital interest to psychoanalysis (Solms & Turnbull, 2011).

Some results have been encouraging. Researchers found that certain malfunctions in the right-parietal lobe can be associated with narcissistic tendencies and the individual's tendency to launch defense mechanisms (Kaplan-Solms & Solms, 2000). These patients also appeared to have disrupted cognitive processes and the diminished ability to tolerate powerful negative emotions.

Clinicians are now applying psychoanalytic methods to the study of individuals with neurological problems (Solms & Turnbull, 2011). Studying brain injury and examining the effects of new medications in pharmacological probes, some therapists have turned to psychoanalytic theories to describe several neurophysiological mechanisms. Research has demonstrated the powerful influence of unconscious cognitions, including defenses, on the formation of the false beliefs. For example, the patients with specific damages in their cortexes show excessive attention to words that refer to paralysis and disabilities, despite denying that they are themselves disabled and paralyzed (Nardone, Ward, Fotopoulou, & Turnbull, 2007).

Psychoanalytic theories inspired some researchers to study the limbic system and the processes that are likely associated with anger and rage (which is anger out of control), panic, separation distress, lust, and seeking behavior. The latter is often compared to libido (see Chapter 4) as the most powerful force responsible for an individual's activities. It was shown that stimulation of certain areas of the midbrain in mice caused their unusual investigative, searching behavior—even food could not distract them from exploring (Panksepp, 1998). Is this the area generally responsible for similar behavior in humans? Could this "seeking drive" be compared to libido? Some researchers believe so (Solms & Turnbull, 2011). Others show that the activities in this zone correlate with behavioral phenomena such as intense love, lust, and obsession with love figures, especially after being rejected by them (Fisher, 2004).

On Sexuality

In 1940, Murray and his colleagues serving on the American Psychiatric Society's committee on Military Mobilization formulated guidelines for the psychological screening of inductees of the United States military. Murray believed that sexuality played a minimal role in causing mental disorders and that adult gay men should be accepted by society. Despite his best efforts, other members of the committee disagreed. As a practical recommendation, they included homosexuality as a disqualification for military service (Bérubé, 1990).

On Psychodrama

A number of followers of the psychoanalytic tradition made a contribution to group therapy. Jacob Moreno (1889–1974), a Romanian-born American psychologist, studied

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interpersonal influence and applied some of its principles to group therapy. His method, known as **psychodrama**, required participants to explore their own internal conflicts not through a private discussion with a therapist, but through acting out their emotions in front of one another. The presence of other people and interactions, according to this method, allowed most participants to explore their own inhibitions, release negative emotions, and learn about themselves in the permissive and stimulating atmosphere of psychodrama (Moreno, 1934/1977).

Psychodrama
Psychodrama is the method that requires participants to explore their own internal conflicts through acting out their emotions in front of one another, not through a private discussion with a therapist.

CHECK AND APPLY YOUR KNOWLEDGE

1. Explain neuropsychoanalysis.
2. Explain psychodrama.
3. What is TAT? If you were a professional psychologist today, would you have used TAT?

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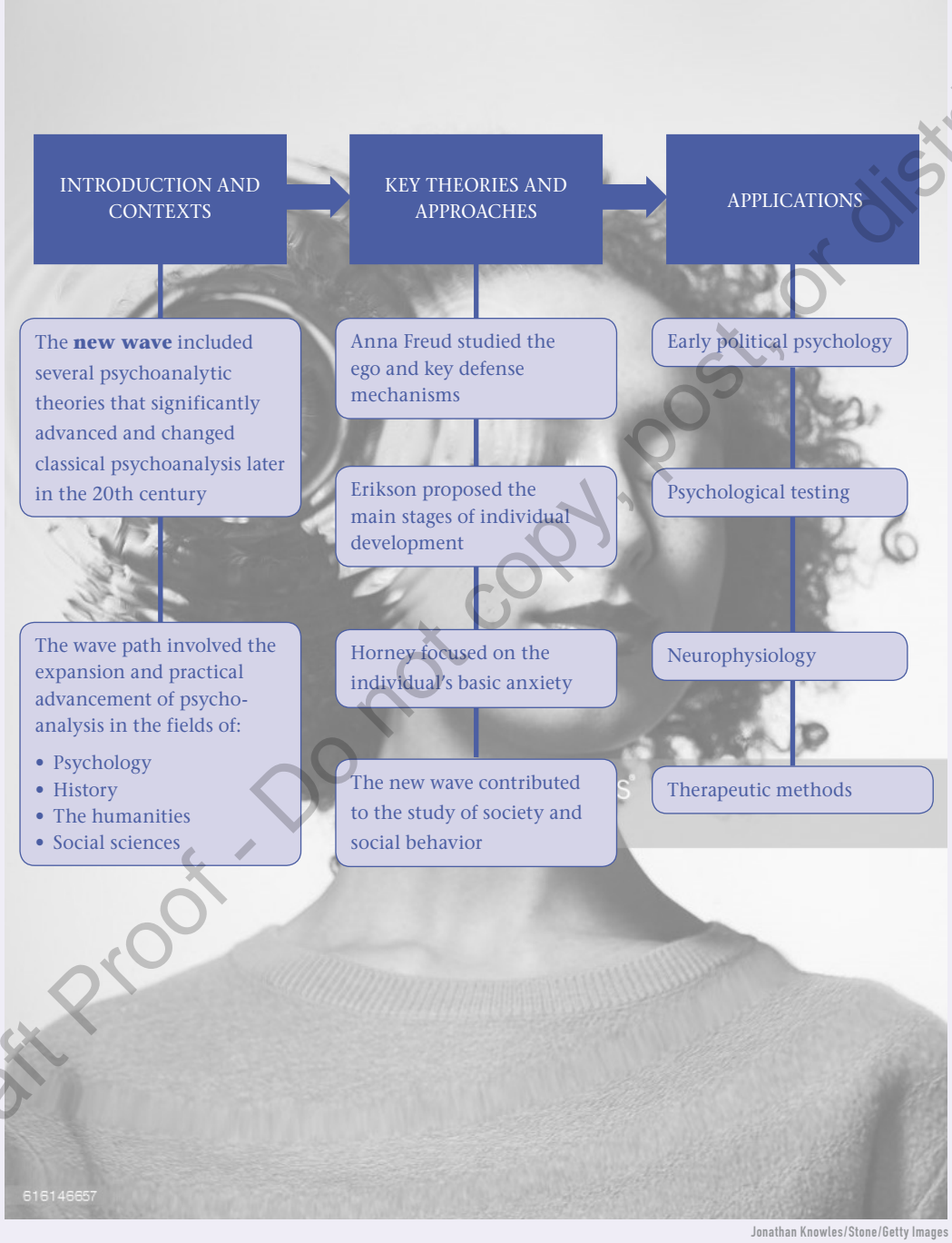
Visual Review



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Summary

- Psychoanalysis influenced the studies of personality from several directions. New intriguing theories and their applications appeared. Despite criticisms, psychoanalysis generated a growing public interest worldwide and motivated many people, especially the young, to read psychology books and take psychology classes.
- Each country's conditions influenced the fate of psychoanalysis as a theory as well as the application of its ideas in clinical, educational, and other spheres.
- Most Freud followers accepted the general idea that infantile conflicts should affect the individual's adult experiences and thus his or her personality features later in life. They also acknowledged that the individual is generally unaware of such conflicts. The awareness may be achieved in psychoanalytic therapy.
- A new field of research called ego psychology began to focus on how the ego interacts with social environment.
- Anna Freud's *The Ego and the Mechanisms of Defense* focused on the inner struggles of the individual. She wrote about the struggle of the ego with the overwhelming demands of the id, on the one hand, and powerful restrictions imposed by reality, on the other.
- Ego defenses can be described as defense mechanisms, or specific unconscious structures that enable an individual to avoid awareness of unpleasant, anxiety-arousing issues.
- On the basis of his observations of hundreds of patients, Erik Erikson proposed that the ego is supposed to develop in stages. The individual is likely to pass through eight of such developmental stages. At each of them, the ego faces an age-related developmental challenge that results in a conflict. Different challenges may lead to different types of thinking and acting.
- Erikson coined the term *identity crisis*—an inner state of tension due to a person's inability to see and accept self with confidence and certainty.
- Karen Horney rejected the Freudian view that the main source of female unconscious conflicts is the woman's sense of inferiority. Men also have reason to feel inferior to women and to be envious of women, she argued.
- Horney broadened the traditional understanding of *neurosis*, a catchall label popular in the 20th century to describe a range of the individual's persistent anxiety- and mood-related symptoms. She considered neurosis a more common, widespread phenomenon among individuals than most psychologists believed. Neurosis, in her view, was a general maladjustment between an individual and a traumatic event or development. Horney referred to basic anxiety to describe an individual's feelings of loneliness and hopelessness.
- Harry Stack Sullivan focused on interpersonal relationships. He was among the first to introduce the term *significant other*, which refers to the most intimate and important person in an individual's life: a partner, a fiancé(e), or a spouse.
- The French psychiatrist and social scientist Jacques Lacan made a contribution to personality psychology in his studies of the individual's identity and its development. Lacan retained one of the main postulates of the classical psychoanalysis: The individual is born into the world with essential needs that require constant gratification. However, other people begin to play a crucial role in

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the development of these needs. Early in life, the individuals learn how to desire things not because they need them but rather because other people *tell* them that they need them.

- Erich Fromm researched authoritarian personality—a complex pattern of behavior and thought based on the individual's faithful acceptance of the power of authority, order, and subordination. Discussions about authoritarian personality drew significant attention and sparked new research on this subject for many years.
- Henry Murray and other psychoanalysts built foundations for political psychology—the field examining psychological factors in politics as well as an individual's political behavior.
- Besides political psychology, psychoanalysts of the "second wave" contributed to psychological testing, social psychology, psychological therapy, and views of sexuality, among other things.

Key Terms

authoritarian personality 155
bad-me 153
basic anxiety 152
defense mechanisms 145
developmental stages 148
ego psychology 144
good-me 153
identity crisis 148
neuropsychoanalysis 160
not-me 153
political psychology 159
psychodrama 161
significant other 153
themas 159

Evaluating What You Know

What are the main features of psychoanalysis's new wave in the study of personality?

What are the most important differences between Freud's views and the views of the new-wave psychologists?

What are the major ideas of Anan Freud and Erik Erikson?

Explain a defense mechanism and give two to three examples.

How do individuals move from stage to stage, according to Erikson?

What are the areas of application of the new wave of psychoanalysis?

What is neuropsychoanalysis?

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A Bridge to the Next Chapter

Because of their belief in the possibility of improving humanity through social changes, psychoanalysis shared progressive ideas. Supporters of progressivism, as you should remember from Chapter 2, believed in the opportunity to apply scientific knowledge to improve many spheres of social life. Progressivism in psychology also emphasized the importance of applied knowledge in three areas: health care, education, and social services. Psychoanalysts believed in their science as a new force, capable of changing society and providing people with a new vision of a peaceful and healthy life. It is probably true that psychology today is rooted in the same genuinely progressive view.

Yet psychoanalysis was most likely missing, as its critics insisted, a few important features. It did not embrace measurement. It did not accept the audacity of carefully crafted experimental research. It was somewhat indifferent to the person's acting, moving, and making decisions. Other psychologists saw the individual's personality from other angles.

At this point, we are ready to study another remarkable and highly influential tradition in psychology that focused exclusively on the individual's overt behavior.

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