



The Authoritarian Character: Revisited

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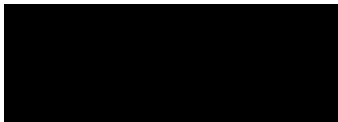
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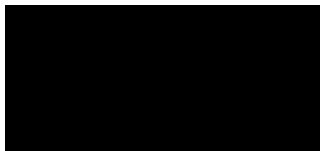
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01/12/2022



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I have put in much effort to ensure that my language is as inclusive as it could be. However, I need to acknowledge the fact that many of the texts I have used are quite exclusionary, this is out of my control and an unfortunate reality that attests to a history of oppression, and I do unreservedly apologise in advance for this exclusionary language.

Abstract

In this thesis, I revisit the authoritarian character concept, as developed by members of the first-generation Frankfurt School. The authoritarian character concept (ACC) was a concept developed to understand the predisposition of individuals and societies towards seeking the domination of authoritarian demagogic as opposed to realising their own liberation. The need to revisit the ACC came about due to a noticeable rise of authoritarian demagogic leaders within liberal democracies. However, in researching the ACC, I observed that the dominant narrative was incorrect in its interpretation of the conceptual development of the ACC, and subsequently, is overly restrictive with regards to its conceptual parentage as it did not consider conceptual developments outside of 1936-1939. Therefore, in this project, I revisit the ACC with the aim of detailing a conceptually clear understanding of the ACC so that it could be used to help analyse the problem of contemporary authoritarianism. In revisiting the ACC, I hope to achieve four objectives. Firstly, to set out the foundations of the ACC by looking at the Frankfurt School and the conceptual makeup of the ACC. Secondly, was establishing a dominant narrative surrounding the ACC, which I termed the received view of the ACC. This received view holds the conceptual lifespan of the ACC as starting in 1936 and ending in 1939. Thirdly, to show that the received view of the ACC is incorrect with regard to the genesis of the ACC as work had been ongoing on the development of key concepts prior to 1936 and provide a revised account of the ACC to include this early conceptual development. Fourthly, to show that the received view of the ACC is incorrect with regards to the demise of the ACC, in 1939, as work was ongoing on evolving the ACC to meet more modern challenges well into the 1970s. Furthermore, these later developments of the ACC would ultimately complete the teleological arc of the ACC as a concept of Critical Theory as it is within these later developments that the ACC finally fulfils its goal of detailing a possible praxis that works towards an emancipated society.

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Introduction

The Problem of Authoritarianism and a Solution

"It may be alright to have a power that is based on guns; however, it is better and more gratifying to win the heart of a nation and keep it."- Joseph Goebbels, 1934, Nazi Party Convention speech, Nuremberg

The dynamics of human character, particularly regarding power relations and how people respond to authority, is not a new field of study. In particular, theorists have always been drawn to understand what compels humans to set aside their own freedom for the security offered by often authoritarian demagogic leaders, who dominate and exploit those beneath them in almost all cases. So, the question must be asked, why would people of rational mind within a liberal democracy fall for authoritarian demagogic rulers? The aforementioned Goebbels comment offers insight into how: without guns, but by winning the heart of a nation. We must remember and be worryingly aware that the Nazi party came into being within the confines of a democratic society;

"a democratic solution: Hitler, in alliance with the Nationalists, would not need to rely on presidential power – he would control a Reichstag majority, and thus restore constitutional rectitude. On January 30th, President Hindenburg, field marshal and Prussian landowner, appointed Corporal Hitler chancellor." (Taylor, 2005, p. 250)

We live in a contemporary society where liberal democracy is an entrenched institution. However, in recent years there has been an increase in countries with historically entrenched democracies having democratically elected authoritarian demagogic leaders.

The most noteworthy of all liberal democratic countries is the United States of America (USA). It should be alarming that someone like Donald Trump can become president of the USA, given the fact that citizens of the USA often tout their cherished democratic values. However, even though Trump is no longer in office, his firebrand authoritarian strongman politics still is alive on the international stage, such as Vladimir Putin in Russia, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan in Turkey and Narendra Modi in India, to name a few.

A few parallels can be observed between contemporary developing and developed society and Weimar Germany, a society primed for an authoritarian takeover. A similar socio-economic situation is present in both past and contemporary society: battling the remnants of economic recession and stagnation. A noticeable increase in the alienation¹ of the working class by the upper class, who control the means of production within society, and an indifferent self-interested bourgeoisie. These parallels that existed in Weimar Germany are present today and are further exacerbated by the use of modern technology, the dissemination of misinformation and fake news, and the entrenching of political views as opposed to engagement on political differences.

What is important to note is that in both Weimar Germany as well as contemporary society, you have populist figures offering society security as opposed to the anxiety freedom brings. Moreover, when you have a society that puts its fate in the hands of populist, demagogic figures promising security from the anxiety that freedom demands and a return to the 'good old days', it is observed that said societies trade their freedom for this security. And where individuals and societies willingly trade freedom for security, you have a society primed for an authoritarian takeover.

Why do societies seek the domination of these demagogic figures rather than work through the anxiety of freedom? I believe this is the problem of authoritarianism.

I believe the solution to the problem of authoritarianism² is to understand the human condition that makes individuals and societies predisposed to authoritarian demagogic leaders, and this is the purpose of this project. In the works of the Institute for Social Research, also known as the Frankfurt School, on understanding the rise of authoritarianism, we can find a possible answer to the above-mentioned problem of authoritarianism.

I argue that the Frankfurt Schools' work on the authoritarian character concept should be revisited if we are to have an in-depth understanding of the causes and rise of authoritarian rule and authoritarian societies. The Frankfurt Schools' first studies on understanding the authoritarian character were undertaken in the 1930s, when authoritarianism was rising in

¹ This is alienation in the Marxist sense, being unable to view oneself as separate from the products of their labour.

² By authoritarianism, I mean a system of governance that advocates for strict obedience to authority, embodied either by an individual or institution such as a political party for example.

Europe. This stands the School, and its respective first-generation members, in good stead in helping us understand the upsurge in the popularity of demagogic authoritarian leaders in our contemporary situation.

However, there is much misunderstanding and conceptual vagueness regarding the authoritarian character concept. Indeed, some Frankfurt School members contributed more to the development of the authoritarian character concept. However, these pieces of work lay in academic obscurity, and as a result, the current narrative surrounding the authoritarian character concept is oversimplified and misunderstood. Therefore, this project that I embark on is not just relevant but also needed if we are to understand the rise of authoritarianism in our contemporary society.

Revisiting the Authoritarian Character Concept

In this project, I will argue that the received view of the authoritarian character concept is incorrect in its interpretation of the conceptual development of the authoritarian character concept from its genesis to its demise. Furthermore, I will argue that it is overly restrictive in terms of its conceptual parentage, as it ignores critical developments made outside of the established narrative.

When I speak of the authoritarian character concept, I am speaking about the studies undertaken by members of the first-generation Frankfurt School in understanding and detailing the traits that give rise to authoritarian attitudes within society. More specifically, understanding character traits that result in an individual's and/or society's predisposition towards seeking the domination of an authoritarian demagogic leader, as opposed to the realisation of their true liberation.

I will begin my project by detailing the authoritarian character concept in chapter 1. I will look at where the authoritarian character concept was developed in section 1.1 and detail the Frankfurt School and its purpose. I will show that the Frankfurt School's main objective was to develop concepts that would lead to the emancipation of all within a society. As such Critical Theory will take on a Freudo-Marxist lens, through which the Frankfurt School would be able to provide an in-depth critique of societal oppression. With the goal of total

emancipation, the Frankfurt School would develop concepts that not just analyse the current oppressive situation (descriptive) but also detail what a liberated society ought to look like (normative) and detail practical steps for this liberated society (practical). I will also in section 1.1 briefly detail key concepts of Freud and Marx that play a part in the Freudo-Marxist lens of analysis that the Frankfurt School uses in its social critique.

I will then move to section 1.2, where I will conceptually exhibit the authoritarian character concept. I will detail how the authoritarian character concept is understood through a Marxist macro-analysis as well as a Freudian micro-analysis and how the macro-analysis and micro-analysis dialectically interact with each other to detail the core traits of the authoritarian character.

Once I have established the authoritarian character concept and its purpose, I will, in chapter 2, argue for the existence of a dominant narrative surrounding the authoritarian character concept. I will term this dominant narrative the received view of the authoritarian character concept. In section 2.1, I will detail the received view of the ACC. I will argue that the received view of the authoritarian character concept in terms of its conceptual timeline begins in 1936 and ends in 1939. I will locate the received view within secondary texts written by key Critical Theory commentators like Abromeit (2011), Bottomore (2002), Held (1980) and Jay (1976). I will argue that all of these key Critical Theory commentators, generally speaking since each commentator slightly differs, have detailed a version of the authoritarian character concept that focuses on its development between 1936 and 1939. I will show how Erich Fromm's contribution to *Studien über Autorität und Familie (Studies on Authority and the Family)* (2020) [1936] and Horkheimer's *Egoism and Freedom Movements: On the Anthropology of the Bourgeois Era* (1993) [1936] form the corpus of the authoritarian character concept with the former being the *magnum opus*. I will also briefly highlight the new conceptual direction the Frankfurt School embarked upon following the demise of the authoritarian character concept in 1939. I will show this new conceptual direction to be devoid of the Freudo-Marxist method of analysis that had characterised the authoritarian character concept since 1936, favouring an almost purely historical materialist understanding of domination in the form of Friedrich Pollock's state capitalism thesis.

Having established the received view of the authoritarian character concept, I will move on to highlighting three key concepts that form the core of the authoritarian character concept.

These three core concepts are detailed in the *magnum opus* of the authoritarian character concept in *Studies on Authority and the Family* [1936]. Firstly, in section 2.2, I will detail the Freudo-Marxist method that the Frankfurt School employs in their analysis of the authoritarian character.

Secondly, in section 2.3, I will highlight the psychic structure of the authoritarian character, that being sadomasochism. I will explain how this sadomasochism develops and how the Frankfurt School analyses sadomasochism through the Freudo-Marxist method of analysis.

Lastly, in section 2.4, I will showcase the concept of a shared social psyche. I will argue that understanding the shared social psyche of a society or group within society was key in the analysis of the authoritarian character. This concept also makes use of the Freudo-Marxist method of analysis and establishes the shared social psyche of an authoritarian society to be sadomasochistic in nature.

In section 2.5, I detail Horkheimer's *Egoism and Freedom Movements: On the Anthropology of the Bourgeois Era* (1993) [1936]. I will show how Horkheimer uses the authoritarian character concept to analyse the rise of bourgeois authoritarianism in various freedom movements throughout history. In doing so, I will establish *Egoism and Freedom Movements: On the Anthropology of the Bourgeois Era* [1936] as a canonical text of the authoritarian character concept.

Having detailed the received view of the ACC and the concepts that influence it, I can begin to argue that the conceptual interpretation of the genesis of the received view of the authoritarian character concept is incorrect. In chapter 3, I will establish that unlike the received view of the authoritarian character concept, which holds the genesis of the authoritarian character concept as being 1936, conceptual development had been ongoing on the authoritarian character concept since at least 1930. To start my argument, I will in section 3.1 briefly detail Erich Fromm's intellectual development before 1936. I will showcase how Fromm had begun developing the Freudo-Marxist method of analysis in what was Fromm's social psychology. Having established Fromm's intellectual interests, I will move on to the first of three arguments that detail a conceptual isomorphism between two of the three key concepts of the authoritarian character concept that I had detailed in chapter 2.

In section 3.2, I will argue that the concept of a shared social psyche, which I detailed in section 2.4, is a conceptual development of the same concept as it appeared in Fromm's *The Dogma of Christ* (2004) in 1930. This text details the development of a distinct shared class psyche Fromm had observed developing due to differing religious perspectives. By highlighting the isomorphism between the 1936 concept of a shared social psyche and the 1930 concept of a shared social psyche, I will show that the development of the concept of a shared social psyche, a key concept of the authoritarian character concept, predates the received view's genesis of 1936.

In section 3.3, I will argue that the Freudo-Marxist method of analysis that is key to the analysis of the authoritarian character concept can trace its conceptual development to 1932, at the latest, thus showing that the development of this key concept of the authoritarian character concept predates the genesis, as espoused by the received view, in 1936. In this section, I will argue that the Freudo-Marxist method of analysis that I have shown to be present and key in the analysis of the authoritarian character concept in section 2.2 can trace its development prior to the genesis of the received view of the authoritarian character concept in 1936. I will show that the development of the Freudo-Marxist method of analysis had begun to be developed by Fromm in *The Method and Function of Analytic Social Psychology: Notes on psychoanalysis and historical materialism* (1970) in 1932 at the latest. Fromm's interest in a Freudo-Marxist synthesis dates at least to his 1929 essay *Psychoanalysis and Sociology* (1989). Having demonstrated the conceptual isomorphism between the Freudo-Marxist method of analysis from 1936 and the Freudo-Marxist synthesis of 1932, I argue that this key methodology of the authoritarian character concept also predates the conceptual genesis of the received view of the authoritarian character concept in 1936.

Finally, in section 3.4, having established in the previous two sections that key concepts of the authoritarian character concept predate the genesis as per the received view, 1936, I begin to provide a revised account of the origin of the authoritarian character concept. This revised account of the origin of the authoritarian character concept begins in 1930, as opposed to 1936. It includes Fromm's key texts that begin the development of key concepts that are integral to the development of the authoritarian character concept. This revised account of the origin shows that the received view of the authoritarian character concept is

incorrect in its interpretation of the conceptual development of the authoritarian character concept, specifically with regard to its genesis.

Having established that the development of the authoritarian character concept predates the genesis of the received view in chapter 3. In chapter 4, I argue that unlike the received view of the authoritarian character concept, which holds the demise of the authoritarian character concept in 1939, the conceptual development of key concepts of the authoritarian character concept was ongoing until 1973. This later conceptual development resulted from Fromm's attempt to provide an analysis of the authoritarian character within contemporary Western society, which was increasingly technocentric and alienatory. These later, post-Frankfurt School developments were different from the conceptual development that had been ongoing prior-1939. The main difference is Fromm's de-emphasis on Freudian libidinal theory as the primary method of analysing character development.

I will argue that Fromm's post-Frankfurt School work should be considered as a part of the larger authoritarian character concept project and that subsequently, Fromm's works of *The Sane Society* (1991) [1955] and *The Anatomy of Human Destructiveness* (1973) [1973] marks the end of the development of the authoritarian character concept. In order to establish this, I will first, in section 4.1, argue that Fromm's post-Frankfurt School concept of the social character is an evolution of the 1936 key concept of a shared social psyche, which I detailed in section 2.4. The social character sought to understand the development of a social consciousness and how socio-economic factors penetrate this social consciousness to develop a unique social character that is specific to each society. By establishing the lineage of the social character to a key concept of the authoritarian character concept, as developed by the Frankfurt School, I can establish the social character as part of the larger authoritarian character concept project. This development happened after the apparent demise of the authoritarian character concept as per the received view in 1939.

I will then move on, in section 4.2, to argue that Fromm's Neo-Freudian³ concept of necrophilia, derived from Freud's death instinct, is a conceptual evolution on the narcissistic

³ When I speak of Neo-Freudian thought, I reference the Freudian school of thought that was not driven by the libidinous understanding of character development that is present in orthodox Freudian thought (Brown, 1964, p. 12). There were two movements that developed as a response to Freud's biological assumptions. The right-wing movements would go deeper in interpreting and analysing the 'infantile experience' (Brown, 1964, p. 129).

scale of the sadomasochistic character, as detailed in section 2.3. Necrophilia details a love for that which is inorganic and can be best described as malignant aggression. Necrophilia is Fromm's attempt to detail a more destructive character trait after witnessing the destructiveness of World War Two. Necrophilia sought to understand how this destructiveness develops within the psyche. This destructiveness also could not be accounted for within the sadomasochistic character. I will show how Fromm's necrophiliac character took the analysis of narcissism further than the sadomasochistic character and how, unlike the pre-1939 analysis of the authoritarian character concept, which looked at how certain traits gratify authority, Fromm's post-Frankfurt School analysis details how authority itself has become subordinated to the economic process. By establishing that the necrophiliac character is a further evolution of the sadomasochistic character that I had established to be a key concept of the authoritarian character concept, I will bring the necrophiliac character into the larger authoritarian character concept project. Sections 4.1 and 4.2 highlight the fact that conceptual development had been ongoing on the authoritarian character concept long after its apparent demise, according to the received view in 1939, as I will show that conceptual developments on key concepts continued until 1973. This would mean that the actual end of the conceptual development of the authoritarian character concept was around 1973.

Lastly, in section 4.3, I will highlight Fromm's Neo-Freudian concept of biophilia. Biophilia is derived from the Freudian life drive or Eros. Fromm's biophilia details a love of life that is organic, and that enables positive growth. This concept is juxtaposed with necrophilia. In section 1.1, I detailed the aim of the Frankfurt School. This was to develop concepts that would lead to the liberation of all within society, and it did this by developing concepts that are descriptive, normative and practical. The authoritarian character concept so far has not realised the practical element of this liberatory theory. Therefore, I will establish that Fromm's

The left-wing movement rather went to interpret and analyse the impact social and cultural factors have on the individual, and this was the movement that Erich Fromm, Karen Horney and Harry Stack Sullivan belonged to (Brown, 1964, p. 129). The focus on Fromm in this project is based on the fact that, unlike Horney and Sullivan, Fromm's sociological influences came from Marx (Brown, 1964, p. 149). This is most likely due to Fromm being trained as both a social psychologist and a Freudian analyst (Brown, 1964, p. 149). This would mean that Fromm's theories are reliant on a Freudian analysis of social conditions, and it is this interdisciplinary methodology that would come to form the foundation of the ACC.

biophilia is the praxis that was missing from ACC, thereby completing the teleological arc⁴ that began in 1936.

This project aims to revisit the authoritarian character concept. In doing so, I hope to provide a possible solution to the problem of authoritarianism. However, the authoritarian character concept that exists in the dominant narrative is incorrect with regard to its understanding of the conceptual development of the authoritarian character concept. Subsequently, the received view of the authoritarian character concept is also overly restrictive concerning its conceptual parentage as it ignores the conceptual development made by Fromm pre-1936 and post-1939.

In revisiting the authoritarian character concept, I hope to provide an analysis of the authoritarian character concept project that is correct in its understanding of the conceptual development of the authoritarian character concept by detailing work done prior-1936 and post-1939. This revised account of the conceptual development of the authoritarian character concept will subsequently detail an account of the authoritarian character concept that is less restrictive. By clarifying the authoritarian character concept and detailing it in a more developed form, I hope to provide a conceptually clear concept that will give us the tool to understand the predisposition within human character that leads to the problem of authoritarianism.

⁴ When I speak of a 'teleological arc', I mean something specific. The first-generation Frankfurt School shared a commitment to certain criteria to evaluate their conceptual contributions, these being normative, descriptive and practical (see section 1.1). With regard to the Authoritarian Character Concept project, in its initial phases, it only satisfied two of these criteria. It is, therefore, by the Frankfurt School's own standards, incomplete. The teleological arc of the Authoritarian Character Concept that I refer to is the process of conceptual development that took place in order to meet the third criterion and 'complete' the concept.

Chapter 1

The Authoritarian Character Concept

The purpose of this project is to argue that the received view of the authoritarian character concept⁵ is incorrect in its interpretation and overly restrictive as it, I will argue, misattributes the genesis and demise of the ACC and its conceptual parentage. The ACC is a concept developed by members of the first-generation of the Frankfurt School to understand and analyse, through a Freudo-Marxist lens, deeply rooted trends that result in a predisposition of an individual or society toward seeking the domination of authoritarian demagogic figures as opposed to seeking their own liberation.

In order to achieve the purpose of this project, I will first need to detail the foundations of the ACC. I will do this by first detailing the Frankfurt School, in section 1.1, describing who were the key figures within Frankfurt School, what the aim of the Frankfurt School was and how it hoped to achieve this. Furthermore, I will briefly detail key Freudian and Marxist concepts that are used in the Frankfurt School's analysis of the authoritarian character.

Secondly, in section 1.2, I will then detail the ACC, and I will do this by analysing the ACC and cataloguing its conceptual composition and purpose. Once I have established the purpose of the Frankfurt School and catalogued the conceptual composition of the ACC, I can then move on to argue that there exists a dominant narrative within the secondary literature on Critical Theory, which I call the received view of the ACC.

1.1 The Frankfurt School

In this section, I will look at the origins of the Frankfurt School, who the key members of the first-generation of the Frankfurt School were, what the aim of the Frankfurt School was and how the Frankfurt School hoped to achieve this aim. I will also briefly detail important Freudian and Marxist concepts, such as Freud's psychosexual development, his Oedipus complex, his structure of the mind, defence mechanisms and his account of sadomasochism.

⁵ Hereafter known as the ACC.

And Marx's historical materialism. These concepts formed the backbone of the analysis that the Frankfurt School embarked upon with the ACC project.

The Institute for Social Research, also known as the Frankfurt School, was founded in 1923 out of a Marxist study group. This study group came about during a time of political upheaval in Europe, specifically after the failed communist revolutions in Weimar Germany in the 1920s. The Frankfurt School was then set up to understand why this communist revolution failed, even though the socio-economic conditions were, according to Marxist theory, ripe for revolution. Furthermore, the Frankfurt School aimed to understand in place of the socialist utopia Marx had advocated for, there was a rise in far-right populism. This re-analysis of Marxist thought led members of the Frankfurt School "to revise both the Marxian critique of capitalism and the theory of revolution in order to confront those new social and political conditions which had evolved since Marx's death" (Bronner & Kellner, 1989, p. 1).

However, it was not until 1930, when Max Horkheimer took over the directorship of the Institute and gathered a new circle of thinkers, that the foundations were laid for what would later be known as the Frankfurt School of Critical Theory. Bronner states that:

"critical theory in its concept formation and in all phases of its development very consciously makes its own that concern for the rational organisation of human activity which its task is to illuminate and legitimate. For this theory is not concerned only with goals already imposed by existing ways of life, but with men and all their potentialities" (Bronner, 2011, p. 19).

The commitment to Critical Theory as a theory of liberation is further emphasised by Horkheimer, who in the essay *Traditional and Critical Theory* (2002)[1937], said of Critical Theory, "Its own nature, therefore, turns it towards a changing of history and the establishment of justice among men" (Horkheimer, 2002, p. 243).

This liberating theory develops concepts that would bring about the desired socio-political alterations needed for the complete liberation of all. These concepts would come to have a distinct framework as set out by Horkheimer when he was director of the Frankfurt School. Horkheimer maintained that Critical Theory "is not just a research hypothesis which shows its value in the ongoing business of men; it is an essential element in the historical effort to create a world which satisfies the needs and powers of men" (Horkheimer, 2002, p. 245). This

highlights Horkheimer's commitment to not just develop Critical Theory not just as a theory that is not just descriptive, detailing how the current oppressive social reality came about and how they exist but a normative theory, detailing how things should be, and practical, detailing how to achieve a society that "satisfies the needs and powers of men" (Horkheimer, 2002, p. 246). I had expended on this in (Govender, 2020) where I detailed how Critical Theory achieved developing concepts that 'satisfied the needs of humanity':

"Critical Theory does not only restrict itself to the analysis of what is but also explored what could and should be. Critical Theory, in principle, aims at stating what is wrong with the current oppressive social reality, and identifies key actors that can change it while still providing concise normative guidance and attainable practical goals for the emancipation of society." (Govender, 2020, p. 208)

Therefore in order for something to be considered Critical Theory, it must aim to provide a conceptual theory that is liberatory for all within society, and it must do this by providing a critique of the current oppressive social reality that, is descriptive, normative and practical.

The members of the first-generation Frankfurt School came from various disciplines, which led to the interdisciplinary character of Critical Theory. The first-generation of the Frankfurt School was a collection of thinkers that joined the Frankfurt School around the time Horkheimer became director. These thinkers include Horkheimer who specialised in sociology. Erich Fromm the Frankfurt School's resident psychoanalyst. Theodor Adorno a philosopher and musicologist. Political theorist and philosopher Herbert Marcuse and social scientist Friedrich Pollock. The inter-disciplinary character of Critical Theory combined Marxist theory of a Hegelian nature with insights from psychoanalysis, phenomenology and existentialism to produce a theory that could identify the conditions and possibilities for liberation from oppressive social systems without aligning to a specific political system. The Frankfurt School was most active in its early years, 1930-1944 (Held, 1980, p. 34). This activity mostly revolved around understanding authoritarianism, what factors gave rise to authoritarian leaders, the conditions that allow authoritarian governance systems to flourish and the character traits that give rise to pro-authoritarian attitudes.

There are two key theorists who formulated the early style of Critical Theory that will be the focus of my work. These were Max Horkheimer and Erich Fromm. Horkheimer was a

sociologist, and at his inaugural address (Horkheimer, 1993), he set out the goal of the Frankfurt School; to develop a tool of social analysis that was in-depth and all-encompassing, which is why he invited Fromm to join the Frankfurt School. Fromm also was a sociologist, but more importantly, a practising psychoanalyst.

The Frankfurt School concerned itself with developing a theory that would lead to the liberation of all within a given society. This means that the Frankfurt School would need to detail oppressive issues, as well as detail what a liberated society ought to be and provide the praxis to get from the current oppressive state to a liberated state. The Frankfurt School would achieve this by developing a method of analysis that would deeply penetrate into the social psyche and could critically analyse social issues by viewing said issues through a critical lens. This critical lens would come about by combining a Marxist-inspired sociological analysis with the classical Freudian psychoanalytic understanding of character that would create the Freudo-Marxist lens of analysis, which would become known as social psychology. The below quote from Horkheimer's inaugural address shows the importance of the aforementioned Freudo-Marxist synthesis as a lens of analysis for the Frankfurt School. Although Horkheimer is talking of studies of the press and fiction, it is this spirit of undertaking studies that are both sociological and psychological which leads to the effective analysis of specific groups:

“we must undertake the sociological and psychological investigation of the press and of fiction, both because of the value of its findings concerning the situation of the examined groups itself, and because of the categorial structure of that literature, on the basis of which it has its effects on the group's members”
(Horkheimer, 1993, p. 13)

It must be noted that while Critical Theory concerned itself with developing concepts that seek to analyse societal oppression and lead to the emancipation, more recent theorists such as Amy Allen have argued that this emancipation is a negativistic conception. Allen argues that “a negativistic conception of emancipation, where emancipation refers to the minimization of relations of domination, not to a social world without or beyond power relations, is most compatible with critical theory's distinctive method” (Allen, 2016, p. xiv). This would mean that the aim of Critical Theory would be to develop concepts that would minimize the dominative relations within a society, the implication of this negative emancipation on this project however is minimal and will be discussed in chapter 4.

Before continuing, I think it will be beneficial to highlight key Freud-Marxist concepts as this will highlight the novelty of the Freud-Marxist synthesis that the Frankfurt School developed. I will briefly describe key concepts that formed the base of both Freudian and Marxist theories, which the Frankfurt School would later synthesise to create the psychosocial tool of analysis that typifies the ACC. These concepts are for Freudian theory: the psychosexual developmental process, the Oedipus complex, Freud's structure of the mind, defence mechanisms and sadomasochism. The concepts I will look at for Marxist theory will be Marx's structure of society and historical materialism.

Early Freudian orthodoxy rests upon a substantive psychosexual development process. This psychosexual process holds that sexual drives are the main driving force behind character development, which passes through several stages: oral, anal, phallic, latency, and genital. These stages represent a libidinal or sexual fixation on specific body parts, which Freud terms erogenous zones. It was this libidinal drive that the Frankfurt School used to analyse character development. These stages are developed in early childhood, starting with the oral stage from birth to 1 year, focusing on the erogenous zone of the mouth; this is also where Freud would claim that the ego starts being developed. The anal stage is set in the years of 1-3 and focuses on the erogenous bladder and bowel zones. The phallic stage occurs in the years of 3-6, and the erogenous zone that it revolves around is the genitalia. This is also notably the stage where the Oedipus complex becomes prevalent, discussed in the next paragraph. This is also where Freud believed the super-ego begins to develop. The latency stage occurs between the ages of 6 and puberty, and this is the stage where dormant sexual feelings begin to develop. The last stage is the genital stage and lasts from puberty till death, and this stage is where sexual interests mature. For Freud, as a child, the first three stages are essential in the development of the child's libido, so depending on the strength of the fixation that the child has during each stage could, for Freud, lead to the manifesting of mental ailments. Moreover, for Freud, in his early work, these aforementioned psychosexual processes were responsible for the development of an individual (Freud, 1962).

The Oedipus complex was central to the formation of Freud's idea of the unconscious. The Oedipus complex develops around the phallic stage and thus is concentrated around the erogenous zones upon which the phallic stage fixates. The Oedipus complex is a concept that Freud uses to explain a child's unconscious sexual feelings toward the parent of the opposite

sex while at the same time experiencing envy towards the parent of the same sex. Freud states that the Oedipus complex describes the feelings of sexual attraction and the conflict this sexual attraction creates within a boy towards his mother. As his urge to please these erogenous zones grows, so does his understanding that enacting these feelings would be wrong, creating internal conflict. This internal conflict is redirected as feelings of hostility towards the father. This leads to what Freud calls 'castration anxiety', the fear that the father will castrate the boy as punishment. This anxiety leads the boy to identify with the father, which means that the son internalises the father, from the father's personality, gender roles, masculinity, and behaviours. Freud provides this analysis in his study of 'Little Hans'⁶ (Freud, 1966). The Oedipus complex plays a central role in Freud's sexual theory and, in the formation of the super-ego.

Freud's concept of the mind is made up of three psychic agencies: the id, the super-ego and the ego (Freud, 1989). The largest is the unconscious id. It is responsible for the satisfaction of internal biological, primal needs and urges such as sex. The id is the driver of the pleasure principle, which will always seek to satisfy basic primal needs (Freud, 1989, p. 19). The super-ego is described as being semi or pre-conscious. The super-ego is developed through external influence; it is the part of our mind that internalises external factors such as social morals and the idea of right and wrong (Freud, 1989, p. 32). The super-ego drives the moral principle, and this principle will always push us to do what we believe is moral. According to Freud, the last part of our mind is the ego; this is the conscious part of our mind and acts as a mediator between the id and super-ego. The ego forms part of the id, and as we grow, the ego develops to control the id. The ego drives the reality principle, which is the part of the id that is influenced by external forces; this helps to bring the id under control (Freud, 1989, p. 19). The reality principle enables our mind to assess the reality of the world outside of ourselves and act according to said reality. The nature of the id and super-ego means that there is constant conflict between the two, the id pushing for the satisfaction of primal urges while the super-ego always fights against those urges in line with what is socially and morally acceptable. Based on the reality principle, the ego balances out our urge to satisfy our needs and what is

⁶ See Freud's *Analysis of a Phobia of a Five Year Old Boy* (1909).

morally acceptable. An imbalance in one of these agencies creates feelings of anxiety and guilt, which, if not corrected, can lead to neurotic anxiety (Rennison, 2001, p. 40).

When an imbalance occurs in any of the three psychic agencies, an unconscious psychic defence attempts to protect the individual from the neurotic anxiety that arises from thoughts and urges resulting from a psychic imbalance within the id and super-ego. While these defence mechanisms are natural and normal, increased frequency of use will lead to the development of neurotic traits. These are called defence mechanisms, and while there are many different types, I will focus on two: repression and sublimation. Repression is an unconscious action that is utilised by the ego to stop disturbing thoughts from becoming conscious. An example of repression can be found within the Oedipus complex, where feelings of aggression towards the parents of the same sex as the child are repressed. Sublimation is the defence mechanism whereby we displace socially unacceptable and destructive thoughts, emotions and feelings with socially acceptable activities—for example, channelling emotions into something constructive, like people who play sports often channel feelings of aggression into their sport.

The last two Freudian concepts I will visit here are Freud's concepts of sadism and masochism, also known as sadomasochism. These two concepts are the most important contributions of Freudian theory to the ACC. Sadomasochism forms the conceptual body of the ACC. This is reinforced by Fromm's interchangeability of terms between the authoritarian and sadomasochistic characters, which are one in the same (Fromm, 2020, p. 37). This concept was explored at length by Freud in *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* (1962) [1905]⁷. Freud considered sadism and masochism to be "the most common and the most significant of all the perversions – the desire to inflict pain upon the sexual object, and its reverse" (Freud, 1962, p. 23). However, it was not until Freud's *The Economic Problem of Masochism* (1986) [1924] that we see sadomasochism becoming a mainstream concept, masochism specifically. As Rathbone notes "Masochism became primary but, within Freud's new structural model, sadism and masochism were no longer considered as component sexual instincts pushing through repression but as products of instinctual fusion attaching ultimately

⁷ I have employed the use of square brackets for two reasons. Firstly, to show the original date of publication. Secondly, in later chapters I will use this original publication to reinforce a timeline which relies on sequential dates.

to different mental agencies in manifest behaviour” (Rathbone, 2001, p. 32). This change is also reflected in Freud's adoption of the ‘primary masochism’, i.e. moral masochism, which is different from previous sexually driven masochistic types. Moral masochism then becomes the type that is driven purely by the need to suffer “The suffering itself is what matters; whether it is decreed by someone who is loved or by someone who is indifferent is of no importance” (Freud, 1986, p. 165). In *The Economic Problem of Masochism*, Freud shows us that sadism and masochism are conceptually coupled, although located in distinctly different parts of the mind, sadism within the super-ego and masochism within the ego.

“The phenomenon of conscience, however, lead us to infer that the destructiveness which returns from the external world is also taken up by the super-ego, and increases its sadism against the ego. The sadism of the superego and the masochism of the ego supplement each other and unite to produce the same effects” (Freud, 1986, p. 170).

Thus, Freud explains that the presence of masochistic traits necessitates the existence of sadistic traits and concludes that both sadism and masochism are connected to each other to the point where they ‘unite’.

Having explained the fundamental concepts of Freud that the Frankfurt School used to create and further develop the early Critical Theory, I will now shift to looking at the Marxist theories and the concepts that influenced the Frankfurt School. Karl Marx provided a socio-economic analysis that uses a materialist account to explain historical developments. This analysis and interpretation of Marx forms the basis of Marxism. Several features characterize Marxist theory. Firstly, it holds that the economic base of society necessarily determines the superstructure of said society. Secondly, it holds that capitalism's exploitative nature cannot be changed, and that Marxism is inevitable through revolution. Thirdly it argues for the centrality of social structure, specifically how the ruling class openly exploit the lower classes in capitalist societies.

These characteristics are interpreted and analysed by the use of historical materialism. Historical materialism focuses on the development of society through history, specifically as the result of material conditions rather than just ideals. This theory of history focuses on the material conditions of societies focusing on the modes of production within said society,

specifically productive forces and the relations of production. Historical materialism analyses how these forces determine the development and organization of a society, in this way linking a society's development and organization inextricably to materialist conditions within said society. This purely materialist analysis of society's development only considers how the material relations between individuals contribute to the larger organization of society. As Marx describes it, "Society does not consist of individuals, but expresses the sum of interrelations, the relations within which these individuals stand" (Marx, 1973, p. 265).

Marx's historical materialism, which looks at how materialist factors impact society's development and organization, provided an analysis of society that showed how forces of production dominate the mental side of life. Freud analyzed the human psyche and provided an understanding of the mind and a detailed analysis of the creation and development of character traits. It is possible to see, as Bertrand Russell says, that Marx saw 'making money' while Freud saw 'love' as the basis of humanity and societal development on a larger scale. It is important to highlight the radical novelty of the Frankfurt School, particularly its attempts at synthesizing the merging of Freud with Marx. This Freudo-Marxist synthesis would lead to the creation of the ACC. This concept of Freudo-Marxism is not new, and thinkers like Wilhelm Reich⁸ (Jay, 1976, p. 92) had previously engaged in a Marxist understanding of Freudian psychoanalysis. However, the Frankfurt School would use the Freudo-Marxist synthesis developed by members of the first-generation Frankfurt School in order to provide a Freudian understanding of the failure to create a Marxist class consciousness. Thereby creating a critical Freudo-Marxist lens through which to analyse society instead of just providing Freudian analysis of a concept grounded in Marxism or vice versa. This lens became a method of analysis used by members of the Frankfurt School to understand deeply rooted authoritarian trends within an individual or society, thereby developing the ACC.

In this section, I looked at the Frankfurt School and detailed who the key figures were in the development of early Critical Theory. I also looked at the purpose of the Frankfurt School, which I have shown to be the development of liberatory praxis that is not politically aligned

⁸ "In contrast ... the psychoanalytic 'left' – who tried to continue and develop the system of radical Freud, and create a harmony between the psychoanalytic views of Freud and the sociological and psychological views of Marx. Among them ... Wilhelm Reich, who tried to achieve a synthesis between Freudianism and Marxism" (Fromm, 1970, p. 25). Fromm later goes on to state that Reich, in his later years, had turned his back on Marxist theory (Fromm, 1970, p. 25).

with any system of governance but instead focuses on the liberation of society. I also detailed briefly Freud's psychosexual development, his Oedipus complex, his structure of the mind, defence mechanisms and his account of sadomasochism. And Marx's historical materialism. These concepts form the conceptual core of the analysis of the Freudo-Marxist lens that the Frankfurt School employed.

1.2 The ACC

In this section, I will look at the Frankfurt School's development of the ACC; I will show it to be an interdisciplinary concept with the Frankfurt School's unique Freudo-Marxist synthesis at its core. I will detail the conceptual composition and purpose of the ACC. By doing so, I hope to describe the ACC as a holistic model of understanding authoritarian psychosocial structures.

The Frankfurt School's studies into authoritarianism started out of a desire to understand the rise of authoritarian regimes in European countries and develop a liberating theory in line with the goal of the Frankfurt School, as detailed in section 1.1. This analysis of authoritarianism would utilise the Frankfurt School's Freudo-Marxist analysis to understand and detail the deeply rooted trends of individuals that are pre-determined towards authoritarianism. This meant that the analysis of authoritarianism would use this Freudo-Marxist interpretation and observations Fromm had made in Weimar Germany.

The ACC is a concept that seeks to understand, through a Freudo-Marxist lens, as per Kramer, the 'expression of deeply rooted trends' (Kramer, 2011, p. 18). This collection of deeply rooted trends within an individual or society's character results in the predisposition or vulnerability to authoritarian demagogic leaders. The ACC is a concept that was developed to understand the rise of Nazism in Weimar Germany and the shift to dictatorial totalitarianism in the Soviet Union. The ACC embodied the spirit of inter-disciplinary analysis that Horkheimer had set out in his inaugural address (Horkheimer, 1993). It is arguably the most important concept that came out of the Frankfurt School, as its early development is tied to several other concepts developed by the Frankfurt School. Conceptually the ACC is an attempt by the Frankfurt School to understand authoritarian character traits that manifest and develop

within individuals. The ACC can be viewed as a typically Freudian interpretation of character that is understood through the context of Marxist historical/dialectical materialism. The ACC seeks to understand authoritarian social structures, and the analysis provided by both Freud and Marx is used to develop a holistic model of authoritarian character.

Freud and Marx were used as micro and macro methods of analysis, respectively. The Freudian micro-analysis looked at the development and exacerbation of authoritarian character traits within individuals and societies. The Marxist macro-analysis looked at how materialist factors influence the development of the aforementioned micro development. Together the micro and macro analysis have a dialectical⁹ relationship. This can be observed by looking at the development of specific character traits and how socio-economic factors influence the development of said character traits to become naturally predisposed towards authoritarianism. In combination, they create the right conditions for the expression of the aforementioned authoritarian traits. In turn, the character that develops as a consequence of the influences mentioned earlier is imprinted on the character of those individuals not yet predisposed to these authoritarian traits. Thus, there is a back-and-forth dialectical relationship between these two to the point where it creates a dialectical symbiosis that analyses the authoritarian condition both from a Freudian micro and Marxist macro perspective.

In understanding this symbiotic dialectical relationship, one can understand how Freudian concepts such as masochism develop over a period of time and how socio-economic circumstances impact the development of character traits which leads to an abundance of specific authoritarian character traits, such as masochism and sadism, within a specifically given society. Individuals in societies would then be more inclined to give up individual freedoms for the security provided by authority figures, whether or not the security provided is real or a pseudo-imagined idea perpetuated by said authority figures.

We first see the use of the ACC in analysing authoritarianism in Fromm's *Studies on Authority and the Family: Sociological Dimensions* (2020) [1936]. It is Fromm's contribution that gives us the most important concept, that is, the ACC, otherwise known as the sadomasochistic

⁹ Dialectical in the Hegelian sense, coming to understand how each of these two positions, the micro and macro, effect each other's development through a process of thesis, antithesis and synthesis.

character (Gabardi, 1987, p. 169). Fromm's *Studies on Authority and the Family: Sociological Dimensions* (2020) ¹⁰ [1936] formed part of a more extensive study undertaken by the Frankfurt School in a series of volumes called *Studien über Autorität und Familie* [1936]. This was the first serious work undertaken by the Frankfurt School to analyse authoritarian attitudes and the roots of its formulations, particularly within the family, in its famous interdisciplinary approach, with contributions from all of the Frankfurt School's key figures. The Frankfurt School's focus on studies into understanding authoritarianism arose out of a need to understand the rise of fascism in Germany. Fromm, the Frankfurt School's resident psychoanalyst, was tasked with providing a psychosocial understanding of authoritarianism. It is in *Studies on Authority and the Family* [1936] that we first see the use of ACC as an analysis of the authoritarian-masochistic character. Reiner Funk, in the forward to Fromm (2020) stated that Fromm had already "psychoanalytically analysed the psychodynamics of the sadistic and masochistic aspects of authoritarian orientation in great detail in 1936" (Fromm, 2020, p. 8). *Studies on Authority and the Family* [1936] was published just before Horkheimer's *Egoism and Freedom Movements: On the Anthropology of the Bourgeois Era* (1993) [1936]¹¹, both of which contributed to the ACC project. *Egoism and Freedom Movements* [1936] would draw on Fromm's analysis of the ACC that was developed in *Studies on Authority and the Family* [1936] (Abromeit, 2011, p. 238). *Studies on Authority and the Family* [1936] would be Fromm's most significant contribution to the Frankfurt School (Best, et al., 2018, p. 63).

The analysis developed and conclusions reached in *Studies on Authority and Family* [1939] would define the psychic structure of the ACC¹². In short, these conclusions were that socio-economic factors impact the development of character within the family, which in turn is where the idea of authority is initially developed within the subconscious. Furthermore, if the conditions are right, then they can create sadomasochistic character traits to take root and be expressed. These sadistic and masochistic traits are typical Freudian concepts that I have outlined in section 1.1; these concepts play a crucial role in defining the ACC. As Fromm observes, where sadomasochistic traits are present within an individual's character and when said individual resides within a society that gratifies these aforementioned traits, it will be the

¹⁰ Hereafter known as *Studies on Authority and the Family*.

¹¹ Hereafter known as *Egoism and Freedom Movements*.

¹² For an analysis of *Studies on Authority and the Family* as well as *Egoism and Freedom Movements* look at Chapter 2.

case that these individuals are primed to be enchanted and exploited by authoritarian leaders within an authoritarian society.

In this section, I laid out the Frankfurt School's study of the ACC. I have detailed what the ACC is and what I mean when I use the term. I have also shown the nature of the ACC as being Freudo-Marxist. I do this to give an understanding of the ACC as developed by the Frankfurt School.

In this chapter, I have detailed, in section 1.1, the Frankfurt School and key members of its first-generation that were responsible for the ACC. I briefly detailed key Freudian and Marxist concepts that the Frankfurt School makes use of in their analysis of the authoritarian character. I then moved on to section 1.2 where I showcased how the ACC came about as a way to analyse authoritarian traits, and its original goal. I also have detailed what I mean when I use the term ACC.

Chapter 2

The Received View of the Authoritarian Character Concept

In chapter 1, I laid out the conceptual composition of the ACC and its purpose, which was to understand the predisposition of individuals and societies towards authoritarian leaders. This predisposition is understood through a dialectic theoretical framework which employs a macro Marxist analysis of social conditions and a micro Freudian analysis of the impact those social conditions have on the development of character. I will, in this chapter, argue that there exists a dominant narrative of the ACC within the secondary literature on Critical Theory, which I term the received view of the ACC.

I will, in section 2.1, establish this by detailing key secondary texts by influential Critical Theory commentators, most prominent of whom include, Martin Jay, John Abromeit and Neil McLaughlin. I will show that a dominant narrative exists throughout these key secondary texts regarding what the ACC is, its function, who is responsible for its inception and development, and its explicit conceptual lifespan from its genesis to its demise. By highlighting the general consensus of these key Critical Theory commentators on these features of the ACC, I will prove that there is indeed such a thing as the received view of the ACC.

I will also, in this chapter, detail three key concepts from two works which form the corpus of the ACC, namely Erich Fromm's contribution to *Studies on Authority and the Family* [1936] and Horkheimer's essay *Egoism and Freedom Movements* [1936]. Firstly, in section 2.2, I will analyse the concept of the Freudo-Marxist synthesis and method of analysis. This synthesis is central to the ACC as it is the method used to analyse the authoritarian character and involves using the macro-micro dialectic I have detailed above.

Secondly, in section 2.3, I will detail the concept of sadomasochism. I will show that this concept of the ACC, as analysed by Fromm, is the core trait of the authoritarian character (Fromm, 2020, p. 37)[1936]. Fromm's analysis of sadomasochism details the psychic apparatus of the authoritarian character.

Third and lastly, in section 2.4, I will explicate the concept of a shared social psyche that holds that society shares a common psyche or unconscious. This concept is key to understanding

the ACC as it details how a society or groups within a society form their own unique shared unconscious as a consequence of their socio-economic situation.

In section 2.5, I will detail Horkheimer's *Egoism and Freedom Movements* [1936], I will show how Horkheimer uses the ACC to analyse various freedom movements. Essentially *Egoism and Freedom Movements* [1936] is a case study in the application of the ACC to understand how society sought the domination of others as opposed to the freedom of true liberation. This text also begins a shift away from the Freudo-Marxist method of analysis in favour of a more materialist analysis.

2.1 The Received View of the ACC

In this section, I will argue that there exists a dominant narrative regarding the nature, function, and conceptual lifespan of the ACC. I will showcase that this dominant narrative is commentary in nature, and is made up of various key secondary commentators of Critical Theory. The function of this dominant narrative is to give an interpretation of the conceptual development of the ACC. And this dominant narrative holds that the conceptual lifespan of the ACC is 1936-1939.

When looking at key secondary literature that analyses the first-generation Frankfurt School's studies into the authoritarian character, a dominant narrative emerges. This dominant narrative I will term the received view of the ACC. This received view comes from a general consensus¹³ that I will argue is common in key secondary commentary texts of the first-generation of the Frankfurt School.

In the secondary commentaries on the first-generation Frankfurt School, there exists great interest in analysing the Frankfurt School's studies into authoritarianism. I will focus on the received view of the ACC that Kramer (2011) details as "the authoritarian character studies of the Frankfurt Institute of Social Research ... based on a Marxist social and psychoanalytic theory" (Kramer, 2011, p. 3). As such, Kramer viewed the studies undertaken by the Frankfurt

¹³ However, I do note that since the received view of the ACC is a consensus regarding what the ACC is, there are variations in the secondary works regarding the ACC, its conceptual genesis and eventual demise.

School as focusing on understanding authoritarianism through its unique Freudo-Marxist lens, the “expressions of deeply rooted trends ... framed psychoanalytically in terms of drive theory” (Kramer, 2011, p. 18). Kramer holds that the authoritarian character was mainly developed within the Frankfurt Schools *Studies on Authority and the Family* [1936] (Kramer, 2011, p. 9). The purpose of *Studies on Authority and the Family* [1936] was to develop an understanding between authority and its impact on the family as the primary source of psychic development. This is echoed by Best, et al (2018) below, who viewed *Studies on Authority and the Family* [1936] as a work that looked:

“to develop a social-psychological explanation for the loss of internalized authority or ‘conscience’ among masses of salaried workers and framed that explanation in terms of what they called the ‘crisis in the family’, or the child’s terribly de-centering experience of an absolute conflict between the law of the father and the law of the state.” (Best, et al., 2018, p. 899)

The received view of the ACC for key Critical Theory commentators concerns a tiny sliver of work undertaken by the Frankfurt School between 1936 and 1939. With the genesis of the ACC, according to the received view, being in 1936 with the publication of *Studies on Authority and the Family*. And the demise being the year Fromm was expelled from the Frankfurt School in 1939.

Tom Bottomore (2002) also makes use of the term authoritarian character solely to designate the work done in *Studies on Authority and the Family* [1936] (Bottomore, 2002, p. 20). Jay (1976) as with the various other key secondary commentators holds *Studies on Authority and the Family* [1936] as a key work of the Frankfurt School, implying that it is “The Institutes First Studies of Authority” (Jay, 1976, p. 113). Jay (1976) details *Studies on Authority and the Family* [1936] as a study that sought to understand “the family’s crucial role in mediating between material substructure and ideological superstructure” (Jay, 1976, p. 124). This is similar to the dialectic I detailed in section 1.2 regarding the Marxist macro-analysis and Freudian micro-analysis, which is key in understanding the development of the authoritarian character.

Abromeit (2011) seconds Jay (1976) with regards to the emphasis on *Studies on Authority and the Family* [1936] but also includes Horkheimer’s *Egoism and Freedom Movements* [1936] as an extension of the Frankfurt School’s studies into authoritarianism as seen below:

“Fromm’s essay presented a psychoanalytic analysis of the sadomasochistic character, whose origins and development Horkheimer would subsequently seek to explain historically in his 1936 essay, “Egoism and Freedom Movements.” At this point, there was still an extensive unity in Horkheimer and Fromm’s theoretical interests and approaches” (Abromeit, 2011, p. 337).

The above quote shows that Horkheimer’s *Egoism and Freedom Movements* [1936] was, therefore, not a text of conceptual development of Fromm’s sadomasochistic character, but rather an interpretation of the sadomasochistic character in historical materialist terms, which I will detail in section 2.5.

Abromeit’s (2011) inclusion of Horkheimer’s *Egoism and Freedom Movements* [1936] is notable as it is not something that Jay (1976) touches on. However, *Egoism and Freedom Movements* [1936] extends Fromm’s analysis of the authoritarian character into a historical study of the emergence of populist bourgeoisie leaders in the early Enlightenment era. Abromeit states that “Horkheimer drew on all of these methodological insights of Fromm, but he also supplanted them with insights of his own in order to determine the proper place of psychology in a ‘dialectical theory of history’” (Abromeit, 2011, p. 253). Horkheimer, in 1936, uses the ACC in his analysis of the rise of authoritarianism in freedom movements, but is already beginning his tangent away from the ACC. This is notable as his analysis, while reliant on the ACC, is a lot more reliant on a materialist analysis that would come to characterise the Frankfurt School’s work from 1940 onwards. *Egoism and Freedom Movements* [1936] is, therefore, the last in the Frankfurt School’s studies into the authoritarian character.

There is a key study, *The Working Class in Weimar Germany* (1984), that Fromm had begun in 1930. This study, although only published in 1984, could be used to argue that work on the ACC in fact began in 1930, contrary to 1936 as I have thus far argued. Bottomore (2002) refers to the study of *The Working Class in Weimar Germany* [1930] in his use of the authoritarian character, further suggesting that it formed a part of the ACC project at the time.

Jay holds that the “authoritarian character” (Jay, 1976, p. 117) was a concept developed out of the Frankfurt School’s findings in *The Working Class in Weimar Germany* [1930]. The purpose of which was to understand “the failure of traditional Marxism to explain the reluctance of the proletariat to fulfil its historical role” (Jay, 1976, p. 116), not to detail the

structure or development of the authoritarian character. This Weimar study would not be published until the 1980s but Jay (1976) argues that it was used in *Studies on Authority and the Family* [1936]. Jay (1976) argues that, “Some of the project's findings were, however, worked into subsequent studies of authoritarianism... the questionnaire it had developed was incorporated into the next major Institut project, the *Studien über Autorität und Familie* (*Studies on Authority and the Family*)” (Jay, 1976, p. 117). There seems to be much uncertainty within secondary sources about the extent to which *The Working Class in Weimar Germany* [1930] made an impact or influenced the ACC. Jay (1976) claims the influence of the Weimar study only goes so far as to lending some insight via the use of a questionnaire from the Weimar study (Jay, 1976, p. 117).

McLaughlin (1999) likewise comments that the development of the “authoritarian character” (McLaughlin, 1999, p. 115) begins with the study of *The Working Class of Weimar Germany* [1930]. McLaughlin (1999) also noted that Fromm’s contribution to the development of authoritarian studies at the Frankfurt School was negatively affected by the results of this study not being published until the 1980s. This was notably after Jay (1976) published¹⁴. McLaughlin (1999) further goes on to, as did Jay (1976), link the results of the study of *The Working Class of Weimar Germany* [1929] to the analysis of *Studies on Authority and the Family* [1936]. As McLaughlin notes, “A first report of the study appeared in German in the context of Horkheimer's edited collection *Studien über Autorität und Familie* (1936) where it was suggested that the larger work would soon be published (Bonss, 1984).” (McLaughlin, 1999, p. 115)

I argue that *The Working Class in Weimar Germany* [1930] should not be considered as a part of the larger ACC project of the Frankfurt School as it did not develop any concepts that would be key in the analysis of the authoritarian character. The purpose of *The Working Class in Weimar Germany* [1930] was purely to understand the failings of the proletariat to engage in revolution and that society had not witnessed, as theorised by orthodox Marxism, the collapse of capitalism. Rather the working class had adopted ‘petty bourgeois attitudes’ (Feist, 1986, p. 348). The Frankfurt School embarked upon *The Working Class in Weimar Germany*

¹⁴ Jay (1976) was aware of the Weimar study [1930], whether he was aware of the results however is not assured as the results were only published in the 1980s. McLaughlin(1999) on the other hand argues with the benefit of being, more than likely, aware of the results of the empirical study as it was published in the 1980s.

[1930] study which aimed at collecting information about the German working class that would try to explain this failure, it sought to understand “the German working class, its living and working conditions, political orientations and inclinations, and cultural and social attitudes... its potential for resistance as well as seduction” (Feist, 1986, p. 383). The understanding that *The Working Class in Weimar Germany* [1930] is just an empirical study of the German working class is also seconded by Jay who stated that the study was an “empirical study of the mentality of workers in the Weimar Republic” (Jay, 1976, p. 116). Therefore, I don’t think that the purpose of *The Working Class in Weimar Germany* [1930] was to develop the ACC, rather it merely pointed out that the German working class was susceptible to authoritarianism, leading to the rise of the Nazi Party in Germany. This signalled the beginning of the Frankfurt School’s interest in understanding why society was predisposed towards authoritarianism as opposed to the liberation many Marxist theorists had predicted (Feist, 1986, p. 387).

Jay (1976) notes that the Frankfurt School did not lose its appetite for understanding Nazism (Jay, 1976, p. 133), but that the Frankfurt School had shifted away from understanding authoritarianism in terms of the ACC. This continuation of the Frankfurt School’s studies into authoritarianism took on a different method of analysis after 1939, leaving its Freudo-Marxist analysis for a more and more historical materialist analysis.

By the late 1930s, after the Frankfurt School moved to New York in 1934, it changed its stance on the “basic premises of Critical Theory” (Jay, 1976, p. 143). This change in the basic premises of Critical Theory is essential to note as it changed from understanding authoritarianism through the ACC, moving towards a socio-economic analysis of domination, this change Jay notes below:

“Where Critical Theory broke new ground was in its argument that the role of the economy had changed significantly in the twentieth century. In fact, the debate within the Institut over the nature of fascism centered largely on the character of that change” (Jay, 1976, p. 152)

This change marked the end of the Frankfurt School’s analysis of the authoritarian character. The direction that the Frankfurt School subsequently pursued was no longer focused on

understanding the ACC but rather in analysing the socio-economic circumstances that gave rise to Nazism. As Jay (1976) puts it,

“the Institut employed two general, approaches in its analysis of Nazism. One, associated with Neumann, Gurland, and Kirchheimer, focused on changes in legal, political, and economic institutions... Its basic assumptions were those of a more orthodox Marxism, stressing the centrality of monopoly capitalism, although with considerable refinement. The other major approach, followed by the group around Horkheimer, saw Nazism as the most extreme example of a general trend towards irrational domination in the West... it paid increased attention to technological rationalization as an institutional force and instrumental rationality as a cultural imperative.” (Jay, 1976, p. 166)

This perspective of the direction the Frankfurt School embarked upon is echoed by Best, et al (Best, et al., 2018, p. 804)

The new conceptual direction that the Frankfurt School pursued coincides around the time that Fromm is expelled from the Frankfurt School in 1939. From had been instrumental in the development of the ACC as he developed the Freudo-Marxist method of analysis that members of the Frankfurt School would use in their analysis of the ACC. Following Fromm's expulsion, who was the Frankfurt School's resident psychoanalyst, the Frankfurt School adopted a new conceptual direction which begins with Horkheimer's *The Authoritarian State* (1973) [1940]. This new conceptual direction focused on a critique of technological rationality and is echoed by Jay (1976), “In ‘*Authoritarian State*’ he {sic Horkheimer} developed a critique of technological rationality... anticipating many of the arguments he {sic Horkheimer} was to develop with Adorno in *Dialectic of Enlightenment*” (Jay, 1976, p. 156). While the last major work of the ACC, as I have described, was published in 1936, the publishing of *The Authoritarian State* [1940] marks the definite end of the ACC. The Frankfurt School's studies into Nazism after 1939 cannot be considered to be part of the Freudo-Marxist analysis that characterised the ACC. This is due to the fact that the Frankfurt School's studies into authority developed on a different conceptual trajectory beginning concretely in 1939 with Fromm's expulsion from the Frankfurt School and the adoption of Pollock's state capitalism thesis and the publication of *The Authoritarian State* [1940]. I, therefore, argue that the end of the ACC,

according to key secondary commentators, was around the time of the change from a Freudo-Marxist method of analysis to the state capitalism thesis, which coincided with Fromm's expulsion in 1939.

Therefore, the authoritarian character is used almost entirely by key secondary commentators to describe two projects of the Frankfurt School, that being *Studies on Authority and the Family* [1936] and, to a lesser degree, *Egoism and Freedom Movements* [1936]. Therefore, according to the received view it appears that the genesis of the ACC is 1936.

The Frankfurt School's work prior to 1936 is described, by most key commentators of Critical Theory, as the Frankfurt School's 'attempt to integrate psychoanalysis' into its social critique (Jay, 1976, p. 87). The Frankfurt School's work post-1940 employed an analysis of Nazism that developed on a different tangent than that of the ACC, culminating with the publishing of *The Authoritarian Personality* [1950]. However, Adorno had utilised psychosocial observations developed in 1936 in his analysis in *The Authoritarian Personality* [1950]. Jay observes that, "Adorno's approach to fascism rested on the same psychosocial assumptions that had informed the *Studien über Autorität und Familie*" (Jay, 1976, p. 143). This means that Adorno's *The Authoritarian Personality* [1950] was developed while relying on psychosocial assumptions that were developed in 1936. As such it would be possible to claim that Adorno's analysis in 1950 did not develop any new concepts, merely relying on observations made in 1936. This should cast some doubt on the effectiveness of the analysis that is contained within *The Authoritarian Personality* [1950].

Studies into authoritarianism shifted after Fromm was expelled from the Frankfurt School, in 1939, "In the forties the *Studies in Prejudice* picked up where the *Studien über Autorität und Familie* had left off, but now the focus was on American forms of authoritarianism" (Jay, 1976, p. 172). In analysing American forms of authoritarianism, the Frankfurt School changed its method of analysis from a Freudo-Marxist one to an almost purely Marxist one, providing a critique of American culture and the domination of technological rationality. This refocus towards analysing American forms of authoritarianism with a Marxist method of analysis relied heavily on analysing American culture, as echoed by Jay (1976), "With the shift in subject matter came a subtle change in the center of the Institute's work. American mass

culture thus became one of the central concerns of the Frankfurt School in the forties.” (Jay, 1976, p. 172)

Before continuing, I want to take some time to detail the direction of the Frankfurt School in analysing authoritarianism after 1939. By highlighting this new direction that members of the Frankfurt School went on in analysing authoritarianism, I will show that this new direction was indeed something different from the ACC that I have so far detailed. At the core of this change in direction was Horkheimer’s “re-philosophizing” of the Frankfurt School’s theoretical orientation (Dubiel, 1985, p. 106).

This change in direction is best embodied by Pollock’s state capitalism thesis, which detailed a new type of capitalism with the state controlling the entire economic process. This control that the state has is then used to dominate those within the state. Domination in this context is the complete control that the state has over all aspects of life:

“If state capitalism is a workable system, superior in terms of productivity to private capitalism under conditions of monopolistic market distribution, what are the political implications? If the state becomes the omnipotent controller of all human activities, the question ‘who controls the controller’ embraces the problem of whether state capitalism opens a new way to freedom or leads to the complete loss of it as far as the overwhelming majority is concerned.” (Pollock, 1982, p. 90)

The importance of Pollock’s state capitalism thesis is seen in Horkheimer’s *The Authoritarian State* (1973) [1940], which Horkheimer wrote to analyse various types of authoritarian states, such as the totalitarian Nazi regime and integral statism of the Soviet Union. Horkheimer also looks at the tools that states have to exercise domination over their people, with a core tool being state capitalism: “State capitalism is the authoritarian state of the present” (Horkheimer, 1973, p. 3). It is out of Horkheimer’s *The Authoritarian State* [1940] that we see concepts being developed that would later be used in the Frankfurt School’s most well-known work, *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (2002) [1947]. Noerr briefly described *Dialectic of Enlightenment* [1947] as:

“The self-destruction of Western reason is seen to be grounded in an historical and fateful dialectic of the domination of external nature, internal nature, and society... Reason appears as inextricably entangled with domination... In the

service of an advancing rationalization of instrumental thought modelled on the domination of nature and serving its purposes” (Noerr, 2002, p. 218).

This new direction the Frankfurt School embraced moved away from understanding authoritarianism through the ACC. Instead, it shifted towards understanding authoritarianism by analysing domination in terms of firstly a materialist analysis and then, by the time the *Dialectic of Enlightenment* [1947] was published, as dialectically inevitable.

The received view of the ACC that I have constructed posits the ACC project as being centred around two key texts that form the corpus of the ACC *Studies on Authority and the Family* [1936] and *Egoism and Freedom Movements* [1936] with the former being the *magnum opus*. *Studies on Authority and the Family* [1936] was a psychoanalytically-based socio-historical study. After Fromm was expelled from the Frankfurt School in 1939, the Frankfurt School’s studies into authoritarianism had developed along a different conceptual path. This new conceptual path focused more on a dialectical socio-historical framework with psychoanalysis used as a means of interpreting surveys, as opposed to a psychoanalytically-based understanding of authoritarianism enriched by socio-economic analysis. In *Studies on Authority and the Family* [1936], there was an effort to understand the impact of the family on the development of character traits and, in particular, the influence of the family as a psychic unit on the development of authoritarian character traits. And *Egoism and Freedom Movements* [1936], being the application of the ACC in the analysis of various freedom movements throughout history.

The conceptual timeline, as per this received view, holds that the genesis of the ACC is 1936 with the publication of *Studies on Authority and the Family* [1936]. However, with Fromm’s expulsion from the Frankfurt School in 1939 and Fromm’s expulsion in 1939 marking the start of a new direction in the understanding of authority I can claim the demise of the ACC as a concept per the received view as being at the latest 1939. Therefore, one can concretely say that the ACC lasted from 1936, with the publishing of *Studies on Authority and the Family* [1936], till 1939 at the very latest, with Fromm’s expulsion from the Frankfurt School. From 1940 onwards the Frankfurt School would adopt a new conceptual direction with the publishing of *The Authoritarian State* [1940].

It must be noted that there is nothing conceptually incorrect about the received view of the ACC. As I will show in the following chapters, it is only incorrect in its interpretation of the conceptual development of the ACC from its genesis to its demise.

This project aims to provide an accurate account of the development of the ACC, one that is inclusive of conceptual developments of the ACC prior to 1936 and after 1939, developments that have so far been excluded by the dominant narrative that is the received view of the ACC. Thus providing a historically accurate interpretation of the conceptual development of the ACC. I will argue in this project for revisiting the ACC by revising the received view of the ACC to include the work done before 1936 and after 1939, and by doing so, I will provide a more historically accurate account of the ACC that will serve the initial goal of the project as detailed in section 1.1.

In this section, I have argued that a dominant narrative exists of the ACC that I call the received view of the ACC. I have shown that within key secondary commentary texts, there is a general consensus regarding the conceptual development of the ACC. Having established that there is a received view of the ACC, I went on to briefly detail the new direction the Frankfurt School embarked upon following 1940 in analysing authoritarianism. This established that, according to the received view of the ACC, the Frankfurt School's ACC project began in 1936 and ended in 1939 with Fromm's expulsion.

2.2 The Freudo-Marxist Method of Analysis

In the following three sections, including this section, I will detail three key concepts from *Studies on Authority and the Family* [1936], the *magnum opus* of the received view of the ACC. Firstly, the Freudo-Marxist method of analysis, which I will show, is vital in the analysis and development of the ACC. Secondly, in section 2.3, I will analyse the concept of sadomasochism and its development, which is different to the Freudian account of sadomasochism. Third and lastly, in section 2.4, is the concept of a shared social psyche, which is key to understanding how certain societies are more susceptible to the authoritarian character than others. These three concepts, although separate, are intertwined in their use

in analysing the authoritarian character, as each concept relies on the other to provide an analysis of the authoritarian character.

I will in this section explicate the Freudo-Marxist lens of analysis which would become the method of analysis that characterises the ACC. The ACC sought to understand the predisposition of individuals and societies towards seeking their own oppression by seeking the security of authoritarian leaders. The Freudo-Marxist method of analysis sought to understand this predisposition through its macro and micro dialectical analysis. I will define this methodology within the received view of the ACC and show that this methodology is crucial to the analysis and, thereby, formation of the ACC.

In *Studies on Authority and the Family* [1936], we see the first concerted effort by Fromm to conceptually trace the origins of a set of traits that would become the authoritarian-sadomasochistic character concept. Fromm does this by analysing authority and its development within individuals and societies. Fromm would do this by using the Freudo-Marxist method of analysis, by understanding macro socio-economic conditions that imprint onto the micro psychic structure of said individuals and societies.

Fromm analyses the authority structure within a typical peasant family, Fromm does this as peasant families are often the most impacted by socio-economic factors. Fromm states, "In a certain type of peasant family structure, a situation of authority exists in the relation of the son to the father" (Fromm, 2020, p. 10)[1936]. From a young age, one is exposed to authority relations within the family structure. Within the family structure, we begin to relate to authority, and by relating to authority, there develops an innate desire for the subordinate to become 'like' the authority figure. There are three factors that determine the relationship between the subordinate and the authority figure, the freedom the subordinate enjoys, the characteristics that attract a subordinate towards an authority figure and the internalisation of authority.

Firstly, the key to the relationship between a subordinate and an authority figure is the freedom the subordinate enjoys. This 'freedom' is manipulated or controlled by an authority figure through indirect, covert means, such as through misinformation campaigns and indoctrination. In which case, you have something that you believe to be freedom, as you are trained to believe that one has freedom when in actuality, one does not. This excludes

'coerced behaviour' when the subordinate is overtly coerced into doing actions dictated to by the authority figure, such as the relationship between the prisoner and his jailer. The key to this factor is the presence of freedom that the subordinate can enjoy, whether this freedom is real or a false perception, as Fromm states, "There must always be a measure of freedom in authority" (Fromm, 2020, p. 11)[1936]. Being made to believe you are free still has a 'measure' of freedom, whereas being coerced into doing something by the threat of punishment, there is no 'measure' of freedom.

Secondly, the characteristics that attract a subordinate towards an authority figure, there are two characteristics, namely, power and danger, and exemplary achievement. Fromm notes that these characteristics are influenced both internally and externally that compel an individual to become a subordinate to an authority figure:

"First it is power and danger, then it is exemplary achievement which is the source of the authority dynamic; in one case, only feelings are involved, in another it is rational thought; sometimes the relation to authority is experienced as continuous heavy pressure, other times as gratifying enrichment; sometimes the dynamic seems to be a force of external circumstances and in this sense necessary, sometimes it appears to be an act of free will" (Fromm, 2020, p. 11)[1936].

These characteristics are important as they demonstrate the 'attraction' that subordinates have toward authority figures. Fromm looks at both emotional and rational 'attractiveness'. On the emotional account, Fromm looks at the influence of power more as an exercise of power and its effect on subordinates. On the rational account, Fromm looks at the influence of power but in terms of achievement as a source of authority. However, these influences are received differently; that is, the way in which the subordinate receives the authority figure's power is different. Sometimes the reception of the power of the authority figure is a matter of long continuous exposure to power. Other times it is received as the subordinate's enrichment in gratifying the authority figure. Sometimes, an external force corrals subordinates towards an authority figure. It also could just be a matter of free will, that is, freely choosing to subordinate yourself to an authority figure.

Lastly is the internalisation of authority. The id is the source of all our primal urges, eating, drinking and reproduction (see section 1.1). Everything else that humans know we learn

through a process of internalisation of external forces and facts. So, while we will not need to learn how to drink water, we do need to learn other things that make us human beings, such as right and wrong, politics and all other things that are involved in the educational process. Authority is no exception to this.

Moreover, since authority exists outside of oneself, Fromm, like Freud, attributes the super-ego to the formation of an internal understanding of authority. "Authority is no less significant for group formation, according to Freud, in the formation of the super-ego" (Fromm, 2020, p. 13)[1936]. Fromm again echoes Freud in identifying the father as an individual's first exposure to authority. However, Fromm differs from Freud in stating that this authority the father holds is not his alone. The father then does not model authority but transmits social authority, i.e. authority that exists within society. "The authority that the father has in the family is not a coincidental one later supplemented by the social authorities, but rather the authority of the father himself is ultimately grounded in the authority structure of society as a whole" (Fromm, 2020, p. 18)[1936]. It is essential, however, to note that the father is the first relation to authority we have, and the father is closely connected to the formation of the super-ego (Fromm, 2020, p. 16)[1936]. Thus, "The super-ego is an internalisation of authority, authority becomes transfigured by the projection of the super-ego's qualities on to it, and in this transfigured form becomes internalised again" (Fromm, 2020, p. 16)[1936], the relationship between father and child becomes the internalisation of authority from something external to something internal.

So far, Fromm has set out to locate the origin of the authoritarian character traits of sadomasochism, these being located in the super-ego, internalised by way of experiencing authority in the form of the father when one is a child. Fromm further notes that while we might perceive this authority from the father as per Freud, this is not the case. Instead, society's external authority structure determines the father's authority. Through this formation, the original external authority becomes an internalised authority. Individuals then act on those internalised authority structures, obeying them not out of fear but out of psychic necessity as authority relations become part of our pre-conscious and, thus, our psychic makeup.

However, on Fromm's account, authoritarian traits are not always bad or neurotic; for example, the relationship between a student and their supervisor, while it has an element of

an authoritarian nature, there is no inherent neurosis. What leads to authoritarian traits becoming neurotic is the gratification of neurotic traits, i.e., sadomasochism and the repression of libidinal drives. The gratification of neurotic traits is the process of satisfying traits that are deemed to be neurotic or mentally imbalanced.

So far, in this section, I have detailed the Freudian micro-analysis that looked at how Fromm developed an understanding of the internalisation of authority. This analysis viewed, specifically, the development of authority within the individual and how this authority becomes internalised. This is a part of what I term the micro-level of analysis of the authoritarian character. I will now highlight the macro-level of analysis that is found within the received view of the ACC. This macro-level of analysis looks at the impact of socio-economic factors on the psyche, which is the micro-analysis. As I mentioned in section 1.2, the Marxist macro-analysis has a dialectical relationship with the Freudian micro-analysis. This dialectic functions in that socio-economic factors influence the development of our psyche through the influence of socio-economic factors on families, which I have shown to be the source of authority, according to Fromm. In turn, there is a drive to satisfy or gratify our traits within our psyche with 'needs' that are the product of socio-economic factors within the social structure, yet it is these socio-economic factors within society that influence the development of our psyche. I will now look at how Fromm explained the influence of socio-economic factors on this dialectic.

In modern society, the social structure and the modes of production imprint upon that social structure enable the gratification of neurotic traits, like sadism and masochism. As Fromm puts it:

"This study {sic *Studies on Authority and the Family*} should indeed show that a psychic agency like the super-ego and the ego, a mechanism like repression, impulses like sadomasochism, which so decisively influence peoples' feelings, thoughts and actions, are not some sort of 'natural' conditions, but rather they themselves are each influenced by how people live, ultimately by modes of production and the resulting social structure" (Fromm, 2020, p. 22)[1936].

Psychic developments, although seemingly natural, are according to Fromm, in the above quote, the result of the influence of socio-economic factors.

The mechanism of the repression of libidinal drives and gratification of sadomasochist impulses eventually create sadomasochistic character traits. These sadomasochistic traits Fromm talks about are the same kind of sadomasochistic traits that Freud expands on in *The Economic Problem of Masochism*, as I mentioned in section 1.1, that is moral masochism and the understanding that masochism and sadism are coupled. Where the presence of masochistic traits necessitates the presence of sadistic traits. Put into the right circumstances, these sadomasochistic character traits are expressed in terms of a subordinate-authority figure relationship. By this, I mean that the masochistic traits within the subordinate lead the subordinate to follow the authority figure in a relationship, as discussed earlier, i.e., an emotional or rational relationship. In terms of the sadistic traits, it leads the subordinate to express feelings of domination over others. However, these mechanisms and impulses are not naturally occurring but as a result of socio-economic relations between individuals and the social structures that form within a society. Ultimately, they result from modes of production imprinting upon the social structure.

As the modes of production imprint on the social structure, they create wants and needs. These "needs force him to change the environment in line with the satisfaction of his drives" (Fromm, 2020, p. 24)[1936]. This idea that humankind changes their environments as modes of production imprint upon them a need to change comes from Marx in his work *The German Ideology* [1846]:

“Morality, religion, metaphysics, and all the rest of ideology as well as the forms of consciousness corresponding to these, thus no longer retain the semblance of independence. They have no history, no development; but men, developing their material production and their material intercourse, alter, along with this their actual world, also their thinking and the products of their thinking” (Karl Marx, 1998, p. 42).

Marx here shows that you cannot analyse humankind’s environment without understanding how historical materialism affects said environment. According to Marx, all matters of human existence are no longer independent of socio-economic conditions. Humankind has, therefore, according to Marx, become dependent on materialist factors to exist.

While the individual tries to change their environment to satisfy their drives, individuals are also conflicted as these “the environment forces the individual to adapt his impulses and needs within what are narrow bio-physiological boundaries” (Fromm, 2020, p. 24)[1936]. This conflict triggers a psychic defence mechanism, which I have previously detailed in section 1.1. The defence mechanism of repression occurs when drives are repressed; this is done as a defence mechanism of the ego, where it tries to balance the id and the super-ego. In repressing these drives, the ego, in turn, becomes repressed by the super-ego:

"While repression is undertaken in the service of the ego, the ego is a slave to those factors causing the repression, just as the ego without repression would be a slave to the impulses emanating from the id. The ego pays, so to speak, for the alliance between authority and the superego by surrendering its independence and renouncing its sovereignty" (Fromm, 2020, p. 28)[1936].

The factors Fromm speaks of in the above quote are the materialist factors Marx was stating humankind is becoming depended on. These materialist factors are, according to Fromm, influencing the human psyche through repression. The ego's loss of independence Fromm details can be contrasted to Marx stating that human consciousness is no longer independent of materialist factors, in both situations however, human consciousness becomes dependent on socio-economic factors.

This suppression of the ego occurs because, as Fromm puts it, "Man wants to feel loved by his super-ego as well as by authority, he fears their enmity and gratifies his self-love when he pleases his super-ego or the authorities with whom he identifies" (Fromm, 2020, p. 25)[1936]. This satisfaction of the super-ego leads to its primacy over the ego. With this satisfaction, human beings suppress socially undesirable drives out of the fear of upsetting their super-ego. As Fromm puts it, "Fear constantly produced in this way has an inhibiting and crippling effect on the ego, and thereby reinforces the significance of the super-ego and authority for the individual" (Fromm, 2020, p. 32)[1936]. With the repression of drives and suppression of the ego, what is left is not a desire to satisfy drives but rather satisfy the authority that causes those drives' repression.

In this section, I have highlighted the Freudo-Marxist method of analysis that Fromm had employed in his analysis of the authoritarian character in *Studies on Authority and the Family*

[1936]. Having highlighted the importance of the Freudo-Marxist method of analysis in this section in relation to the ACC in *Studies on Authority and the Family* [1936], I can say that this Freudo-Marxist method of analysis is a key concept of the ACC. The dialectic between the macro and micro analysis is key to understanding the ACC as a whole, as both macro and micro are used to give a detailed analysis of the authoritarian character.

2.3 Sadomasochism

In this section, I will detail the sadomasochistic character as detailed by Fromm in *Studies on Authority and the Family* [1936]. Fromm's analysis of the sadomasochistic character uses the Freudo-Marxist method of analysis that I highlighted in the previous section. I will argue that the sadomasochistic character forms the conceptual core of the ACC and is a key concept of the ACC as it is the character trait of the authoritarian character (Fromm, 2020, p. 37)[1936].

Fromm's analysis in *Studies on Authority and Family* [1936] details the psychic structure of the authoritarian character or the sadomasochist character. The two terms can be used interchangeably or together; it makes no difference as long as it is used within the confines of the ACC (Fromm, 2020, p. 37)[1936]. These sadistic and masochistic traits are typical Freudian concepts that I outlined in section 1.1. These traits play a crucial role in defining the ACC. As Fromm observes, where sadomasochistic traits are present within an individual's character and when said individual resides within a society that gratifies these aforementioned traits, it will be the case that these individuals are primed to be enchanted and exploited by authoritarian leaders within an authoritarian society.

In section 2.2, I detailed how the dialectic between authority and the super-ego represses or suppresses drives. Moreover, I detailed how this repression of drives and suppression of the ego results in the urge to gratify authority as opposed to the previously mentioned drives. Having detailed this dialectic between the macro and micro analysis, I explained how, according to Fromm, the continuous repression of drives and gratification of specific impulses lead to the creation of sadomasochistic character traits.

The satisfaction of authority and the dominance of the super-ego are not just responsible for the repression of drives but also the creation of traits. In the case of the satisfaction of

authority, these traits are sadomasochistic character traits. On Fromm's account of masochism, an amount of gratification is created when an individual with these masochistic traits submits to authority. This gratification results in the pleasure of obedience, submission and the surrender of one's personality. These are traits of a masochistic character structure. These masochistic traits are developed through psychic processes, just like any other character trait. However, contrary to the conventional thinking of the time that held that drives were responsible for submissive traits. Fromm claimed these traits to be historically developed, "The following attempts to analyse and show that the gratification provided by submitting to authority is not about a timeless submissive drive, but rather a historically determined, psychic state of affairs" (Fromm, 2020, p. 37)[1936]. What causes human beings to gratify rather than repress these masochistic traits? It is a pleasure created by appeasing our super-ego and authority located within. As mentioned previously, in the absence of a strong ego and with the repression of drives, there is a higher functionality of the super-ego and the authority located within. We gratify the super-ego by submitting and obeying authority, ultimately finding pleasure in said submission to an external dependency; this creates masochistic traits. "The pleasure of obedience, submission, and the surrender of one's personality, that feeling of 'absolute dependency' are features typical of masochistic character structure" (Fromm, 2020, p. 39)[1936]. For Fromm, the existence of masochistic traits, in turn, necessitates the existence of sadistic traits, "Psychoanalytic findings show that a characterological structure that includes masochism necessarily also includes sadism" (Fromm, 2020, p. 40)[1936]. The gratification of authority and authoritarian structures that is necessitated by an internalised idea of authority relations leads to the creation of sadomasochistic traits that then become the authoritarian-sadomasochistic character.

It must be noted that there are significant differences between sadistic and masochistic traits, the first having the aim of "making another person into a dependent and defenseless instrument of one's own will, dominating the other absolutely and without restriction, and in extreme cases, forcing him to suffer and express that suffering" (Fromm, 2020, p. 41)[1936], and the second with the aim of encouraging the subject "to lose themselves in power, and through this surrender, which in pathological cases can lead to physical suffering, find pleasure and gratification" (Fromm, 2020, p. 41)[1936]. However, as did Freud, Fromm finds that while both sadism and masochism are present together, it can be the case in some

instances that masochistic traits are suppressed, and sadistic traits are exacerbated. This means that masochistic traits are not present but instead suppressed. In contrast, other authoritarian character traits still exist, and there are instances where both sadistic and masochistic traits are present, specifically within societies that have conditions that gratify sadomasochistic traits. "This has the important socio-psychological consequence that a society which produces sadomasochism as the dominant drive structure must provide opportunities that gratify both sides of sadomasochism" (Fromm, 2020, p. 41)[1936].

I have in this section detailed Fromm's analysis of sadomasochism within *Studies of Authority and the Family* [1936]. I have shown that, unlike Freud, Fromm analyses the sadomasochistic character, understanding it as developing within the psyche but being influenced by external social structures. I have detailed the sadomasochistic character as it is central to the ACC as a core concept, and have located it within the received view of the ACC. I have shown it to be a key concept of the received view of the ACC as the authoritarian character is the sadomasochistic character.

2.4 A Shared Social Psyche

In this section, I will detail the third core concept of the ACC, that being the idea of a shared social psyche. I will detail this concept within the corpus of the received view of the ACC, *Studies on Authority and the Family* [1936] and will argue that it is a key concept of the ACC. The concept of a shared social psyche is also understood through the Freudo-Marxist method of analysis. I will demonstrate that the shared social psyche of an authoritarian society is sadomasochistic in nature.

While sadomasochism is known to be a Freudian concept, I have shown it, in section 2.3, to be analysed through the Freudo-Marxist lens. Unlike Freud's individualistic character analysis, Fromm's analysis of the sadomasochistic character is a shared characteristic among those in a specific society or social class, a shared social psyche. I will in this section detail how this shared social psyche effects the development of the ACC and why it is a key concept of the analysis of the authoritarian character.

So far, I have detailed Fromm's analysis of the psychic mechanisms that led to the creation of the authoritarian-sadomasochist character within *Studies on Authority and the Family* [1936]. Fromm goes on to elaborate on the social conditions that give rise to and gratify these sadomasochistic traits within society. Fromm reminds us that while individuals gratify authority and authoritarian structures by satisfying their super-ego, it is society and the concept of authority that exists within the social structure that we initially perceive within our super-ego. It is then that idea of authority that is an imprint of the social structure, which in turn is created and developed by socio-psychological and socio-economic factors, which in turn leads to the creation of sadomasochistic traits. Fromm writes that "In authoritarian society, the sadomasochistic character structure is generated by the economic structure, which necessitates the authoritarian hierarchy" (Fromm, 2020, p. 43)[1936]. These authoritarian hierarchies are inherently present within any society that has different classes and a ruling class with subordinate classes; this is the case in current and past societies. "In the authoritarian state, as in bourgeois society in general, the lower the individual stands in the hierarchy" (Fromm, 2020, p. 43)[1936]. Fromm claims that "Masochistic as well as sadistic strivings are gratified by the authoritarian structures of society" (Fromm, 2020, p. 42)[1936]. This gratification significantly affects masochistic character types, as they perceive the hopeless nature of authoritarian societies not as one that is hopeless but rather as their inevitable destiny. "He loves not only those conditions that constrain human life and limit human freedom; he also loves being subjugated to a blind and all-powerful fate" (Fromm, 2020, p. 43)[1936].

Although analysed within the individual psyche, this sadomasochistic character trait forms a part of a larger shared social consciousness. This shared social consciousness I will term the shared social psyche. This shared social psyche can be class specific. This is due to the fact, as I have previously stated, that authoritarian structures are inherently present in societies with different classes. Furthermore, it is often the case that the lower class within those societies are the ones that are the subordinate class. This lower class would have a shared social psyche. This was due to:

"his class situation, the peasant has developed a character in which the predominant feature is the maximum utilization of all these people and goods at

his disposal, and in which love, striving for the happiness of the beloved person for their own sake, is a barely developed trait" (Fromm, 2020, p. 19)[1936].

This character was unique to the peasant class and developed due to the "economic and social situation" (Fromm, 2020, p. 19)[1936] of the peasant class. I have previously mentioned that the repression of drives and gratification of authority leads to the creation of sadomasochistic character traits. The greater the repression of those drives and gratification, the greater the strength of the super-ego and authority on developing sadomasochistic traits. Therefore, in those who are unable to satisfy their drives, the more they have to repress those drives, the greater the power their super-ego has and the greater their eagerness to gratify authority (Fromm, 2020, p. 30)[1936]. This is most prevalent in classes that do not have the economic or social means to satisfy their drives. This means that "The dependent class must suppress their drives to a greater degree than the ruling class" (Fromm, 2020, p. 30)[1936]. Thus the lower class develop a shared social psyche unique to their own social and economic situation. The opposite is true for those in the upper classes, as they have the means to gratify their drives due to their social and economic situation. The ego development is more significant in these classes as they are able to gratify their drives instead of repressing them. Hence their super-ego does not gain an advantage over their ego. This results in an ego development that is greater than that of the lower classes and one that the lower classes aspire towards,

"The ego development of a particular class leading a society becomes partially objectified in that society's culture, and the adoption of the most valuable elements from a previous cultural epoch promotes the ego development of the newly ruling class" (Fromm, 2020, p. 30)[1936].

The result of this objectification of the ego development of the ruling class and the super-ego development of the lower class becomes dialectical. The ego development of the ruling class creates a new objectified culture. The lower classes, unable to engage with this culture due to their social and economic situation, have to repress the drives that seek to satisfy their urges, urges derived from the culture of the ruling class. This repression of drives leads the lower classes to develop sadomasochistic traits and greater gratification of authority, which in turn leads to more significant ego development within the ruling class, which in turn leads to a new objectified culture.

I have, in this section, established that as per Fromm's analysis of the authoritarian character, specific classes within a society develop a unique shared social psyche, unique to their social and economic situation. I have detailed how in lower classes, this shared social psyche was sadomasochistic in nature. I have detailed the concept of a shared social psyche within *Studies on Authority and the Family* [1936] and have shown it to be a key concept in coming to understand the ACC and the development of the authoritarian-sadomasochistic character.

2.5 The ACC as a Tool of Analysis

In this section, I will highlight Horkheimer's *Egoism and Freedom Movements* [1936] which uses the ACC as a tool of analysis, analysing several societies and freedom movements. After *Studies on Authority and the Family* [1936], the Frankfurt School moved on to focus on what Horkheimer termed 'bourgeois appetites'. 'Bourgeois appetites' detailed the social craving of bourgeois society as being an exploitative one when looking at how, historically, the bourgeois class within society used the lower classes to further their own bourgeois interest at the expense of their former lower-class allies. In his essay *Egoism and Freedom Movements: On the Anthropology of the Bourgeois Era* [1936], Horkheimer was the first to apply Fromm's ACC theoretically. Abromeit (2011) notes that *Egoism and Freedom Movements* [1936] set the Frankfurt School's agenda over the next decade (Abromeit, 2011, p. 261). However, I will show that Horkheimer did so using key concepts of the ACC as a tool of analysis. Horkheimer's analysis of the 'bourgeois epoch' mirrored Fromm's analysis of authoritarian-sadomasochist character (Abromeit, 2011, p. 283), albeit in a non-psychoanalytical historical materialist method of analysis.

In *Egoism and Freedom Movements* [1936], Horkheimer used Fromm's social psychology to provide a theoretical foundation for the emergence and development of authoritarian character traits and analyse the oppressive nature of bourgeois society upon the masses. The use of the ACC in *Egoism and Freedom Movements* [1936] as a tool for the analysis of the social psyche of various freedom movements throughout European history shows the ACC's practical application in analysing and understanding the impact of personality and charisma on character development, particularly within the prime socio-economic context. By this, I

mean *Egoism and Freedom Movements* [1936] documents how domination and oppression can occur because of an authoritarian figure, almost always a member of the bourgeois class who gains power by manipulating the lower classes by using favourable socio-economic situations and historical development of character.

Egoism and Freedom Movements [1936] form part of what is considered to be a group of highly influential early essays of Horkheimer that laid the foundation for early Critical Theory. Abromeit (2011), notes that "Horkheimer articulates a distinctive interpretation not only of the intellectual, but also the social and social-psychological transformations of Europe during the dawn of the bourgeois epoch" (Abromeit, 2011, p. 11).

Horkheimer wrote *Egoism and Freedom Movements* [1936] to give an understanding of authoritarian character traits in relation to the masses' attitude towards authoritarian bourgeois leaders. Horkheimer used the term egoism, the self, to represent the self-interests of bourgeois society. Freedom movements then are aimed at the analysis of what Horkheimer called, "a bourgeois pseudorevolution with radical populist trappings" (Horkheimer, 1993, p. 97)[1936]. These pseudo-revolutions were intended to solicit the masses into joining bourgeois movements to topple existing elitist structures. Horkheimer noted that every significant social-economic moment in the history of bourgeois Europe was only made possible thanks to the masses enlisted to help due to the small size of bourgeois society. In *Egoism and Freedom Movements* [1936], Horkheimer analyses the solicitation of the masses, by bourgeois society to help topple the ruling elite. Horkheimer details several case studies in *Egoism and Freedom Movements* [1936]: the analysis of the movements led by bourgeois leaders such as the 14th Century Roman leader Cola di Rienzo, 15th Century Florentine leader Savonarola, Protestant leaders of the Reformation Luther and Calvin, as well the French Revolutionary, Robespierre. This analysis that Horkheimer provided portrayed bourgeois society as being exploitative over the masses in each of the abovementioned cases. We see that the "pseudo-revolutions" that had taken place across Europe, in fact, did not benefit the masses as much as they were led to believe by the bourgeois leadership. Instead, what happened was an awakening of the consciousness of sorts within bourgeois society that led to the development of a more 'rational' view of political leadership, one where the bourgeois society could rationally free themselves from the oppression of the kind of elitism established in Feudal Europe. Horkheimer is clear on what he means when he speaks of this kind of

‘rationalisation’/‘rational’, and he is talking about a “philosophically grounded morality” (Horkheimer, 1993, p. 54)[1936]. Horkheimer goes further to explain what enables or causes this morality to develop,

“One of the causes of bourgeois morality lies in the social need to restrain the principle of competition that dominated the epoch. Thus, the moralistic view of man contains a rational principle, albeit in mystified, idealistic form... It was less necessary to preach moderation in mutual competition to the poor of recent centuries. For them, morality was supposed to mean submissiveness, resignation, discipline and sacrifice for the whole, i.e., simply the repression of their material claims” (Horkheimer, 1993, p. 54)[1936].

This idea of morality would further exacerbate the ‘ego’ or self-interest of bourgeois society, contributing to it becoming the oppressor of the masses in a post-Feudal society.

Horkheimer states that this ‘rationalisation’ leads the bourgeois to achieve independence from the ‘old’ Feudal system.

“The bourgeoisie's efforts to push through its own demands for a more rational administration against the feudal powers with the help of the desperate popular masses, while simultaneously consolidating its own rule over the masses, combine to account for the peculiar way the struggle for "the people" is carried on in these movements” (Horkheimer, 1993, p. 61)[1936].

These ‘movements’ that bourgeois society would lead against entrenched elite power with the help of the masses would then replace the previous elite entrenched power with their own¹⁵. This excluded the masses from achieving the kind of independence that bourgeois society had achieved, specifically at the end of feudalism and at the beginning of the Reformation. This analysis showed bourgeois society as extremely self-interested, i.e., furthering their own interests at the masses' cost even though the masses helped grant them the independence they now enjoy.

¹⁵ Horkheimer sums up this switch from Feudal control to bourgeois control by stating “Dependency is merely changed, not abolished” (Horkheimer, 1993, p. 69)[1936].

The main question Horkheimer aimed to answer in *Egoism and Freedom Movements* [1936] was how it was that, over and over again, the masses were hoodwinked into supporting bourgeois pseudo-revolutions. The answer for Horkheimer and the more considerable development of the ACC lay in a combination of the historical development of individuals and society and the socio-economic circumstances that arise out of these historical developments. This concept of the historical development of individuals and society is similar to the analysis of a shared social psyche that I detailed in section 2.4. In detailing a shared social psyche, I argue, one would need to understand how each society develops distinctly, since groups, whether whole societies or classes, develop according to their own shared history or culture. Fromm does this in his analysis of the peasant family in *Studies on Authority and the Family* [1936]. Horkheimer [1936] analyses, albeit purely through a socio-economic lens, the development of societies historically and their respective freedom movements. This is also similar to Fromm's analysis of the socio-economic impact on the development of a societies shared social psyche. This showcases Horkheimer's *Egoism and Freedom Movements* [1936] as using the ACC as a tool of analysis, analysing various freedom movements.

Towards the end of Feudal Europe, there were vast rates of poverty and dissatisfaction within society as a whole. This led to a need for change among those who did not belong to the ruling elite, "The miserable situation of the impoverished population was their cause, and the urban bourgeoisie played the leading role" (Horkheimer, 1993, p. 59)[1936]. Ultimately what drew the masses to join the cause of the bourgeois leaders was the charisma of said leaders. However, the charisma of bourgeois leaders would not have mattered had society not been in such an impoverished condition. Two factors aided in allowing bourgeois society to further dominate the masses even after 'freedom' from the 'old' system was achieved. Firstly, the combination of years of submission to and domination by the Feudal elite had not allowed the masses to attain the same type of rational conscientisation that bourgeois society had been privileged to. Secondly, the development of the bourgeois leadership's attractive charisma created the conditions for exploiting the masses during and after bourgeois-led pseudo-revolutions. These two factors are the essence of *Egoism and Freedom Movements* [1936], a desire to be free (*Freedom Movements*) corrupted by self-interested leadership

(*Egoism*). In analysing the Roman bourgeois leader, Cola di Rienzo Horkheimer sums up the two factors as mentioned above:

“Although he and his like seek to offer the masses the spectacle of a freedom movement, at the same time they adopt the pathos of absolute obedience to higher truths and thus present the example of a submissiveness which is to be emulated by their followers' loyalty to the leaders and to the bourgeois forms of life” (Horkheimer, 1993, p. 68)[1936].

As bourgeois self-interests grew and their use for the masses diminished, there was still a need to keep the masses in check and controlled. The bourgeois leadership, lacking any significant, meaningful policy that would grant further emancipation to the masses to the level that bourgeois society enjoyed, filled that vacuum with their charisma in what becomes a cult of personality. “The less the policy of the bourgeois leader coincides with the immediate interests of the masses, the more exclusively his greatness must fill the public consciousness, and the more his character must be magnified into a ‘personality’” (Horkheimer, 1993, p. 62)[1936].

When you have a society that through time is/has been dominated and oppressed, and given the right socio-economic circumstances, said society would latch onto the potentiality of these freedom movements in light of their impoverishment. Furthermore, without any idea of rationalisation or the idea that freedom is as much an internal psychic movement as an external social movement, the oppressed themselves will submit to the charisma of their leader. Moreover, provided their leader is self-interested, this opens said lower classes up to further domination and oppression in service of the said leader. In *Egoism and Freedom Movements* [1936], Horkheimer sets out a kind of character typology based on the ‘bourgeois leaders’ and the masses that enabled them to succeed in their ‘freedom movements’. In all the cases that Horkheimer analysed, there is a distinct set of characteristics that characterise not just leaders but followers, given that the needed socio-economic factors are present to lead to the full development of these characteristics. However, they are present nonetheless, albeit in a relatively simple form.

Egoism and Freedom Movements [1936], while not developing any new concepts that aid the analysis of the authoritarian character, is a key work of the larger ACC project undertaken by

the Frankfurt School. Its importance to the teleological arc of the ACC must be emphasized, not because it develops a new concept, but because it is a case study of society using the key concepts of the ACC to analyse why and how an individual or a small group of individuals can dominate a larger lower class of people. Even so far as to make said lower class believe that they are subservient to the higher classes through manipulation. Horkheimer does this by adding a more in-depth historical materialist approach in analysing the authoritarian character.

However, *Egoism and Freedom Movements* [1936] also provides, as I mentioned above, a deeper understanding of the effect socio-economic factors have on the character and how these factors can essentially prime society for an authoritarian takeover. Moreover, this is often done with the help of the lower classes that become themselves dominated by the authoritarian system they helped put into power. Thus, *Egoism and Freedom Movements* [1936] constructively documents the manipulation of socio-economic factors by an upper bourgeois class to create the illusion of specific individuals as liberators and leaders of freedom movements enticing lower classes to support them in an effort to better their situation. These bourgeois leaders do so by presenting the lower classes with the idea of freedom, although in reality, this freedom is perverted, devoid of any actual liberty.

The ACC culminates with Horkheimer's *Egoism and Freedom Movements* [1936], and all references to the ACC drop from the secondary commentary of key Critical Theory commentators. Instead, there is a shift by key secondary Critical Theory commentators, looking at the notable socio-economic analysis that took shape shortly after *Egoism and Freedom Movements* [1936]. The Frankfurt School would move from Europe to the USA during the mid-1930s. Fromm was instrumental in moving the Frankfurt School to the USA, and it was Fromm who helped set it up at the University of Columbia while he was a visiting professor there between 1935-1939 (Funk, 1982, p. 11). However, Fromm's absence from the Frankfurt School due to pneumonia and later the move to the USA left a conceptual gap among the Frankfurt School members. This gap Horkheimer then filled with Theodor Adorno's work.

There had been friction between Horkheimer and Fromm towards the end of the 1930s due to Fromm's increasing critique of Freud's libidinal drive theory. However, the joining of Adorno to the School and the subsequent financial difficulties that the School had

experienced after their move to Columbia led to the eventual expulsion of Fromm from the Frankfurt School in 1939. A further factor in Fromm's expulsion from the Frankfurt School occurred when Horkheimer adopted Friedrich Pollock's state capitalism thesis, as seen in *The Authoritarian State* [1940] (see section 2.1). This thesis holds that the traditional market and its regulation of production are replaced by a directly controlled 'pseudo-market' highly influenced by the state, authoritarian and democratic. This state capitalism thesis led to the Frankfurt School taking a new direction in their analysis of social conditions. The state capitalism thesis marked a fundamental change in the conceptual characteristics of Critical Theory from a Freudo-Marxist method of analysis to one of an almost purely materialist method of analysis¹⁶. So much so that secondary works distinguish Critical Theory as early Critical Theory using Horkheimer's adoption of the state capitalism thesis as a watershed moment between the two (Jay, 1976, p. 226). Fromm's expulsion from the Frankfurt School and Horkheimer's adoption of Pollock's state capitalism thesis marked a conceptual divergence between the Frankfurt School and Fromm.

In this section, I have highlighted *Egoism and Freedom Movements* [1936] as an example of how the ACC can be used as a tool of analysis by making use of key concepts of the ACC. While Horkheimer does not explicitly use the key concepts I have detailed, such as a shared social psyche, I argue that these key concepts are nonetheless present in Horkheimer's [1936] analysis. I have also detailed how Horkheimer had developed a more Marxist-orientated historical materialist analysis which began to depart from Fromm's Freudo-Marxist method of analysis and the eventual demise of the received view of the ACC.

In this chapter, I have argued, in section 2.1, for the existence of a dominant narrative of the ACC, and I call this dominant narrative the received view of the ACC. I have shown that within key secondary texts, there is a general consensus on what the ACC is. I have detailed the received view of the ACC, developing its conceptual timeline between 1936 and 1939. I highlighted *Studies on Authority and the Family* [1936] and *Egoism and Freedom Movements*

¹⁶ This comment does not mean to distract from the attempts by Marcuse in *Eros and Civilization* [1955] (2005) to merge later Freud and Marx. However, this initiative by Marcuse to develop a Freudo-Marxist synthesis was not based on the initial Freudo-Marxist synthesis as proposed by Fromm in *The Method and Function of an Analytic Psychology* (1970) [1932] (see section 3.3). This is not to discredit Marcuse's Freudo-Marxist synthesis. It is simply that Marcuse's synthesis does not fit the teleological arc of the development of the ACC as Marcuse's synthesis would not go on to become the Freudo-Marxist method of analysis that is used to analyse the ACC.

[1936] as forming the corpus of the ACC with the former being the *magnum opus*. I then moved on to highlight three key concepts of the ACC. These are, in section 2.2, the Freudo-Marxist method of analysis which was used in the analysis of the ACC. In section 2.3 I showcased the Frommian account of the sadomasochistic character and how it develops within the psyche but influenced by external socio-economic factors. The last key concept, in section 2.4, is that of a shared social psyche, and I explained how various groups often develop distinct shared social psyche's; this is often due to the social and economic situation of various groups or classes within a society. I located these key concepts within the received view of the ACC and argued that they are crucial to the analysis and interpretation of the ACC. Lastly, in section 2.5, I detailed Horkheimer's *Egoism and Freedom Movements* [1936] as an example of using the ACC as a tool of analysis. I also showed how *Egoism and Freedom Movements* [1936] began the demise of the ACC, as per the received view, as its focus on a Marxist-orientated historical materialist analysis of the rise of the bourgeois epoch and ultimately the domination of the lower classes by the bourgeois.

In the following chapters, I will revise the conceptual development of the ACC and argue that the development of the three key concepts I detailed in this chapter happened outside of the timeframe of the received view of the ACC. I will in chapter 3 argue that prior to 1936, work had begun on developing the Freudo-Marxist method of analysis and the concept of a shared social psyche, concepts I have shown to be crucial to the analysis of the ACC. I will then in chapter 4 argue that after the apparent demise of the ACC, as per the received view in 1939, work was ongoing to develop the sadomasochistic character and the concept of a shared social psyche. These later developments took into consideration contemporary advancements in understanding the psyche and technological advancements. I believe these arguments will highlight the fact that the received view is incorrect in its understanding of the conceptual development genesis and demise of the ACC as a concept. Furthermore, that the received view is overly restrictive with regards to the conceptual parentage of the ACC as it ignores Fromm's conceptual developments and views the ACC as being developed by the Frankfurt School, which I will show is not the case. The ACC was developed by Erich Fromm prior to 1936. Indeed I will show Fromm had been developing the key Freudo-Marxist method of analysis prior to his joining the Frankfurt School, I will also detail how Fromm continued to

conceptually develop the ACC long after the Frankfurt School moved on from studying the authoritarian character.

Chapter 3

Early Frommian Developments of the ACC

In this chapter I will focus on detailing a revised account of the origins of the ACC. I will argue that developmental work on the ACC began before 1936 which I have established to be the genesis of the received view of the ACC. This foundational work on the ACC I will detail pre-dates 1936 and was developed by Fromm.

In section 3.1, I will look at Fromm's intellectual development. And this will highlight the fact that Fromm had been developing his social psychology, which forms the basis of the Freudo-Marxist method of analysing the authoritarian character I detailed in the previous chapter, prior to 1936.

I will then explore two texts developed by Fromm prior to 1936. These being *The Dogma of Christ* (2004) [1930] and *The Method and Function of Analytic Psychology: Notes on Psychoanalysis and Historical Materialism* (1970)¹⁷ [1932]. I will show how concepts contained in these texts share a conceptual and methodological lineage with two of the three key concepts I detailed in the previous chapter: a shared social psyche [1936] (see section 2.4) and the Freudo-Marxist method of analysis [1936] (see section 2.2). I have in the previous chapter highlighted the importance of these concepts showing them as forming the backbone of the analysis of the authoritarian character, without which the received view of the ACC would not have been possible.

In section 3.2, I will argue that the concept of a shared social psyche as detailed in *The Dogma of Christ* (2004) [1930] is conceptually isomorphic to the concept of a shared social psyche that appears in *Studies on Authority and the Family* [1936]. By establishing this connection, I will highlight the fact that development on this key concept of the ACC, a shared social psyche, predates the genesis of the ACC, according to the received view.

In section 3.3, I will argue for conceptual isomorphism between the Freudo-Marxist method of analysis I detailed in section 2.2 and the method of analysis as it appears in Fromm's *The Method and Function of Analytic Psychology* [1932]. By establishing the development of the

¹⁷ Hereafter known as *The Method and Function of Analytic Psychology* (1970) [1932]

Freudo-Marxist method that is key in the analysis of the ACC prior to 1936 I show that again conceptual development of key concepts of the ACC had been ongoing prior to 1936, the genesis of the ACC as per the received view. I will establish that these key concepts of the ACC were developed prior to 1936, a shared social psyche [1930] and the Freudo-Marxist method of analysis [1932] and that, therefore, the received view of the ACC is factually incorrect in its interpretation of the conceptual development, specifically with regards to its genesis.

In section 3.4, I will provide a revised account of the origin of the ACC. This revised account will take into consideration the conceptual developments of key concepts of the ACC prior to 1936. I hope to detail a revised account of the origin of the ACC that is correct with regards to its understanding of the conceptual development of the ACC prior to 1936. An account that will subsequently be less restrictive with regards to its conceptual parentage as it will acknowledge the conceptual development prior to 1936.

3.1 Erich Fromm's Intellectual Development

In this section, I highlight Erich Fromm's intellectual development and interests, his contribution to Critical Theory, and to the early interdisciplinary synthesis of Freud and Marx that made Critical Theory such a profoundly penetrating theory of social critique. Fromm was, as per key secondary Critical Theory commentators, never quite appreciated, both in terms of his contributions to Critical Theory and the Frankfurt School's studies into authoritarianism (Best, et al., 2018, p. 55).

Fromm's inclusion into the Frankfurt School in 1930 provided the School with a resident psychoanalyst trained in the Freudian tradition. Fromm would be the only key first-generation member of the Frankfurt School to be a practising psychoanalyst. His contributions to understanding and analysing both the individual as well as the social subconscious would become vital in the development of the Freudo-Marxist method of analysis.

Fromm began his academic life studying psychology, philosophy and sociology at the University of Frankfurt. These early studies culminated in Fromm's desire to understand individuals within the social setting; this meant understanding the social part of the

unconscious (Fromm, 2014, p. 7). Fromm then moved to Heidelberg, where he furthered his understanding of sociopsychological concepts by earning his PhD in a socio-psychological study (Funk, 1982, p. 9). Fromm then received psychoanalytical training in Munich and then Berlin (Jay, 1976, p. 90). Fromm then moved to Frankfurt, where he created the South German Institute of Psychoanalysis, and that is when he was invited to join the Institute for Social Research, Frankfurt School, as a full member in 1930, by then director of Max Horkheimer (Funk, 1982, p. 10).

Once Fromm had joined the Frankfurt School in 1930, he immediately went about further developing his Freud and Marx synthesis, and this would become the Freudo-Marxist method of analysis that I detailed in section 2.2. A Freudian Marxist synthesis had been done before but Fromm would develop a method of analysis that was distinct from previous attempts (Funk, 1982, p. 10)¹⁸. Fromm's previously stated understanding and experience with Freud and Marx enabled Fromm to develop concepts that employ the Freudo-Marxist synthesis in describing the ACC. Unlike previous attempts to merge Freud and Marx by thinkers such as Wilhelm Reich (Jay, 1976, p. 92), Fromm was unique in his Freudo-Marxist method of analysis, in that he started to move away from the primacy of Freudian sexual drive theories, although he did not drop Freudian libidinal drive theory entirely. Fromm had a clear idea of what the aim of the Freudo-Marxist method of analysis was:

"I wanted to understand the laws that govern the life of the individual man, and the laws of society - that is, of men in their social existence. I tried to see the lasting truth in Freud's concepts as against those assumptions which were in need of revision. I tried to do the same with Marx's theory, and finally I tried to arrive at a synthesis which followed from the understanding and the criticism of both thinkers." (Fromm, 2009, p. 5) [1962]

Fromm shows us his in-depth understanding of both Freud and Marx in interpreting these two thinkers. Particularly within *The Method and Function of Analytic Social Psychology* [1932], where Fromm's willingness to alter orthodox Marxist and Freudian concepts to meet each concept's contemporary challenges also showcased the kind of radical methodology of

¹⁸ The Frankfurt School's synthesis of Freud and Marx as a means of developing a method of analysis continued until Fromm's expulsion in 1939.

the Frankfurt School. This being the interrogation of Marx and Freud to highlight the failings of the respective theories in the contemporary theoretical space in order to fully utilise these theories in the critical analysis that the Frankfurt School would come to be known for. The development that Fromm had put into the Freudo-Marxist synthesis led to the development of a distinct Frommian social psychology which is the framework through which the ACC was detailed and critiqued. Fromm would later claim Marx had been wrongly interpreted by “petit-bourgeois interpreters” (Fromm, 1970, p. 167) [1932] and that Freud’s Oedipus complex was a bourgeois patriarchal interpretation of humankind’s mental state (Fromm, 1970, p. 158) [1932]. It also meant that Fromm was able to develop and adapt concepts to meet contemporary challenges allowing important concepts to remain relevant even in a changing contemporary environment.

In this section, I have highlighted Fromm’s intellectual development and interests, showing him to have been involved in developing a distinct social psychology that would later become the distinct Freudo-Marxist method of analysis used in early Critical Theory and in the analysis of the authoritarian character. I have also shown that after Fromm joined the Frankfurt School, he began developing key concepts crucial to the analysis of the ACC, as I will show in the following sections.

3.2 The Shared Social Psyche, 1930

In this section, I will argue that the concepts of shared social psyche as I have detailed in section 2.4, and a 1930 version of the concept of a social psyche are isomorphic. The 1930 version of the concept of a shared social psyche can be seen in Fromm's first significant work while a member of the Frankfurt School, *The Dogma of Christ* (2004) [1930]. This work saw the introduction of Fromm's unique psychoanalytic style in an effort to understand the development of Christianity and its impact on the development of European society. As Jeremy Carrette writes in the preface of the Routledge edition of *The Dogma of Christ*, “*The Dogma of Christ* provides an insight into how Fromm developed the idea of “social character” and how he identified social class as an essential factor in differentiating religious attitudes” (Carrette in the Forward, 2004, p. viii) [1930].

In this work, Fromm shows how the differentiation of religious attitudes among the various social classes creates the unconscious psyche of the various social classes. This led to the understanding of character as developing as a shared social psyche. In the case of a society, each society's shared social psyche would have developed throughout history as events influenced said society's psyche; this would later morph into Fromm's post-Frankfurt School social character (see section 4.1). This shared social psyche that Fromm details in *The Dogma of Christ* [1930], I will show to be isomorphic to the concept of a shared social psyche that I had detailed from *Studies on Authority and the Family* [1936] in section 2.4. As I have argued in section 2.4, the concept of a shared social psyche is key to the analysis of the authoritarian character, which aims to understand why individuals and societies are naturally predisposed towards seeking domination of authoritarian demagogic figures. I located the concept of a shared social psyche within the received view of the ACC, in a seminal text, *Studies on Authority and the Family* [1936].

The concept of a shared social psyche undergoes a few changes throughout the development of the ACC. However, at the time of *The Dogma of Christ* [1930], the shared social psyche as an idea is mostly a developing concept that delineates a shared social consciousness that is distinct and uniquely developed through history. *The Dogma of Christ* [1930] looks at the development of European Christian societies and the impact that the development of Christianity's doctrines had on the development of these European societies. In explaining this, Fromm shows that a society's character is developed through history and said society's development is unique for that specific society. This will later come into play a role in understanding authoritarianism and the larger ACC project, as Fromm's analysis of German society portrays a society that historically was vulnerable to the effects of strong authoritarian leaders.

The critical feature that I will highlight in *The Dogma of Christ* [1930] is the account of the creation and development of a shared social psyche through a process of historicity and conceptual conditioning of society that paralleled the dogma of Christianity. Fromm contrasts the development of Christianity to the Oedipus complex developed by Freud (Fromm, 2004, p. 42)[1930]. As with all of Fromm's work before his expulsion from the Frankfurt School, *The*

Dogma of Christ [1930] was written while Fromm still believed in Freudian¹⁹ libidinal drives. Fromm does this by describing the origin of Christianity's dogma as one where a suffering Jesus becomes God by overthrowing the Father-God. The story of the suffering Jesus resonates among the suffering masses who see, and ultimately follow, the suffering Jesus become God by overthrowing the Father-God. God Jesus then seemingly attains the power of the Father-God without becoming the Father-God. The suffering masses do not question the power of the now God Jesus, who has now overthrown the all-powerful Father-God (Fromm, 2004, p. 58)[1930]. The story of the suffering Jesus did not resonate with the ruling class of ancient Palestine, who saw the now God Jesus as taking the place of the Father-God. By describing the development in this way, Fromm shows the differentiations of religious attitudes among the various social classes and their impact on the unconscious psyche of the different social classes. The understanding that character development occurs partly due to individual experiences throughout history is an essential step in identifying and creating the ACC.

The core of *The Dogma of Christ* [1930] is to show how it is possible for a social group to develop a distinct shared psyche based on the development of said social group. In the case of *The Dogma of Christ* [1930], Fromm analyses the impact Christian dogma had on the various attitudes of classes within society. In *Studies on Authority and the Family* [1936] Fromm analyses the shared social psyche of an authoritarian society, which he concludes is sadomasochistic in nature. The shared social psyche as analysed in *Studies on Authority and the Family* [1936] details the impact of socio-economic factors on the development of sadomasochistic characteristics within the peasant class.

The analysis of the psyche of society that was embarked upon in *Studies on Authority and the Family* [1936] and *Egoism and Freedom Movements* [1936] makes use of the concept of a shared social psyche. Indeed, *Egoism and Freedom Movements* [1936] was a historical study of freedom movements within certain societies, for example, looking at the impact of Calvin and Luther on the Germanic states. Even when looking at Horkheimer's contribution to *Studies on Authority and the Family* (2002) [1936] Horkheimer takes a significant amount of

¹⁹ With Fromm's move away from Freudian libidinal drive theory around the time of his expulsion from the Frankfurt School, concepts outlined in *The Dogma of Christ* [1930] do shift and some completely disappear altogether. However, a good understanding of certain concepts developed by Fromm during his time at the Frankfurt School is needed in building a case against the received view of the authoritarian character.

time to discuss the impact culture has on society and how this culture impacted the historical development of societies:

“Culture is today being studied descriptively from the viewpoints of intellectual history and the morphology of cultures. In such study culture is essentially regarded as a unity that is independent of and superordinate to individuals. On the contrary, to regard culture as a dynamic structure, that is, as a dependent but nonetheless special sphere within the social process as a whole, is an approach that is not congenial to a contemplative outlook on history” (Horkheimer, 2002, p. 59)[1936].

The understanding that character is influenced throughout history and thereby developing as a consequence of the events happening around it is directly linked to the ACC project, as evidenced by the above quote from Horkheimer’s contribution to *Studies on Authority and the Family* [1936]. However, the concept of a shared social psyche was developed by Fromm in *The Dogma of Christ* [1930] some six years earlier.

In this section, I have established that developments of the ACC began much earlier, in 1930, compared to what is recorded by the received view of the ACC in 1936. I did this by highlighting a key concept of Fromm’s *The Dogma of Christ* [1930], namely the concept of a shared social psyche. Fromm had used the concept of a shared social psyche in 1930 to analyse the development of the dogma of Christianity and how that dogma differed for various societies. This variation was due to differentiations of religious attitudes among the various classes. Each of these groups developed a distinct shared social psyche. I have detailed why a shared social psyche is a key concept of the ACC in section 2.4, I located it within the received view of the ACC in *Studies on Authority and the Family* [1936], yet I have shown it be isomorphic to the concept of a shared social psyche as it existed in 1930. Therefore, having detailed a shared social psyche in 1930, I can claim, that development of key concepts of the ACC had been on going before the genesis of the ACC as per the received view in 1936.

3.3 Freudo-Marxist Synthesis

In this section, I will highlight Fromm's *The Method and Function of an Analytic Psychology* (1970) [1932], where Fromm offers a critique of the established view of Freudian and Marxist thought. The analysis Fromm engages with in *The Method and Function of Analytic Psychology* [1932] forms the basis of the Freudo-Marxist method of analysis I highlighted in section 2.2. I established that the Freudo-Marxist method of analysis was central to the analysis of the ACC. I extracted this methodology from the received view of the ACC in the *magnum opus* of the received view of the ACC, *Studies on Authority and the Family* [1936]. This Freudo-Marxist method of analysis interprets the ACC, which I have said is the analysis of why individuals and societies seek the domination of authoritarian demagogic figures instead of liberation. In section 1.2, I detailed how the analysis of the ACC was itself a dialectical analysis of Marxist macro analysis and Freudian micro analysis. This analysis itself shows that the Freudo-Marxist synthesis, Fromm's social psychology, is central to understanding the ACC. I will argue here that this synthesis that led to the creation of the Freudo-Marxist method of analysis predates the genesis of the ACC as per the received view of the ACC, in 1936, by at least four years with the publication of *The Method and Function of Analytic Psychology* [1932] and possibly longer with Fromm's essay *Psychoanalysis and Sociology* (1989) [1929].

As I mentioned in section 3.1, there were previous attempts to give a Marxist understanding of Freudian concepts and vice versa. However, Fromm is the first to functionally merge Freud and Marx into a Freudo-Marxist tool of analysis. By doing so, Fromm incorporated socio-economic factors into the analysis of psychoanalytic interrogation, thus giving rise to Fromm's social psychology. This importance for Marxist theory was a fresh interpretation of Marx, which would account for the failed socialist revolutions. For Freudian theory, the benefit would be a materialist interpretation of Freud. As Fromm points out in *The Method and Function of an Analytic Psychology* [1932], Freud's absolute model of the human subconscious was not as universal as Freud thought. Fromm also added that Freud's model was not compatible with social psychology "social (or mass) psychology cannot be explained by analogy with neurotic phenomena. They should be understood as the result of the adaptation of the instinctual apparatus to the social reality" (Fromm, 1970, p. 162)[1932]. With regard to the Frankfurt School, the merging of Freudian and Marxist thought provided the School with

a lens through which members of the Frankfurt School could critique society not just in terms of society's material relations but also in terms of psychological relations, thus providing an in-depth critique of society.

In Fromm's critique of Freud, Fromm brings into question the primacy of Freud's Oedipus complex, claiming that it was patriarchal and ignored social conditions:

"The most striking example of this procedure is the absolutisation of the Oedipus complex, which was made into a universal human mechanism, even though sociological and ethnological studies indicated that this particular emotional relationship was probably typical only of families in a patriarchal society. The absolutising of the Oedipus complex led Freud to base the whole development of mankind on the mechanism of father hatred and the resultant reactions, without any regard for the material living conditions of the group under study." (Fromm, 1970, p. 162) [1932]

In Fromm's critique of Marxist thought, Fromm rejected the interpretation of Marx as opposed to Marx's actual theory:

"Marx's petit-bourgeois interpreters interpreted his theory as an economic psychology. In reality, historical materialism is far from being a psychological theory; its psychological presuppositions are few and may be briefly listed: men make their own history; needs motivate men's actions and feelings (hunger and love)"; these needs increase in the course of historical development, thereby spurring increased economic activity." (Fromm, 1970, p. 167) [1932]

The above two quotes show that Fromm believed neither Freudian nor Marxist concepts could justifiably be used to analyse or understand social relations as each goes halfway there but never all the way. Fromm's critique of these two is such that Fromm is making a case for a Freudo-Marxist synthesis by stating that these two theorists have merit, but only when combined can they give an accurate account of the creation and development of social relations.

Along with these critiques, which Fromm details in *The Method and Function of Analytical Social Psychology* [1932], he also argues for the affinity between Freud and Marx:

"Psychoanalysis can enrich the overall conception of historical materialism on one specific point. It can provide a more comprehensive knowledge of one of the factors that are operative in the social process: the nature of man himself" (Fromm, 1970, p. 171) [1932]. This affinity was by no means evident to Fromm's fellow Frankfurt School members, who were strong orthodox Freudians. Moreover, members of the Frankfurt School, after Fromm's expulsion in 1939, heavily criticised Fromm for drifting too far away from orthodox Freudian theory (Jay, 1976, p. 98). Fromm describes the relationship between Freud and Marx in *The Method and Function of Analytical Social Psychology* [1932] as "The theory of society with which psychoanalysis seems to have both the greatest affinity and also the greatest differences is historical materialism" (Fromm, 1970, p. 156) [1932]. The concept of a shared social psyche that Fromm had up to this point developed became the basis of Fromm's social psychology, which is the analysis of neurotic character traits within a given society. This, in turn, would define Fromm's theoretical role at the Frankfurt School as the School's resident social psychoanalyst.

The aim of the ACC is to understand the expressions of deeply rooted trends that predisposes individuals and society towards seeking the domination of authoritarian demagogic figures. In trying to understand this, Fromm used his social psychology to provide an in-depth analysis of these deeply rooted trends. This analysis can be seen in Fromm's contributions to *Studies on Authority and the Family* [1936], which is a balanced description of the ACC in both psychoanalytic and materialist terms. Without this method of analysis, social psychology, Fromm would not have been able to detail the ACC in such a deeply penetrating way.

"This study should indeed show that a psychic agency like the super-ego and the ego, a mechanism like repression, impulses like sadomasochism, which so decisively influence peoples' feelings, thoughts and actions, are not some sort of »natural« conditions, but rather they themselves are each influenced by how people live, ultimately by modes of production and the resulting social structure."
(Fromm, 2020, p. 22) [1936]

An analysis here can be made using the quote mentioned above; Fromm was the key to unlocking the analysis of the authoritarian character. Fromm in *The Method and Function of an Analytic Psychology* [1932] showed that Freud indeed had opened the door to

understanding the subconscious. However, it was also Fromm who showed that Marx opened the door to understanding the impact materialist factors have on the subconscious.

Fromm's interest in social psychology predates even *The Method and Function of an Analytic Psychology* [1932]. Before Fromm had joined the Frankfurt School, he had begun working towards his social psychology, which was almost extensively used in analysing authoritarianism. In *Psychoanalysis and Sociology* [1929], we already see an understanding of social psychology that would come to fruition in 1936 in the form of the Freudo-Marxist method of analysis of the ACC:

“Psychoanalysis, which interprets the human being as a socialized being, and the psychic apparatus as essentially developed and determined through the relationship of the individual to society, must consider it a duty to participate in the investigation of sociological problems to the extent the human being or his/her psyche plays any part at all.” (Fromm, 1989, p. 39) [1929]

In this section, I have established that the development of Fromm's Freudo-Marxist lens of analysis predates the genesis of the received view of the ACC. I have detailed the Freudo-Marxist method of analysis from the received view of the ACC in section 2.2. I showed in section 2.2 that the Freudo-Marxist method of analysis is key to the analysis of the authoritarian character. Without this method of analysis, the authoritarian character would not have been able to be analysed. Fromm was the key to unlocking the analysis of the authoritarian character. Without Fromm, the level of analysis gained by the Frankfurt School would not have been as in-depth. Fromm's inclusion into the Frankfurt School led to the development of the interdisciplinary Freudo-Marxist method of analysis that the Frankfurt School would use to provide an in-depth analysis of social issues and help with the liberation of all within society.

Furthermore, I have argued that Fromm's social psychology, the Freudo-Marxist method of analysis by the time of the received view of the ACC, is plainly evident in 1932 with the publication of *The Method and Function of an Analytic Psychology* [1932]. This is notably a few years before 1936, the genesis of the ACC as per the received view of the ACC. Fromm's social psychology was an instrumental concept in the analysis of the authoritarian character,

to the point that it can be argued that without Fromm's social psychology, the Frankfurt School would not have been able to analyse the authoritarian character.

3.4 A Revised Account of the Origin of the ACC

The objective of this chapter was to argue that there had been ongoing conceptual developments on core concepts of the ACC long before its purported genesis of 1936, according to the received view of the ACC. I did this by highlighting key concepts from texts written by Fromm prior to 1936.

In section 3.2, I first analysed the development of a shared social psyche, which I had initially detailed within the received view of the ACC and extracted from *Studies on Authority and the Family* [1936] in section 2.4. I established that contrary to the received view of the ACC, the concept of a shared social psyche was developed outside of the received view of the ACC in 1930 with *The Dogma of Christ* [1930].

In section 3.3 I then analysed the development of the Freudo-Marxist method of analysis, also known as Fromm's social psychology. This Freudo-Marxist method of analysis was also initially located within the received view of the ACC, I extracted this methodology from *Studies on Authority and the Family* [1936] in section 2.2, where I also argued that it is a key concept of the ACC. I then established, as I had done in section 3.2 with the concept of a shared social psyche, that this Freudo-Marxist method of analysis was developed prior to the genesis of the ACC in 1936, as per the received view of the ACC. I have shown the development of Fromm's social psychology to have begun at the very latest in 1932 with the publication of Fromm's *The Method and Function of an Analytic Psychology* [1932], possibly even as early as 1929 with Fromm's essay *Psychoanalysis and Sociology* [1929]. These two characteristics, a shared social psyche [1930] and the Freudo-Marxist method of analysis [1932], are central to the analysis of the authoritarian character. Without either of these, the analysis of the authoritarian character would not have been possible. Having established that these key ACC concepts were being developed before 1936, I have shown that the ACC's genesis cannot be 1936, as espoused by the received view of the ACC. Therefore, confirming my first problem with the received view of the ACC; that being that the received view of the ACC is factually

incorrect in its interpretation of the conceptual development of the ACC, specifically its genesis.

If the genesis of the ACC is not in 1936, as per the received view, then when is the true origin of the ACC? I would say that, at the least, it was when Erich Fromm joined the Frankfurt School in 1930. I claim this as Fromm develops the concept of a shared social psyche and the Freudo-Marxist method of analysis, both of which are key to analysing the authoritarian character. Moreover, this confirms my second problem with the received view of the ACC, which I claimed was overly restrictive in the conceptual parentage of the ACC. I have shown in this chapter that these key concepts are developed solely by Fromm. Horkheimer might have developed these concepts further in *Egoism and Freedom Movements* [1936], but he did so using the concept of a shared social psyche that Fromm had developed in 1930. Fromm is the key to unlocking the analysis of the authoritarian character, something the received view of the ACC does not take fully into account.

In *Studies on Authority and the Family* [1936], the Freudo-Marxist method of analysis is used to analyse the shared social psyche and develop the psychic apparatus of the ACC (Fromm, 2020, p. 33)[1936] in the form of the sadomasochistic character. All these developments seek to analyse the authoritarian character, understanding why individuals and societies are predisposed towards being dominated by authoritarian demagogic leaders as opposed to their true liberation.

In this chapter, I have detailed a revised account of the origin of the ACC. I did this by firstly, in section 3.1, highlighting Fromm's intellectual development and interests, establishing Fromm as key to the development and origin of the ACC, I have shown Fromm to be the key to unlocking the analysis of the authoritarian character. In section 3.2, I argued that the concept of a shared social psyche [1930] was conceptually isomorphic to the concept of a shared social psyche that one finds in *Studies on Authority and the Family* [1936], which I had detailed in section 2.4. This establishes that a key concept of the ACC was being developed prior to the genesis of the ACC, as per the received view in 1936.

I then moved on to, in section 3.3, argue that development of the Freudo-Marxist method that is employed by the Frankfurt School in their analysis of the authoritarian character, as detailed in section 2.2, was being developed prior to 1936. This methodology is a core concept

of the ACC, and by showing that development of this concept had been ongoing since at least 1932 I establish that conceptual development of the ACC had been ongoing prior to 1936.

Finally, in section 3.4, I detailed a revised account of the ACC that holds the origin of the ACC as 1930, the year Fromm joined the Frankfurt School. This revised account of the origin of the ACC would view the development of a distinct socially shared psyche as developed through history, influenced by socio-economic factors that would make society predisposed towards seeking the domination of authoritarian demagogic leaders. Even if said society does not realise it or, as is often the case, complacent in their domination as enablers of upper-class authoritarian figures.

I have shown how Fromm details how certain societies have a shared psyche [1930] and the role of social character in understanding society. His arguments for including socio-economic factors to strengthen our understanding and use psychoanalysis [1932], in what would become the Freudo-Marxist method of analysis, which would also become the tool of analysis employed the first-generation Frankfurt School in understanding the authoritarian character. Both of these are notably prior to the genesis of the received view of the ACC, in 1936. Therefore, I claim that the received view of the ACC is incorrect in its understanding of the conceptual development of the ACC, specifically with regards to the genesis which I have in this chapter shown to be incorrect. And that the true origin of the ACC is in 1930, and that Fromm was key in the development of key concepts that the Frankfurt School would later use in their analysis of the authoritarian character.

Chapter 4

The Later Developments of the ACC

In chapter 2, I argued for the existence of the received view of the ACC. I had established that according to this received view, the conceptual timeframe of the development of the ACC from start to end was 1936 to 1939. In the previous chapter, I questioned the validity of the start date of the ACC as per the received view, 1936. I established that contrary to the received view of the ACC, the development of key concepts of the ACC were being undertaken from 1930, at the latest. I will now, in this chapter, question the validity of the end date as espoused by the received view of the ACC, 1939. In this chapter, I will argue that Erich Fromm's post-Frankfurt School work should be considered part of the ACC project, and consequently that Fromm's works *The Sane Society* (1991) [1955] and *The Anatomy of Human Destructiveness* (1973) [1973] marks the actual end of the ACC.

I will prove this in two steps. The first step will go into detailing two key concepts developed by Fromm post-Frankfurt School, the social character and necrophilia.

In section 4.1 I will look at the social character, I will argue that the social character should be viewed as a further development of an earlier key concept of the ACC, a shared social psyche [1936], which I detailed in section 2.4. The social character was fully developed in Fromm's *The Sane Society* [1955] and is a concept that details a society's shared character and how that shared character plays a role in the development of the authoritarian character.

Necrophilia, which I argue, in section 4.2, should be viewed as a further development of the sadomasochism [1936] I detailed in section 2.3. The necrophiliac character is developed in *The Anatomy of Human Destructiveness* [1973] and is Fromm's Neo-Freudian²⁰ account of

²⁰ The Neo-Freudianism of Fromm is similar to that discussed in footnote number three. The difference between Fromm's Neo-Freudian account and Marcuse's later Freudo-Marxist synthesis is not something I will get into detail about in this project. I would, however, like to comment on Fromm's Neo-Freudian approach and Marcuse's approach in *Eros and Civilization* (2005). It would seem that both Fromm and Marcuse were working towards the same goal, "Fromm is primarily interested in the problem of the relationship between the individual and his society" (Brown, 1964, p. 147). Compare the previous quote with the following "Marcuse thus reconstructs Freud's theory in order to provide an account of how society comes to dominate the individual, how social control is internalized, and how conformity ensues" (Marcuse, 2005, p. ii). The Fromm v Marcuse debate is not something I wish to enter fully here; however, it is important to note that there is a similarity in what both Fromm and Marcuse are trying to achieve. I have not included Marcuse in my analysis of the ACC because this project was focused on Fromm's conceptual development and how his later concepts should be

Freud's late death instinct concept, and details an account of love for all that is inorganic. This necrophiliac character details a type of destructiveness that is a step above malignant aggression. Fromm needed to develop the original ACC concepts as society, and by extension, technology had developed significantly following the end of World War Two, compared to the 1930s when the ACC was initially developed. As such, the socio-economic factors that were instrumental in understanding the development of the authoritarian character are further exacerbated by a greater reliance on technology and the increased availability of information.

The method of analysis of the authoritarian character employed until the expulsion of Fromm from the Frankfurt School in 1939 was a characteristically orthodox Freudian perspective in viewing the libidinal drive as the primary motivator for character development. This method of analysing the authoritarian character changed towards the end of Fromm's tenure at the Frankfurt School. Fromm had always been critical of Freud, as I have shown in Fromm's analysis of Freudian concepts in *The Method and Function of an Analytic Psychology* [1932]. Fromm's analysis of orthodox Freudian concepts led Fromm to brand Freud's analysis patriarchal and bourgeois (Fromm, 1970, p. 162) [1932]. As Fromm's disparagement towards Freud grew, so did Fromm's relationship with the Frankfurt School became more alienated until his expulsion from the Frankfurt School in 1939 (Jay, 1976, p. 98). However, Fromm still relied heavily on a Freudo-Marxist method of analysis in his later conceptual developments, substituting this orthodox Freudian perspective with a Neo-Freudian interpretation of Freud's death instinct.

The world post World War Two, while free of fascism, was a more anxious world, according to Fromm. This anxiety was a symptom of a modern existence that freed the individual but left the individual alone and anxious, separated from the collective as a consequence of the society said individual found themselves in. According to post-Frankfurt School Fromm, this type of society had the impact of further aggravating the deeply rooted trends predisposing one towards authoritarianism. The original purpose of the ACC was to understand why this predisposition towards authoritarianism exists. Fromm's post-Frankfurt School concepts would seek to ask what conditions further aggravated these deeply rooted trends that drove

seen as an extension of the ACC project. A project that the received view of the ACC maintains ended in the late 1930s. To this end, I have not included Marcuse in my analysis. However, there is merit in comparing the conceptual similarities and differences between Marcuse and Fromm more in-depth, but this is not within the scope of this project.

individuals and society towards authoritarian demagogic figures, specifically focusing on contemporary industrialised society.

The second step, in section 4.3, will look at the teleological arc of the ACC. In section 1.1, I detailed how the goal of the first-generation of the Frankfurt School was to develop concepts that would detail a liberatory theory for the emancipation of all within a society. Critical Theory provides this liberatory theory by developing concepts that are descriptive. Descriptive in detailing the oppressive social reality and how said oppressive reality came about. And normative in detailing how an emancipated society ought to be. Most important, however, is Critical Theory's practical application. Horkheimer, in his 1937 essay *Traditional and Critical Theory*, stresses the importance of developing a theory with the capacity to provide the practical steps towards the emancipation of all within society:

"If, however, the theoretician and his specific object are seen as forming a dynamic unity with the oppressed class, so that his presentation of societal contradictions is not merely an expression of the concrete historical situation but also a force within it to stimulate change, then his real function emerges." (Horkheimer, 2002, p. 215)

As I have shown in section 1.2, the ACC was a central project of the first-generation of the Frankfurt School. The main purpose of the Frankfurt School, and Critical Theory by extension, detailed in section 1.1, was to provide liberatory theory that sought the emancipation for all in society. As such, for concepts to be considered Critical Theory they would need to meet the descriptive, normative and practical criteria as set out by Horkheimer. So, Critical Theory would need to detail the current oppressive reality and how said oppressive reality came about (descriptive). Provide a detailed analysis of what an emancipated society ought to look like (normative). And lastly would need to develop steps to take society from its current oppressive reality to the idea of an emancipated society that it detailed (practical). As mentioned in chapter 1 I brought up the implication of modern thinkers such as Amy Allen who discussed the negativistic conception of emancipation. I mentioned that this negativistic conception of emancipation has a minimal implication for this project. Fromm as I will highlight in this chapter does allude to a praxis for the emancipation of society in-line with Allen's negativistic conception of emancipation (see section 4.3).

The teleological arc of the ACC I have thus far detailed only meets the descriptive and normative criteria of Critical Theory. This was due to the fact that the Frankfurt School had adopted a new conceptual direction in its studies on authoritarianism starting in 1940, this marked the demise of the ACC as per the received view of the ACC. The new conceptual direction the Frankfurt School embarked upon began with its adoption of Pollock's state capitalism thesis in 1940 (see section 2.1 for further detail). This new direction replaced the Frankfurt School's psychoanalytical foundations in favour of an almost purely socio-economic, materialist dialectic understanding of domination and authority. The end of the ACC project within the confines of the Frankfurt School cut short the development of the ACC as no praxis had been developed 1936-1939.

Fromm, I will argue, continued developing the ACC after 1939. In the years following his expulsion from the Frankfurt School, post-1939, I will establish that Fromm completed the teleological arc of the ACC by developing practical steps towards the liberation of society from the authoritarian character. This liberating praxis comes in the form of biophilia, or the love of life, the counterpart to necrophilia. Fromm's praxis for emancipation is negativistic in that it seeks to minimise domination by reducing malignant aggression by enabling the realisation of human potential, all the while being aware of the natural aggression within human character (see section 4.2).

These two steps will highlight the fact that Fromm's later conceptual developments, concepts developed post-Frankfurt School, should be considered not just a continuation of the ACC but as the culmination of the ACC, fulfilling the original goal of the Frankfurt School's ACC that had begun in the 1930s. Therefore, the end of the ACC should be revised from 1939, as per the received view of the ACC, to 1973.

4.1 The Social Character

In this section, I will detail the social character, a post-Frankfurt School Frommian concept. I will detail how the social character, as developed in 1955, is a conceptual evolution of the shared social psyche [1936] that I had detailed in section 2.4. In section 2.4, I established that the concept of a shared social psyche was a key concept of the ACC. I detailed this concept of

a shared social psyche from the *magnum opus* of the ACC, *Studies on Authority and the Family* [1936]. By establishing the conceptual lineage of the social character to a key concept of the ACC, as developed by the Frankfurt School, I can establish the social character as a concept of the larger ACC project.

I have already shown in the previous chapter how the development of the concept of a shared social psyche had begun in 1930 with Fromm's *The Dogma of Christ* [1930]. However, it is the 1936 version of a shared social psyche that I will detail here, as showing the conceptual evolution of that concept developed within the Frankfurt School would show that the social character [1955] can draw its conceptual lineage to the original ACC project²¹. The concept of a shared psyche detailed a shared consciousness within various classes or groups within a society. It specifically analysed the character of the lower classes, as the lower class, according to Fromm [1936], were more vulnerable to the authoritarian character. This was due to their "economic and social situation" (Fromm, 2020, p. 19)[1936]. The result of the socio-economic situation of the lower classes created a distinct character that was shared amongst the lower class, "his class situation, the peasant has developed a character" (Fromm, 2020, p. 19)[1936]. The inability to satisfy their social and economic needs led to the lower classes becoming a dependent class, their inability to satisfy their urges results in the gratification of sadomasochistic traits and a greater eagerness to gratify authoritarian figures (Fromm, 2020, p. 30)[1936]. Furthermore, there is a dialectic that develops between the lower and ruling classes (see section 2.4). The ruling class develop a distinct culture, and since the ruling class have the means to satisfy their urges, there is a greater ego development (Fromm, 2020, p. 30)[1936]. The lower classes seeing the development of this new culture, are unable to satisfy their urges to partake in this new culture. Thus a greater super-ego development occurs among the lower classes, which I have already shown leads to the lower classes to develop sadomasochistic traits, which in turn seek to gratify authority figures.

There are two distinct characteristics of the concept of a shared social psyche that one can extract from my analysis of the shared social psyche. Firstly, those socio-economic factors are key to the development of a shared social consciousness. It is their shared social and economic situation that leads to this distinct development of a shared social psyche among

²¹ For a more detailed analysis of a shared social psyche see section 2.4.

the lower classes. Secondly is the idea of the dependency of the lower class on the cultural development of the ruling class. For Fromm [1936], the creation of sadomasochistic traits within the lower classes are dependent on the cultural development of the ruling class. In both *Studies on Authority and the Family* [1936] and Horkheimer's *Egoism and Freedom Movements* [1936] (see section 2.5), there is an emphasis on understanding how the authoritarian character develops within the peasant class but also a detailed understanding of how the lower classes become dependent on a ruling class.

In order to detail the conceptual lineage of the social character to the concept of a shared social psyche, I will show how the aforementioned two characteristics of a shared social psyche [1936] are present, albeit in a more developed sense, in Fromm's social character [1955].

Fromm's social character still viewed the development of character as being situated within the family. As in *Studies on Authority and the Family* [1936], Fromm's post-Frankfurt School conceptual developments still view the family as the primary psychic agency of society and thus at the core of the development of the social character. By this, I mean that character develops primarily within the family. This is in line with Freudian theory, as described in previous chapters, which states that children develop their character from what they are exposed to within their family unit. Thus, for post-Frankfurt School Fromm, the family remains the primary psychic agency within society.

The importance of the social character gradually increased from Fromm's earlier pre-1939 conceptual developments to his later post-1939 conceptual developments. In that time period, the social character displaced Freudian libido theory in Fromm's analysis as the primary driver of character traits. The first explicit use of the social character occurs in Fromm's *The Fear of Freedom* (2001) [1941], as seen below:

"In studying the psychological reactions of a social group we deal with the character structure of the members of the group, that is, of individual persons; we are interested, however, not in the peculiarities by which these persons differ from each other, but in that part of their character structure that is common to most members of the group. We can call this character *social character*... The social character comprises only a selection of traits, the *essential nucleus of the*

character structure of most members of a group which has developed as the result of the basic experiences and mode of life common to that group." (Fromm, 2001, p. 238)[1941]

From this quote, we can take away two points, firstly what the social character is, a collection of character traits that form the core psyche of most people within a society. And secondly the importance of the social character in the analysis of the psychological reactions of a given social group and how this analysis is still centred around understanding the impact of life experiences, i.e. socio-economic factors, of a given social group upon the shared character of that group.

This interpretation of the social character [1955] would further develop the two characteristics of a shared social psyche [1936]. When established, this connection will highlight the social character's conceptual lineage. This would mean that Fromm's later post-Frankfurt School conceptual development of the social character would be a part of the larger ACC project. Contrary to the received view of the ACC, which completely ignores Fromm's latter conceptual developments after 1939. Fromm's post-Frankfurt School analysis of a society's character was focused on understanding people and society within a modern capitalist context. There is evidence of this development in Fromm's *The Sane Society* [1955]. In this book, Fromm analyses the type of society that existed at the time, this being a contemporary capitalist society. In this text, Fromm details what makes a society sane and why contemporary society, rather than being sane, is alienatory and oppressing.

In coming to understand this social character, I must first look at the idea of freedom, specifically freedom *to* (positive freedom) and freedom *from* (negative freedom). When one looks at the age of reformation and the enlightenment at the end of feudalism, there was freedom that was experienced by the majority of society, shifting from a feudal epoch to a bourgeois epoch. However, what followed the end of feudalism was not positive freedom, i.e. freedom *to*; instead, it was freedom *from*. In other words, after the security that the feudal system offered was overthrown, people were not free *to* create their own destiny; they were merely free *from* an oppressive feudal system and were now left without a sense of security. The analysis of the impact of positive and negative freedom was explored by Fromm in-depth in *The Fear of Freedom* [1941], where Fromm analyses the impact the reformation had on the individual:

"modern man, freed from the bonds of pre-individualistic society, which simultaneously gave him security and limited him, has not gained freedom in the positive sense of the realisation of his individual self; that is, the expression of his intellectual, emotional and sensuous potentialities. Freedom, though it has brought him independence and rationality, has made him isolated and, thereby, anxious and powerless. This isolation is unbearable and the alternatives he is confronted with are either to escape from the burden of this freedom into new dependencies and submission, or to advance to the full realisation of positive freedom which is based on the uniqueness and individuality of man." (Fromm, 2001, p. ix) [1941]

In the above quote, there is an effort by Fromm to highlight the point that just because people were free did not mean that people were free to express their humanity or 'individual self' and thus, even with greater freedom, there was increased anxiety and a feeling of powerlessness that then necessitated a drive towards seeking security and thus submission.

The impact of this freedom *from* on the social character is interesting. A key influence on the social character is, as mentioned above, the route society takes when it comes to choosing between submission and the full realisation of positive freedom. In analysing society, Fromm argues that life within capitalist democracies in the 20th century takes the route of escaping the burdens of freedom and at the core of this escape is alienation. "After the great European Revolutions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries failed to transform "freedom from" into "freedom to," nationalism and state worship became the symptoms of a regression to incestuous fixation" (Fromm, 1991, p. 58) [1955]. The escape that Fromm details in the above quote lays the groundwork for an understanding of the ACC post-Frankfurt School. People, in wanting to escape the freedom *from*, turn to nationalist figures and the worship of said figures to a point where it becomes a fixation. This account of understanding freedom *from* places society's alienatory nature at its core. And this alienatory nature is ultimately reflected within the social character of a society.

4.1.1 Socio-Economic Influences and Alienation

In this sub-section, I will detail how Fromm's social character [1955] developed a key characteristic of the concept of a shared social psyche [1936]. I have previously mentioned how socio-economic influences are a key characteristic of a shared social psyche [1936]. Fromm post-Frankfurt School sought to further understand how economic factors imprinted upon the social process. This, I argue, is a further development from a shared social psyche which detailed how socio-economic factors influence the psyche of a distinct group of individuals, the lower class. This understanding of how the economic process becomes imprinted upon the social process is described through Fromm's [1955] analysis of alienation. The role alienation plays in the development of the social character is vital to know as it is also linked to the influence of socio-economic factors on a society. It is this link, that of a more in-depth understanding of the influence of socio-economic factors that highlights one of the two key characteristics of a shared social psyche. Therefore, understanding how alienation enables the imprinting of economic factors onto the social process will show that Fromm, post-Frankfurt School, further developed the understanding of how socio-economic factors influence the shared psyche of a society.

When Fromm speaks of the isolation brought on by the freedom experienced after the feudal epoch, there is a degree of alienation felt by those liberated from the bonds of feudal society. Thus, the idea of alienation is core to an analysis of the contemporary social character. Before going into how alienation impacts the social character, I will first look at the concepts of quantification and abstractification. And it is through quantification and abstractification that Fromm understands the penetration of economic factors into the psychic apparatuses of the individual and, thereby, society.

In feudal society, the artisan was able to produce a product by their own hand for a small group of customers, and they were also able to set the price at a rate that allowed profit but only enough to enable their livelihood in line with their social status. Everything was done with the knowledge and understanding of the artisan. There was no complicated accounting process. In contrast to this precapitalistic way of doing business, modern businesses exist with complex accounting mechanisms that account for all economic occurrences, where the

balance sheet, not the artisan, is the final authority. We are now able to quantify every aspect of the business to ensure a profit is made. This is the quantification of the economic process:

"The modern businessman not only deals with millions of dollars, but also with millions of customers, thousands of stockholders, and thousands of workers and employees; all these people become so many pieces in a gigantic machine which must be controlled, whose effects must be calculated; each man eventually can be expressed as an abstract entity, as a figure, and on this basis economic occurrences are calculated, trends are predicted, decisions are made." (Fromm, 1991, p. 108) [1955]

Modern capitalism relies on quantifying the economic process to meet the demands of modern business. However, doing so removes the human element from the economic process, turning human input into an abstract entity while requiring human input to function²². This leads to the next factor of Fromm's theory of alienation, that of the abstractification of the economic process. The quantification of the modern economic process turns the people involved in the economic process into abstract entities; no longer are people considered the creators of a thing, but rather just a figure of the quantification of the economic process.

The division of labour is a key facet of the capitalist system that exaggerates the abstractification of the economic process. In the precapitalistic era, when an artisan made something, for example, a sword, a blacksmith would work directly with the sword from start to finish, granted an apprentice might assist in the preparation of the metals before the sword is made, but ultimately control of the production of the sword was in the hands of the blacksmith. In contrast to today, where the division of labour is such that when a sword is made, it would have passed through several hands along a production line before the product is ultimately completed. This further abstractification disconnects the worker from the 'fruits

²² This is the Marxist concept of alienation which Fromm described as a process whereby "the world... become alien to man. He does not experience himself as the subject of his own acts, as a thinking, feeling, loving person, but he experiences himself only in the things he has created, as the object of the externalized manifestations of his powers. He is in touch with himself only by surrendering himself to the products of his creation" (Fromm, 2009, p. 35).

of their labour'. No longer does the worker have a concrete grasp of their products. Instead, their products become abstractified, as seen below:

"Undoubtedly without quantification and abstractification modern mass production would be unthinkable. But in a society in which economic activities have become the main preoccupation of man, this process of quantification and abstractification has transcended the realm of economic production, and spread to the attitude of man to things, to people, and to himself." (Fromm, 1991, p. 110) [1955]

As per Fromm in the above quote, the quantification and abstractification of the economic process have a real effect on the sanity of society. Through its aim to maximise profit and comprehensively quantify the economic process, society has had the impact of abstractifying many things. Natural disasters are an excellent example of how abstractification penetrates even outside of purely economic matters. For example, in newspapers, after a catastrophic flood, headlines speak of the 'multi-million Rand catastrophe of the floods', abstracting an authentic event in which many people died, and many more were negatively affected. These are all signs not of a sane society but instead of a society that is mentally unhealthy, if not insane, but definitely inhumane as Fromm states, "While our eyes and ears receive impressions only in humanly manageable proportions, our concept of the world has lost just that quality; it does not any longer correspond to our human dimensions" (Fromm, 1991, p. 116) [1955].

The penetration of abstractification into the social process results in the alienation, not just of the worker from the product of their labour, but more importantly, also of individuals or a group of individuals from the concrete reality of their existence. As Fromm details, "the process of abstractification leads to the central issue of the effects of Capitalism on personality: the phenomenon of alienation" (Fromm, 1991, p. 117) [1955].

Fromm, in *The Sane Society* [1955], further developed the understanding that was detailed with a shared social psyche [1936], that is further than just understanding the influence of socio-economic factors on the development of a shared social psyche. Fromm's social character [1955] details in-depth the means by which the economic process becomes imprinted upon the social process. This thus shows how Fromm's post-Frankfurt School

conceptual development of the social character further develops upon the key ACC concept of a shared social psyche.

4.1.2 Dependency and Existential Anxiety

In this sub-section, I will argue how another key characteristic of a shared social psyche [1936] is further developed by the social character [1955]. The idea that the lower classes are dependent on the cultural development of the ruling classes for the development of sadomasochistic traits within the shared social psyche of the lower classes. I will argue that in Fromm's post-Frankfurt School development, there is a move away from understanding the creation of narcissistic character traits, of which sadomasochism is one of many types, as being dependent on a ruling class. Instead, it is the result alienation has, that is, the creation of an existential anxiety within the social character, which leads individuals within said society to gratify authoritarian traits.

In the previous sub-section, I mentioned how according to Fromm [1955], alienation results in not just the disconnection felt between the worker and the product of their labour, but also the alienation of a group of individuals from the concrete reality of existence. It is this later idea of alienation that I will focus on now. That is the experience of alienation within the social process whereby a person becomes alienated from themselves and other people around them. In doing so, people alienated from the normal social process do not see themselves as the bearer of their destiny and power and have no awareness of self. In this process, the individual turns to external sources of perceived power and authority to help guide their destiny. This is where the relationship between seeking the dependency of something external to oneself and the popularity of populist, demagogic leaders meet, as Fromm puts it:

"What is common to all these phenomena—the worship of idols, the idolatrous worship of God, the idolatrous love for a person, the worship of a political leader or the state, and the idolatrous worship of the externalisations of irrational passions—is the process of alienation. It is the fact that man does not experience himself as the active bearer of his own powers and richness, but as an

impoverished "thing," dependent on powers outside of himself, unto whom he has projected his living substance." (Fromm, 1991, p. 120) [1955]

This quote pairs well with the quote about negative and positive freedoms in the previous pages, where Fromm highlighted how those who cannot bear freedom *from* often find themselves submitting towards a nationalist leader or state. This further shows the connection between the social character and alienation in the existential sense.

As per Fromm, the alienation experienced by an individual or even a society is thus the result of quantification and abstractification; this, in turn, affects the social character. The alienation of modern society is almost total (Fromm, 1991, p. 121) [1955]. Humankind, having created social structures with which to exist and engage with, has, with time, become abstracted from the concrete reality of said social structures. In this process, humanity becomes alienated from the society it created, or as Fromm puts it, "He does not feel himself as a creator and center, but as the servant of a Golem, which his hands have built" (Fromm, 1991, p. 121) [1955]. The alienation of the social character results in whole societies yearning for some form of an external saviour. In the previous chapters, I detailed how authority becomes internalised and briefly looked at the impact of covert authority. These mechanisms are at work here, enabling society to conform to an external and anonymous, covert form of authority.

Apart from the role alienation plays in Fromm's later conceptual developments, there is also an existential element to it; the meaning humanity ascribes to their existence. This existential element is connected to the concept of Fromm's understanding of societal mental health. This understanding of the mental health of a society is another development of the social character in Fromm's later conceptual developments. This is the analysis of socio-economic factors within the post-World War Two industrialised era and the impact these factors have on society's mental health. Fromm details this impact in the below quote:

"The problem, then, of the socio-economic conditions in modern industrial society which create the personality of modern Western man and are responsible for the disturbances in his mental health require an understanding of those elements specific to the capitalistic mode of production, of an "acquisitive society" in an industrial age...I hope it is nevertheless sufficient to form the basis for the

following analysis of the social character of man in present-day Western society."

(Fromm, 1991, p. 80) [1955]

This understanding of a society's mental health has an impact on the development of social character. By mental health Fromm [1955] details how individuals or societies can be mentally healthy when they fulfil their social needs, participate in the economic process and reproduce. These are primary bonds, and these also can be said to be the bonds to which we as human beings ascribe our existence to. However, as Fromm further highlights in the below quote, in modern society, these bonds are being broken, individualism is put above the collective, quantification and abstraction lead to people producing something and yet becoming alienated at the same time:

"The development of modern society has led to the dissolution of these primary bonds. Modern man is essentially alone, he is put on his own feet, expected to stand all by himself. He can achieve a sense of identity only by developing the unique and particular entity which is "he" to a point where he can truly sense "I am I". (Fromm, 1991, p. 191) [1955]

There is a contradiction in the quest for security in modern society, which is believed to be inherent in all free people "Free man is by necessity insecure" (Fromm, 1991, p. 190) [1955]. The contradiction is that in order to exist in a modern society, one must separate from the aforementioned primary bonds. Thus, a modern existence does not align with a mentally healthy existence. How do people tolerate the insecurity that is inherent in a modern existence? Fromm argues that the alienated individual manages this by conforming to their fellow humans within a society, i.e. conforming to the social character. To conform exactly to society is to, seemingly, be secure. By stepping out of line by doing something that marks you as a minority opens you up to criticism and opens the individual up to insecurity. This pushes the individual to conform precisely to the character that society creates for them. However, this too is a contradiction as it "is obvious that this craving for conformity produces in turn a continuously operating, though hidden, sense of insecurity." (Fromm, 1991, p. 191) [1955]. This occurs as the idea that any deviation from the line of conformity leads to anxiety, fear and insecurity in that you are reliant on towing a single line, and thus just as a drug addict becomes dependent on drugs, one's own sense of the self becomes diluted. Thus, as seen below, a modern existence fast tracks an individual escape from freedom:

"Man had won his freedom from clerical and secular authorities, he stood alone with his reason and his conscience as his only judges, but he was afraid of the newly won freedom; he had achieved "freedom from"—without yet having achieved "freedom to"—to be himself, to be productive, to be fully awake. Thus he tried to escape from freedom." (Fromm, 1991, p. 347) [1955]

It is where they choose to escape to and how they conform that then drives these individuals towards authoritarianism in the form of the sadomasochistic character, as detailed in section 2.3. In a shared social psyche the creation of sadomasochistic character traits within the lower classes and the resulting gratification of authoritarian figures were the result of depending on the ego development of a ruling class. Fromm in his development of the social character, views the development of sadomasochistic character traits as the result of existential anxiety. This existential anxiety is the result of an existence within a modern capitalist society, whereby the alienation of oneself, both in the economic and existentialist sense, leads individuals and thereby society to be removed from their understanding of their own existence. Thus, the existential anxiety created by the imprinting of the economic process onto the social process and the feeling of hopelessness felt as a result of freedom *from* drives individuals to escape freedom. In the process, these individuals and societies are driven to become subservient to authoritarian figures in the form of the sadomasochistic character.

In this section, I argued that Fromm's social character should be viewed as a development of a shared social psyche. I have established how Fromm's social character further develops these two characteristics of a shared social psyche. Firstly, instead of understanding how socio-economic factors influence a shared social psyche, the social character provides an in-depth understanding of how the economic process imprints upon the social process in the form of Fromm's alienation. Secondly, a shared social psyche views the development of sadomasochistic character traits as being dependent on the ego development of a ruling class. Fromm's social character views the development of sadomasochistic character traits as the result of existential anxiety that exists within modern capitalist societies as the result of economic and existentialist alienation and a feeling of hopelessness as a result of freedom *from*. Fromm's social character does not trivialise the concept of a shared social psyche. Rather, it further develops key characteristics of a shared social psyche. Fromm's social

character [1955] can trace its conceptual lineage to a shared social psyche [1936], which I had already shown to be a key concept of the ACC. Therefore the social character as I have established should be seen as a conceptual evolution of a shared social psyche and should be considered a part of the larger ACC project.

4.2 Necrophilia

In this section, I will detail the post-Frankfurt School Frommian concept of necrophilia or the necrophiliac character. I will argue that Fromm's necrophiliac character [1973] is a conceptual evolution of the sadomasochistic character [1936] that I detailed in section 2.3. In section 2.3, I had established that the sadomasochistic character, also known as the sadomasochistic-authoritarian character, is a key concept of the ACC, indeed, it makes up the psychic apparatus of the authoritarian character. Fromm developed the necrophiliac character after observing the destructiveness of World War Two. Fromm believed that the sadomasochistic character could not explain the type of malignant aggression he observed during that period, and thus a more malignant character trope was required to understand the increased destructiveness.

Before detailing how the necrophiliac character is a conceptual evolution of the sadomasochistic character, I will briefly detail the sadomasochistic character. The key analysis of the sadomasochistic character that analysed its connection towards an authoritarian orientation was first detailed in the *magnum opus* of the ACC, *Studies on Authority and the Family* [1936] (Fromm, 2020, p. 8)[1936]. The sadomasochistic character that is employed by the Frankfurt School to describe the authoritarian character was initially developed by Freud (see section 1.1). Freud's sadomasochism was explored at length in *The Economic Problem of Masochism* (1986) [1924]. The Frankfurt School employed Freud's moral masochism analysis, according to which moral masochism is not sexual masochism but rather drives an individual purely by satisfying the urge to suffer pain. The ACC also learnt into Freud's understanding that the existence of masochistic traits necessitates the presence of sadistic traits (Fromm, 2020, p. 40)[1936], even though they are located within different parts of the mind. Masochism is located within the super-ego, and sadism within the ego; the two unite to create the sadomasochistic character. As it exists within the ACC [1936], the sadomasochistic character

uses this Freudian interpretation of sadomasochism. In the context of the ACC as developed in 1936, sadomasochistic traits are developed as a shared social psyche. I have detailed how this develops in section 2.3. Briefly, sadomasochistic or authoritarian traits (I have shown are interchangeable) are developed through a dependency of the ego development of the ruling classes. Hence, the lower classes unable to match the ego development of the ruling classes are rather driven to satisfy authoritarian drives located within the super-ego. In turn the gratification of the super-ego leads to the development of sadomasochistic character traits. Psychoanalytically the sadomasochistic character [1936] details a character trait that turns "another person into a dependent and defenseless instrument of one's own will, dominating the other absolutely and without restriction, and in extreme cases, forcing him to suffer and express that suffering" (Fromm, 2020, p. 41)[1936]. The sadomasochistic character [1936] is thus the unity of the sadistic and masochistic character. I want to focus on the sadistic trait of the sadomasochistic character. Sadism in *Studies on Authority and the Family* [1936] details an account of sadism similar to the one detailed by Freud. Sadistic [1936] impulses lead an individual into "dominating the weak and subordinate" (Fromm, 2020, p. 43)[1936]. This sadism, as detailed in *Studies on Authority and the Family* [1936], is developed within the ego and is observed within the ruling class, as I have previously explained in section 2.4. There are two key characteristics to take away from sadism [1936], the idea that it results in completely "dominating the other absolutely and without restriction, and in extreme cases, forcing him to suffer" (Fromm, 2020, p. 41) [1936]. And secondly, that sadistic character traits are gratified by authoritarian structures within society (Fromm, 2020, p. 42) [1936].

As in the previous section, where I showed how the social character was developed out of a need to understand the impact modern existence has on the character of society, Fromm had observed events post-1939 that were extremely destructive. World War Two saw some of the most destructive actions in history, actions that go beyond just sadistic acts. While Fromm believed that sadism exists within most human beings, the destructiveness that was witnessed, particularly in the mid-20th century, was something not yet, at the time, experienced. Death and destructiveness on an industrial scale seem to lay outside the boundaries of established notions of sadism.

Fromm's later conceptual development, post-Frankfurt School, sought to understand aggression and destructiveness that he had observed in the mid-20th century. This led to

Fromm's creation of a narcissistic scale. The narcissistic scale documents aggression, starting with the anal character (see section 1.1), the sadistic character (part of the sadomasochistic character, see section 2.3) and finally, the necrophiliac character. The main distinction to make is between the sadistic and necrophiliac characters. Sadism, as Fromm described, is the innate desire to control others completely, not, however, to destroy (Fromm, 1973, p. 348)[1973]. This is not different to the understanding of sadism [1936], as detailed previously.

However, Fromm wanted to understand the type of destructiveness and aggression that existed outside the boundaries of sadism. This is where Fromm's necrophiliac character comes in. Necrophilia, the act of loving that which is dead or inorganic, is commonly known as a sexual act. However, in Fromm's *The Anatomy of Human Destructiveness* [1973], Fromm describes necrophilia as a non-sexual act of loving that which is dead. The necrophiliac character's aim, presumably, "is to transform all that is alive into dead matter; they want to destroy everything and everybody, often even themselves; their enemy is life itself" (Fromm, 1973, p. 348)[1973].

It must be noted that the analysis of necrophilia is described by Fromm [1973] as a character orientation. By character orientation, I mean how an individual relates to the world outside of themselves. Character orientation can gain or lose significance according to socio-economic circumstances which influence these orientations. This is important to note as the necrophiliac character orientation is closely connected to the social character, just as the sadomasochistic character is connected to the concept of a shared social psyche. Although this connection is not concretely linked, it would be possible to understand the sadomasochistic character as a social character just as much as it is possible to understand the necrophiliac character as a social character.

The necrophiliac character is itself a Neo-Freudian concept, developed further out of Freud's death instinct or Thanatos. In *Civilisation and its Discontents* (1961) [1930], Freud detailed how modern civilisation was developing in a way that increased the chances of expressions of aggression and death while decreasing the chances of love. Freud's earlier work, which I have detailed in chapter 1, was based on libidinal drives. However, this libidinal drive theory lacked a substantive understanding of aggression, and thus libidinal drive theory struggled to give an understanding of the development of aggression, as mentioned earlier. Freud was drawn to developing a better understanding of aggression after Freud observed the "power

of human aggression" (Fromm, 1973, p. 454)[1973]. Freud then developed the death drive/instinct to help him understand aggression. Fromm, however, believes Freud's death drive to be conceptually lacking and a last-minute conceptual swap at a time when Freud's libidinal drives had already been widely received and established, even noting Freud's conceptual flipflopping (Fromm, 1973, p. 455)[1973].

Thanatos is an instinctual drive that Freud believed resulted in either inward destruction and/or outward aggression. Regardless of whether the death drive focuses its aggression inwards or outwards, it is the drive that drives living organisms towards an inorganic state, i.e. death (Freud, 1961, p. 63). It was the idea of a drive focused towards an inorganic state that Fromm developed the necrophiliac character:

"Necrophilia in the characterological sense can be described as the passionate attraction to all that is dead, decayed, putrid, sickly; it is the passion to transform that which is alive into something unalive; to destroy for the sake of destruction; the exclusive interest in all that is purely mechanical." (Fromm, 1973, p. 322)[1973]

Both Freud's death drive and Fromm's necrophilia sought to analyse the more destructive traits of an individual or society. Thanatos details an account of aggression that is driven by a desire to tear apart living organisms into an inorganic state. And necrophilia details an account of malignant aggression, driven by a love for that which is dead or inorganic. The connection between Freud's death drive and Fromm's necrophiliac character is clearly apparent (Fromm, 1973, p. 365)[1973]. Moreover, it highlights Fromm's latter, post-Frankfurt School, conceptual development as an ongoing process differing from his earlier work, which used Freud's libidinal theory.

4.2.1 The Narcissistic Scale

In this sub-section, I will look at Fromm's narcissistic scale. I will establish Fromm's necrophiliac character as a development of his understanding of the sadistic character, which in turn is a development of Freud's anal character. By doing this, I hope to show that in terms of understanding the development of aggression, Fromm details an account of malignant

aggression in the necrophiliac character that is a conceptual evolution of his account of sadism as detailed in *Studies on Authority and the Family* [1936].

The necrophiliac character is understood as a more malignant form of the anal character. In chapter 1, I explained erogenous zones; the anal character is an individual or society that is fixated on the anal erogenous zone, which results in a character that is either anally-retentive or anally-expulsive. I will focus here on the anally-expulsive. This character type is characterised by a fixation on expelling faeces during the stage of development where the psychosexual development is focused on the anal zonal—this fixation on expelling faeces results in personality traits that are aggressive and disorderly. While the anal character is seen as outdated, it is essential to understand it as it lies on the scale of narcissism which will eventually lead to the analysis of the necrophiliac character at the very end of the narcissistic scale. The next stage of development in this narcissistic evolution, following the anal character, is the sadistic character. I have already covered the development of sadistic character traits in both chapters 1 and 2. I will here instead look at what differentiates the sadistic character from that of the necrophiliac character. When I speak of sadism in terms of these later, post-Frankfurt School, conceptual developments, I mean sadism in the Frommian sense, that is:

"the passion to have absolute and unrestricted control over a living being... To force someone to endure pain or humiliation without being able to defend himself is one of the manifestations of absolute control, but it is by no means the only one. The person who has complete control over another living being makes this being into his thing, his property, while he becomes the other being's God."
(Fromm, 1973, p. 289)[1973]

This analysis of sadism that Fromm detailed in 1973 is conceptually similar to the account of sadism he detailed in 1936, where he details an account of sadism that dominates "the other absolutely and without restriction, and in extreme cases, forcing him to suffer" (Fromm, 2020, p. 41) [1936].

It is notable to take away that this understanding of the sadist is not one that destroys but instead one that totally controls, even if that control means control over the pain and humiliation that the victim of the sadist feels. Essentially the sadist wants to control the

entirety of life, and in doing so, they gain pleasure in choking life, humiliating, and torturing. These things drive the sadist, the total mastery of one's life, and it is counterproductive for the sadist to destroy life. There is, however, a difference between controlling life entirely and destroying it, as Fromm details in the below quote;

"The sadist wants to become the master of life, and hence the quality of life should be maintained in his victim. This is, in fact, what distinguishes him from the destroying person. The destroyer wants to do away with a person, to eliminate him, to destroy life itself; the sadist wants the sensation of controlling and choking life." (Fromm, 1973, p. 291)[1973]

So, the sadistic character then is a further development on the narcissistic scale from the anal-expulsive character in that further from being aggressive, it is also all controlling. Therefore, if the anal-expulsive character is aggressive and the sadistic character is aggressive and controlling, the next step on the narcissistic scale is the necrophiliac character.

This necrophiliac character is the last evolutionary stage on the narcissistic scale. As with the social character I detailed in the previous section, the necrophiliac character is something that comes about and is further exacerbated by the advent of modern industrial capitalism. Modern people live in a highly industrialised, technologically advanced society. I have shown in the previous section the impact this has on the social character. The social character is a direct reflection of how a society relates to its surroundings, these narcissistic characters I have been detailing develop according to an increase of "narcissism, unrelatedness and destructiveness" (Fromm, 1973, p. 349)[1973]. The necrophiliac character is then the most narcissistic, utterly unrelated from the social process and is the most destructive. Essentially the necrophiliac character is "*the malignant form of the anal character*" (Fromm, 1973, p. 349)[1973].

The necrophiliac character is thus an evolution on the narcissistic scale, a further development of sadism, one that Fromm believed could account of the malignant aggression and destruction he observed. The purpose of this subsection was to establish that Fromm's necrophiliac character [1973] is a further conceptual evolution of the sadistic character [1936]. I have established that when looking at Fromm's narcissistic scale one can draw the

conceptual lineage from the necrophiliac character to the initial sadistic character, which comprised the core of the analysis of the authoritarian character.

4.2.2 Gratifying the Economic Structure

In this sub-section, I will detail how Fromm's necrophiliac character is driven to gratify economic structures. This departs from the sadistic character, which I have shown, according to the ACC, gratifies authoritarian structures within society. I will argue that in Fromm's later, post-Frankfurt School, work views authority as a social structure that becomes subordinated to the economic structures. And that this economic structure, for Fromm [1973], is made up of alienation and existential anxiety. These two aspects of the economic structure enable necrophilous traits to be gratified.

It is worthwhile to remember now that the necrophiliac character is a character orientation, and while applicable to individuals, I am more focused on the impact it has on the social character as opposed to the individual. However, one cannot speak of the individual without speaking of the society and vice versa. As mentioned earlier, the idea of a character orientation is a means to understand how an individual or society relates to the world outside of their own.

The necrophiliac character orientation is completely unrelated to their surroundings. This unrelatedness highlights the extent to which an individual or society is alienated. I have covered alienation extensively so far but what I mean by alienation in this case is the sense of being entirely unrelated to one's surroundings. This alienation is the type I detailed in the section 4.1 on social character. Further from alienation in the Marxist sense, this alienation is of oneself from one's surroundings; alienation that develops as a result of existential anxiety. This unrelatedness causes one to be alienated from life itself, and as such, life itself becomes the target of the necrophiles.

In the case of the necrophiliac character orientation, there is a negative relation between the individual or society and the world outside. This harkens back to the idea of Freud's death instinct and how the outward expression of the death instinct is characterised by aggression. At its core, the necrophiliac character is malignant aggression; just as the sadist character is a level higher than the anal character, so too is the necrophiliac character a level higher on the

aggression scale when compared to the sadist character. Aggression for Fromm was not spontaneous but instead came about as a defence against threats to one's own interest (Fromm, 1973, p. 435)[1973]. This was natural and historically observed within society. Aggression, therefore, comes about and is characterised as a defence of one's interest. Malignant aggression, however, is not innate as opposed to normal aggression, which has historically been known to be present within society (Fromm, 1973, p. 435)[1973].

Malignant aggression develops through the penetration of socio-economic factors into the psyche, and I have already addressed how this penetration occurs in the previous section. It is through the exploitation and manipulation that is associated with alienation that aggression starts to develop in a malignant form. This is notably different from the 'normal' aggression I mentioned earlier. One can draw similarities between aggression and malignant aggression here to the comments on society's mental health (see section 4.1). The factors that contribute to an insane society are the same factors that contribute to the development of malignant aggression when left unchecked. Essentially, an insane or mentally unhealthy society would produce a necrophiliac character (Fromm, 1973, p. 355)[1973]. The greater the alienation and existential anxiety, the more severe the development of malignant aggression; in its most extreme case, this severe malignant aggression becomes necrophilous.

The society that existed at the time Fromm was developing his later concepts was a society that was highly industrialised and technocentric. By this, I mean society was relying on technology more and more to perform tasks that people originally performed. This technicalisation of society was accompanied by events that can only be described as destructive; the greater the technicalisation, the greater the destructive event. This was not to say that aggression was something new that had developed suddenly. As I mentioned before, traditionally, aggression came about when one's interests were threatened, but with the increase in reliance on technology, we see a techno-bureaucratic society that is alienated to the point that they become unable to comprehend the destructiveness of their actions, as detailed in the below quote;

"the technicalisation of destruction, and with it the removal of the full affective recognition of what one is doing. Once this process has been fully established there is no limit to destructiveness because nobody *destroys*; one only serves the

machine for programmed-hence, apparently rational-purposes." (Fromm, 1973, p. 348)[1973]

The relation between necrophilia and industrialised society is clear, and the most apparent comparison is the love people have for their cars, which sometimes can be the same, if not more, than the love they have for their partners. This is an extreme analogy, but it showcases the spirit of modern industrialised society and the impact these inorganic objects have on individuals. This is not to say that the person who loves an inorganic object more than an organic object has the foundations for the development of the necrophiliac character. I hope to show that modern industrialised society is such that love for these inorganic objects becomes a substitution for the interest in life and the exercising of human functions (Fromm, 1973, p. 343)[1973]. This is not to say that the car mechanic, for example, is necrophilous. The type of individuals or society I speak of are ones whose interest in the inorganic totally replaces "their interest in what is alive and who deal with technical matters in a pedantic and unalive way" (Fromm, 1973, p. 343)[1973]. Thus, the technicalisation of society exacerbates a drive towards necrophilia, as Fromm describes it, "We must conclude that the lifeless world of total technicalisation is only another form of the world of death and decay" (Fromm, 1973, p. 351)[1973].

The necrophiliac character is core to Fromm's latter, post-Frankfurt School, conceptual developments in understanding aggression and authoritarianism. At its fundamental level, necrophilia encapsulates malignant aggression towards that which is organic and replaces the love for that which is alive with love and fascination for that which is dead. The use of technology in modern industrialised society also further exacerbates the drive towards a necrophiliac character. As society develops and relies increasingly on technology without opportunity for individual development, the support of culture and the fulfilment of genuine needs and creativity, we will see greater malignant aggression characterised by the necrophiliac character orientation.

Economic structures gratify the necrophiliac character. These economic structures contain within them elements of alienation and existential anxiety, these two develop as a consequence of the imprinting of socio-economic factors onto the psyche and a greater reliance on technicalisation. The unrelated individual, separated from the social process, develops an aggression in response to the imprinting of the economic process onto the psyche

and leads to the development of malignant aggression, which is gratified by the economic process. This differs from the sadistic character, which is gratified by authority. However, in a society that is as highly industrialised and influenced by the economic process. Fromm's later conceptual development focuses on understanding a new version of authoritarianism, in the capitalistic society, we live in authority in the traditional sense, as I have detailed in chapters 2 and 3, itself has become subordinated to the economic process. As such, a contemporary understanding of authoritarianism would need to factor in how the economic process influences the development of authoritarian character traits. Which is what Fromm details in his analysis of the necrophiliac character.

In this section, I argued that Fromm's necrophiliac character [1973] should be seen as a further evolution of the sadistic character [1936]. I have detailed how necrophilia is an evolution of sadism, per Fromm's narcissistic scale. Where sadism details the total control of life, necrophilia details the destruction of all that is organic, this conceptual evolution was key for Fromm's analysis of destructive events that lay outside the scope of sadism. I also described what gratifies the necrophiliac character. I established how, unlike the sadistic character which is gratified by authoritarian structures within society, the necrophiliac character is gratified by economic structures within society. This is due to the unrelatedness the necrophiliac has towards the social process, which itself is a consequence of alienation and existential anxiety. Fromm's necrophiliac character details a more aggressive character, when compared to the sadistic character, which is gratified by the economic structures of a society. This was done at a time when capitalism was penetrating the psyche of society and this, I argue, necessitates a shift away from understanding authority as it has been detailed in chapters 2 and 3. In a modern capitalistic society, with greater alienation, more technicalisation of the economic process and increased existential anxiety, Fromm, develops the necrophiliac character [1973], an evolution of the sadistic character [1936] to understand how authority itself has changed, to become subordinated to the economic structures of society.

This concludes the first step in proving that Fromm's later conceptual development, post-Frankfurt School, should be considered as part of the larger ACC project. I have shown in these previous two sections that Fromm's development of the social character [1955] and necrophilia [1973] should be considered as a conceptual continuation of a shared social

psyche [1936] and sadomasochism [1936], respectively. The ongoing development of these two 1936 concepts, which I have shown to be key in the analysis of the authoritarian character, establish Fromm's work [1955] [1973] as being a continuation of the ACC project, long after its apparent demise per the received view of the ACC in 1939.

4.3 Biophilic Praxis

In this section, I will analyse Fromm's Biophilic praxis. Biophilia was Fromm's alternative to necrophilia and narcissism in general. I have in chapter 1 shown the ACC as a central project of the first-generation of the Frankfurt School. The goal of the ACC was initially to develop a liberatory theory for the emancipation of society (see section 1.1). However, the concepts of the ACC I have so far developed have been lacking insofar as detailing practical steps that would lead to the emancipation of society. I will argue that biophilia's development fulfils the ACC's original goal as a concept of Critical Theory and, thereby, completes the teleological arc of the ACC.

In section 1.1, I explained that Critical Theory seeks to provide an in-depth social critique. This is done by developing liberatory theory that "in principle, aims at stating what is wrong with the current oppressive social reality, and identifies key actors that can change it ... while still providing concise normative guidance and attainable practical goals for the emancipation of society" (Govender, 2020, p. 208). This means that concepts of early Critical Theory should be normative, descriptive and practical. This practical element is echoed by Horkheimer, when he was the director of the Frankfurt School, said that the role of Critical Theory would be,

"To strive for a state of affairs in which there will be no exploitation or oppression, in which an all-embracing subject, namely self-aware mankind, exists, and in which it is possible to speak of a unified theoretical creation and a thinking that transcends individuals—to strive for all this is not yet to bring it to pass."
(Horkheimer, 2002, p. 241)

This goal for a 'state of affairs' in which an emancipated society can be realised would be done by developing practical steps for the realisation of emancipation. This would enable Critical Theory to "move from fundamental structure to concrete reality" (Horkheimer, 2002, p. 225).

As a key project of first-generation Critical Theory, the ACC should also meet the criteria as detailed in section 1.1, these being descriptive, normative and practical. The Frankfurt School provides an analysis of the ACC that is lacking in practical steps for the emancipation of society from authoritarianism as it focuses on a purely descriptive analysis. This would mean that the teleological arc of the ACC is incomplete in the context that the ACC is a concept of Critical Theory. I have so far expanded the understanding of the conceptual development of the ACC from the received view of the ACC. However, this still does not meet the standard of what Critical Theory should be, nor does it meet the goal of the ACC as set out by the Frankfurt School that I laid out in chapter 1.

The potential of biophilia as a theory of liberation from the narcissism that is inherent to the authoritarian character can be seen as a genuine attempt by Fromm to create a harmonious society. A harmonious society is one that inhibits the development of the types of narcissistic character traits that I have detailed up to this point, sadism [1936] and necrophilia [1973]. Furthermore, by detailing the concept of biophilia Fromm develops practical steps towards the emancipation of a dominated society. By developing a form of praxis Fromm's later conceptual developments marks the culmination of the teleological arc of the ACC as it would now fulfil all three requirements of Critical Theory of being descriptive, normative and practical.

Fromm's biophilia is also similar to Freud's life drive or Eros. In the previous section, I have detailed Fromm's necrophiliac character orientation and shown that it is a Neo-Freudian development of Freud's death instinct or Thanatos. Just as Eros and Thanatos are juxtaposed, so are Fromm's biophilia and necrophilia. The dichotomy between biophilia and necrophilia is similar to that of Freud's Eros and Thanatos. Eros becomes the process of combining organic substances into even bigger entities, whereas Thanatos is the process of breaking these entities down by disintegrating living structures (Fromm, 1973, p. 365)[1973]. Similarly, biophilia is the love of all that is organic with an innate desire to enable further growth, whereas necrophilia, as I have shown, is the love of that which is inorganic and destructive in nature (Fromm, 1973, p. 365)[1973].

Socio-economic factors primarily drive the dichotomy between the necrophilia and biophilia, and these socio-economic factors exacerbate either of the two character orientations. However, Fromm, in his post-Frankfurt School conceptual developments, tries to bring the teleological development of the ACC full circle. Thus, fulfilling the practical aspect of early Critical Theory by providing an optimistic practical method to inhibit the development of malignant aggression and sadism, as seen in the below quotation:

"The malignant forms of aggression, on the other hand-sadism and necrophilia-are not innate; hence, they can be substantially reduced when the socio-economic conditions are replaced by conditions that are favorable to the full development of man's genuine needs and capacities: to the development of human self-activity and man's creative power as its own end." (Fromm, 1973, p. 436)[1973]

If one views the authoritarian character as the expression of aggression, as Fromm does, then there is a chance that one can treat the authoritarian character as a syndrome with the use of biophilia. Biophilia is a character orientation that details a type of character that has a positive relation to the world outside their own, and a character that, instead of being driven to destroy as with necrophilia, is driven to create, enabling further positive growth²³. Moreover, it is the conditions detailed by Fromm in the previous quote that gratifies the biophilic character orientation that are important to note. These conditions enable the individual's full, 'genuine' development. The conditions that gratify a drive towards enabling further growth, biophilia [1973], are echoes of comments made by Horkheimer in a 1937 essay, *Postscript* (2002), where Horkheimer details Critical Theory as an "effort to create a world which satisfies the needs and powers of men" (Horkheimer, 2002, p. 245). I argue that Fromm's biophilia is the praxis that enables the satisfaction of the 'needs and powers' of individuals that Horkheimer detailed in 1937 as being the role of Critical Theory.

Biophilia, unlike necrophilia, is considered to be a "biologically normal impulse" (Fromm, 1973, p. 366)[1973]. In contrast, the latter is considered to be the result of "stunted growth ... an outcome of unlived life, of the failure to arrive at a certain stage beyond narcissism and indifference." (Fromm, 1973, p. 366)[1973]. This failure to develop within the necrophile is

²³ This is similar to Marcuse's *eros* in *Eros and Civilization* (2005), the comparison of which I do not enter into here. However, I want to note that Marcuse's *eros* and Fromm's *biophilia* should not be viewed as opposing concepts and that this conversation is not something I will undertake in this project.

understood in reference to the existential situation humans find themselves in (Fromm, 1973, p. 366)[1973], and this is the same type of alienatory existentialism I discussed in section 4.1. Biophilia then becomes the alternative to necrophilia, as Fromm details below,

"Destructiveness is not parallel to, but the alternative to biophilia. Love of life or love of the dead is the fundamental alternative that confronts every human being. Necrophilia grows as the development of biophilia is stunted. Man is biologically endowed with the capacity for biophilia, but psychologically he has the potential for necrophilia as an alternative solution." (Fromm, 1973, p. 366)[1973]

So, if society were to develop in the way Fromm describes, that creates conditions for the gratification of the biophilic character. It would mean that society ought to develop in a way that would enable individuals or a society to achieve their maximum development without inhibiting their growth. Since biophilia is the alternative to necrophilia, developing a society that inhibits the development of the necrophiliac character orientation will lead to greater biophilic character orientations developing within a society, as biophilia is a natural disposition. In contrast, necrophilia is a reaction to stunted growth and feelings of anxiety. Essentially, if biophilia is the "tendency for all living organisms to live" (Fromm, 1965, p. 45)[1973], then a humanist society that gratifies the development of the biophilic character would be one that actively encourages growth and positive living for living sake and not for the sake of gratifying oneself by alienating oneself from life and that which is organic. This humanist society would provide the conditions that enable the achievement of the 'genuine needs' of humankind, in short, a humane society. This humanist society will be one that meets the necessary conditions for the 'full development of humanity's needs'. The resulting socio-economic conditions of a humanist society would create the conditions that gratify the biophilic character, thereby creating a society that is geared towards the fulfilment of positive growth of humankind,

"This humanist radicalism goes to the roots, and thus to the causes; it seeks to liberate man from the chains of illusions; it postulates that fundamental changes are necessary, not only in our economic and political structure but also in our values, in our concept of man's aims, and in our personal conduct." (Fromm, 1973, p. 438)[1973]

There are two possible critiques of biophilia that could be engaged with. These critical evaluations of biophilia come from one of two camps: pessimistic and optimistic (Fromm, 1973, p. 436)[1973]. The pessimists claim that it is unrealistic to expect an improvement in humanity, as human nature is inherently evil. The pessimistic camp, summed up by Fromm, maintains that individuals always have the capacity for malignant aggression (Fromm, 1973, p. 437)[1973]. This is far from reality; I have detailed Fromm's account of destructiveness, and I have established how, per Fromm, malignant aggression is not innate to human nature. So, the statement that humanity has always had the capacity for malignant aggression is misleading. Human nature is not innately destructive, and those claiming it is innately destructive fail to consider "the intricacies of the history of destructiveness" (Fromm, 1973, p. 437)[1973].

However, this does not open the door to blind optimism, as this is an irrational faith. This irrational faith is also detrimental to the development of a humanist society that gratifies biophilic character traits (Fromm, 1973, p. 437)[1973]. The propagation of irrational faith, which characterises the blind optimist, is by no means any less destructive than the opinion of the pessimist. Irrational faith "seduces and then paralyzes" (Fromm, 1973, p. 347)[1973] the individual.

The pessimist claims that nothing can be done as a defence against doing something, and the optimist claims that nothing needs to be done as they persuade themselves that everything is progressing well (Fromm, 1973, p. 438)[1973]. As Fromm elaborates, "Optimism is an alienated form of faith, pessimism an alienated form of despair" (Fromm, 1973, p. 436)[1973]. Both the pessimist and the optimist are wrong in their position. The position Fromm takes is one of rational faith. Fromm believes that if we are to have a humanist society that gratifies the biophilic character, society needs to change, and the political and psychological conditions that obstruct the fulfilment of humanity's genuine needs need to be lifted (Fromm, 1973, p. 436)[1973]. Further from this, one must hold onto the faith that humankind has the capacity to remove themselves from the trap of circumstances that humanity has created for itself. Fromm believes that this faith is founded not upon pessimism nor blind optimism but rather upon "radicals who have rational faith in man's capacity to avoid the ultimate catastrophe" (Fromm, 1973, p. 438)[1973].

It is through this rational faith in the ability of humankind to achieve its maximum potential and satisfaction of genuine needs, provided the right socio-economic factors and the clearing of political and psychological blocks can a humanist society be developed. This humanist society can prevent and push back the narcissistic encroachment of the authoritarian character into the individual and, thereby, society.

Fromm claims that biophilia is a praxis for emancipation. However, Fromm does stop short of detailing concrete practical steps achieving a biophilic society. Rather Fromm alludes to this praxis in his description of biophilia. Fromm advocates for the restructuring of existing economic and political structures within society. However, it can be said that Fromm understands that this restructuring will require a change in mindset of the individual within a society. This mindset is one of hope and rational faith, as Fromm explains:

“To have faith means to dare, to think the unthinkable, yet to act within the limits of the realistically possible; it is the paradoxical hope to expect the Messiah every day, yet not to lose heart when he has not come at the appointed hour. This hope is not passive and it is not patient; on the contrary, it is impatient and active, looking for every possibility of action within the realm of real possibilities. Least of all is it passive as far as the growth and the liberation of one's own person are concerned.” (Fromm, 1973, p. 438)[1973]

This positive change in mindset would seek to ease the existential anxiety that is created by modern industrialised society. And is aimed at enabling the full development of human potential, to as Horkheimer says satisfy “the needs and powers of men” (Horkheimer, 2002, p. 245). This change of mindset is based on the rational faith of humanity to achieve their full potential, however a change in mindset alone cannot fully develop a biophilic society. Above all, an appreciation for that which is organic needs to happen, the highly consumerist society we live in is not compatible with a biophilic society. High levels of consumerism often lead to greater alienation, as such humanity must be weary of its consumption, understanding that behind the objects it consumes, is a human being, responsible for the development and creation of these object. As such a biophilic society is aware of the need for a balance of ‘human ecology’, the understanding that the relation between human beings and non-human objects, whether as natural or socially constructed, are inextricably connected.

However, Fromm claims that even our mindset is determined by social structures (Fromm, 1973, p. 438)[1973]. As such the development of a biophilic society is dialectical in nature. In order for the social structure to change there needs to be a positive change in mindset towards achieving humanities full potential. However, the development of humanities full potential is limited to social structures, such as economic and political structures. As such practical steps must be taken to ensure the change in mindset of individual is followed up with a change in the structure of economic and political structures. This realignment has at its core the understanding that economic and political structures need to enable humanity to be bearers of their own fate, and not subordinated to these aforementioned structures. A biophilic society needs to progress towards the realisation of the humanity's full potential and in order to achieve this a radical change two conditions need to be met secondly. Firstly, there needs to be a change in the mindset of individual, a mindset change that at its core is directed towards the progressive change guided by rational faith. And secondly, a realignment of economic and political structures that serves to further the development of society towards realising its full potential and not the creation of existential anxiety. Thus, a radical shift in mindset is needed for the realisation of a biophilic society free from the domination of demagogic leaders and the subordination of economic structures. A society that is aware of their impact on human ecology, all the while guided by rational faith, or as Fromm explains, "Critical and radical thought will only bear fruit when it is blended with the most precious quality man is endowed with -the love of life" (Fromm, 1973, p. 438)[1973].

In this section, I have detailed Fromm's biophilic character. I have shown how through biophilia, Fromm had alluded that would lead society away from the narcissism characteristic of the authoritarian character. Fromm does this by stating that through creating a humanist society with the ultimate goal of enabling the conditions for the fulfilment of the genuine needs of humankind which gratifies the biophilic character and drives its satisfaction. I have shown how, by analysing biophilia, Fromm has detailed a possible answer to Horkheimer's initial idea of what Critical Theory ought to achieve, "to create a world which satisfies the needs and powers of men" (Horkheimer, 2002, p. 245). As per Fromm, I have established in this section that through a humanist society, humankind can satisfy the 'needs and powers' of all within a society. And thus, Fromm, through his biophilic praxis, has completed the

teleological arc of the ACC, which was started by the first-generation of the Frankfurt School in the 1930s.

In this chapter, I have questioned the validity of the end date of the received view of the ACC. I have shown that this end date of the received view of the ACC, 1939, to be an incorrect interpretation of the conceptual development of the ACC. I have done this by arguing that Fromm's post-Frankfurt School work should be considered part of the larger ACC project and that subsequently, Fromm's *The Sane Society* [1955] *The Anatomy of Human Destructiveness* [1973] would mark the actual end of the ACC project. I proved this in two steps, firstly by showing that Fromm's later conceptual developments of the social character [1955] and necrophilia [1973] are a conceptual evolution of key ACC concepts of a shared social psyche [1936] and sadomasochism [1936]. The second step was to argue that Fromm, through his development of biophilia [1973], fulfilled the original objective of the ACC project as started by the Frankfurt School in the 1930s. Fromm completed the teleological arc of the ACC by alluding towards a biophilic praxis which could be used to move society's liberation from fundamental concepts towards a concrete reality. By detailing this praxis, Fromm achieves the goal of the ACC as a concept of Critical Theory in that it, with Fromm's post-Frankfurt School work, meets the objective of Critical Theory as set out by Horkheimer in that it is descriptive in its analysis of the current oppressive situation. Normative in its description of what a fully emancipated society ought to be. And practical as it now includes practical steps towards the realisation of that emancipated society. For these reasons I have listed above, I argue that Erich Fromm's later work 1955-1973 should be considered not just as a continuation of the ACC but the culmination of the ACC that fulfils the original goal of the Frankfurt School's ACC project. Therefore, the end of the ACC should be revised from 1939, as per the received view of the ACC, to 1973.

Conclusion

In this project, I argued the need for revisiting the ACC, which is necessary in order to understand the problem of authoritarianism in contemporary society. In the introduction, I spoke of the problem of authoritarianism; I then posited a possible solution to this problem of authoritarianism in the form of the Frankfurt School's authoritarian character concept project. The Frankfurt School, through developing the ACC, sought to understand the predisposition that individuals and societies have towards favouring the domination of an authoritarian populist figure as opposed to seeking liberation. However, the currently established narrative surrounding the ACC, which I termed the received view of the ACC, is, as I have shown, firstly, incorrect with regards to its interpretation of the conceptual development of the ACC from its genesis to its demise. And secondly, overly restrictive with regard to its conceptual parentage as it ignored developments outside of 1936-1939.

In revisiting the ACC, I needed to accomplish four objectives. To this end, each chapter had an objective to fulfil. Accomplishing these four objectives would provide a revised account of the ACC and establish a conceptually clear and holistic analysis of the ACC. The first objective was to set out the foundations of the ACC by looking at the Frankfurt School and the conceptual makeup of the ACC. The second objective was establishing a dominant narrative surrounding the ACC, which I termed the received view of the ACC. The third objective was to show that the received view of the ACC is incorrect with regard to the genesis of the ACC as work had been ongoing on the development of key concepts prior to 1936 and provide a revised account of the ACC to include this early conceptual development. The fourth and last objective was to show that the received view of the ACC is incorrect with regards to the demise of the ACC, in 1939, as work was ongoing on evolving the ACC to meet more modern challenges well into the 1970s. Furthermore, these later developments of the ACC would ultimately complete the teleological arc of the ACC as a concept of Critical Theory as it is within these later developments that the ACC finally fulfils its goal of detailing a possible praxis that works towards an emancipated society.

In chapter 1, I highlighted the foundation of the ACC. In section 1.1, I expounded upon the Frankfurt School. In this section, I highlighted the purpose of the Frankfurt School. I established that the ultimate goal of the Frankfurt School was to develop concepts that would

lead to the emancipation of all within a society. Critical Theory sought to accomplish this emancipatory theory by developing concepts that, analysed the current oppressive reality of society, thereby providing a descriptive analysis. Detailed what a fully emancipated society ought to look like, making the concepts normative in nature. And finally, also details a possible praxis to bridge the gap between the current oppressive social structures towards a fully emancipated society. By being descriptive, normative and practical in nature, concepts of Critical Theory sought to provide an in-depth critique of societal oppression but also a possible praxis towards social emancipation. I also detailed key concepts that form Freudian and Marxist thought, as these concepts would be used by the Frankfurt School, in their analysis of oppressive social conditions, certainly with regard to the ACC.

Having established the purpose of the Frankfurt School, in section 1.2, I explained the ACC. I looked at the purpose of the ACC as well as expanded its definition of the ACC. I showed that the ACC was a concept that made use of the Freudo-Marxist lens of analysis. I detailed the micro-Freudian analysis that looked at the development of character within the psyche of individuals and society, as well as the macro-Marxist analysis that looked at the impact of socio-economic conditions upon the development of the psyche. I also established that there is a dialectic between the micro-Freudian and macro-Marxist analyses that interact with each other to provide an understanding of why individuals and societies are predisposed towards seeking the domination of authoritarian figures. This is done by understanding deeply rooted trends in character that are influenced by social structures outside of the psyche. This analysis thereby sought to provide a holistic understanding of the development of the authoritarian character in individuals and by extension society.

Having established the purpose of the Frankfurt School as well as the conceptual makeup and aim of the ACC. In chapter 2 I argued for the existence of a dominant narrative surrounding the ACC, which I termed the received view of the ACC. In section 2.1 I showcased the nature, function and conceptual lifespan of the received view of the ACC. The nature of the received view is composed of a general consensus of key secondary Critical Theory commentators such as Jay [1976], Abromeit [2011] McLaughlin [1999] to name a few. The function of the received view of the ACC was to provide an interpretation of the conceptual development of the ACC, highlighting key points in its development such as which of the Frankfurt School's texts form

the corpus of the ACC project. And I showed that the conceptual lifespan of the ACC, according to the received view, was 1936-1939.

In sections 2.2-2.4 I detailed the first of three key concepts of the ACC. These key concepts, I argued, are critical to the analysis that the ACC provides, all three key concepts I extracted from the *magnum opus* of the received view of the ACC, *Studies on Authority and the Family* [1936]. In section 2.2, I analysed the Freudo-Marxist method of analysis which was instrumental in the analysis of the authoritarian character, as I had shown in section 1.2. In understanding the Freudo-Marxist method of analysis I showed the steps Fromm took in *Studies on Authority and the Family* [1930] to analyse how in a peasant family, authority structures are more pronounced as they are more vulnerable to changes in socio-economic factors. I then moved on, in section 2.3, to analyse the concept of sadomasochism. I detailed how this account of sadomasochism is similar to the Freudian account I detailed in section 1.1, however, I elaborated that Fromm, in his analysis of sadomasochism, detailed how socio-economic factors influenced its formation and gratification. Ultimately, I established the sadomasochistic character to form the conceptual core of the authoritarian character, moreover showcasing that the two are one and the same. Finally, in section 2.4, I detailed the concept of a shared social psyche. I showed how the concept of a shared social psyche makes use of the Freudo-Marxist method of analysis to understand the consciousness of a given society or group within society, which can differ according to said society's or groups socio-economic situation. Furthermore, I established that the shared social psyche of an authoritarian society to be sadomasochistic in nature.

Having established these three key concepts of the ACC, I then moved on, in section 2.5, to detail another core text of the received view of the ACC, Horkheimer's *Egoism and Freedom Movements* [1936]. In this text Horkheimer makes use of the ACC to analyse various freedom movements throughout history, he does this using some key concepts of the ACC that were developed in *Studies on Authority and the Family* [1936]. However, Horkheimer did provide a more materialist interpretation of the development of authority figures. This I argued marked the beginning of a new conceptual direction that the Frankfurt School would embark upon in 1940, with Pollock's state capitalism thesis, which I briefly detailed in section 2.1.

The objective of chapter 2 was to establish the received view of the ACC as the dominant interpretation of the ACC. To this end, I was able to detail what key secondary Critical Theory

commentators had to say about the function and lifespan of the ACC. I also explicated three key concepts of the ACC that were used in the analysis of the authoritarian character. Furthermore, I showed, by means of Horkheimer's *Egoism and Freedom Movements* the application of the ACC in understanding authoritarian figures.

Having established the received view of the ACC as well as the three key concepts of the ACC I could now move on to the next objective. In chapter 3 the objective was to argue that conceptual developments of the ACC had been ongoing prior to the genesis of the ACC as per the received view in 1936. These earlier developments, which were notably developed prior to 1936, are the product of Erich Fromm. As such in section 3.1, I look at Fromm's intellectual development and interests. In this section, I discussed Fromm's social psychology, and how this social psychology would become the Freudo-Marxist method of analysis that I have shown, in section 2.2, to be a key concept of the ACC.

In section 3.2, I moved on to argue for conceptual isomorphism between the concept of a shared social psyche [1936] that I highlighted in section 2.4 and an earlier 1930 version of a shared social psyche that was detailed in *The Dogma of Christ* [1930]. I showed how in *The Dogma of Christ* [1930] Fromm analyses the differing attitudes of Christian dogma among various classes within society and how due to these differing views specific shared social psyche develops that is unique to said class. This highlighted the importance of a shared social consciousness that is unique to specific societies or groups based on their historical development, which I have shown to be central to understanding the authoritarian character in section 2.4. By establishing the conceptual isomorphism between the 1936 and 1930 concept of a shared social psyche I have shown that conceptual development had been ongoing on a key concept of the ACC that predates the genesis of the ACC as per the received view.

Having established that conceptual development of the key concept of a shared social psyche had been ongoing since at least 1930. In section 3.3, I moved on to argue that the development of the Freudo-Marxist method of analysis, which I established in section 2.2 as a key concept of the ACC, had been ongoing since at least 1932. This is notably prior to 1936, the genesis of the ACC, as per the received view. In this section, I analysed Fromm's critique of orthodox Freudian and Marxist thought in *The Method and Function of an Analytic Psychology* [1932]. This analysis detailed steps that Fromm had been taking prior to 1936 to

develop the Freudo-Marxist method of analysis, possibly traceable to 1929 in Fromm's *Psychoanalysis and Sociology*. In Fromm's [1932] critique of orthodox Freudian and Marxist thought, he laid out the conceptual core of the Freudo-Marxist method of analysis that would be instrumental in the Frankfurt School's analysis of the authoritarian character. Therefore, Fromm's [1932] interrogation of orthodox Freudian and Marxist thought forms the foundation of the Freudo-Marxist method is the key that unlocks the analysis that the ACC provides. By showing the development of this core methodology prior to 1936, it further problematises the genesis of the received view of the ACC.

Having problematised the genesis of the ACC as per the received view, I then, in section 3.4, went on to provide a revised account of the origin of the ACC. Having problematised the genesis of the received view of the ACC, which holds the start of the conceptual development of the ACC as being 1936 with the publication of *Studies on Authority and the Family* [1936], I constructed a revised date for when I believed the beginning of the ACC truly is. I argue that the ACC only comes about due to the influence of Erich Fromm, as such the ACC begins when Fromm joins the Frankfurt School as a full member in 1930 as it is Fromm who in 1930 is already developing key concepts that are instrumental to the analysis of the authoritarian character.

Having revised the origin of the ACC, I then moved on to chapter 4 where I argued that the received view of the ACC was incorrect regarding its interpretation of its demise. In chapter 4, I argued that Fromm's post-Frankfurt School work should be considered not just as a continuation of the ACC, but its culmination. I proved this in two steps, first, by arguing for continuity, where I established that conceptual development had been ongoing on two key concepts of the ACC to evolve them to meet a more modern society. These are the concepts of a shared social psyche [1936] which Fromm develops into the social character [1955] and sadomasochism [1936] which Fromm develops upon to become necrophilia [1973]. All of these latter conceptual developments are also notable as Fromm post-Frankfurt School de-emphasised the primacy of Freudian libido theory in understanding character development. In the second step, I argued that Fromm's concept of biophilia marked the culmination of the ACC by completing the teleological arc that had begun in the mid-1930s.

In section 4.1, I established that Fromm's social character which was developed in *The Sane Society* [1955] was an evolution of the concept of a shared social psyche [1936]. I proved this

by showing how characteristics of the concept of a shared social psyche are further enhanced in the social character, these being socio-economic influences and alienation, dependency and existential anxiety. The social character was developed to provide a better understanding of modern existence. Therefore, it is able to better analyse the way socio-economic factors influence the development of character and the alienation that then follows. In Fromm's analysis of the social character, he detailed how, unlike the concept of a shared social psyche, modern society has an element of existential anxiety which results in the gratification of authoritarian traits. The social character is more apt understanding modern society and the impact socio-economic factors have on character development. Having traced the conceptual lineage of the social character [1955] to the concept of a shared social psyche [1936], which I had established in section 2.4 as a key concept of the ACC, I have established that conceptual development on key concepts of the ACC had been ongoing post-Frankfurt School, which I have detailed as the demise of the ACC as per the received view.

In section 4.2, I looked at Fromm's Neo-Freudian concept of necrophilia. Necrophilia [1973] did not replace sadomasochism [1936] but rather detailed another level of narcissism above sadomasochism, which I detailed in section 2.3 and established it as a key concept of the ACC. The necrophiliac character orientation was analysed by Fromm to be the most destructive character orientation. It described a character that is driven by a love of that which is inorganic. Just as the sadomasochistic character was the psychic apparatus of the earlier developments of the ACC, so is Fromm's necrophiliac character the psychic apparatus of his later developments. This necrophiliac character is described by Fromm as malignant aggression and details a character orientation that is unrelated to their surroundings. This I showed to be the consequence of economic and existential alienation. Most notable is the subordination of authority to the economic structure. The necrophiliac character is gratified by economic structures, this is a departure from the sadomasochistic character which is gratified by authority structures. As such authority itself becomes subordinated to the economic system, and this is due to the unrelatedness, the necrophiliac has to the social process, which itself is brought on by alienation and existential anxiety. Having traced the conceptual lineage of the necrophiliac character [1973] to the sadomasochistic character [1936], albeit in an evolved form that is better equipped to analyse a modern existence, I have shown that development has been ongoing post-Frankfurt School, which I had established as

the demise of the ACC as per the received view. This shows that conceptual development continued past 1939, well into the 1970s.

Having established Fromm's post-Frankfurt School work to be a continuation of the original ACC project, I then moved on to argue, in section 4.3, that these later developments of the ACC are a culmination of the project that started in 1936. In section 1.1, I outlined the goal of the Frankfurt School, which was to develop a liberatory theory that was normative, descriptive and practical. The ACC had met the descriptive and normative accounts; however, the practical steps to be taken towards a truly emancipated society were missing, the Frankfurt School, in 1939, embarked upon a new conceptual direction in understanding authoritarianism. However, Fromm, as I have detailed, continued to develop the ACC to meet the requirements of modern existence. In these later conceptual developments, Fromm details a praxis to treat the syndrome of authoritarianism. This praxis came in the form of biophilia, the opposite of necrophilia. Biophilia detailed a love for that which is organic. In *The Anatomy of Human Destructiveness* [1973], Fromm details a shift in mindset and a change in economic and political structures to necessitate a shift away from narcissism and a necrophiliac orientation towards society. This shift in mindset and change to the economic and political structures must be guided by rational faith in humanity's ability to satisfy the needs of society. In satisfying the practical criteria of Critical Theory, Fromm's later conceptual developments mark the completion of the teleological arc of the ACC that had begun in the 1930s. This established that Fromm's post-Frankfurt School conceptual development marked not just a continuation but the culmination of the original ACC project, fulfilling the original goal of the first-generation of the Frankfurt School. Therefore, the end of the ACC was revised from 1939, as per the received view of the ACC, to 1973.

Having met the four objectives of this project, I have revised the interpretation of the ACC's conceptual development and opened it up to include developments made outside of 1936-1939. This means that there now exists a clear understanding of what the ACC is. The importance of having a clear understanding of the ACC is instrumental in understanding authoritarianism in our contemporary age. Without a clear understanding of what the ACC is, developing an understanding of the ACC in our contemporary society would be incomplete. Therefore, in order for the ACC to be a possible solution to the problem of authoritarianism, there needs to exist a clear and holistic understanding of the ACC. This then was the ultimate

aim of this project, to detail a clear and holistic understanding of the ACC. While worthwhile, the practical application of analysing contemporary society using the ACC is not the scope of this project and could be, as there now exists a clear and holistic understanding of the ACC, a focus of future study. Furthermore, this project opens up the possibility to revisit the Fromm v Marcuse debate, specifically regarding each theorist's emancipatory concepts and Freudo-Marxist synthesis. I have alluded to a connection between Marcuse's *eros* and Fromm's *biophilia*, but since a comparison of these two are outside the scope of this project it should indeed be further looked into in follow-up projects.

To conclude, the goal of the ACC, as envisioned by the first-generation of the Frankfurt School, was to understand why individuals and societies were predisposed towards seeking the domination of authoritarian demagogic figures, as opposed to freedom. The goal of this project was not to discredit the work done by the Frankfurt School between 1936 and 1939. Instead, it was to open up the ACC so that it could be better understood and conceptually clear. The inclusion of Fromm's later developments is also noteworthy as they analyse the anxiety of modern existence and provide a praxis for treating this anxiety. Moreover, having this conceptually clear understanding of the ACC opens up the ACC for use in our contemporary society to help to provide a possible humanist solution to the problem of authoritarianism, guided by, as Fromm would say, "the most precious quality man is endowed with- the love of life" (Fromm, 1973, p. 438).

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