Progressive Psychoanalysis as a Social Justice Movement

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Edited by

Scott Graybow

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Dedicated to:

Christopher Christian

Jean Lehrman

Carol Perlman

It goes without saying that a civilization which leaves so large a number of its participants unsatisfied and drives them into revolt neither has nor deserves the prospect of a lasting existence.
—Sigmund Freud, *The Future of an Illusion*

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.
—Erich Fromm, *Psychoanalysis and Sociology*

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PREFACE

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How many times have we heard the claim that psychoanalysis is only for the well-to-do, the "worried-well?" How many times have we heard people say that psychoanalysis is out of touch, unconcerned with and insensitive to the needs of the poor and working class? For that matter, who within the psychoanalytic community has not heard a colleague say, "She's un-analyzable, she has too many concrete needs."

As a psychoanalytic psychotherapist, I have heard these claims many times before. When I was a social work student at Columbia University, I repeatedly encountered professors, guest lecturers and fellow students who opined unabashedly that poor social work clients are too distracted by their pressing concrete and environmental needs to be capable of benefiting from psychoanalysis. A quick, universalizing statement of conclusion nearly always reinforced this claim: Psychoanalysis is not concerned about the poor or about the political, economic and cultural factors that create and maintain their poverty.

Implicit in this statement, I found, are two critical beliefs. First, there is the belief that psychoanalysis is not committed to social justice, nor does it have the resources–theoretical or technical–to be so. Second, the poor, due to their environmental deficits, lack the capacity to benefit from turning inward, to engage in the process of self-reflection, assessment and learning that is the act of being in psychoanalysis. In other words, corresponding with their environmental flaws, the poor have an impoverished inner world that differentiates them psychically from the well-to-do.

But are these conclusions true? If so, what evidence is there to support these drastic claims? My own experience of providing psychoanalytic psychotherapy to poor and working class patients has led me to completely different conclusions as to their analyzability as well as to the relevance of psychoanalysis to today's pressing social, political and economic crises. Consider the following hypothetical patient: Mr. J started twice-weekly therapy for treatment of depression at a time when his startup company was doing very well. He presented as articulate and insight-oriented. A few months into the treatment, Mr. J's business suddenly failed and he

found himself in a very different financial situation. He no longer had any income and lost the large home and luxury car he had obtained with easy credit. In the absence of these external signs of wealth he found himself in possession of nothing but a large amount of personal and business debt. In essence, he was now poor. He maintained, however, the same mind, same inner world and same capacity for self-awareness and insight. Are we now to consider him to be someone who is untreatable using a psychoanalytic approach?

Certainly not.

This edited volume presumes the inverse of what my Columbia colleagues said are statements of truth that require further exploration. The following chapters make two overarching arguments. First, they argue that psychoanalysis is a progressive force capable of serving as a much-needed clinical and heuristic tool of social justice. Second, they maintain that poor, oppressed and marginalized people and groups, just like the well-to-do, have rich, complicated and conflicted inner worlds that, upon being analyzed, yield insights and facilitate transferences and resistances that can lead to the attainment of critical psychoanalytic therapeutic goals.

One only has to look at the history of the psychoanalytic movement to see that, even if psychoanalysis today is not in the role of being a force for social justice, that has not always been the case, nor can we say that psychoanalysis does not have within itself theories and techniques that could be applied toward the creation of a more equitable society. Indeed, as the works by Elizabeth Danto (2005) and Russell Jacoby (1983) have demonstrated so beautifully, there was a time when the psychoanalytic movement had a strong social justice orientation. That time was the period between World War I and World War II. During that era analysts such as Erich Fromm, Wilhelm Reich, Ernst Simmel, Max Eitington and Otto Fenichel viewed psychoanalysis not only as a clinical practice, but also as a movement at the core of which was a commitment to understanding and addressing pressing social problems. In practical terms, these analysts sought to actualize Freud's (1918) call for the establishment of a "psychotherapy for the people" (p. 167). To do so, they participated in the establishment of a string of psychoanalytic clinics that provided free or low-fee psychoanalytic care to members of the poor and working-class communities.

These analysts did not subscribe to the false dichotomies of today. They did not adhere to the belief that the well-to-do can benefit from psychoanalysis whereas the poor require an alternative means of clinical intervention. They did not maintain the belief that the poor have inner

worlds that are less in need of psychic development than are the inner worlds of the members of the privileged classes.

What happened to these analysts and their liberal approach? Two authors, George Makari (2008) and Neil Altman (2010), offer possible answers. Makari's (2008) history of the psychoanalytic movement documents how many early psychoanalysts "believed that social reform or revolution would come from psychological emancipation. They believed that curing the Self could cure a society, and that conversely a sick society resulted in sick men and women" (p. 398). With the rise of fascism, however, less politically inclined analysts began to worry that the attempts by analysts such as Wilhelm Reich to make explicit the connection between psychoanalysis and social justice might attract unwanted attention. A process of de-politicizing psychoanalysis began. The finest example of this swing against social justice-oriented psychoanalytic thinking and its overt affiliation with leftist politics was the expulsion of Wilhelm Reich from the International Psychoanalytical Association (IPA) during the organization's biannual conference at Lucerne in 1934 (Makari, 2008). This caused many leftist analysts to begin the process of going underground (Jacoby, 1983). For example, Otto Fenichel and his fellow Rundbriefe collaborators Edith Jacobson, Annie Reich, George Gero, Kate Friedlander, Barbara Lantos and Edith Lukowyk Gyomroi worried, "the IPA would redefine the boundaries of the field [of psychoanalysis] so that the Marxist analysts would all go the way of Reich" (Makari, 2008, p. 411).

The de-politicization of psychoanalysis and subsequent isolation of the field from social justice issues and activities continued after World War II when psychoanalysis relocated its center of activity to the United States (Altman, 2010). There a process of medicalization and bureaucratization began that greatly changed the nature and practice of psychoanalysis. No longer would analysts whose backgrounds represented a host of professional and academic milieus practice psychoanalysis. Instead, psychoanalysis would be practiced exclusively by medical professionals. In this way, psychoanalysis became a rigid subspecialty of psychiatry.

Furthermore, Altman (2010) points out, the psychoanalysis that developed in the United States did not have the same level of social involvement and association with leftist politics it did in pre-World War II Europe. In this new version of psychoanalysis, "poor people, working class people, [and] people seen in the public sector came to be viewed as unsuitable candidates for psychoanalysis, in contrast to Freud's views" (Altman, 2010, p. 45). Altman (2010) identifies two reasons for this: 1) the American emphasis on individualism, capitalism and entrepreneurship;

and 2) the emphasis on ego-psychology, which historically has found poor people and non-white people to be un-analyzable and is difficult to apply to the work done in a clinic because of its emphasis on therapist anonymity and neutrality. As a result, American psychoanalysis of the post-World War II era not only failed to maintain psychoanalysis' original interest in social progressivism, it strengthened existing racial, economic and cultural oppressions. It replicated the hierarchical class structure of society within the substructure of psychoanalytic culture. By ignoring race, class and culture, psychoanalysis embedded itself in society's arrangements with regard to these factors and made itself "the functional equivalent of a homogeneous American suburban environment" (Altman, 2010, p. xix).

Must psychoanalysis remain isolated from its social justice roots? Have we no choice but to continue to submit to the false dichotomy that would have us provide rich and poor with different types of clinical care? No. I am firmly of the belief that psychoanalysis can once again serve as a social justice tool. In this regard, I am deeply indebted to the work of Lewis Aron and Karen Starr (2013) whose book, *A Psychotherapy for the People: Toward a Progressive Psychoanalysis*, introduces us to the notion of a "progressive psychoanalysis." They use the term "progressive" as a "mediating term, one that enables us to challenge traditional dichotomous categories and to transcend binary thinking" in psychoanalytic theory and practice (Aron & Starr, 2013, p. xiv). They agree with Altman (2010) that "psychoanalysis in America became arrogant, self-protective, self-serving, and increasingly narrow and limited" (Aron & Starr, 2013, p. 12).

Aron and Starr (2013) challenge us to reconsider the very definition of psychoanalysis and in the process call for a review of our understanding of another key term, "clinical." They eschew any definition of psychoanalysis that uses polarizations or dichotomous thinking. They argue psychoanalysis must be defined according to what it is, not by contrasting it with things it allegedly is not. Their definition of the new term "progressive psychoanalysis" has two components. First, a call to arms. They point out that, "if psychoanalysis is to survive [its] progressive tradition must be reestablished and brought into the mainstream" (Aron & Starr, 2013, p. 20). Here they are using the term "progressive" as a reference to the former alliance between psychoanalysis and social justice that has been documented by Danto (2005) and Jacoby (1983). Second, they point out that progressive psychoanalysis is a flexible, all-encompassing psychoanalysis, one that respects "the full range of its theories, applications and methodologies. This includes 'psychoanalysis proper' and 'psychoanalytic therapy,' as well as what has generally been thought of as 'applied psychoanalysis'; not only the several times per week clinical

analysis in private practice but also the full range of clinical, educational and social applications in the community and inner cities of America" (Aron & Starr, 2013, p. 8).

Whereas Aron and Starr's (2013) book seeks to guide readers toward a progressive psychoanalysis, this edited volume hopes to allow readers to experience the full range and depth of this new, exciting, highly relevant and timely understanding of the field. My hope is that this book constitutes a beginning exploration of progressive psychoanalysis as a hermeneutic tool and a clinical tool. Hermeneutically, progressive psychoanalysis demands that we seek deeper, more thorough understandings of today's social problems and apply these insights to our work with patients. It presumes human beings do not exist in a vacuum. We must take into account what is happening around them. For example, it is impossible to extract people from what is happening to them economically or politically. But the environment alone does not dictate the outcome of an individual, either. Rather, as Frie (2014) points out, it is the interaction *between* a person and their environment that is of crucial importance. In today's society, that interaction is dominated by acts of economic and racial injustice. These injustices, in turn, are compounded by the greed of certain powerful members of the elite and the acquiescence of a political process that is now firmly in their hands.

For this reason, it is imperative that progressive psychoanalysis serve as a clinical tool. The call of progressive psychoanalysis requires that we return to a basic yet thoroughly psychoanalytic understanding of the term "clinical." Clinical means one person helping another person in a manner that facilitates transferences and resistances. It does not necessarily mean lying on a couch. It does not necessarily mean attending sessions five days a week. It does not mean being removed and remote while ignoring concrete and material needs. It simply means providing help in an authentic, human way such that the sweetness and the tribulations of basic human interaction arise and are allowed room for exploration. That exploration could take place in a beautiful consulting room in a luxury high-rise or in the stairwell of a public housing development. In either case, that exploration is clinical, it is analytic and it must be progressive.

Psychoanalysis has been defined in many ways. It has been called a clinical science (Chessick, 2000), a human science (Cohler & Galatzer-Levy, 2007), a new form of investigation (Ricoeur, 1970), an attempt to create understandings of human subjective experience (Schwartz, 1996) and an attempt to increase the truthful knowledge of the self about itself (Bianchedi, 1995). Most recently, Aron and Starr (2013) proposed a new definition, one that calls for a return to the progressive origins of

psychoanalysis while consolidating recent advances in regard to the possibility that we might integrate its various branches into a single, clinical whole. This "progressive psychoanalysis" represents an opportunity for the field to return to its roots as a social justice movement while re-affirming its commitment to the poor and its applicability to today's pressing social issues. This book seeks to actualize Aron and Starr's (2013) call to reestablish the progressive tradition of psychoanalysis and bring it into the mainstream. To do so, its chapters attempt to redirect our view of psychoanalysis away from the belief that it is an elitist endeavor and toward the realization that it is relevant and applicable to today's pressing social problems and the clinical needs these problems create within our patients. It is my hope this book takes readers down the road of progressive psychoanalysis, a road that will expose them to a new way of thinking, one that replaces the false dichotomies that currently prevail with a newfound appreciation for and commitment to psychoanalysis as a social justice movement.

Scott Graybow
New York, NY
April 23, 2015

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INTRODUCTION

SCOTT GRAYBOW

The need for social justice grows as the world becomes a more violent, unpredictable and unequal place. This book strives to demonstrate how and why psychoanalysis should be viewed as a tool that can respond to these dilemmas and meet this call for social justice. To do so, the editor and contributors argue that psychoanalysis has important things to say about topics such as race, class and politics at the level of the individual and at the macro level of analysis. They seek to undo the current perception of psychoanalysis as a cold, clinical method based upon antiquated views about gender and culture and limited in applicability to the psychological needs of the "worried well." They posit that in today's neoliberal, capitalist world, psychoanalysis is best conceptualized as a social justice movement that is a clinical technique as well as a hermeneutic tool, or, as Hewitt (2012) states, "a clinical practice and a social theory with an emancipatory aim" (p. 73). Taking their cue from the second-generation activist-psychoanalysts documented by Elizabeth Danto (2005) and Russell Jacoby (1983), and from the Freudo-Marxist tradition of the Frankfurt School of Critical Theory, the editor and contributors seek to create a volume that replaces today's narrow, prejudicial view of psychoanalysis with one that sees psychoanalysis as a multifaceted tool whose core mission is to make the world a better place.

The focus of our attempts to understand the value of Freud's discovery should not be on whether the benefits of psychoanalysis are experienced through the resolution of clinical symptoms and the provision of insight at the level of the individual or through the attainment of an improved understanding of a social problem. As Altman (2010, 2015) has demonstrated, the bifurcation of clinical psychoanalytic practice between public and private has led to an unhelpful emphasis on a number of false dichotomies. These dichotomies—psychoanalysis vs. psychotherapy, clinical vs. applied, urban vs. rural, rich vs. poor, black vs. white, inner vs. outer—distract us from the true mission, purpose and, indeed, the value of psychoanalysis. When we disregard these dichotomies and instead look to the activist history of psychoanalysis, we come upon what Aron and Starr

(2012) refer to as progressive psychoanalysis. This is the psychoanalysis "for the people" called for by Freud and worked toward by the clinicians who staffed such venerable institutions as the Berlin Polyclinic and the Vienna Ambulatorium. The editor and contributors, in seeking to revive this approach to psychoanalytic theorizing and practice, are curious about why it ceased to exist in the first place and agree with Layton, Hollander and Gutwill (2006) that its absence and resultant "split between the psychic and the social…is a dichotomy that serves an individualist and capitalist status quo" (p. 5).

To achieve these ends, the book divides itself into two sections. The first section is titled "Eric Fromm's Progressive Psychoanalysis." The chapters in this section set out to undo the faulty assumption that from its start psychoanalysis has been disconnected from, uninterested in and inapplicable to matters pertaining to social justice. Rather than make this claim by presenting a history of the activist core of the early psychoanalytic movement, which has already been done by Danto (2005), or by reviewing the efforts of a group of progressive psychoanalysts, which has already been done by Jacoby (1983), this section focuses on the life, contributions and contemporary applications of the Freudo-Marxist thought of Erich Fromm. It is the belief of the editor and contributors to this section that Fromm's life and work are representative of the sort of progressive psychoanalysis that is greatly needed today. We see Fromm as more than a controversial revisionist. We see him as a committed psychoanalyst whose experience was colored and impacted by a host of personal and political identities including being a participant in Freud's free clinic movement, a democratic Socialist, an immigrant refugee, and a world renowned public intellectual whose psychoanalytic approach to individual and social problems was remarkably well received within mainstream, non-academic circles. Yet Fromm, like the progressive, multifaceted psychoanalysis he espoused, is largely forgotten. To remember him, to reconnect with his theories and to apply them to contemporary social problems, is to undo the disconnect between our current understanding of psychoanalysis and its activist core. It is a means of reminding ourselves of the contributions of the past and the value and applicability of those contributions to the needs–both individual and societal–of the present.

The first chapter in this section exposes us to words written by Erich Fromm himself. Titled, "My Own Concept of Man," this piece lays out Fromm's humanist, neo-Freudian understanding of man's psychology and in so doing demonstrates how psychoanalysis is and has been at the nexus of individual mental health and societal well-being. Rather than driven by

sexual and aggressive drives, man, Fromm argues, is driven by a desire for relatedness to others. Fromm explains, "In contrast to Freud, I do not look on man chemically as *homme machine*, driven by the chemically conditioned mechanism unpleasure-pleasure, but as being primarily related to others and in need of them; not, in the first place, for the mutual satisfaction of needs, but for reasons which follow from the nature of man." Fromm refers to his revisionist account of Freud's structural model as the "socio-biological viewpoint" and "the dialectic-humanist revision." In this model, man does not attempt merely to replace unpleasure with pleasure; he seeks a "passionate attempt for union with the world and for the transcending of mere self-preservation and self-purposefulness."

A host of psychosocial forces including but not limited to economic class, violence, historical factors and one's family of origin influence the manner in which we come to relate to ourselves and others. Fromm refers to the amalgam of these factors as "social character…the nucleus of character traits common to most members of a society or class." More specifically, social character is a productive force that enables man to derive emotional enjoyment while fulfilling the role he must execute in order for the society in which he lives to function. Fromm writes, "social character has the important function for all individuals of making attractive, or at least tolerable, what is socially necessary, and to create the basis for consistent behavior." Social character varies. For example, one's social character might reinforce democratic behavior such as voting or it might reinforce unprogressive behavior such as adherence to racist or other oppressive ideologies. Social character is the result of a dialectical process, which makes Fromm hopeful. True, man is capable of unhealthy decisions that might progress to his own destruction, but he is also capable of making choices that render society able to "liberate itself from the influence of irrational and unnecessary social pathology."

Joan Braune's "Concerned Knowledge: Erich Fromm on Theory and Practice" debates the assertion made by scholars such as Friedman and Maccoby that tension between Fromm's identities as a psychoanalytic scholar and socialist activist limits the overall value of his work. Taken more loosely, the chapter addresses the current debate about whether psychotherapy is an art or a science, whether human emotion and intention should have a role in clinical technique or whether it should be determined exclusively by results from empirical procedures. To say there is a conflict or a dichotomy between Fromm's prophetic side, that is, his activism, and his scientific side, that is, his psychoanalytic research, is inaccurate, Braune argues. To the contrary, Fromm actively and intentionally attempted to synthesize these seemingly contrasting aspects of his identity,

as he felt melding the two is a prerequisite to operate successfully as a psychoanalyst and scholar. In terms of clinical practice, this was evident in Fromm's disuse of the analytic couch in favor of sitting face to face with the patient. In less practical terms, Fromm's belief was that theory and practice are incomplete when not united. Braune writes, "…for Fromm, interpretation and change, theory and practice are a unity; they are not two separate things that can be compared and occasionally brought together or harmonized. Each is united to the other, and when viewed as a dynamic whole, the nature of each is transformed." Perhaps most importantly, Braune argues, Fromm felt changing the object of study is the goal of research, not a risk to be avoided. Thus, Fromm sought to at once know and to change the world. In describing Fromm's take on this melding of theory and practice, Braune is able to articulate what Fromm might have considered the end goal of a successful psychoanalysis: "Becoming conscious of the social reality of which I am a part, and seeing myself not only a passive knower of the world but an active knower-doer…I overcome the separation between theory and practice and the related dichotomy in the modern world between knowledge and emotion." Due to the unity of theory and practice, the researcher and the psychoanalyst are not cold, removed, isolated figures. They are active participants who must struggle constantly with the demand of at once trying to be objective observers and engaged transformers. Braune concludes Fromm's thinking represents a call to seek a shift in consciousness away from the current belief that thought and emotion, science and human experience, observation and participation, are inevitably in conflict, a call which raises questions about the mental health community's current preference for the cold science of evidence-based treatment over a deeper but undoubtedly more difficult humanistic clinical approach.

Chris Vanderwees' "Aesthetics of Detroit Ruin Photography and Erich Fromm's Psychoanalysis of Transcendence" explores the contemporary cultural fascination with Detroit's ruins, which have been captured in photographs such as those by Andrew Moore in his publication, *Detroit Disassembled*. Vanderwees argues our current fascination reflects a deeper social concern about the defining characteristics of the late-capitalist era such as economic instability and neoliberal austerity measures. This more nuanced and sophisticated understanding of our fascination with Detroit's ruins rejects the notion that looking at "ruin porn" is merely "a passive or voyeuristic practice." Vanderwees uses Fromm's psychosocial adaptation of the Freudian death drive to unpack the specifics surrounding this claim. He argues that Fromm's work is useful in this end because it "emphasize[s] the important influence of socio-political relations on the

subject's ego-instincts." Key to this Fromm-based analysis is the notion of transcendence, or the "existential desire to exceed the specific context of individual existence." Fromm maintains that in capitalist society, which limits opportunities for life-affirming growth, the experience of destruction, catastrophe and death becomes a primary way to achieve transcendence. More specifically, the attraction to Detroit's ruins is symptomatic of a psychically stunted society, one incapable of creating or even imagining ideological alternatives to capitalism. Vanderwees writes, "The current neoliberal capitalist predicament and the fascination with Detroit ruin photography exemplify Fromm's conceptualization of the human attraction to death and destruction as a need to experience transcendence." In other words, when the need for transcendence is met with disempowerment, disenfranchisement and disadvantage, which is the case under capitalism, the death drive dominates. In this way, Vanderwees links transcendence to necrophilia and uses the link to highlight Gounari's notion of social necrophilia, "the blunt organized effort on the part of the domestic political system and foreign neoliberal centers to implement economic policies that result in the physical, material and financial destruction of human beings." Such destruction, Vanderwees argues, produces a fear of ruin and also engenders a desire for it through the forced absence of the ability to envision alternatives to it. Viewing photographs of Detroit's ruins is thus an affective experience that produces a feeling of proximity to death, which simultaneously is feared and desired, not only because of an inherent drive, but also because of the systemic social factors that influence this critical aspect of human identity through shifting economic, cultural and political contexts.

Nick Braune's "Erich Fromm's Civics: Sanity, Disobedience, Revolution" details how Fromm was a psychoanalyst with a social mission, a mission to "call Americans back to sanity, to a sane society, not a self-destructing one." To achieve this goal, Fromm sought to make known the psychological qualities necessary for people to effectively challenge the existing social order and lead society to socialist humanism. Through a combination of writing, political activity and social organizing, Fromm attempted to actualize a psychologically healthy, and therefore effective, anti-war, anti-capitalist culture of dissent, one that questioned the status quo yet was impervious to the limitations of other leftist movements such as the rigidity and inhumanity of Soviet state capitalism. Braune explains that the dialectical relationship between sanity, disobedience and revolution was at the center of Fromm's efforts. Sanity comes through a revolutionary process at the core of which is an individual ability to disobey. Disobedience is often the only way to

counter the act of obedience, which in a capitalist society is at a minimum emotionally numbing and at worst potentially deadly. The ability to disobey is one of the six characterological distinguishing marks of a revolutionary social character, or the personality of a person best equipped to challenge capitalist norms. Fromm posits it is an appreciation of the nuances of what draws one to want to be a revolutionary and the meanings attached to being a revolutionary, not overt behaviors, which are significant and hold the keys to a truly nuanced understanding of social phenomena, in this case the political actions of those seeking emancipatory political change and those opposing it. In this way, Braune concludes, Fromm and his work are illustrative of how a psychoanalytic lens can inform, enrich and deepen past and present approaches to social theory.

Scott Graybow's "Putting Social Theory into Clinical Practice: Incorporating Fromm's Theory of Social Character into a Traditional Psychodynamic Treatment" explores the possibility that consideration of Fromm's social character is relevant not only to an improved understanding of the collective unconscious of an entire community but also to the clinical practice of psychodynamic psychotherapy with individuals. The chapter introduces Fromm's notion of social character by reviewing three short works by Fromm: *Character and Social Process* (1942), *Human Nature and Social Theory* (1969), and *Individual and Social Origins of Neurosis* (1944). Together, these works highlight how Fromm's theory of social character represents an interconnection between psychological theory and social change theory. The section of the chapter on theory includes an interesting review of Fromm's analysis of the American working class, which he believed exhibited a social character that led it to engage in behaviors that are contrary to its own needs. Graybow writes, "[the American worker] is psychologically conditioned to ignore the historical context that gave rise to his misplaced emotional reactions and gravitates towards a worldview that promotes such counter-productive goals and ideals as racism, unregulated competition, neurotic individualism and over-consumption of unnecessary consumer goods." To illustrate the effects of this conceptualization of social character as well as to address how they might be treated therapeutically, Graybow presents the case of Ms. G, a working-class woman whose social character prevents her from questioning the legitimacy of the status quo and is evident in her view of herself as subservient, voiceless and powerless. This case highlights how factors such as poverty and injustice play a role in one's psychological development. In his treatment of the patient, Graybow illustrates how discussion of such things as political ideology and practical

matters such as budgeting do not detract from the goals of a traditional psychodynamic treatment, but rather further them. In this way, Graybow argues, the idea that we must focus on patients' inner worlds to the exclusion of discussion of factors affecting their outer worlds is a false dichotomy. Specifically, his case suggests it is possible to integrate the inner and the outer in a true psychodynamic fashion if we listen for evidence of what Fromm refers to as social character. Thus, the chapter's findings represent the beginnings of an attempt to substantiate Fromm's thesis that historical conditioning contributes to a social character that is often counterproductive to the needs of oppressed and marginalized groups. Such social character takes on a unique psychological perspective when we observe that promotion of social character is rooted in a collective effort to satisfy emotional needs. Graybow's chapter goes one step further, suggesting that "at the level of the individual, the introjected social character can lead to distinct emotional and social dilemmas because it might promote the use of maladaptive ego defenses or cause a person to engage in behaviors that seem to satisfy an emotional need and be socially condoned but are ultimately detrimental to both individual mastery and group solidarity."

Dan Mills' "Progressive Psychoanalysis in the Works of Erich Fromm and Slavoj Žižek" compares and contrasts the works and ideas of Erich Fromm with those of the contemporary Marxist-Lacanian, Slavoj Žižek. Mills points out that each man's works represent a synthesis of psychoanalytic theory and Marxist social theory for the purpose of creating a better society. Specifically, Fromm, by mixing Freud and Marx, hoped to prevent any repeats of Nazi-style fascist totalitarianism. Žižek, on the other hand, mixes Lacan and Marx with the goal of "understanding …what it means to be a subject in what neo-Marxists have called 'late capitalism.'" Mills underscores the reality that Fromm and Žižek come from very different socio-political backgrounds. On one hand, Fromm witnessed the fall of democracy and the rise of totalitarianism. On the other hand, Žižek lived through the fall of Soviet totalitarianism and the subsequent rise in free-market capitalism. He suggests that in light of this difference Fromm came to espouse a humanist, libertarian version of Marxism whereas Žižek aspires to a more statist version of socialism. Uniting each is a belief that our understanding of these concepts is incomplete without an appreciation for the call of psychoanalysis to search for meaning below the surface. Thus, Mills argues, both men seek "the same utopian vision for the world" and each one has "contributed to an intellectual psychoanalytic tradition that aims to make the world a better place."

The second section of the volume is titled "Psychoanalysis as a Social Justice Tool Today." These chapters seek to leave readers with an impression of the range of ways psychoanalysis might be understood and employed so it once again assumes a position as a vibrant movement dedicated to a clear-cut social justice agenda. The editor and contributors to this section firmly believe psychoanalysis differs from other contemporary psychotherapeutic approaches in regard to its ability to understand social justice issues and promote positive actions that will lead to the resolution of those issues. They maintain that psychoanalysis has a capacity for and inherent interest in matters that require an appreciation for the whole person, whereas manualized interventions such as cognitive behavioral therapy (CBT) are limited by their ability to do anything more than provide brief symptom remission. For example, the psychoanalytic practitioner is at once an expert and a participant. She is engaged in a process that demands not only scientific knowledge and technique but also humanity, empathy and a capacity to serve as an agent for change. Psychoanalysis thus is not only capable of, but demands, a viewpoint in which objective social facts and subjective personal details are connected within a larger totality. CBT, which risks being nothing more than a form of shallow positivism, lacks this depth and nuance. The fact that psychoanalysis has taken a back seat to CBT despite this reality is, we believe, evidence of a neoliberal political process that has sought successfully to undermine and weaken the image of psychoanalysis due to the threat its successful implementation poses to the capitalist status quo.

As early as 1991, writers supporting the psychoanalytic perspective were making the claim that CBT and other evidence-based techniques, far from promoting social justice, solidify neoliberal forms of capitalist oppression. Rustin (1991) explained, "behavioral psychology and psychiatry, successful professional rivals to psychodynamic ideas, are closely congruent with the instrumentalist assumptions of liberal utilitarian theory, and can be understood as attempting to provide a psychological technology for it" (p. 13). More recently, Altman (2015) described the workings of this "psychological technology" as antithetical to a social justice agenda and contributing to the oppression of the poor and other marginalized communities who have little choice when seeking mental health assistance but to submit to "time-limited, narrowly goal-oriented, and cost-efficiency focused psychotherapy and medication-based treatments" (p. 1).

We firmly agree with Altman's (2015) claim that, "when psychoanalysis is considered to be relevant on all levels from the individual intrapsychic to the macrocosmic social level, its relevance is enhanced" (p. 63). We

take this statement one step further and argue that experiencing psychoanalysis in this way represents a return to a true and authentic version of psychoanalysis, one that is consistent with what Freud and the early analysts intended and capable of achieving maximum impact both inside and outside the consulting room. Such a conceptualization of psychoanalysis also does much to counter its current negative image as "a practice that, in theory, honors the humanity of people [but] ends up in danger of dehumanizing, by inattention and marginalization, the great majority" (Altman, 2015, pp. 1-2.). The chapters that follow play with this idea, exploring it from concrete and conceptual angles, from past, present and future perspectives. They touch on issues pertaining to race, technology, forced migration, terrorism, alienation, economic crisis and disobedience. Together, they represent a beginning attempt to once again conceptualize psychoanalysis as a social justice tool.

Christine Schmidt's "Confronting Racism: A Challenge to the Psychoanalytic Community" addresses the lack of attention psychoanalytic practitioners have paid to the issue of racism both in the consulting room and as a macro level social problem. The chapter consists of an introduction followed by six practical recommendations intended to undo the silence among psychoanalytic practitioners about the need for racial justice. The first measure states that analysts must familiarize themselves with the history of racism in the United States. The emphasis here is on unlearning the notion that America is a color-blind, post-racial society. Beginning with a review of the origins of white supremacy, Schmidt goes on to define and discuss the effects of dominative racism, aversive racism and meta-racism. The section ends with some striking facts that readily contradict the idea that America has moved beyond its racist past. The second measure focuses extensively on the idea of colorblindness, which Schmidt defines as a product of the ideology of whiteness. Schmidt writes, "Colorblindness purports to see people as members of the human race without racial categories." To counter the notion of colorblindness, in the third measure Schmidt calls for the development of "racial consciousness" by "bringing knowledge about racialization and racial oppression into personal and professional relationships [to challenge] colorblindness." At the core of this step is the development of an awareness of one's own racial identity. For members of the white majority, the task here is to abandon white entitlement and begin to work on systemic change. The fourth measure addresses psychoanalysts specifically, calling on them to evaluate the impact of race on their psychoanalytic practice. The focus here is on the shift of psychoanalysis away from a clinic-based, social justice model to a medical model that gives preference to affluent, white,

heterosexual patients and tends to over-pathologize black patients. To make measure number four a reality, measure five proposes that analysts facilitate workshops, lead groups and teach courses about racism and psychoanalysis. Schmidt explains that "workshops and courses can blend didactic and reflective opportunities for learning about race matters." In other words, groups in which race is discussed promote the evolution of racial consciousness in the most effective way possible, that is, through interpersonal interactions. Finally, the sixth measure calls for analysts to speak out about and promote racial equity within professional organizations. Schmidt posits that "fear and shame" presently prevent analysts from speaking out about race in their professional organizations. This speaks to the ever-present effect of white privilege, which is particularly salient in psychoanalytic organizations due to the overwhelming majority of whites within the ranks.

Laurie Bell's "When Home Is Where We Flee From: Writing in Psychoanalysis during Forced Migration as a Revolutionary Act" is a meditation on her experience writing psychoanalytically informed psychosocial assessments for refugees seeking political asylum. She couches her remarks in the observation that psychoanalysis itself developed under conditions of oppression and eventually was forced into exile. She also underscores the psychoanalytic principle that everything, even the most inane statement or interaction, has multiple, valuable meanings worthy of exploration and interpretation. True, her work is an example of applied rather than pure psychoanalysis, but that detail takes a back seat to the fact, expertly illustrated by Bell, that psychoanalytic theory and technique have value and purpose outside the traditional therapeutic setting. In particular, she demonstrates how psychoanalytic theory and technique have important things to say about one of today's most pressing social problems: forced migration.

Rainer Funk's "Violence in Our Time: Psychology and Religion" offers a psychoanalytic interpretation of the emotional origins of violence and their relationship to the contemporary dilemma of terrorism. Funk begins by explaining that aggression is not always bad. It is a natural and necessary part of the psychic development of humans. Aggression used in the act of self-defense, for example, is life-saving. Likewise, certain types of aggression might be considered to serve a growth-promoting function. This sort of aggression is reactive aggression and differs from characterological aggression. Violence, which is aggression that features perpetrators and victims, is an example of characterological aggression. What is the relationship between violence, a sub-form of aggression, and religion? Religion can serve as a collectively utilized rationalization, also

known as an ideology, which legitimizes behavior one does not really accept for oneself. Thus, Funk concludes, religion allows "human beings [to] collectively justify their questionable behavior." As an ideology, then, religion often contradicts its own ethical goals of peace, love and justice. The ideological function of religion is the collective legitimization of violence when it offers "mock justification for the inner willingness to use violence." But religion does not only serve the purpose of legitimizing violence. It can also help people cope with life, to put words and meaning to the more difficult aspects of being human. It also allows for discussion and experiencing of the feelings–shame, powerlessness, fear of death and neediness–that are integral to the experience of being human yet do not have a place in contemporary society, which views anyone who admits to having these emotions as a failure. Funk explains, "Because our lives and social existence still require us to cope with such negative feelings, religion could be the place where such feelings are experienced, communicated and shared." How, then, do we ensure religion serves this noble purpose and does not succumb to the role of ideological legitimizer of violence? Funk identifies four preconditions: 1) religion must promote closeness, or solidarity, with the oppressed, the victimized and the downtrodden; 2) religion must allow humans opportunities to experience such unwanted affects as powerlessness and defenselessness in helpful, constructive ways; 3) religion must not "use violence toward the believer," or, not demand acts such as forced confession or forced conversion; and, 4) religion must teach people to be critical of violence with an understanding that violence and defensive aggression are opposites.

Scott Graybow's "Psychoanalysis as Capitalist Enterprise: Or, Reflections on the Past, Present and Future of an Alienated Discipline" argues psychoanalysis might be conceptualized as an alienated discipline, or, more precisely, as a discipline that has assumed the role of capitalist enterprise and as such is separated from its essence as a radical, subversive activity. The chapter begins with a review of the social justice origins of psychoanalysis. It then details how and why psychoanalysis transitioned away from being a clinic-based, social justice movement into a medical subspecialty geared towards a primarily white and affluent patient population. With this context in mind, the chapter then proceeds to explore the question of whether, as workers operating in the capitalist mode of production, contemporary psychoanalysts suffer with alienation. This review hypothesizes that, while analysts do not fit Marx's traditional definition of alienation, the fact that money plays a central role in the analytic relationship in a private practice setting suggests the presence of a modern form of alienation, one that all workers in today's neoliberal

market economy suffer from, even white-collar workers. The chapter concludes with a review of Graybow's thoughts on how to counter this trend: the establishment of worker-owned, psychoanalytic co-ops.

Leonard Steverson's "Society as Patient: The Development of a Psychoanalytic Sociology" explores the ways a melding of psychoanalysis and sociology might promote much needed social justice outcomes. The chapter begins with a review of the work of the Frankfurt School, and then goes on to highlight contemporary research that seeks to carry on the School's interest in melding psychology with social change theory. The chapter ends with a discussion of potential areas of application for what Steverson refers to as "socio-psychoanalysis." These areas include social character analyses, or characterological studies concerning one's motivations toward such things as terrorist violence, and macro-level social problems such as bullying.

The book concludes with Ritu Sharma and Sharon Writer's "Psychoanalytical Principles: Valuable Mechanism for Diagnosis in the 21st Century." This chapter explores the ways the social justice core of psychoanalysis can be expanded to address issues stemming from the amalgamation of today's economic inequality and technological advancements. They begin with a valuable literature review that documents the rise, fall and recent resurgence of psychoanalysis. This review highlights the growing interest in psychoanalysis among empirical researchers who have demonstrated successfully the efficacy of psychoanalysis as a clinical intervention vis a vis more traditional "evidence based" treatments such as cognitive behavioral therapy. Further adding to the contemporary value of psychoanalysis, Sharma and Writer argue, is its ability to enrich our understanding of recent developments in the field of neuroscience. Turning to the matter of technology, the authors explore how a psychoanalytic lens can deepen our understanding of the impact of online social networking. Discussing how social networking allows one a medium to share the contents of the unconscious, they explain, "the idea of 'out of sight, out of mind' cannot work in the online world, which has its own unique algorithm to remind one of one's stored unconscious." Thus, the application of psychoanalytic concepts to our actions and decisions vis a vis technologies such as social networking underscore the value of psychoanalysis as a means to understand "the new psychological conditions that plague members of a tech-heavy, global culture."

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