The youngest child is the spoiled child. Next to the oldest child he is most likely to become a problem child and a neurotic maladjusted adult.

This theory has been tested a number of times but most of the findings do not lend support to it (Jones, 1931).

EARLY MEMORIES. Adler felt that the earliest memory a person could report was an important key to understanding his basic style of life (1931). For example, a girl began an account of her earliest memory by saying, "When I was three years old, my father . . ." This indicates that she is more interested in her father than in her mother. She then goes on to say that the father brought home a pair of ponies for an older sister and her, and that the older sister led her pony down the street by the halter while she was dragged along in the mud by her pony. This is the fate of the younger child—to come off second best in the rivalry with an older sibling—and it motivates her to try to surpass the pacemaker. Her style of life is one of driving ambition, an urge to be first, a deep feeling of insecurity and disappointment, and a strong foreboding of failure.

A young man who was being treated for severe attacks of anxiety recalled this early scene. "When I was about four years old I sat at the window and watched some workmen building a house on the opposite side of the street, while my mother knitted stockings." This recollection indicates that the young man was pampered as a child because his memory includes the solicitous mother. The fact that he is looking at others who are working suggests that his style of life is that of a spectator rather than a participant. This is borne out by the fact that he becomes anxious whenever he tries to take up a vocation. Adler suggested to him that he consider an occupation in which his preference for looking and observing could be utilized. The patient took Adler's advice and became a successful dealer in art objects.

Adler used this method with groups as well as individuals and found that it was an easy and economical way of studying personality.

CHILDHOOD EXPERIENCES. Adler was particularly interested in the kinds of early influences that predispose the child to a faulty style of life. He discovered three important factors: (1) children with inferiorities, (2) spoiled children, and (3) neglected children. Children with physical or mental infirmities bear a heavy burden and are likely to feel inadequate in meeting the tasks of life. They consider themselves to be, and often are, failures. However, if they have understanding, encouraging parents they may compensate for their inferiorities and transform their weakness into strength. Many promi-

nent men started life with some organic weakness for which they compensated. Over and over again Adler spoke out vehemently against the evils of pampering for he considered this to be the greatest curse that can be visited upon the child. Pampered children do not develop social feeling; they become despots who expect society to conform to their self-centered wishes. Adler considered them to be potentially the most dangerous class in society. Neglect of the child also has unfortunate consequences. Badly treated in childhood, as adults they become enemies of society. Their style of life is dominated by the need for revenge. These three conditions—organic infirmity, pampering, and rejection—produce erroneous conceptions of the world and result in a pathological style of life.

ERICH FROMM

Erich Fromm was born in Frankfurt, Germany, in 1900 and studied psychology and sociology at the Universities of Heidelberg, Frankfurt, and Munich. After receiving a Ph.D. degree from Heidelberg in 1922, he was trained in psychoanalysis in Munich and at the famous Berlin Psychoanalytic Institute. He came to the United States in 1933 as a lecturer at the Chicago Psychoanalytic Institute and then entered private practice in New York City. He has taught at a number of universities and institutes in this country. Not only have his books received considerable attention from specialists in the fields of psychology, sociology, philosophy, and religion but also from the general public.

The essential theme of all of Fromm's writings is that man feels lonely and isolated because he has become separated from nature and from other men. This condition of isolation is not found in any other species of animal; it is the distinctive human situation. The child, for example, gains freedom from the primary ties with his parents with the result that he feels isolated and helpless. The serf eventually secured his freedom only to find himself adrift in a predominantly alien world. As a serf, he belonged to someone and had a feeling of being related to the world and to other people, even though he was not free. In this book, *Escape from freedom* (1941), Fromm develops the thesis that as man has gained more freedom throughout the ages he has also felt more alone. Freedom then becomes a negative condition from which he tries to escape.

What is the answer to this dilemma? Man can either unite himself with other people in the spirit of love and shared work or he can find

security by submitting to authority and conforming to society. In the one case, man uses his freedom to develop a better society; in the other, he acquires a new bondage. *Escape from freedom* was written under the shadow of the Nazi dictatorship and shows that this form of totalitarianism appealed to people because it offered them a new security. But as Fromm points out in subsequent books (1947, 1955), any form of society that man has fashioned, whether it be that of feudalism, capitalism, fascism, socialism, or communism, represents an attempt to resolve the basic contradiction of man. This contradiction consists of man being both a part of nature and separate from it, of being both an animal and a human being. As an animal he has certain physiological needs which must be satisfied. As a human being he possesses self-awareness, reason, and imagination. These two aspects constitute the basic conditions of man's existence. *"The understanding of man's psyche must be based on the analysis of man's needs stemming from the conditions of his existence"* (1955, p. 25).

What are the specific needs that rise from the conditions of man's existence? They are five in number: the need for relatedness, the need for transcendence, the need for rootedness, the need for identity, and the need for a frame of orientation. The need for relatedness stems from the stark fact that man in becoming man has been torn from the animal's primary union with nature. "The animal is equipped by nature to cope with the very conditions it is to meet" (1955, p. 23) but man with his power to reason and imagine has lost this intimate interdependence with nature. In place of those instinctive ties with nature which animals possess man has to create his own relationships, the most satisfying being those which are based upon productive love. Productive love always implies mutual care, responsibility, respect, and understanding.

The urge for transcendence refers to man's need to rise above his animal nature, to become a creative person instead of remaining a creature. If his creative urges are thwarted, man becomes a destroyer. Fromm points out that love and hate are not antithetical drives; they are both answers to man's need to transcend his animal nature. Animals can neither love nor hate, but man can.

Man desires natural roots; he wants to be an integral part of the world, to feel that he belongs. As a child, he is rooted to his mother but if this relationship persists past childhood it is considered to be an unwholesome fixation. Man finds his most satisfying and healthiest roots in a feeling of brotherliness with other men and women. But man wants also to have a sense of personal identity, to be a unique

individual. If he cannot attain this goal through his own creative effort, he may obtain a certain mark of distinction by identifying himself with another person or group. The slave identifies with the master, the citizen with his country, the worker with his company. In this case, the sense of identity arises from belonging to someone and not from being someone.

Finally, man needs to have a frame of reference, a stable and consistent way of perceiving and comprehending the world. The frame of reference that he develops may be primarily rational, primarily irrational, or it may have elements of both.

For Fromm these needs are purely human and purely objective. They are not found in animals and they are not derived from observing what man says he wants. Nor are these strivings created by society; rather they have become embedded in human nature through evolution. What then is the relation of society to the existence of man? Fromm believes that the specific manifestations of these needs, the actual ways in which man realizes his inner potentialities, are determined by "the social arrangements under which he lives" (1955, p. 14). His personality develops in accordance with the opportunities that a particular society offers him. In a capitalistic society, for example, he may gain a sense of personal identity by becoming rich or develop a feeling of rootedness by becoming a dependable and trusted employee in a large company. In other words, man's adjustment to society usually represents a compromise between inner needs and outer demands. He develops a social character in keeping with the requirements of the society.

From the standpoint of the proper functioning of a particular society it is absolutely essential that the child's character be shaped to fit the needs of society. The task of the parents and of education is to make the child want to act as he has to act if a given economic, political, and social system is to be maintained. Thus, in a capitalistic system the desire to save must be implanted in people in order that capital is available for an expanding economy. A society which has evolved a credit system must see to it that people will feel an inner compulsion to pay their bills promptly. Fromm gives numerous examples of the types of character that develop in a democratic, capitalistic society (1947).

By making demands upon man which are contrary to his nature, society warps and frustrates man. It alienates him from his "human situation" and denies him the fulfillment of the basic conditions of his existence. Both capitalism and communism, for example, try to make

man into a robot, a wage slave, a nonentity, and they often succeed in driving him into insanity, antisocial conduct or self-destructive acts. Fromm does not hesitate to stigmatize a whole society as being sick when it fails to satisfy the basic needs of man (1955).

Fromm also points out that when a society changes in any important respect, as occurred when feudalism changed into capitalism or when the factory system displaced the individual artisan, such a change is likely to produce dislocations in the social character of people. The old character structure does not fit the new society, which adds to man's sense of alienation and despair. He is cut off from traditional ties and until he can develop new roots and relations he feels lost. During such transitional periods, he becomes a prey to all sorts of panaceas and nostrums which offer him a refuge from loneliness.

The problem of man's relations to society is one of great concern to Fromm, and he returns to it again and again. Fromm is utterly convinced of the validity of the following propositions: (1) man has an essential, inborn nature, (2) society is created by man in order to fulfill this essential nature, (3) no society which has yet been devised meets the basic needs of man's existence, and (4) it is possible to create such a society.

What kind of a society does Fromm advocate? It is one

> . . . in which man relates to man lovingly, in which he is rooted in bonds of brotherliness and solidarity . . . ; a society which gives him the possibility of transcending nature by creating rather than by destroying, in which everyone gains a sense of self by experiencing himself as the subject of his powers rather than by conformity, in which a system of orientation and devotion exists without man's needing to distort reality and to worship idols (1955, p. 362).

Fromm even suggests a name for this perfect society: Humanistic Communitarian Socialism. In such a society everyone would have equal opportunity to become fully human. There would be no loneliness, no feelings of isolation, no despair. Man would find a new home, one suited to the "human situation."

KAREN HORNEY

Karen Horney was born in Hamburg, Germany, September 16, 1885, and died in New York City, December 4, 1952. She received her medical training at the University of Berlin and was associated with the Berlin Psychoanalytic Institute from 1918 to 1932. She was analyzed by Karl Abraham and Hans Sachs, two of the pre-eminent

training analysts in Europe at that time. Upon the invitation of Franz Alexander, she came to the United States and was Associate Director of the Chicago Psychoanalytic Institute for two years. In 1934 she moved to New York where she practiced psychoanalysis and taught at the New York Psychoanalytic Institute. Becoming dissatisfied with orthodox psychoanalysis, she and others of similar convictions founded the Association for the Advancement of Psychoanalysis and the American Institute of Psychoanalysis. She was Dean of this institute until her death.

Horney conceives of her ideas as falling within the framework of Freudian psychology, not as constituting an entirely new approach to the understanding of personality. She aspires to eliminate the fallacies in Freud's thinking—fallacies which have their root, she believes, in his mechanistic, biological orientation—in order that psychoanalysis may realize its full potentialities as a science of man. "My conviction, expressed in a nutshell, is that psychoanalysis should outgrow the limitations set by its being an instinctivistic and a genetic psychology" (1939, p. 8).

Horney objects strongly to Freud's concept of penis envy as the determining factor in the psychology of women. Freud, it will be recalled, observed that the distinctive attitudes and feelings of women and their most profound conflict grew out of their feeling of genital inferiority and their jealousy of the male. Horney believes that feminine psychology is based on lack of confidence and an overemphasis of the love relationship, and has very little to do with the anatomy of her sex organs. Regarding the Oedipus complex, Horney feels that it is not a sexual-aggressive conflict between the child and his parents but an anxiety growing out of basic disturbances, for example, rejection, overprotection, and punishment, in the child's relationships with his mother and father. Aggression is not inborn as Freud stated, but is a means by which man tries to protect his security. Narcissism is not really self-love but self-inflation and overevaluation owing to feelings of insecurity. Horney also takes issue with the following Freudian concepts: repetition compulsion, the id, ego, and superego, anxiety, and masochism (1939). On the positive side, Horney asserts that Freud's fundamental theoretical contributions are the doctrines of psychic determinism, unconscious motivation, and emotional, nonrational motives.

Horney's primary concept is that of basic anxiety, which is defined as

> . . . the feeling a child has of being isolated and helpless in a potentially hostile world. A wide range of adverse factors in the environment can produce this insecurity in a child: direct or indirect domination, indifference, erratic behavior, lack of respect for the child's individual needs, lack of real guidance, disparaging attitudes, too much admiration or the absence of it, lack of reliable warmth, having to take sides in parental disagreements, too much or too little responsibility, overprotection, isolation from other children, injustice, discrimination, unkept promises, hostile atmosphere, and so on and so on (1945, p. 41).

In general, anything that disturbs the security of the child in relation to his parents produces basic anxiety.

The insecure, anxious child develops various strategies by which to cope with his feelings of isolation and helplessness (1937). He may become hostile and seek to avenge himself against those who have rejected or mistreated him. Or he may become overly submissive in order to win back the love that he feels he has lost. He may develop an unrealistic, idealized picture of himself in order to compensate for his feelings of inferiority (1950). He may try to bribe others into loving him, or he may use threats to force people to like him. He may wallow in self-pity in order to gain people's sympathy.

If he cannot get love he may seek to obtain power over others. In that way, he compensates for his sense of helplessness, finds an outlet for hostility, and is able to exploit people. Or he becomes highly competitive, in which the winning is far more important than the achievement. He may turn his aggression inward and belittle himself.

Any one of these strategies may become a more or less permanent fixture in the personality; a particular strategy may, in other words, assume the character of a drive or need in the personality dynamics. Horney presents a list of ten needs which are acquired as a consequence of trying to find solutions for the problem of disturbed human relationships (1942). She calls these needs "neurotic" because they are irrational solutions to the problem.

1. *The neurotic need for affection and approval.* This need is characterized by an indiscriminate wish to please others and to live up to their expectations. The person lives for the good opinion of others and is extremely sensitive to any sign of rejection or unfriendliness.

2. *The neurotic need for a "partner" who will take over one's life.* The person with this need is a parasite. He overvalues love, and is extremely afraid of being deserted and left alone.

3. *The neurotic need to restrict one's life within narrow borders.* Such a person is undemanding, content with little, prefers to remain inconspicuous, and values modesty above all else.

4. *The neurotic need for power.* This need expresses itself in craving power for its own sake, in an essential disrespect for others, and in an indiscriminate glorification of strength and a contempt for weakness. People who are afraid to exert power openly may try to control others through intellectual exploitation and superiority. Another variety of the power drive is the need to believe in the omnipotence of will. Such people feel they can accomplish anything simply by exerting will power.

5. *The neurotic need to exploit others.*

6. *The neurotic need for prestige.* One's self-evaluation is determined by the amount of public recognition received.

7. *The neurotic need for personal admiration.* A person with this need has an inflated picture of himself and wishes to be admired on this basis, not for what he really is.

8. *The neurotic ambition for personal achievement.* Such a person wants to be the very best and drives himself to greater and greater achievements as a result of his basic insecurity.

9. *The neurotic need for self-sufficiency and independence.* Having been disappointed in his attempts to find warm, satisfying relationships with people, the person sets himself apart from others and refuses to be tied down to anyone or anything. He becomes a lone wolf.

10. *The neurotic need for perfection and unassailability.* Fearful of making mistakes and of being criticized, the person who has this need tries to make himself impregnable and infallible. He is constantly searching for flaws in himself so that they may be covered up before they become obvious to others.

These ten needs are the sources from which inner conflicts develop. The neurotic's need for love, for example, is insatiable; the more he gets the more he wants. Consequently, he is never satisfied. Likewise, his need for independence can never be fully satisfied because another part of his personality wants to be loved and admired. The search for perfection is a lost cause from the beginning. All of the foregoing needs are unrealistic.

In a later publication (1945), Horney classifies these ten needs under three headings: (1) moving toward people, for example, need for love, (2) moving away from people, for instance, need for independence, and (3) moving against people, for example, need for power. Each of these rubrics represents a basic orientation toward others and oneself. Horney finds in these different orientations the basis for inner conflict. The essential difference between a normal and a neurotic conflict is one of degree. ". . . the disparity between

the conflicting issues is much less great for the normal person than for the neurotic" (1945, p. 31). In other words, everyone has these conflicts but some people, primarily because of early experiences with rejection, neglect, overprotection, and other kinds of unfortunate parental treatment, possess them in an aggravated form.

While the normal person can resolve these conflicts by integrating the three orientations, since they are not mutually exclusive, the neurotic person, because of his greater basic anxiety, must utilize irrational and artificial solutions. He consciously recognizes only one of the trends and denies or represses the other two. Or he creates an idealized image of himself in which the contradictory trends presumably disappear, although actually they do not. In a later book (1950), Horney has a great deal more to say about the unfortunate consequences that flow from the development of an unrealistic conception of the self and from attempts to live up to this idealized picture. The search for glory, feelings of self-contempt, morbid dependency upon other people, and self-abasement are some of the unhealthy and destructive results that grow out of an idealized self. A third solution employed by the neurotic person for his inner conflicts is to externalize them. He says, in effect, "I don't want to exploit other people, they want to exploit me." This solution creates conflicts between the person and the outside world.

All of these conflicts are avoidable or resolvable if the child is raised in a home where there is security, trust, love, respect, tolerance, and warmth. That is, Horney, unlike Freud and Jung, does not feel that conflict is built into the nature of man and is therefore inevitable. Conflict arises out of social conditions. "The person who is likely to become neurotic is one who has experienced the culturally determined difficulties in an accentuated form, mostly through the medium of childhood experience" (1937, p. 290).

HARRY STACK SULLIVAN

Harry Stack Sullivan is the creator of a new viewpoint which is known as the *interpersonal theory of psychiatry*. Its major tenet as it relates to a theory of personality is that personality is "the relatively enduring pattern of recurrent interpersonal situations which characterize a human life" (1953, p. 111). Personality is a hypothetical entity which cannot be isolated from interpersonal situations, and interpersonal behavior is all that can be observed as personality. Consequently, it is vacuous, Sullivan believes, to speak of the individual as

the object of study because the individual does not and cannot exist apart from his relations with other people. From the first day of life, the baby is a part of an interpersonal situation, and throughout the rest of his life he remains a member of a social field. Even a hermit who has resigned from society carries with him into the wilderness memories of former personal relationships which continue to influence his thinking and acting.

Although Sullivan does not deny the importance of heredity and maturation in forming and shaping the organism, he feels that that which is distinctly human is the product of social interactions. Moreover, the interpersonal experiences of a person may and do alter his purely physiological functioning, so that even the organism loses its status as a biological entity and becomes a social organism with its own socialized ways of breathing, digesting, eliminating, circulating, and so forth.

For Sullivan, the science of psychiatry is allied with social psychology, and his theory of personality bears the imprint of his strong preference for social psychological concepts and variables. He writes,

> The general science of psychiatry seems to me to cover much the same field as that which is studied by social psychology, because scientific psychiatry has to be defined as the study of interpersonal relations, and this in the end calls for the use of the kind of conceptual framework that we now call *field theory*. From such a standpoint, personality is taken to be hypothetical. That which can be studied is the pattern of processes which characterize the interaction of personalities in particular recurrent situations or fields which "include" the observer (1950, p. 92).

Harry Stack Sullivan was born on a farm near Norwich, New York, on February 21, 1892, and died on January 14, 1949, in Paris, France, on his way home from a meeting of the executive board of the World Federation for Mental Health in Amsterdam. He received his medical degree from the Chicago College of Medicine and Surgery in 1917, and served with the armed forces during the First World War. Following the war he was a medical officer of the Federal Board for Vocational Education and then became an officer with the Public Health Service. In 1922 Sullivan went to Saint Elizabeth's Hospital in Washington, D. C., where he came under the influence of William Alanson White, a leader in American neuropsychiatry. From 1923 until 1930 he was associated with the Medical School of the University of Maryland and with the Sheppard and Enoch Pratt Hospital in Towson, Maryland. It was during this period of his life that Sullivan conducted investigations of schizophrenia which established his repu-

tation as a medical scientist. In 1933 he became president of the William Alanson White Foundation, serving in that office until 1943. In 1936, he helped found and became director of the Washington School of Psychiatry, which is the training institution of the foundation. The journal *Psychiatry* began publication in 1938 to promote Sullivan's theory of interpersonal relations. He was its coeditor and then editor until his death. Sullivan served as consultant for the Selective Service System in 1940–1941; he was a participant during 1948 in the UNESCO Tensions Project established by the United Nations to study tensions affecting international understanding; and he was appointed a member of the international preparatory commission for the International Congress of Mental Health in the same year. Sullivan was a scientific statesman as well as a prominent spokesman for psychiatry, the leader of an important school for training psychiatrists, a remarkable therapist, an intrepid theorist, and a productive medical scientist. By his vivid personality and original thinking, he attracted a number of people who became his disciples, students, colleagues, and friends.

Aside from William Alanson White, the chief influences on Sullivan's intellectual development were Freud, Adolph Meyer, the social philosopher, George Mead, the cultural anthropologists, Edward Sapir and Ruth Benedict, and the sociologist, Leonard Cottrell. Sullivan felt particularly close to Edward Sapir who was one of the pioneers in advocating a closer working relationship between anthropology, sociology, and psychoanalysis. Sullivan began to formulate his theory of interpersonal relations in 1929 and had consolidated his thinking by the mid-1930's.

During his lifetime Sullivan published only one book setting forth his theory (1947). However, he kept detailed notebooks and many of his lectures to the students of the Washington School of Psychiatry were recorded. These notebooks and recordings, as well as other unpublished material, have been turned over to the William Alanson White Psychiatric Foundation. Two books based upon the Sullivan papers have recently been published. *The interpersonal theory of psychiatry* (1953) consists mainly of a series of lectures given by Sullivan in the winter of 1946–1947 and represents the last complete account of his theory of interpersonal relations. The other book, *The psychiatric interview* (1954), is based upon two lecture series that Sullivan gave in 1944 and 1945. Other books compiled from the Sullivan papers are to be published soon. Patrick Mullahy, a philosopher and disciple of Sullivan, has edited several books dealing with

the theory of interpersonal relations. One of these, *A study of interpersonal relations* (1949), contains a group of papers by people associated with the Washington School and the William Alanson White Institute in New York City. All of the articles were originally printed in *Psychiatry*, including three by Sullivan. Another book entitled *The contributions of Harry Stack Sullivan* (1952) consists of a group of papers presented at a memorial symposium by representatives of various disciplines, including psychiatry, psychology, and sociology. This book contains a succinct account of interpersonal theory by Mullahy and a complete bibliography of Sullivan's writings through 1951. A similar digest of Sullivan's views also appears in Mullahy's book, *Oedipus—myth and complex* (1948). Sullivan's interpersonal theory has been treated at length by Dorothy Blitsten (1953). In spite of Sullivan's own sparse presentation of interpersonal theory in published form during his lifetime, his systematic position is being thoroughly expounded by a number of very literate and dedicated followers.

THE STRUCTURE OF PERSONALITY

Sullivan insists repeatedly that personality is a purely hypothetical entity which cannot be observed or studied apart from interpersonal situations. The unit of study is the interpersonal situation and not the person. The organization of personality consists of interpersonal events rather than intrapsychic ones. Personality only manifests itself when the person is behaving in relation to one or more other individuals. These people do not need to be present; in fact they can even be illusory or nonexistent figures. A person may have a relationship with a folk hero like Paul Bunyan or a fictional character like Anna Karenina or with his ancestors or with his as yet unborn descendants. Perceiving, remembering, thinking, imagining, and all of the other psychological processes are interpersonal in character. Even nocturnal dreams are interpersonal, since they usually reflect the dreamer's relationships with other people.

Although Sullivan grants personality only hypothetical status, nonetheless he asserts that it is a dynamic center of various processes which occur in a series of interpersonal fields. Moreover, he gives substantive status to some of these processes by identifying and naming them and by conceptualizing some of their properties. The principal ones are *dynamisms, personifications,* and *cognitive processes.*

DYNAMISMS. A dynamism is the smallest unit which can be employed in the study of the individual. It is defined as "the relatively enduring pattern of energy tranformations, which recurrently charac-

terize the organism in its duration as a living organism" (1953, p. 103). An energy transformation is any form of behavior. It may be overt and public like talking, or covert and private like thinking and fantasying. Because a dynamism is a pattern of behavior that endures and recurs, it is about the same thing as a habit. Sullivan's definition of pattern is quaintly phrased; he says it is "an envelope of insignificant particular differences" (1953, p. 104). This means that a new feature may be added to a pattern without changing the pattern just as long as it is not significantly different from the other contents of the envelope. If it is significantly different it changes the pattern into a new pattern. For example, two apples may be quite different in appearance and yet be identified as apples because their differences are not important. However, an apple and a banana are different in significant respects and consequently form two different patterns.

The dynamisms which are distinctively human in character are those which characterize one's interpersonal relations. For example, one may behave in a habitually hostile way toward a certain person or group of persons, which is an expression of a dynamism of malevolence. A man who tends to seek out lascivious relationships with women displays a dynamism of lust. A child who is afraid of strangers has a dynamism of fear. Any habitual reaction towards one or more persons, whether it be in the form of a feeling, an attitude, or an overt action, constitutes a dynamism. All people have the same basic dynamisms but the mode of expression of a dynamism varies in accordance with the situation and the life experience of the individual.

A dynamism usually employs a particular zone of the body such as the mouth, the hands, the anus, and the genitals by means of which it interacts with the environment. A zone consists of a receptor apparatus for receiving stimuli, an effector apparatus for performing action, and a connecting apparatus called *eductors* in the central nervous system which connects the receptor mechanism with the effector mechanism. Thus, when the nipple is brought to the baby's mouth it stimulates the sensitive membrane of the lips which discharges impulses along nerve pathways to the motor organs of the mouth which produce sucking movements.

Most dynamisms serve the purpose of satisfying the basic needs of the organism. However, there is an important dynamism which develops as a result of anxiety. This is called the dynamism of the self or the self-system.

The self-system. Anxiety is a product of interpersonal relations, being transmitted originally from the mother to the infant and later

in life by threats to one's security. In order to avoid or minimize actual or potential anxiety, the person adopts various types of protective measures and supervisory controls over his behavior. He learns, for example, that he can avoid punishment by conforming to his parents' wishes. These security measures form the self-system which sanctions certain forms of behavior (the good-me self) and forbids other forms (the bad-me self).

The self-system as the guardian of one's security tends to become isolated from the rest of the personality; it excludes information that is incongruous with its present organization and fails thereby to profit from experience. Since the self guards the person from anxiety, it is held in high esteem and is protected from criticism. As the self-system grows in complexity and independence, it prevents the person from making objective judgments of his own behavior and it glosses over obvious contradictions between what the person really is and what his self-system says he is. In general, the more experiences the person has with anxiety, the more inflated his self-system becomes and the more it becomes dissociated from the rest of his personality. Although the self-system serves the useful purpose of reducing anxiety, it interferes with one's ability to live constructively with others.

Sullivan believes that the self-system is a product of the irrational aspects of society. By this he means that the young child is made to feel anxious for reasons that would not exist in a more rational society; he is forced to adopt unnatural and unrealistic ways of dealing with his anxiety. Although Sullivan recognizes that the development of a self-system is absolutely necessary for avoiding anxiety in modern society, and perhaps in any kind of society which man is capable of fashioning, he also acknowledges that the self-system as we know it today is "the principal stumbling block to favorable changes in personality" (1953, p. 169).

PERSONIFICATIONS. A personification is an image that an individual has of himself or of another person. It is a complex of feelings, attitudes, and conceptions that grows out of experiences with need-satisfaction and anxiety. For example, the baby develops a personification of a good mother by being nursed and cared for by her. Any interpersonal relationship which involves satisfaction tends to build up a favorable picture of the satisfying agent. On the other hand, the baby's personification of a bad mother results from experiences with her that evoke anxiety. The anxious mother becames personified as the bad mother. Ultimately, these two personifications of the mother along with any others that may be formed, such as the