

At the turn of the 20th century, behaviorism was becoming the dominant approach to psychology in the US; psychologists in Europe, however, were taking a different direction. This was largely due to the work of Sigmund Freud, whose theories focused on psychopathology and treatment rather than the study of mental processes and behavior. Unlike behaviorism, his ideas were based on observation and case histories rather than experimental evidence.

Freud had worked with the French neurologist Jean Martin Charcot, and was much influenced by the latter's use of hypnosis for the treatment of hysteria. From his time with Charcot, Freud realized the importance of the unconscious, an area of nonconscious thought

that he felt was key to our behavior. Freud believed that accessing the unconscious by talking to his patients would bring painful, hidden memories into conscious awareness where the patient could make sense of them, and so gain relief from their symptoms.

New psychotherapies

Freud's ideas spread across Europe and the US. He attracted a circle at his Vienna Psychoanalytic Society, which included Alfred Adler and Carl Jung. However, both these men came to disagree with elements of Freud's theories, going on to develop their own distinct psychodynamic approaches based on Freud's groundwork. Well-known therapists Melanie Klein and Karen Horney, and even Freud's daughter Anna, also broke away from Freud.

Despite these differences of opinion, however, Freud's basic ideas were modified rather than rejected by the next generation of psychoanalysts, and subsequent theories place the emphasis on different areas. Erik Erikson, for example, took a more social and developmental approach, while Jung was to formulate the idea of a collective unconscious.

For the first half of the 20th century, psychoanalysis in its various forms remained the main alternative to behaviorism, and it faced no serious challenges until after World War II. In the 1950s, Freudian psychotherapy was still practiced by therapists, especially in France by Jacques Lacan and his followers, but new therapies appeared that sought to bring about genuine change in patients'

Carl Rogers develops **client-centered therapy**, outlining his theories in *Counseling and Psychotherapy*.

Melanie Klein presents a controversial paper on *Envy and Gratitude*, affirming the innate presence of the "**death instinct**."

Albert Ellis outlines **Rational Emotive Behavior Therapy** in *A Guide to Rational Living*.

American **existential psychology** emerges with the publication of Rollo May's *Existence*.

1942

1946

1955

1959

1961

1964

1967

1970

After his release from Auschwitz, Viktor Frankl writes *Man's Search for Meaning*, outlining the necessity of **finding meaning in suffering**.

R.D. Laing attempts to describe the structure of the **schizophrenic experience** in *The Divided Self*.

Virginia Satir, the "mother of **family system therapy**," publishes *Conjoint Family Therapy*.

Abraham Maslow defines the concept of **self-actualization** in *Motivation and Personality*.

lives. The somewhat eclectic Gestalt therapy was developed by Fritz and Laura Perls and Paul Goodman, while existential philosophy inspired psychologists such as Viktor Frankl and Erich Fromm, who gave therapy a more sociopolitical agenda.

Most importantly, a group of psychologists keen to explore a more humanistic approach held a series of meetings in the US in the late 1950s, setting out a framework for an association known as "the third force," which was dedicated to exploring themes such as self-actualization, creativity, and personal freedom. Its founders—including Abraham Maslow, Carl Rogers, and Rollo May—stressed the importance of mental health as much as the treatment of mental disorders.


Perhaps the most significant threat to psychoanalysis at this time came from cognitive psychology, which criticized psychoanalysis for its lack of objective evidence—either for its theories or its efficacy as treatment. In contrast, cognitive psychology provided scientifically proven theories and, later, clinically effective therapeutic practices.

Cognitive psychotherapy

Cognitive psychologists dismissed psychoanalysis as unscientific and its theories as unprovable. One of the key concepts of Freudian analysis—repressed memory—was questioned by Paul Watzlawick, and the validity of all forms of memory was shown to be unstable by Elizabeth Loftus. Cognitive psychology instead offered evidence-based psychotherapies

such as Albert Ellis's Rational Emotive Behavior Therapy (REBT) and Aaron Beck's cognitive therapy. Freud's emphasis on childhood development and personal history inspired much developmental and social psychology, and in the late 20th century psychotherapists such as Guy Corneau, Virginia Satir, and Donald Winnicott turned their attention to the family environment; while others, including Timothy Leary and Dorothy Rowe, focused on social pressures.

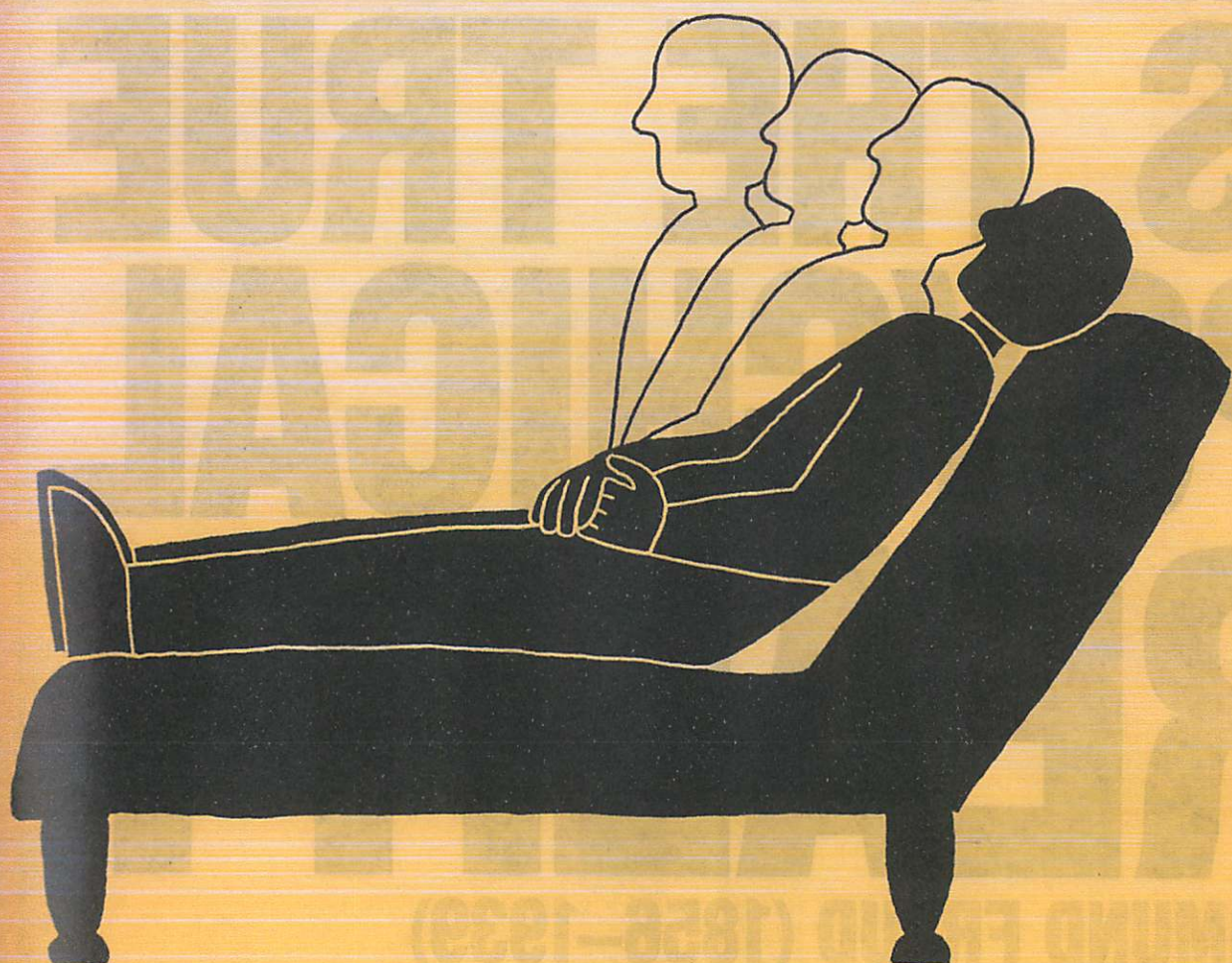
Though Freud's original ideas have often been questioned over the years, the evolution from Freudian psychoanalysis to cognitive therapy and humanistic psychotherapy has led to huge improvements in mental health treatments; and has provided a model for the unconscious, our drives, and behavior. ■



THE UNCONSCIOUS IS THE TRUE PSYCHICAL REALITY

SIGMUND FREUD (1856–1939)





IN CONTEXT

APPROACH

Psychoanalysis

BEFORE

2500–600 BCE The Hindu Vedas describe consciousness as “an abstract, silent, completely unified field of consciousness.”

1567 Swiss physician Paracelsus provides the first medical description of the unconscious.

1880s French neurologist Jean-Martin Charcot uses hypnosis to treat hysteria and other abnormal mental conditions.

AFTER

1913 John B. Watson criticizes Freud's ideas of the unconscious as unscientific and not provable.

1944 Carl Jung claims that the presence of universal archetypes proves the existence of the unconscious.

The unconscious is one of the most intriguing concepts in psychology. It seems to contain all of our experience of reality, although it appears to be beyond our awareness or control. It is the place where we retain all our memories, thoughts, and feelings. The notion fascinated Austrian neurologist and psychiatrist Sigmund Freud, who wanted to find out if it was possible to explain things that seemed to lie beyond the confines of psychology at the time. Those who had begun to examine the unconscious feared that it might be filled with psychic

activity that was too powerful, too frightening, or too incomprehensible for our conscious mind to be able to incorporate. Freud's work on the subject was pioneering. He described the structure of the mind as formed of the conscious, the unconscious, and the preconscious, and he popularized the idea of the unconscious, introducing the notion that it is the part of the mind that defines and explains the workings behind our ability to think and experience.

Hypnosis and hysteria

Freud's introduction to the world of the unconscious came in 1885 when he came across the work of the French neurologist Jean-Martin Charcot, who seemed to be successfully treating patients for symptoms of mental illness using hypnosis. Charcot's view was that hysteria was a neurological disorder caused by abnormalities of the nervous system, and this idea provided important new possibilities for treatments. Freud returned to Vienna, eager to use this new knowledge, but struggled to find a workable technique.

He then encountered Joseph Breuer, a well-respected physician, who had found that he could greatly reduce the severity of one of his patient's symptoms of mental illness simply by asking her to describe her fantasies and hallucinations. Breuer began using hypnosis to facilitate her access to memories of a traumatic event, and after twice-weekly hypnosis sessions all her symptoms had been alleviated. Breuer concluded that her symptoms had been the result of disturbing memories buried in her unconscious mind, and that voicing the thoughts brought them to consciousness, allowing the symptoms to disappear. This is



Anna O, actually Bertha Pappenheim, was diagnosed with paralysis and hysteria. She was treated successfully, with what she described as a “talking cure,” by physician Josef Breuer.

the case of Anna O, and is the first instance of intensive psychotherapy as a treatment for mental illness.

Breuer became Freud's friend and colleague, and together the two developed and popularized a method of psychological treatment based on the idea that many forms of mental illness (irrational fears, anxiety, hysteria, imagined paralyses and pains, and certain types of paranoia) were the results of traumatic experiences that had occurred in the patient's past and were now hidden away from consciousness. Through Freud and Breuer's technique, outlined in the jointly published *Studies in Hysteria* (1895), they claimed to have found a way to release the repressed memory from the unconscious, allowing the patient to consciously recall the memory and confront the experience, both emotionally and intellectually. The process set free the trapped emotion, and the symptoms disappeared. Breuer disagreed with what he felt was Freud's eventual

See also: Johann Friedrich Herbart 24–25 ■ Jean-Martin Charcot 30 ■ Carl Jung 102–07 ■ Melanie Klein 108–09 ■ Anna Freud 111 ■ Jacques Lacan 122–23 ■ Paul Watzlawick 149 ■ Aaron Beck 174–75 ■ Elizabeth Loftus 202–07

overemphasis on the sexual origins and content of neuroses (problems caused by psychological conflicts), and the two parted; Freud to continue developing the ideas and techniques of psychoanalysis.

Our everyday mind

It is easy to take for granted the reality of the conscious, and naively believe that what we think, feel, remember, and experience make up the entirety of the human mind. But Freud says that the active state of consciousness—that is, the operational mind of which we are directly aware in our everyday experience—is just a fraction of the total psychological forces at work in our psychical reality. The conscious exists at the superficial level, to which we have easy and immediate access. Beneath the conscious lies the

powerful dimensions of the unconscious, the warehouse from which our active cognitive state and behavior are dictated. The conscious is effectively the puppet in the hands of the unconscious. The conscious mind is merely the surface of a complex psychic realm.

Since the unconscious is all-encompassing, Freud says, it contains within it the smaller spheres of the conscious and an area called the “preconscious.” Everything that is conscious—that we actively know—has at one time been unconscious before rising to consciousness. However, not everything becomes consciously known; much of what is unconscious remains there. Memories that are not in our everyday working memory, but which have not been repressed,

“The poets and philosophers before me discovered the unconscious; what I discovered was the scientific method by which it could be studied.”
Sigmund Freud

reside in a part of the conscious mind that Freud called the preconscious. We are able to bring these memories into conscious awareness at any time. »

When ideas, memories, or impulses are **too overwhelming or inappropriate** for the conscious mind to withstand, they are **repressed**...

...and **stored in the unconscious** alongside our instinctual drives, where they are not accessible by immediate consciousness.

The difference between our unconscious and conscious thoughts creates **psychic tension**...

The unconscious silently **directs the thoughts and behavior** of the individual.

...that can only be released when repressed memories are **allowed into consciousness** through psychoanalysis.

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The mind is like an iceberg; it floats with one-seventh of its bulk above water.

Sigmund Freud

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Our psyche, according to Freud, resembles an iceberg, with the area of primitive drives, the id, lying hidden in the unconscious. The ego deals with conscious thoughts and regulates both the id and the superego—our critical, judging voice.

The unconscious acts as a receptacle for ideas or memories that are too powerful, too painful, or otherwise too much for the conscious mind to process. Freud believed that when certain ideas or memories (and their associated emotions) threaten to overwhelm the psyche, they are split apart from a memory that can be accessed by the conscious mind, and stored in the unconscious instead.

Dynamic thought

Freud was also influenced by the physiologist Ernst Brücke, who was one of the founders of the 19th-century's "new physiology," which looked for mechanistic explanations for all organic phenomena. Brücke claimed that like every other living organism, the human being is essentially an energy system, and so must abide by the Principle of the Conservation of Energy. This law states that the total amount of

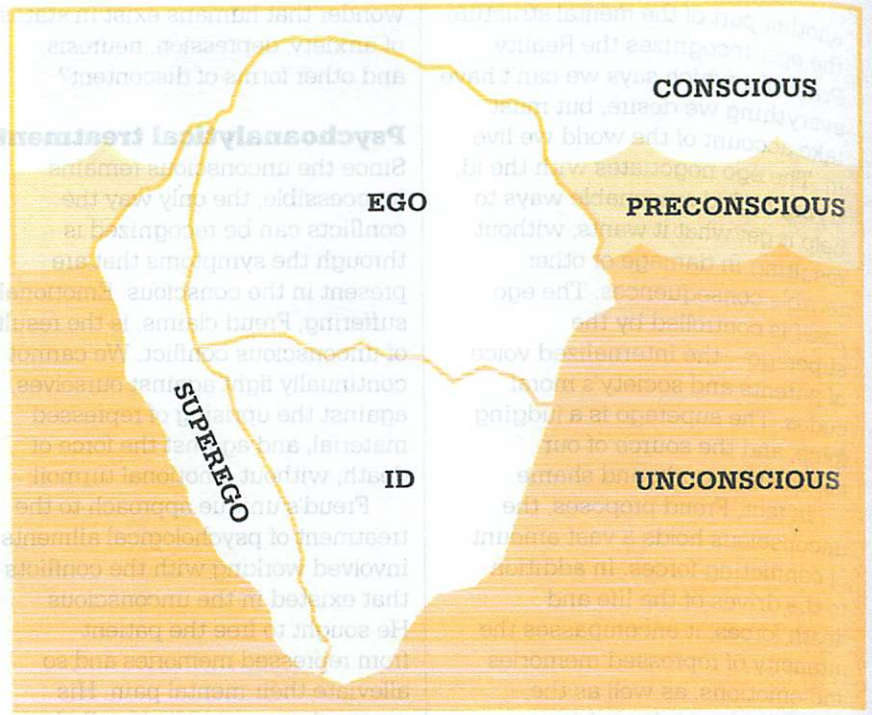
energy in a system stays constant over time; it cannot be destroyed, only moved or transformed. Freud applied this thinking to mental processes, resulting in the idea of "psychic energy." This energy, he said, can undergo modification, transmission, and conversion, but cannot be destroyed. So if we have a thought that the conscious mind finds unacceptable, the mind redirects it away from conscious thought into the unconscious, in a process Freud called "repression." We may repress the memory of a childhood trauma (such as abuse or witnessing an accident), a desire we have judged as unacceptable (perhaps for your best friend's partner), or ideas that otherwise threaten our well-being or way of life.

Motivating drives

The unconscious is also the place where our instinctual biological drives reside. The drives govern

our behavior, directing us toward choices that promise to satisfy our basic needs. The drives ensure our survival: the need for food and water; the desire for sex to ensure the continuation of our species; and the necessity to find warmth, shelter, and companionship. But Freud claims the unconscious also holds a contrasting drive, the death drive, which is present from birth. This drive is self-destructive and impels us forward, though as we do so we are moving closer to our death.

In his later works, Freud moved away from the idea that the mind was structured by the conscious, unconscious, and preconscious to propose a new controlling structure: the id, ego, and superego. The id (formed of primitive impulses) obeys the Pleasure Principle, which says that every wishful impulse must be immediately gratified: it wants everything now. However,



another part of the mental structure, the ego, recognizes the Reality Principle, which says we can't have everything we desire, but must take account of the world we live in. The ego negotiates with the id, trying to find reasonable ways to help it get what it wants, without resulting in damage or other terrible consequences. The ego itself is controlled by the superego—the internalized voice of parents and society's moral codes. The superego is a judging force, and the source of our conscience, guilt, and shame.

In fact, Freud proposes, the unconscious holds a vast amount of conflicting forces. In addition to the drives of the life and death forces, it encompasses the intensity of repressed memories and emotions, as well as the contradictions inherent in our views of conscious reality alongside our repressed reality. According to Freud, the conflict that arises from these contrasting forces is the psychological conflict that underlies human suffering. Is it any

wonder that humans exist in states of anxiety, depression, neurosis, and other forms of discontent?

Psychoanalytical treatment

Since the unconscious remains inaccessible, the only way the conflicts can be recognized is through the symptoms that are present in the conscious. Emotional suffering, Freud claims, is the result of unconscious conflict. We cannot continually fight against ourselves, against the uprising of repressed material, and against the force of death, without emotional turmoil.

Freud's unique approach to the treatment of psychological ailments involved working with the conflicts that existed in the unconscious. He sought to free the patient from repressed memories and so alleviate their mental pain. His approach to treatment is called psychoanalytic psychotherapy, or psychoanalysis. This process is not easy or quick. Psychoanalysis is only performed by a therapist trained in Freud's specific approach, and it is his therapy

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A man should not strive to eliminate his complexes, but to get into accord with them; they are legitimately what directs his conduct in the world.

Sigmund Freud

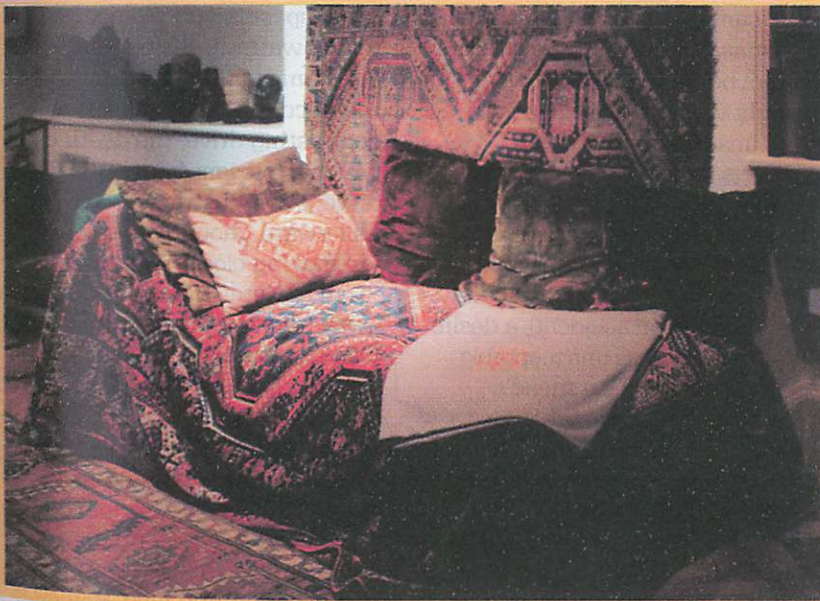
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that encourages a patient to lie on a couch and talk. From Freud's first treatments, psychoanalysis has been practiced in sessions that can sometimes last for hours, take place several times per week, and continue for many years.

While unconscious thoughts cannot be retrieved through normal introspection, the unconscious can communicate with the conscious in some ways. It quietly communicates via our preferences, the frames of reference in which we tend to understand things, and the symbols that we are drawn to or create.

During analysis, the analyst acts as a mediator, trying to allow unspoken thoughts or unbearable feelings to come to light. Messages arising from a conflict between the conscious and the unconscious are likely to be disguised, or encoded, and it is the psychoanalyst's job to interpret the messages using the tools of psychoanalysis. »

Freud's patients would recline on this couch in his treatment room while they talked. Freud would sit out of sight while he listened for clues to the source of the patient's internal conflicts.



There are several techniques that allow the unconscious to emerge. One of the first to be discussed by Freud at length was dream analysis; he famously studied his own dreams in his book, *The Interpretation of Dreams*. He claimed that every dream enacts a wish fulfillment, and the more unpalatable the wish is to our conscious mind, the more hidden or distorted the desire becomes in our dreams. So the unconscious, he says, sends messages to our conscious mind in code. For instance, Freud discusses dreams where the dreamer is naked—the primary source for these dreams in most people is memories from early

Salvador Dali's *The Persistence of Memory* (1931) is a surrealist vision of time passing, leading to decay and death. Its fantastical quality suggests the Freudian process of dream analysis.

childhood, when nakedness was not frowned upon and there was no sense of shame. In dreams where the dreamer feels embarrassment, the other people in the dream generally seem oblivious, lending support to a wish-fulfilment interpretation where the dreamer wants to leave behind shame and restriction. Even buildings and structures have coded meanings; stairwells, mine shafts, locked doors, or a small building in a narrow recess all represent repressed sexual feelings, according to Freud.

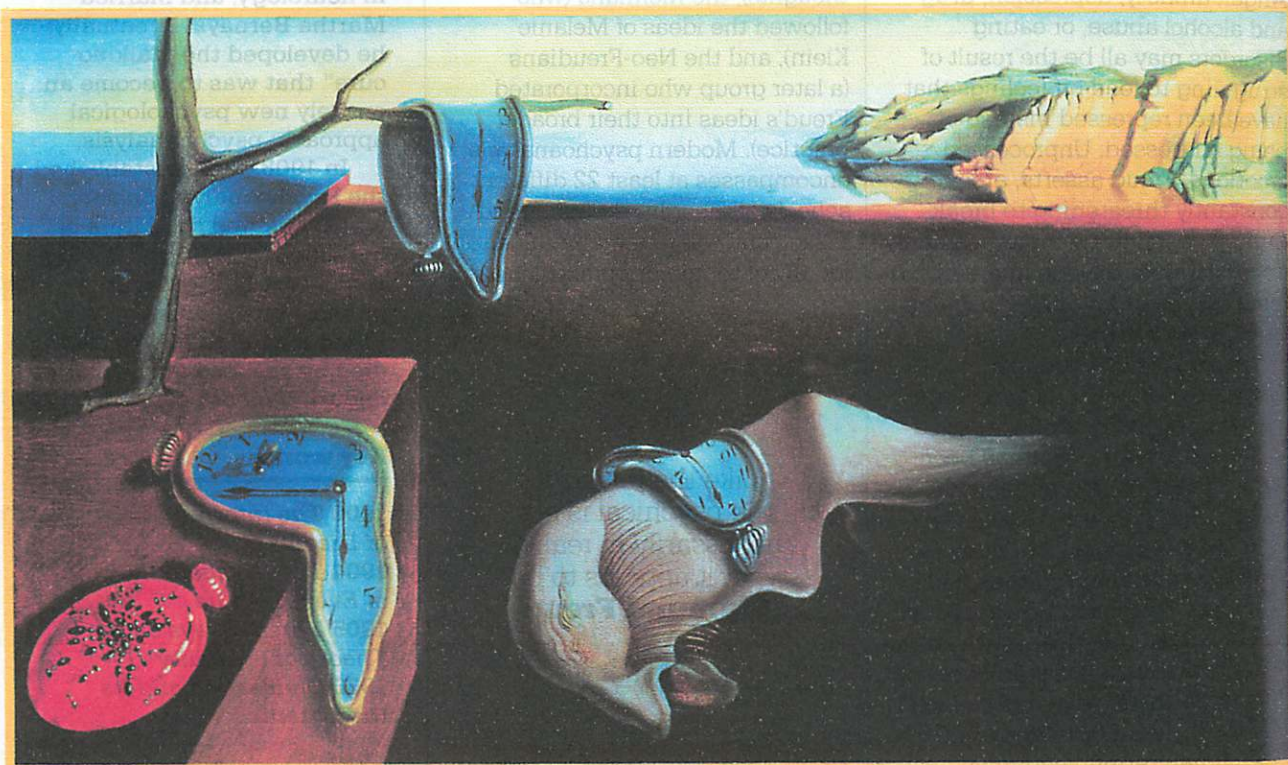
Accessing the unconscious

Other well-known ways in which the unconscious reveals itself are through Freudian slips and the process of free association. A Freudian slip is a verbal error, or "slip of the tongue," and it is said to reveal a repressed belief, thought,

The interpretation of dreams is the royal road to knowledge of the unconscious activities of the mind.

Sigmund Freud

or emotion. It is an involuntary substitution of one word for another that sounds similar but inadvertently reveals something the person really feels. For instance, a man might thank a woman he finds desirable for making "the *breast* dinner ever," the slip revealing his



true thoughts. Freud used the free-association technique (developed by Carl Jung), whereby patients heard a word and were then invited to say the first word that came into their mind. He believed that this process allowed the unconscious to break through because our mind uses automatic associations, so "hidden" thoughts are voiced before the conscious mind has a chance to interrupt.

In order to help an individual emerge from a repressed state and begin to consciously deal with the real issues that are affecting him or her, Freud believed that it is necessary to access repressed feelings. For example, if a man finds it difficult to confront others, he will choose to repress his feelings rather than deal with the confrontation. Over time, however, these repressed emotions build up and reveal themselves in other ways. Anger, anxiety, depression, drug and alcohol abuse, or eating disorders may all be the result of struggling to fend off feelings that have been repressed instead of being addressed. Unprocessed emotions, Freud asserts, are constantly threatening to break through, generating an increasingly uncomfortable tension and inciting more and more extreme measures to keep them down.

Analysis allows trapped memories and feelings to emerge, and the patient is often surprised to feel the emotion that has been buried. It is not uncommon for patients to find themselves moved to tears by an issue from many years ago that they felt they had long since "got over." This response demonstrates that the event and the emotion are still alive—still holding emotional energy—and have been repressed rather than dealt with. In Freudian terms, "catharsis"

describes the act of releasing and feeling the deep emotions associated with repressed memories. If the significant event—such as the death of a parent—was not fully experienced at the time because it was too overwhelming, the difficulty and the energy remain, to be released at the moment of catharsis.

School of psychoanalysis

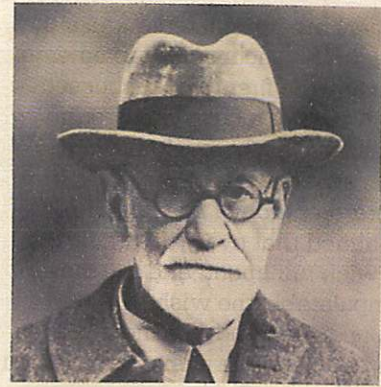
Freud founded the prominent Psychoanalytic Society in Vienna, from which he exerted his powerful influence on the mental health community of the time, training others in his methods and acting as the authority on what was acceptable practice. Over time, his students and other professionals modified his ideas, eventually splitting the Society into three: the Freudians (who remained true to Freud's original thoughts), the Kleinians (who followed the ideas of Melanie Klein), and the Neo-Freudians (a later group who incorporated Freud's ideas into their broader practice). Modern psychoanalysis encompasses at least 22 different schools of thought, though Freud's ideas continue to remain influential for all contemporary practitioners. ■

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Like the physical,
the psychical is not
necessarily in reality
what it appears to be.

Sigmund Freud

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Sigmund Freud

Born Sigismund Schlomo Freud in Freiberg, Moravia, Freud was openly his mother's favorite child; she called him "Golden Siggie." When Freud was four years old, the family moved to Vienna and Sigismund became Sigmund. Sigmund completed a medical degree and in 1886 he opened a medical practice specializing in neurology, and married Martha Bernays. Eventually, he developed the "talking cure" that was to become an entirely new psychological approach: psychoanalysis.

In 1908, Freud established the Psychoanalytic Society, which ensured the future of his school of thought. During World War II, the Nazis publicly burned his work, and Freud moved to London. He died by assisted suicide, after enduring mouth cancer.

Key works

1900 *The Interpretation of Dreams*

1904 *The Psychopathology of Everyday Life*

1905 *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality*

1930 *Civilization and Its Discontents*



THE NEUROTIC CARRIES A FEELING OF INFERIORITY WITH HIM CONSTANTLY

ALFRED ADLER (1870–1937)

IN CONTEXT

APPROACH

Individual psychology

BEFORE

1896 William James says that self-esteem is about a ratio of "goals satisfied" to "goals unmet" and can be raised by lowering expectations as well as through achievements.

1902 Charles Horton Cooley describes the "looking glass self," the way we view ourselves is based on how we imagine other people view us.

AFTER

1943 Abraham Maslow says that to feel both necessary and good about ourselves we need achievements as well as respect from others.

1960s British psychologist Michael Argyle states that comparison shapes self-esteem; we feel better when we feel more successful than others, and worse when we feel less successful than others.

Freudian thinking dominated psychotherapy in the late 19th century, but Freud's approach was limited to addressing unconscious drives and the legacy of an individual's past. Alfred Adler was the first psychoanalyst to expand psychological theory beyond the Freudian viewpoint, suggesting that a person's

psychology was also influenced by present and conscious forces, and that the influence of the social realm and environment was equally vital. Adler founded his own approach, individual psychology, based on these ideas.

Adler's particular interest in inferiority and the positive and negative effects of self-esteem

Every child feels **inferior** because stronger, smarter people surround them.

Inferiority **motivates** them to try to do and achieve things.

In a **balanced psyche**, success relieves feelings of inferiority...

... and **confidence** develops.

In an **imbalanced psyche**, success doesn't relieve feelings of inferiority...

...and an **inferiority complex** develops.

See also: Karen Horney 110 ■ Eric Fromm 124–29 ■ Abraham Maslow 138–39 ■ Rollo May 141 ■ Albert Ellis 142–45



A paralympic athlete may be driven by a powerful desire to overcome her disabilities and reach greater levels of physical achievement. Adler described this trait as “compensation.”

Adler began early in his career, when he worked with patients who had physical disabilities. Looking at the effects that disability had on achievement and sense of self, he found huge differences between his patients. Some people with disabilities were able to reach high levels of athletic success, and Adler noted that in these personalities, the disability served as a strong motivational force. At the other extreme, he witnessed patients who felt defeated by their disability and who made little effort to improve their situation. Adler realized that the differences came down to how these individuals viewed themselves: in other words, their self-esteem.

The inferiority complex

According to Adler, feeling inferior is a universal human experience that is rooted in childhood. Children naturally feel inferior

because they are constantly surrounded by stronger, more powerful people with greater abilities. A child generally seeks to emulate and achieve the abilities of its elders, motivated by the surrounding forces that propel him toward his own development and accomplishments.

Children and adults with a healthy and balanced personality gain confidence each time they realize that they are capable of meeting external goals. Feelings of inferiority dissipate until the next challenge presents itself and is overcome; this process of psychic growth is continual. However, an individual with a physical inferiority may develop more generalized feelings of inferiority—leading to an unbalanced personality and what Adler termed an “inferiority complex,” where the feelings of inferiority are never relieved.

Adler also recognized the equally unbalanced “superiority complex,” manifested in a constant need to strive toward goals. When attained, these goals do not instill confidence in the individual, but merely prompt him to continually seek further external recognition and achievements. ■

To be human is to feel inferior.

Alfred Adler



Alfred Adler

After coming close to death from pneumonia at the age of five, Alfred Adler expressed a wish to become a physician. Growing up in Vienna, he went on to study medicine, branching into ophthalmology before finally settling with psychology. In 1897, he married Raissa Epstein, a Russian intellectual and social activist, and they had four children.

Adler was one of the original members of the Freudian-based Vienna Psychoanalytical Society and the first to depart from it, asserting that individuals are affected by social factors as well as the unconscious drives that Freud identified. After this split in 1911, Adler flourished professionally, establishing his own school of psychotherapy and developing many of psychology's prominent concepts. He left Austria in 1932 for the US. He died of a heart attack while lecturing at Aberdeen University, Scotland.


Key works

1912 *The Neurotic Character*
1927 *The Practice and Theory of Individual Psychology*
1927 *Understanding Human Nature*



THE COLLECTIVE UNCONSCIOUS IS MADE UP OF ARCHETYPES

CARL JUNG (1875–1961)





IN CONTEXT

APPROACH

Psychoanalysis

BEFORE

1899 Sigmund Freud explores the nature of the unconscious and dream symbolism in *The Interpretation of Dreams*.

1903 Pierre Janet suggests that traumatic incidents generate emotionally charged beliefs, which influence an individual's emotions and behaviors for many years.

AFTER

1949 Jungian scholar Joseph Campbell publishes *Hero With a Thousand Faces*, detailing archetypal themes in literature from many different cultures throughout history.

1969 British psychologist John Bowlby states that human instinct is expressed as patterned action and thought in social exchanges.

Myths and symbols are strikingly similar in cultures around the world and across the centuries.

Therefore, they must be a result of the **knowledge and experiences we share** as a species.

The memory of this shared experience is held...

...in the **collective unconscious**, which is part of each and every person.

...in the form of **archetypes**—symbols that act as organizing forms for behavioral patterns.

Each of us is born with the innate tendency to use these archetypes to **understand the world**.

Sigmund Freud introduced the idea that rather than being guided by forces outside ourselves, such as God or fate, we are motivated and controlled by the inner workings of our own minds, specifically, the unconscious. He claimed that our experiences are affected by primal drives contained in the unconscious. His protégé, the Swiss psychiatrist Carl Jung, took this idea further, delving into the elements that make up the unconscious and its workings.

Jung was fascinated by the way that societies around the world share certain striking similarities,

despite being culturally very different. They share an uncanny commonality in their myths and symbols, and have for thousands of years. He thought that this must be due to something larger than the individual experience of man; the symbols, he decided, must exist as part of the human psyche.

It seemed to Jung that the existence of these shared myths proved that part of the human psyche contains ideas that are held in a timeless structure, which acts as a form of "collective memory."

Jung introduced the notion that one distinct and separate part of the

unconscious exists within each of us, which is not based on any of our own individual experiences—this is the "collective unconscious."

The commonly found myths and symbols are, for Jung, part of this universally shared collective unconscious. He believed that the symbols exist as part of hereditary memories that are passed on from generation to generation, changing only slightly in their attributes across different cultures and time periods. These inherited memories emerge within the psyche in the language of symbols, which Jung calls "archetypes."

See also: Pierre Janet 54-55 ■ Sigmund Freud 92-99 ■ Jacques Lacan 122-23 ■ Steven Pinker 211

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The personal unconscious rests upon a deeper layer... I call the collective unconscious.

Carl Jung

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Ancient memories

Jung believes that the archetypes are layers of inherited memory, and they constitute the entirety of the human experience. The Latin word *archetypum* translates as “first-molded,” and Jung believed that archetypes are memories from the experiences of our first ancestors. They act as templates within the psyche that we use unconsciously to organize and understand our own experience. We may fill out the gaps with details from our individual lives, but it is this preexisting substructure in the unconscious that is the framework that allows us to make sense of our experience.

Archetypes can be thought of as inherited emotional or behavioral patterns. They allow us to recognize a particular set of behaviors or emotional expressions as a unified pattern that has meaning. It seems that we do this instinctively, but Jung says that what seems to be instinct is actually the unconscious use of archetypes.

Jung suggests that the psyche is composed of three components: the ego, the personal unconscious,

and the collective unconscious. The ego, he says, represents the conscious mind or self, while the personal unconscious contains the individual's own memories, including those that have been suppressed. The collective unconscious is the part of the psyche that houses the archetypes.

The archetypes

There are many archetypes, and though they can blend and mold into each other in different cultures, each of us contains within us the model of each archetype. Since we use these symbolic forms to make sense of the world and our experiences, they appear in all human forms of expression, such as art, literature, and drama.

The nature of an archetype is such that we recognize it instantly and are able to attach to it a specific, emotional meaning. Archetypes can be associated with many kinds of behavioral and emotional patterns, but there are certain prominent ones that are highly recognizable, such as The Wise Old Man, The Goddess, The Madonna, the Great Mother, and The Hero.

The Persona is one of the most important archetypes described by Jung. He recognized early in his own life that he had a tendency to share only a certain part of his personality with the outside world. He also recognized this trait in other people, and noted that human beings divide their personalities into components, selectively sharing only certain components of their selves according to the environment and situation. The self that we present to the world—our public image—is an archetype, which Jung calls the “Persona.”

Jung believes that the self has both masculine and feminine parts, and is molded into becoming fully male or female by society as much as biology. When we become wholly male or female we turn our backs on half of our potential, though we can still access this part of the self through an archetype. The Animus exists as the masculine component of the female personality, and the Anima as the feminine attributes of the male psyche. This is the “other half,” the half that was taken from us as we grew into a girl or boy. These archetypes help us to understand the nature of the opposite sex, and because they contain “deposits of all the impressions ever made” by a man or woman, so they necessarily reflect the traditional ideas of masculine and feminine. »



Eve is one representation of the Anima, the female part of a man's unconscious. Jung says she is “full of snares and traps, in order that man should fall... and life should be lived.”

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All the most powerful ideas in history go back to archetypes.

Carl Jung

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The Animus is represented in our culture as the “real man;” he is the muscle man, the commander of soldiers, the cool logician, and the romantic seducer. The Anima appears as a wood nymph, a virgin, a seductress. She can be close to nature, intuitive, and spontaneous. She appears in paintings and stories as Eve, or Helen of Troy, or a personality such as Marilyn Monroe, bewitching men or sucking the life from them. As these archetypes exist in our unconscious, they can affect our

moods and reactions, and can manifest themselves as prophetic statements (Anima) or unbending rationality (Animus).

Jung defines one archetype as representing the part of ourselves we do not want the world to see. He calls it the Shadow, and it is the opposite of the Persona, representing all our secret or repressed thoughts and the shameful aspects of our character. It appears in the Bible as the devil, and in literature as Dr. Jekyll’s Mr. Hyde. The Shadow is the “bad” side of ourselves that we project onto others, and yet it is not entirely negative; it may represent aspects that we choose to suppress only because they are unacceptable in a particular situation.

Of all the archetypes, the most important is the True Self. This is a central, organizing archetype that attempts to harmonize all other aspects into a unified, whole self. According to Jung, the real goal of human existence is to achieve an advanced, enlightened psychological state of being that he refers to as “self-realization,” and the route to this lies in the archetype of the

True Self. When fully realized, this archetype is the source of wisdom and truth, and is able to connect the self to the spiritual. Jung stressed that self-realization does not happen automatically, it must be consciously sought.

Archetypes in dreams

The archetypes are of significant importance in the interpretation of dreams. Jung believed that dreams are a dialogue between the conscious self and the eternal (the ego and the collective unconscious), and that the archetypes operate as symbols within the dream, facilitating the dialogue.

The archetypes have specific meanings in the context of dreams. For instance, the archetype of The Wise Old Man or Woman may be represented in a dream by a spiritual leader, parent, teacher, or doctor—it indicates those who offer guidance, direction, and wisdom. The Great Mother, an archetype who might appear as the dreamer’s own mother or grandmother, represents the nurturer. She provides reassurance, comfort, and validation. The Divine Child, the archetype that represents your True Self in its purest form, symbolizing innocence or vulnerability, would appear as a baby or child in dreams, suggesting openness or potential. And lest the ego grow too large, it is kept in check by the appearance of the Trickster, a playful archetype that exposes the dreamer’s vulnerabilities and plays jokes, preventing the individual from taking himself and his desires too seriously. The Trickster also



Dr. Jekyll transforms into the evil Mr. Hyde in a story by Robert Louis Stevenson that explores the idea of the “darker self,” through a character that embodies Jung’s Shadow archetype.



appears as the Norse half-god Loki, the Greek god Pan, the African spider god Anansi, or simply a magician or clown.

Using the archetypes

The archetypes exist in our minds before conscious thought, and can therefore have an immensely powerful impact on our perception of experience. Whatever we may consciously think is happening, what we choose to perceive—and therefore experience—is governed by these preformed ideas within the unconscious. In this way, the



By understanding the unconscious we free ourselves from its domination.

Carl Jung



The tale of Snow White can be found all over the world with minor variations. Jung attributed the universal popularity of fairy tales and myths to their use of archetypal characters.

collective unconscious and its contents affect the conscious state. According to Jung, much of what we generally attribute to deliberate, reasoned, conscious thinking is actually already being guided by unconscious activity, especially the organizing forms of the archetypes.

In addition to his ideas of the collective unconscious and the archetypes, Jung was the first to explore the practice of word association, and he also introduced the concepts of the extrovert and introvert personality types. These ultimately inspired widely used personality tests such as the Myers-Briggs Type Indicator (MBTI). Jung's work was influential in the fields of psychology, anthropology, and spirituality, and his archetypes are so widespread that they can easily be identified in film, literature, and other cultural forms that attempt to portray universal characters. ■



Carl Jung

Carl Gustav Jung was born in a small Swiss village to an educated family with a fair share of eccentrics. He was close to his mother, though she suffered from bouts of depression. A talented linguist, Jung mastered many European languages as well as several ancient ones, including Sanskrit. He married Emma Rauschenbach in 1903 and they had five children.

Jung trained in psychiatry, but after meeting Sigmund Freud in 1907, he became a psychoanalyst and Freud's heir apparent. However, the pair grew estranged over theoretical differences and never met again. In the years following World War I, Jung traveled widely through Africa, America, and India, studying native people and taking part in anthropological and archaeological expeditions. He became a professor at the University of Zurich in 1935, but gave up teaching to concentrate on research.

Key works

1912 *Symbols of Transformation*
1934 *The Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious*
1945 *On the Nature of Dreams*



THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE LIFE AND DEATH INSTINCTS PERSISTS THROUGHOUT LIFE

MELANIE KLEIN (1882–1960)

IN CONTEXT

APPROACH

Psychoanalysis

BEFORE

1818 German philosopher Arthur Schopenhauer states that existence is driven by the will to live, which is constantly being opposed by an equally forceful death drive.

1910 Psychoanalyst Wilhelm Stekel suggests that social suppression of the sexual instinct is paralleled by the growth of a death instinct.

1932 Sigmund Freud claims that the most basic drive for satisfaction is in fact a striving toward death.

AFTER

2002 American psychologist Julie K. Norem introduces the idea of "defensive pessimism," suggesting that being pessimistic may in fact better prepare people to cope with the demands and stresses of modern life.

The theme of opposing forces has always intrigued writers, philosophers, and scientists. Literature, religion, and art are filled with tales of good and evil, of friend and foe. Newtonian physics states that stability or balance is achieved through one force being countered by an equal and opposite force. Such opposing forces appear to be an essential part of existence, and perhaps the most powerful of them are the instinctive drives we have for life and death.

Sigmund Freud said that to avoid being destroyed by our own death instinct, we employ our narcissistic or self-regarding life instinct (libido) to force the death instinct outward, directing it against other objects. Melanie Klein expanded on this, saying that even as we redirect the death force outward, we still sense the danger of being destroyed by "this instinct of aggression;" we acknowledge the huge task of "mobilizing the libido" against it. Living with these opposing forces is an inherent psychological conflict that is central to human experience. Klein claimed that our tendencies toward growth and creation—from



Drama's power lies in its reflection of real emotions and feelings. Great plays, such as Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*, show not only love's life-affirming force, but also its deadly, toxic aspects.

procreation to creativity—are forced to run constantly against an equally powerful and destructive force, and that this ongoing psychic tension underlies all suffering.

Klein also stated that this psychic tension explains our innate tendency toward aggression and violence. It creates a related struggle between love and hate, present even in a newborn baby. This constant battle between our life and death instincts—between pleasure and pain, renewal and destruction—results in confusion within our psyches. Anger or

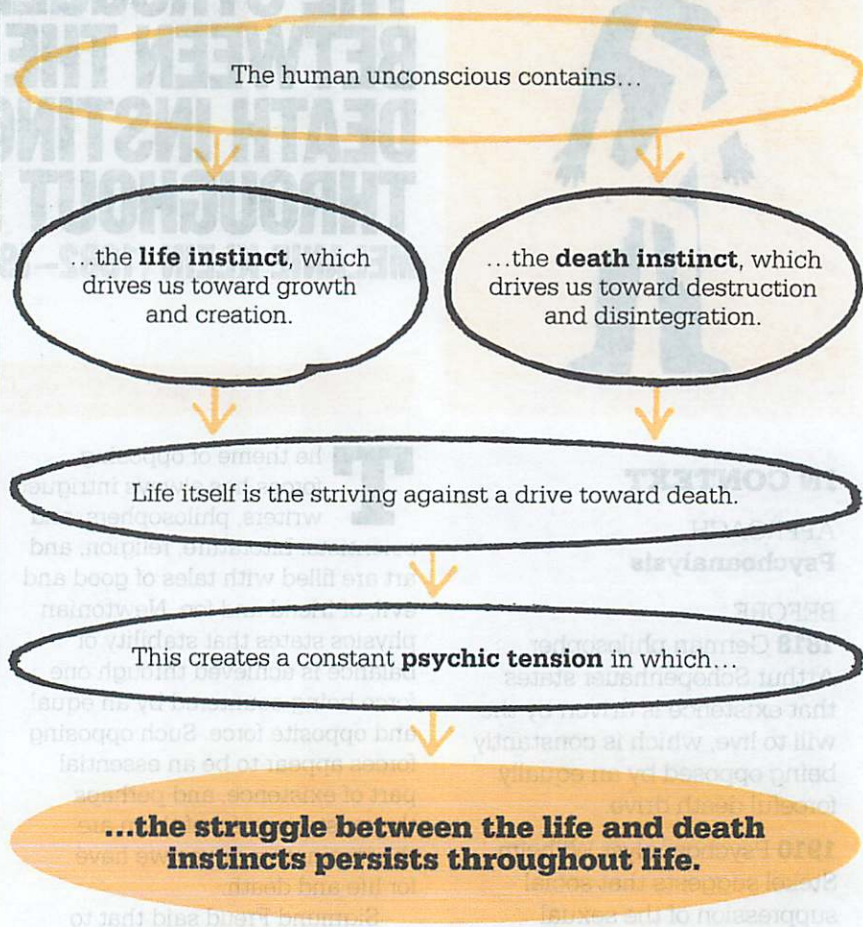
See also: Sigmund Freud 92–99 ■ Anna Freud 111 ■ Jacques Lacan 122–23

"bad" feelings may then become directed toward every situation, whether they are good or bad.

Constant conflict

Klein believed that we never shed these primitive impulses. We maintain them throughout life, never reaching a safe, mature state, but living with an unconscious that simmers with "primitive fantasies" of violence. Given the permeating influence of such a psychic conflict, Klein thought that traditional notions of happiness are impossible to attain, and that living is about finding a way to tolerate the conflict; it is not about achieving nirvana.

As this state of tolerance is the best that we can hope for, Klein found it unsurprising that life falls short of what people desire or believe they deserve, resulting in depression and disappointment. Human experience, to Klein, is inevitably filled with anxiety, pain, loss, and destruction. People must, therefore, learn to work within the extremes of life and death. ■



Melanie Klein



One of four children, Melanie Klein was born in Austria. Her parents, who later divorced, were cold and unaffectionate. At 17, she became engaged to Arthur Klein, an industrial chemist, casting aside her plans to study medicine.

Klein decided to become a psychoanalyst after reading a book by Sigmund Freud in 1910. She suffered from depression herself, and was haunted by death: her adored elder sister died when Klein was four; her older brother died in a suspected suicide; and her son was killed in a climbing accident in 1933.

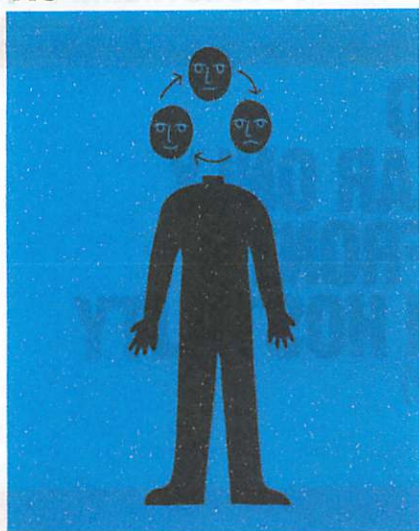
Although Klein did not have any formal academic qualifications, she was a major influence in the field of psychoanalysis, and is particularly revered for her work with children, and for her use of play as a form of therapy.

Key works

1932 *The Psychoanalysis of Children*

1935 *A Contribution to The Psychogenesis of Manic Depressive States*

1961 *Narrative of a Child Analysis*



THE TYRANNY OF THE "SHOULD"

KAREN HORNEY (1885–1952)

IN CONTEXT

APPROACH Psychoanalysis

BEFORE

1889 In *L'Automatisme Psychologique*, Pierre Janet describes "splitting," where a personality branches into distinct, separate parts.

AFTER

1950s Melanie Klein says that people split off parts of their personalities to cope with otherwise unmanageable, conflicting feelings.

1970s Austrian psychoanalyst Heinz Kohut claims that when a child's needs are not met, a fragmented self emerges, consisting of the narcissistic self and the grandiose self.

1970s Albert Ellis develops Rational Emotive Behavioral Therapy to free people from internalized "musts."

Social environments—from the family to schools, workplaces, and the wider community—develop cultural "norms" upheld by certain beliefs. The German-born psychoanalyst Karen Horney said that unhealthy, or "toxic," social environments are likely to create unhealthy belief systems in individuals, hindering people from realizing their highest potential.

Horney said that it is essential to recognize when we are not operating from self-determined

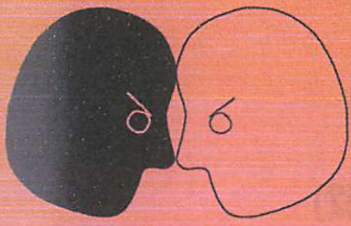
beliefs, but from those internalized from a toxic environment. These play out as internalized messages, especially in the form of "shoulds," such as "I should be recognized and powerful" or "I should be thin." She taught her patients to become aware of two influences in their psyche: the "real self" with authentic desires, and the "ideal self" that strives to fulfill all the demands of the "shoulds." The ideal self fills the mind with ideas that are unrealistic and inappropriate to the journey of the real self, and generates negative feedback based on the "failures" of the real self to achieve the expectations of the ideal self. This leads to the development of a third, unhappy self—the "despised self."

Horney says the "shoulds" are the basis of our "bargain with fate," if we obey them, we believe we can magically control external realities, though in reality they lead to deep unhappiness and neurosis. Horney's views were particularly relevant in her own social environment, early 20th-century Germany, which leaned heavily toward conformity. ■

“Forget about the disgraceful creature you actually *are*; this is how you *should be*.”

Karen Horney

See also: Pierre Janet 54–55 ■ Sigmund Freud 92–99 ■ Melanie Klein 108–09 ■ Carl Rogers 130–37 ■ Abraham Maslow 138–39 ■ Albert Ellis 142–45



THE SUPEREGO BECOMES CLEAR ONLY WHEN IT CONFRONTS THE EGO WITH HOSTILITY

ANNA FREUD (1895–1982)

IN CONTEXT

APPROACH Psychoanalysis

BEFORE

1920 Sigmund Freud first uses the concepts of the ego, id, and superego in his essay *Beyond the Pleasure Principle*.

AFTER

1950s Melanie Klein disagrees that actual parental influence is involved in the formation of the superego.

1961 Eric Berne presents the idea that we retain child, adult, and parental ego states throughout our lives, and says that these can be explored through analysis.

1976 American psychologist Jane Loevinger says that the ego develops in stages throughout a person's life, as a result of an interaction between the inner self and the outer environment.

According to the Bible, Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden are decision-makers, faced with the choice between temptation and righteousness. In his structural model of the psyche, Sigmund Freud describes a similar model within the human unconscious, proposing a psychic apparatus of three parts: the id, the superego, and the ego.

The id, like a sneaky serpent, whispers to us to do what feels good. It is driven entirely by desire, seeking pleasure and the fulfillment of basic drives (such as food, comfort, warmth, and sex). The superego, like a righteous presence, calls us to follow the higher path. It imposes parental and societal values and tells us what we should and should not do. Lastly, the ego—like a decision-making adult—controls impulses and forms judgments on how to act; it is the moderator, suspended between the id and the superego.

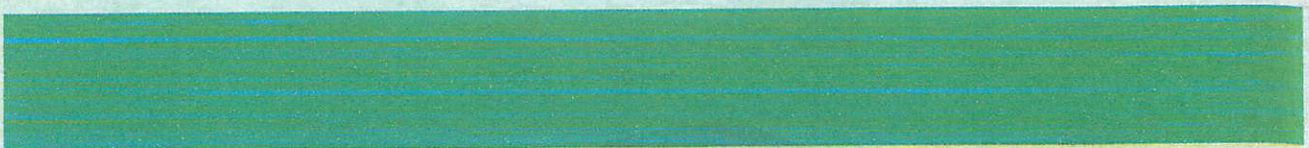
Austrian psychoanalyst Anna Freud expanded upon her father's ideas, drawing attention to the formation of the superego and its

effects upon the ego. The ego takes account of the realities of the world, and is also simultaneously engaged with the id and relegated to an inferior position by the superego. The superego speaks through the language of guilt and shame, like a kind of internalized critical parent. We hear the superego when we berate ourselves for thinking or acting a certain way; the superego becomes clear (or "speaks out") only when it confronts the ego with hostility.

Ego defense mechanisms

The critical voice of the superego leads to anxiety, and this is when, according to Anna Freud, we bring ego defenses into play. These are the myriad methods that the mind uses to prevent anxiety from becoming overwhelming. Freud described the many and creative defense mechanisms we employ, from humor and sublimation to denial and displacement. Her theory of ego defenses was to prove a rich seam of thought within the humanist therapies of the 20th century. ■

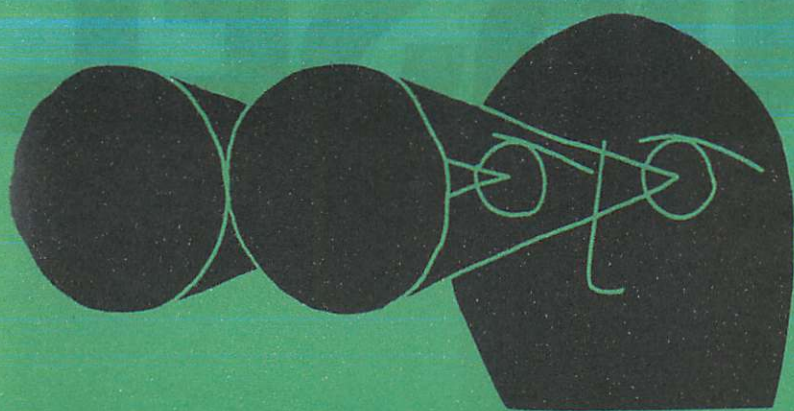
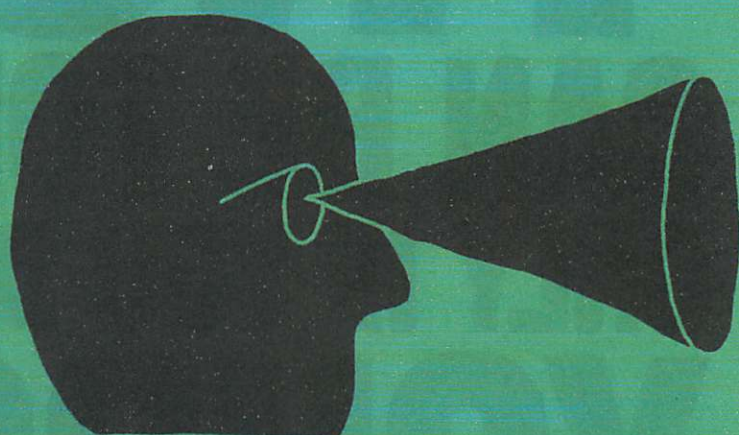
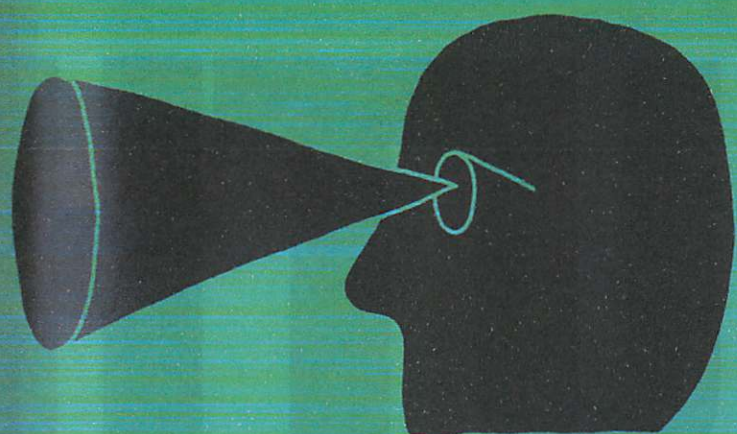
See also: Sigmund Freud 92–99 ■ Melanie Klein 108–109 ■ Eric Berne 337



**TRUTH
CAN BE TOLERATED
ONLY IF YOU DISCOVER IT
YOURSELF**

FRITZ PERLS (1893–1970)





IN CONTEXT

APPROACH

Gestalt therapy

BEFORE

1920s Carl Jung says that people need to connect with their inner selves.

1943 Max Wertheimer explains the Gestalt idea of "productive thinking," which is distinctive for using personal insight.

1950 In *Neurosis and Human Growth*, Karen Horney identifies the need to reject the "shoulds" imposed by others.

AFTER

1961 Carl Rogers says that it is the client, not the therapist, who knows what form and direction therapy should take.

1973 American self-help author Richard Bandler, one of the founders of Neurolinguistic Programming (NLP), uses many of the Gestalt therapy techniques in his new therapy.

People believe that their viewpoint of the world is the **objective truth**.

But human experience is colored by the **personal "lenses"** through which we view it.

Because it is our perception that **shapes our experience...**

...it is possible to **change our inner realities**, and ultimately our external realities.

...we must **discard the "given" values** of society and family, and discover our own, true values.

We become aware that we are **building our own world**, or "truth."

Truth can only be tolerated if you discover it yourself.

In the 18th century, the German philosopher Immanuel Kant revolutionized our thinking about the world by pointing out that we can never really know what is "out there" beyond ourselves, because our knowledge is limited to the constraints of our minds and senses. We don't know how things are "in themselves," but only as we experience them. This view forms the basis of Gestalt therapy, which says that it is vitally important to remember that the complexity of the human experience—with its tragedies and traumas, inspirations and passions, and its nearly infinite

range of possibilities—is coded by the individual "lenses" through which we view it. We do not automatically absorb all the sounds, feelings, and pictures of the world; we scan and select just a few.

Fritz Perls, one of the founders of Gestalt therapy, pointed out that this means our personal sense of reality is created through our perception; through the ways in which we view our experiences, not the events themselves. However, it is easy to forget this, or even fail to recognize it. He says we tend to mistake our viewpoint of the world for the absolute, objective truth,

rather than acknowledging the role of perception and its influence in creating our perspective, together with all the ideas, actions, and beliefs that stem from it. For Perls, the only truth one can ever have is one's own personal truth.

Accepting responsibility

Perls developed his theories in the 1940s, when the dominant psychoanalytical view was that the human mind could be reduced to a series of biological drives seeking fulfillment. This approach was far too rigid, structured, simplified, and generalized for Perls; it did not

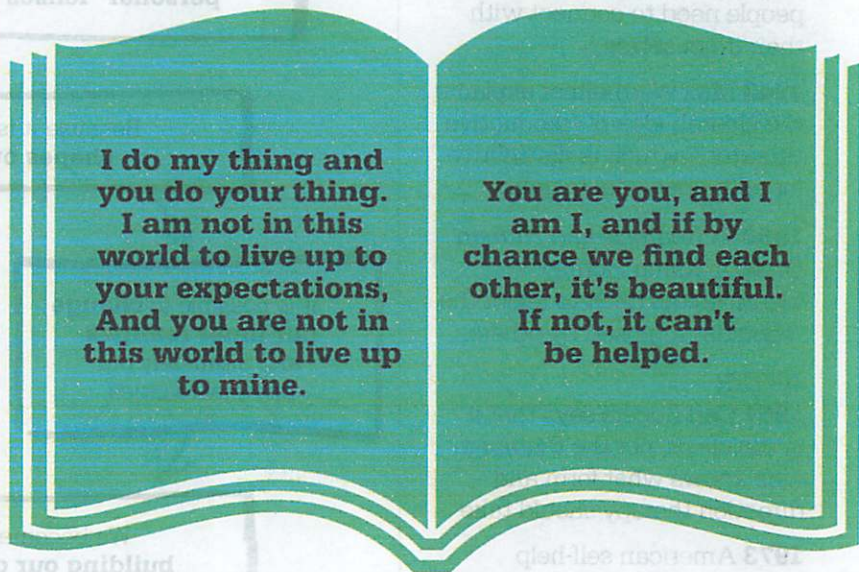
See also: Søren Kierkegaard 26–27 ■ Carl Jung 102–107 ■ Karen Horney 110 ■ Erich Fromm 124–29 ■ Carl Rogers 130–37 ■ Abraham Maslow 138–39 ■ Roger Shepard 192 ■ Jon Kabat-Zinn 210 ■ Max Wertheimer 335

allow for individual experience, which Perls held paramount. Nor did its analysts enable their patients to recognize and take responsibility for the creation of their experience. The psychoanalytical model operates on the understanding that patients are at the mercy of their unconscious conflicts until an analyst enters to save them from their unconscious drives. Perls, on the other hand, feels it is essential for people to understand the power of their own roles in creation. He wants to make us aware that we can change our realities, and in fact are responsible for doing so. No one else can do it for us. Once we realize that perception is the backbone of reality, each of us is forced to take responsibility for the life we create and the way we choose to view the world.

Acknowledging power

Gestalt theory uses the tenets of individual experience, perception, and responsibility—both for one's thoughts and feelings—to encourage personal growth by establishing a sense of internal control. Perls insists that we can learn to control our inner experience, regardless of

The Gestalt prayer was written by Fritz Perls to encapsulate Gestalt therapy. It emphasizes the importance of living according to our own needs, and not seeking fulfillment through others.



our external environment. Once we understand that our perception shapes our experience, we can see how the roles we play and the actions we take are tools, which we can then use consciously for changing reality. Control of our own inner psychic environment gives us power through two layers of choice: in how to interpret the environment, and how to react to it. The adage, “no one can make you angry other than yourself,” perfectly exemplifies this philosophy, and its truth can be seen played out in the different ways that people react to traffic jams, bad news, or personal criticism, for example.

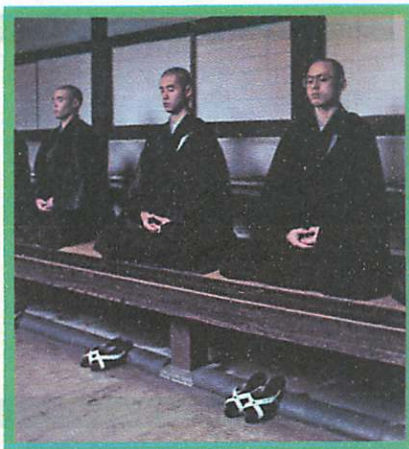
In Gestalt therapy, a person is forced to take direct responsibility for how he or she acts and reacts, regardless of what may seem to be happening. Perls refers to this ability

to maintain emotional stability regardless of the environment as “homeostasis,” using a biological term normally used to describe the maintenance of a stable physical environment within the body. It implies a fine balancing of many systems, and this is how Gestalt therapy views the mind. It looks for ways of balancing the mind through the many thoughts, feelings, and perceptions that make up the whole human experience. It views a person holistically and places the focus firmly on the whole, not the parts.

Perls saw his task as helping his patients to cultivate an awareness of the power of their perceptions, and how they shape reality (or what we describe as “reality”). In this way, his patients became able to take control of shaping their interior landscape. In taking »

“Learning is the discovery that something is possible.”

Fritz Perls



Like Buddhism, Gestalt therapy encourages the development of mindful awareness and the acceptance of change as inevitable. Perls called change "the study of creative adjustments."

responsibility for their perceived sense of reality, they could create the reality they wanted.

Perls helped his patients achieve this through teaching them the integral processes of Gestalt therapy. The first and most important process is learning to cultivate awareness and to focus that awareness on the feelings of the present moment. This allows the individual to directly experience his or her feelings and

perceived reality in the present moment. This ability, to "be here now" is critical to the Gestalt process; it is an acute emotional awareness, and one that forms the foundation for understanding how each of us creates and reacts to our own environment. It also offers a pathway for learning how to change the ways we experience ourselves and our environment.

As a tool for personal growth, the ability to get in touch with authentic feelings—true thoughts and emotions—is more important to Perls than the psychological explanations or analytic feedback of other forms of therapy. The "why" behind behavior holds little significance for Perls; what is important is the "how" and "what." This devaluing of the need to find out "why" and the shift of responsibility for meaning from analyst to patient brought with it a profound change in the therapist-patient hierarchy. Where previous approaches in therapy generally involved a therapist manipulating the patient toward the therapeutic goal, the Gestalt approach is characterized by a warm, empathic relationship between therapist and

patient, who work together as partners toward the goal. The therapist is dynamic but does not lead the patient; the Gestalt approach of Perls would later form the basis of Carl Rogers' humanistic, person-centered approach.

A denial of fate

Another component in the Gestalt method involves the use of language. One critical tool patients are given for increasing self-awareness is the instruction to notice and change the use of the word "I" within speech. Perls says that to take responsibility for our reality, we must recognize how we use language to give the illusion that we have no control when this is not the case. By simply rephrasing "I can't do that" to "I won't do that," it becomes clear that I am making a choice. This also helps to establish ownership of feeling; emotions arise in and belong to me; I cannot blame someone or something else for my feelings.

Other examples of language change include replacing the word "should" with "want," changing, for example, "I should leave now" to "I want to leave now." This also acts to reveal the element of choice. As

Fritz Perls



Frederick "Fritz" Salomon Perls was born in Berlin at the end of the 19th century. He studied medicine, and after a short time in the German army during World War I, graduated as a doctor. He then trained as a psychiatrist, and after marrying the psychologist Laura Posner in 1930, emigrated to South Africa, where he and Laura set up a psychoanalytic institute. Becoming disenchanted with the over-intellectualism of the psychoanalytic approach, they moved to New York City in the late 1940s and became immersed in a thriving culture of progressive

thought. In the late 1960s, they separated, and Perls moved to California, where he continued to change the landscape of psychotherapy. He left the US to start a therapy center in Canada in 1969, but died one year later of heart failure while conducting a workshop.

Key works

1946 *Ego Hunger and Aggression*

1969 *Gestalt Therapy Verbatim*

1973 *The Gestalt Approach and Eye Witness to Therapy*



we learn to take responsibility for our experience, Perls says, we develop authentic selves that are free from society's influence. We also experience self-empowerment as we realize that we are not at the mercy of things that "just happen." Feelings of victimization dissolve once we understand that what we accept for ourselves in our lives—what we selectively perceive and experience—is a choice; we are not powerless.

“

If you need encouragement, praise, pats on the back from everybody, then you make everybody your judge.

Fritz Perls

”

With this personal responsibility comes the obligation to refuse to experience events, relationships, or circumstances that we know to be wrong for our authentic selves. Gestalt theory also asks us to look closely at what we choose to accept among our society's norms. We may have acted under the assumption of their truth for so long that we automatically accept them. Perls says we need instead to adopt beliefs that best inspire and develop our authentic self. The ability to write our own personal rules, determine our own opinions, philosophies, desires, and interests is of the essence. As we increase our awareness of self-accountability, self-reliance, and self-insight, we understand that we are building our own world, or truth. The lives we are living become easier to bear, because "truth can be tolerated only if you discover it yourself."

The possibility of intimacy

Gestalt therapy's emphasis on "being in the present" and finding one's own path and one's own ideas fitted perfectly within the 1960s

Lose your mind and come to your senses.

Fritz Perls

”

The 1960s hippie culture chimed with the Gestalt idea of finding oneself, but Perls warned against the "peddlers of instant joy" and the "so-called easy road of sensory liberation."

counter-culture revolution of the Western world. But this focus on individualism was seen by some psychologists and analysts as a weakness within the therapy, especially by those who view human beings as, above all, social beings. They claim that a life lived along Gestalt principles would exclude the possibility of intimacy with another, and that it focuses too much on the individual at the expense of the community. In response, supporters of Gestalt therapy have claimed that without the development of an authentic self, it would not be possible to develop an authentic relationship with another.

In 1964, Perls became a regular lecturer at the Esalen Institute in California, becoming a lasting influence on this renowned center for spiritual and psychological development. After an explosion of popularity in the 1970s, Gestalt therapy fell out of favor, but its tenets were accepted into the roots of other forms of therapy. Gestalt is today recognized as one of many "standard" approaches to therapy. ■