Brotherly Couenaunt or Gregariousness: Freud and Trotter

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Recherches en Psychanalyse - Research in Psychoanalysis

17 | 2014 – Miscellanea 2014

Varia 2014

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Social Psychology Put to the Test of Freudian Anthropology

L'alliance fraternelle ou la grégarité : Freud et Trotter.

La psychologie sociale à l'épreuve de l'anthropologie freudienne

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Abstract:

This article deals with the position of psychoanalysis with respect to social psychology. It aims to pinpoint the work of the unconscious in the forming of masses.

Our approach seeks to revisit the contemporary pertinence of Freud at the time when he was studying remarks by an eminent theoretician of social psychology: Wilfred Trotter.

Here we try to grasp the dialectic of the drive and the function of the ideal that Freud puts forward in answer to Trotter's hypothesis on the innate gregarious instinct, which he takes as a self-evident fact whose various manifestations can only be studied on the conscious plane.

Résumé:

Cet article traite de la position de la psychanalyse au regard de la psychologie sociale. Il vise la mise au point du travail de l'inconscient dans la formation des foules.

Notre démarche est destinée à revenir à la contemporanéité de Freud, au moment où il étudie les propos d'un éminent théoricien de la psychologie sociale, Wilfred Trotter.

Il s'agit ici de saisir la dialectique pulsionnelle et la fonction de l'idéal proposées par Freud face à l'hypothèse de Trotter sur l'instinct grégaire inné pris comme une évidence dont on ne peut étudier que les manifestations diverses au plan conscient.

Keywords: group psychology, social psychology, gregarious instinct, fraternal alliance, anthropology

Mots-clefs: psychologie des foules, psychologie sociale, instinct grégaire, alliance fraternelle, anthropologie

Plan:

In what way can psychoanalysis intervene in a wider reflection with respect to psycho-social theories on so-called herd behavior? To make some inroads towards a reply, we shall determine the precise points at which the Freudian contribution to this vast domain of psycho-sociological research in relation to herd behavior finds its legitimate support. This domain stretches from the Clash of civilizations[1], or the return of the "wars of religion", to the geometry of the movements of crowds of people and animals and the behavioral models of the herd in commerce and the stock market.[2] Behind these different lines of research, one can detect the herd instinct as a self-evident fact whose many manifestations can only be studied on the plane of consciousness.

Starting off from these considerations, we are going to look afresh at a question that is more promising for psychoanalytical research: how does metapsychology face up to the thesis of an innate herd instinct in humankind? This question will in some sense dictate our approach, which is set to return to Freud's contemporary context when he launches a debate on the reflections of an eminent theoretician of social psychology.

What Freud leads us to at the start of his text on "Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego", is the idea that in man, when taken in isolation, the other intervenes on a regular basis and, due to this fact, the individual psychology that he has developed from the very first is at the same time a social psychology (*Sozialpsychologie*) in this wider sense. Indeed, Freud describes his text as a "path way from analysis of the individual to an understanding of society".[3] One can already form a grasp of Freud's interest here: for psychoanalysis to take up a position in social psychology and to refine the work of the unconscious in social and cultural facts. From the very start, even before he presented his theory on the forming of masses (*Massenbildung*), Freud was referring to the social-psychological hypothesis of "the herd instinct" or "gregariousness", and he dedicated a full chapter to the herd instinct mentioning directly the name of the inventor of the concept, Wilfred Trotter (1972-1939). Freud speaks of an intelligent text, but one whose argument is based on more simple reasoning.[4] He is already indicating his intention to move towards a more "complex" theory. Trotter thinks that because the psychological aspects of the herd instinct are innate and visible to introspection, that it would be "foolish" to go looking for its origin.[5] Freud distances himself from this thesis, a thesis that prevents one from understanding the origin and the processes at play within the individual in the forming of masses. At the end of the chapter, he condenses, in metaphorical and linguistic terms, his group psychology, which holds that man is not an animal in a herd, a *Herdentier*, but rather an individual in a horde, a *Hordentier*. Hence my hypothesis: albeit harboring reservations as to the herd instinct, Freud intentionally grapples with Trotter's psycho-sociological thesis, thus finding a way of retracing his steps back to the myth of the primal horde that he will deal with in the following chapter. This lays the foundations for the Freudian anthropology of the social bond.

The general characteristics of herd animals (transmission of impulses and a homogeneity that designates mutual sensitivity to the behavior of other members of the herd) allow Trotter to extend animal herd behavior to humans, the manifestations of which may be classified in three utterly distinct types: *aggressive*, *protective* and *socialized*. These manifestations are exemplified in nature by wolves, sheep, and bees respectively.[6] The fact of remaining in a herd is considered to be a reinforcement of one's strengths and one's capacity to survive. The terms *Trieb* and *Instinkt* that Freud uses in the context of his argument highlight the conceptual psychoanalytical aim of the drives over and above that of the biological instinct that underlies an animal kind of behavior. Freud's question could already be heard in 1915, when he asked: "What drives, and how many, may we suppose exist? […] We cannot object to anyone resorting to the concept of a play drive, or a destruction drive,

or a social drive, where the subject-matter calls for it and the limitations of psychological analysis permit."[7]

He considered "Gregariousness" to be something more along the lines of a motivation (on the side of the drive). If Trotter's social drive is a new drive that is not ordinarily activated, and if it shows its momentary force of impact in the individual during his involvement in group formation, then it cannot be a genuine or real drive. Freud argues that only those primary indivisible drives that have their sources in one's own body, and which act as a constant force, can claim to have importance in psychical life.[8]

He shows that animal instinct is distinct from the human drive in so far as it is situated on the borderline between psyche and soma. It has the quality of a psychical representative of somatic excitations, and indeed lies at a secondary level. Freud also makes the remark that Trotter himself could not prove that the herd instinct is as primary as the other instincts (of self preservation and sexual instinct) that he puts forward and so if such an instinct exists, it must be part and parcel of the human make-up from the very start, at least if its shaping must be situated in the family circle.

Does the Human Infant Possess a Herd Instinct?

Freud's initial point of interest here is to clarify what happens at the level of the infant's very first bonds, in response to Trotter who supposes that man "instinctively" feels incomplete and weak when he is alone. According to Trotter, he wants to be with the other members of the herd. The child's anxiety at a tender age would thus purportedly be a manifestation of the herd instinct. Freud reminds us that the child is asking for his mother, or the person who takes care of him, and not for people from the herd with whom he has no libidinal tie. So, the child's anxiety is just an expression of an unsatiated nostalgia at an age when he does not know how to do anything else but to transform it into anxiety. Furthermore, he seems to be even more anxious when he sees people he does not recognize.[9] Through this argument, Freud puts forward the hypothesis that for a long period of his life the child does not develop any herd tendency, and he has no sense of the group, crowd or mass.

Freud underlines that the bond of friendship between the child and his school classmates is only a reaction to the jealousy that is innate in him for the mother's love, and by extension the "parental" love shared by his brothers or sisters, with whom the child is forced to identify. He would like to be loved by his parents in the same way, without exception, and he does not want to undergo the bothersome consequences of a failure. So it is that a small group of jealous children takes shape, which is bound together by their investment in adults who are dear to them in their love life – parents, brothers, sisters, masters, idols, doctors, and so forth – the foundations of which are laid down in the fact of sharing the same sense of love. This has no instinctive biological continuity with adult social organization.

Biology and the Social Bond as a Process

Trotter's studies are part of the studies in social psychology that were inspired by natural sciences and Darwinism, from the second half of the nineteenth century onwards. Trotter's herd instinct, which "biologizes" the social behaviors of mankind, is already testament to how he pleads for the cause, indeed for the scientific legitimacy, of social psychology. His models of "gregariousness" bring out an extension of a biological movement that reaches right back to the origins of the living organism. Biologically speaking, this is an analogy; the grouping instinct exists already with unicellular organisms, thus, in the passage from "the solitary to the social"[10], we witness a tendency to group together in larger units as multicellular organisms whose cells have become stronger.

As for Freud, he too wants psychoanalysis, the psychology of the unconscious, this specialized science as a branch of psychology, "to adhere to the scientific *Weltanschauung*".

Without "biologizing" the unconscious itself, biology was to be useful for Freud, as were other disciplines, for the investigations, observations and verifications on which his method of scientific research was founded.[11] Nevertheless, he did appreciate one aspect of Trotter's multicellular theory: "to equip the group with the attributes of the individual" shows the relationship between the soul of the group and the psychical processes of individuals.[12] Freud himself bases his reflections on biology and physiology, in order to extract from them, not one instinct of bonding, but the labor of two tendencies in the living organism:

– First, the tendency to group together the fragmented parts, developing as a germ plasm in order to unite with another cell, and thus to reproduce and remain immortal; therefore the individual would be nothing but a "temporary and transient adjunct to the quasi immortal germ plasm".[13]

– Second, the tendency to lead the organic life form "back into the inanimate state", which remains as a "soma", which drives towards self-preservation, and which finishes up dying alone, all of which allows Freud to develop the concept of the death-drive.[14]

Contrary to the neutral instinct of the herd type that Trotter puts forward, the sexual drive labors away in a dialectic with the death drive and wends its way towards erotic union with the sexual object and with the narcissistic object: one's own ego.[15] Within the perspective of this argument, the sexual libidinal bond rises up against all the other activities of the individual and only libido, diverted from the sexual object and led towards the ego, this free energy inhibited in its aim, which would be ready to be invested in the social bond. Thus, according to Freud's theory, the individual's involvement in group formation would be one of the stages in the constitution of the ego.[16]

The Shepherd and the Herd

The individual's ego, in the Freudian sense, does not target directly the individuals in the crowd. It is an operation that comes about on the basis of the Ego Ideal with the *individual* aspect, the paternal ideal, and the *social* aspect ("the common ideal of a family, a class, or a nation").[17] It is only after puberty, indeed during adolescence, that the ego will demonstrate narcissistic interest for an exterior ideal object, a social and / or cultural ideal, so that he can exchange it for his own ideal. The group, crowd or mass would thus be merely the consequence of each individual adult having incorporated a trait of the exterior ideal, thus allowing them to identify with one another in their ego. Men do not flock together in a pack like a herd led by a reciprocal instinctual bond with their peers, common to man and animal alike. Freud's objection thus points to the absence of any common ideal and the absence of the very essence of the group in the thesis of herd instinct. In other words, in Trotter's herd, the herdsman is missing, or is just an occasional necessity.

In the remarks that Freud makes by way of response to Trotter's herd instinct, we meet Le Bon's arguments which relate the social bond to two factors: the mutual suggestion between individuals and the prestige of the leader. Freud sees the leader not only as a chief, but also as an abstract idea or as a hatred directed against another group. He also finds Mc Dougall's comments interesting when he refuses the existence of a pure herd instinct.[18] Freud confesses that the panic that Mc Dougall speaks about, when he approaches it from the opposite angle, bears witness to the neurotic anxiety of having lost the libidinal ties due to the loss of the leader in the crowd.[19]

The Path Towards Involvement in the Forming of the Crowd: From the Oedipus Complex to the Latency Period

It is with the father that Freud introduces the path from the little man towards the leader. The incest prohibition and the threat of castration make the father and the Ego Ideal coincide. This process is reinforced during the latency period,

at which time there is no further development of sexuality, or instead a regression of sexuality. This phase of an exit and an access to a new status[20], a specifically human status, facilitates repression and the inhibiting of the drives, this being the precondition for the social bond. On this occasion, Freud refers us to the biology that gives evidence, through the anatomy of the growth of the internal genitalia, of a relic of primitive times, following the example of certain parts of the anatomy of the human body. He speaks about this in 1939:

> [T]he human race is descended from a species of animal which reached sexual maturity in five years and rouses suspicion that the postponement of sexual life and its diphasic onset are intimately connected with the history of hominization. Human beings appear to be the only animal organisms with a latency period and sexual retardation of this kind.[21]

The latency period is followed by puberty, which enables the individual to function with the father as a common point between the Ego Ideal and the external ideal. Here, Freud speaks of a process of exteriorization towards the social bond, in response to Trotter who thinks that Freud's studies are focused rather on primarily egoistic impulses, and that psychoanalysis is just an embryology of the mind that is closed to cultural facts and whose interest in this domain is minimal.[22] Trotter still remains enclosed within the limits in a conception that supposes psychoanalysis to be nothing but a voyage to the interior of the unconscious abyss or chasm. On the contrary, Freud is struggling against Jung, who turned to the embryology of the soul and to the theory of the "collective unconscious" in order to put forward his thesis of the unconscious processes between the individual and the collective.[23]

Freud, Trotter, and Darwin: an unbridgeable gap between man and beast

In the Freudian formulation, the individual's unconscious, being of its very essence "collective", the experiences in an analyst's consulting room or an asylum for the "insane", which Trotter had underestimated[24] bear witness to the relationship between the fantasy of the murder of the father and the coming into being of the ideal. The fantasy of each individual neurotic "becomes the testimony to the very origin of social reality".[25] Clinically speaking, the totem animal carries a signification in relation to the castration complex, and with the phobia whose anxiety is inspired by the father but displaced onto an animal. So it is that Freud comes to suggest, on the basis of the "dog child" or the "rooster child", the "one single ray of light" that is thrown on the unconscious articulation between animal and man:

> There is a great deal of resemblance between the relations of children and of primitive men towards animals. Children show no trace of the arrogance which urges adult civilized men to draw a hard and fast line between their own nature and that of all other animals. Children have no scruples over allowing animals to rank as their equals. Uninhibited as they are in the avowal of their bodily needs, they no doubt feel themselves more akin to animals that to their elders […].[26]

Freud isolates the identification between the father and the totemic animal and the ambivalent attitude to it, contrary to the innate biological traces of an animality. He adds: "These observations justify us, in my opinion, in substituting the father for the totem animal in the formula for totemism (in the case of males)."[27] Thereafter, he underscores the relationship with primitive desire and the two prohibitions in men: the prohibition against killing the totem (murder) and the prohibition against wedding a woman of the same totem (incest), which, in their content, coincide with the two crimes of Oedipus: he killed his father and married his mother. The affinity between childhood and the prehistory of peoples effectively illustrates how the fear of incest is not an innate instinct. It is only after having established this prohibition that man can leave his family and move towards the other, whether this be the sexual object or the other of the

crowd. Freud adds that the prohibition of incest is a gulf between man and beast and that this is not natural selection, this is imposed right from the start, and only remerges in individual psychology once it has been repressed.[28]

This is how Freud replies to one of the researchers who became a loyal disciple of Darwin's and who recycles the theory of man's decent from animals in order to explain social evolution and human behavior; in short, by adding that "the mother is soon replaced by the stronger father", and that "the father himself constitutes a danger for the child, perhaps because of its earlier relation to its mother".[29] Freud, inspired by Lamarck, puts forward the hypothesis of a phylogenetic inheritance[30], with a father situated in phylogenesis and in ontogenesis on the plane of the unconscious.[31] In his confrontation between *herdentier* and *hordentier*, he is drawing his inspiration from Darwin's and Atkinson's hypothesis on hordes, the primal social states, in order to reformulate the unconscious foundation of the social bond in the form of the "scientific myth" of the murder of the primal father associated with a "bestiality".[32] Due to the fact of his having been slain, he becomes more "human" as an *Urvater* and takes on an internal psychical value, as a function, in order to impose limits and rules. The killing puts an end to this "muscular human being" who "was not yet very advanced in his linguistic development". Therefore, Freud remains convinced that man is not born with a social instinct, but that he becomes a social being by re-actualizing this founding moment, the "big bang", the "event that condensed the 'physics' of human societies"[33], the port of entry and the degree zero[34], indeed the triggering of the symbolic and the passageway towards culture. Freud draws on ethnographic studies and is inspired by the totemic meal described by Robertson Smith when he associates the incorporation of the trait of the ideal with the commemoration of the original meal in which the brothers incorporate a "piece" of the body of the mighty father. The God of the religions or the chiefs will be the models of the father that one would be able to admire and dread, and in whom one can put one's trust.[35] Freud supposes that the religious ideal, with its strict relationship with the paternal complex, with religious organization, that is, the group par excellence, will never be able to be explained by Trotter's theory. The absence of leader prevents one from speaking about the need to move towards God.

Sexuation and the Horde

The scientific myth of the horde is thus designed to highlight, beyond an undifferentiated sense of herd instinct, the division of the human race into two sexes and their symbolic functions in the cultural ideal. In other words, the young "males" banished by the father, who lived together, who become brothers after the murder, and who function with the inhibited and homosexuated drives.[36] The pact between the brothers / peers is a stronger union than the isolated individual. It introduces a non biological path that leads the family to the next stage: the group.[37] Freud implies that the "females", who previously belonged to this "absolute" state of the being of the drive, only become daughters, women, mothers and sisters, in the wake of the killing. He goes so far as to suppose that taking the women back from the father was the main reason for the act of murder. Unlike the brothers, the women would be outside the field of combat in which the killing occurs. In the clinical sphere, this explains how the Oedipal daughter is subtracted from the fantasy of the murder of the father, in whom the father is the object of love and the ideal. In civilization, women would therefore represent both the interests of the family, with this reaching right back to the *Urfamilie*, and the sexual interest of humanity[38], in other words, the flipside of culture.[39] Wanting to avoid a situation in which any one of the brothers would become another *Urvater*, the brothers give up the father's women and establish a social organization with a recognition of mutual obligations.[40] So it is that the women are fated to leave the family or

the totem group. Freud adds that it is neither castration anxiety nor the wish to murder the father that pushes women to develop the moral agency and bring about an Ego Ideal, rather this occurs under the influence of the share of culture, of education, and of exterior intimidation caused by the threat of the loss of love.[41] However, Freud allows us to envisage how the woman will select a trait of the ideal of culture thanks to her twofold relationship with the father. The *hordentier* would thus explain the persistence of the traces of the absolute patriarchy of the *Urvater* in culture and the chronic and structural mistrust directed against the infiltration of the sexual dimension by women in brotherly couenaunt or fraternal bond.

Repression and entanglement in a crowd

Whether the man or the woman are at issue, Freud sees the renunciation of the drive, the sense of guilt, and repression, as structural elements and the very reason that lies behind the discontent in civilization: man through the act of killing, woman through the love that incites the killing, which refers back to primal repression. Freud looks again at the repression in the theory of Trotter, for whom the social factors or the counter impulses that stem from the environment push the *herd animal* to repress. Contrary to Jones, who expressed some concern over this theory, Freud airs a number of different arguments in order to lend further support to his concept of repression – the prototype of the unconscious – as one of the fates of the drive.[42] He affirms once again that repression does not stem from the herd drive: "for the ego, the formation of an ideal would be the conditioning factor of repression."[43] In its success as well as in its failure, repression refers back to a primal renunciation. If the group refers back to a horde or an *Urfamilie* in which only the drive, violence, and the unlimited power of the *Urvater* reigned – the psychology of the One – this also allows us to suppose a possible lifting of primal repression and the murder of the father, which is always something that is fantasized and held in awe. Freudian anthropology always leads us back to the reflection on the "barbarism that infiltrates"[44], the slippery regressive slope, the suggestion that strikes us blind, and the crowd's loss of control, all of which Trotter had associated with instinctivity.

A Return towards Impulsivity: Suggestibility

As far as Freud is concerned, he asserts that he has read a very rich literature – these are his words – on an enthusiastic movement of the social psychologists of his time who wanted to look more deeply into the enigma of the senseless behavior of individuals during the wars and the revolutionary movements that staked their claim on rights and freedom. Gabriel Tarde[45] and Sighele[46] (1901) studied criminal groups while Le Bon introduced the thesis of "the fading of the conscious personality".[47] Boris Sidis worked on the suggestibility and the hypnotic origin of the "mob phenomenon" in minors, sportsmen, and "lynch mobs".[48] The First World War gave rise to the most severe theories on groups and masses. E. Dean Martin, in working his way through the works of Le Bon, Freud and Nietzsche, underlined how the group is a system geared towards a "temporary insanity by all going crazy together".[49] Freud insinuated that groups form with such scale and fleetingness that it is hardly surprising that researchers presuppose a herd instinct as a means of accounting for the blindness, the aggressiveness, and the docility of crowds.[50] In other words, we are looking at a "socialpsychological imaginary".[51] Indeed, Freud wrote to Jones saying that: "Trotter is too influenced by the war".[52] However, Freud himself was no exception. He wrote on the war and on the death drive, but in his writings, war is marked by the fall of the ideal.[53] Freud is essentially adding that blindness is not an innate characteristic, but a two sided process: the effect of fascination with the leader and the difference between different groups and crowds.

The Fascinating Effect of the Leader

First and foremost, in the stead of Boris Sidis's idea which sees the drive as a derivative of suggestibility, Freud explains using clinical and anthropological examples, that suggestibility is the offspring of the social bond. Above and beyond a decline of the Western world that was presented by Husserl, by Spengler and by Trotter[54], Freud constructs his argumentation on the basis of two types of bond which he calls "the crowd of two": sensual love and hypnosis. The first bond, founded on the undomesticated sexual drive, will be fated to become extinguished when it is satisfied, but the second, which functions with the sexual drive that is inhibited in its aim, will not be able to find satisfaction and therefore remains limitless.[55] Freud supposes that the hypnotized party puts the hypnotizer in the place of the Ego Ideal and loses his critical capacities when faced with him. He may be compared with the individual in the "manifold crowd" who is completely fascinated by the exterior ideal object. Taken as he is to be above reproach, he is capable of creating such docility and such blind obedience that he pushes the individual towards destructive activities. For Freud, this is not only a matter of the difference between neurosis and psychosis, but above all the difference between the normal and the pathological. Freud allows us to understand that this process will be even more accentuated when the Ego Ideal and the ego are not differentiated from one another, and are even able to coincide with great ease. The clinic of mania furnishes us with the best examples of this: "with many people this differentiation within the ego does not go further than with children."[56] In this case, the relationship between "the individual and the ideal" would then be a relation of over-powerfulness with powerlessness. Next, Freud refers us to the period of submission to the *Urvater* when individuals without defense and without critical spirit experience in some sense "the fear of animals" under the mysterious sway of what is known as "animal magnetism", which is nothing other that which is uncanny, ancient and yet familiar, and which has fallen under the effect of repression.[57]

Differences: the struggle between groups

The second face of the blindness of the crowd or group in Freud – this being the narcissism of small differences – is a response to Trotter who is rather of the cultural evolutionism view and who explains the lupine type group as lying at the bottom of the evolutionary scale. He qualifies the Germans by making reference to an aggressive herd category that is proper to wolves and dogs. Meanwhile, in his eyes, British society would possess the most complete form of "socialized herd behavior", that of the bee and the wasp, without for all that having yet reached its complete form. The history of the world shows the gradual disappearance of aggressive herd instinct.[58] He thinks that psychology can explain the instinct behind this "fighting animal" that is the bearer of a biological necessity to survive. Instinct is not dormant during times of peace, but it does find greater stimulation during times of war.[59] Meanwhile, for Freud, soldiers' egos become the battle field between "the formerly pacific ego and the newly belligerent ego".[60]
According to Freud, war and conflict result from the jealous hatred between brothers who are best enemies. It is at this point that the exchange between the ideal ego and the Ideal of its fraternal group would represent their version of the father. Except the hero who "accredits", by means of his exploit, with which alone he has committed the collective crime of the brothers[61], each individual from the group embellishes his narcissism by sharing the qualities – the traits of the father – that are marked by the singularity of the group or crowd. This is part of a strategy on the part of the ego that aims to isolate itself or to separate itself from others. Freud speaks about this in "The Taboo of Virginity" in reference to Crawley who studied the "taboo of personal isolation". In the same way, the group isolates itself or separates

itself off from other groups. The struggle for the same cause would thus be a struggle to protect one's own narcissism. Isolation from other groups by the means of brotherly couenaunt or fraternal bond, by their narcissism of small differences, does not appease the brotherly rivalry. The brother reveals the "alter", who is loved and hated, and who is able to take the jouissance that he once enjoyed but now no longer needs. He suffers, however, from a certain nostalgia in the imaginary realm.[62] The example par excellence that Freud presents is the Spanish against the Portuguese, North Germany against South Germany, the English against the Scottish. Here he is taking up afresh the struggles that engage the individual in the group for the cause of their language, their religion, their territory or their ethnicity. Freud admits that when one pays greater attention to the importance of the leader, one might forget this aspect: the reciprocal suggestion and jealousy between the individuals in his collective articulation leading back to a drive that is located in an "infantile" family in which each member becomes "the double of the other", as in adolescent warriors.[63] Freud underscores how the family still remains, as ever, the locus of an institution or a group, albeit limited, but always taken as a model, and how men have a tendency to say, when they are in a group, that it is "as though they were from the same family". Does not this regression towards "tooth and nail" battles reintroduce the childhood "jealous group" into the logic of sharing the parents' love? The individual in the group would like to "be" treated in the same way and to "have" in like manner as the other, the root of social consciousness and the sense of duty, which can turn into hatred for the other in spite of the identification with the trait of the father which refers back to a universal unconscious phenomenon – to the original knowledge that is already in the child and to the persistent symbolic, in spite of the varieties of languages and cultures.[64] Without fixing down communities in terms of lupine type, protective or socialized categories, Freud prefers to introduce the lifting of repression that is able to surge up repetitively, marking the real of the drive in the chronic discontent in civilization. He ends his text *Totem and Taboo* by citing a sentence from Goethe: "In the beginning was the Deed" in order to explain the fear of a return of killing, of the real of the drive, when the narcissistic interests of the ego articulated with the ideal of the group are disturbed.

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Electronic reference:

Elizabeth Kaluaratchige, "Brotherly Couenaunt or Gregariousness: Freud and Trotter – Social Psychology Put to the Test of Freudian Anthropology", *Research of Psychoanalysis* [Online], 17|2014 published June 20, 2014.

This article is a translation of *L'alliance fraternelle ou la grégarité : Freud et Trotter – La psychologie sociale à l'épreuve de l'anthropologie freudienne*

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