**Globalization and Death Anxiety: A Psychohistorical Perspective**[[1]](#footnote-1)

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*ABSTRACT: This paper summarizes empirical findings from “Terror Management” research and applies them to the era of globalization culminating in the COVID-19 Pandemic. Terror Management Theory (Solomon et al, 2015) applies the methods of experimental psychology to investigate the causes and effects of death anxiety. These studies examine the function of belief systems and group identifications in the management of death anxiety. This paper examines these processes in the historical context of globalization and the COVID-19 Pandemic, and concludes with a brief overview of clinical and social implications.*

Words cannot convey, much less ameliorate, the vast suffering, trauma, and loss that India is currently enduring due to the COVID-19 Pandemic. Yet as scholars, words are all we have, so we say what we can in the hopes that knowledge can make the world a better place, at least in the long run. My topic is the body of research known as “Terror Management Theory” (TMT) (Solomon et al, 2015), which probes the causes and effects of death anxiety using the tools of experimental psychology. I will provide an overview of this research, and then apply its insights to the era of globalization culminating in the COVID-19 Pandemic. Terror Management Theory examines the function of belief systems and group identifications in the management of death anxiety.

I will use a PowerPoint mainly to frame the four sections of the talk, which are:

1. Death Anxiety and Authoritarian Politics: The Case of Trumpism
2. Terror Management Theory (TMT)
3. TMT and the Global Historical Context
4. Clinical and Social Implications

**Death Anxiety and Authoritarian Politics: The Case of Trumpism**



While my paper is set against the backdrop of globalization, I will start by illustrating the processes involved using the United States during the Trump Presidency as a case study. I hope this viewpoint has some relevance to India’s current struggles with the COVID-19 pandemic. Before his untimely death last year, I co-authored a peer-reviewed psychohistory article with Prof. Souvik Raychaudhuri on India, the United States, and pandemic politics in an authoritarian age (Raychaudhuri et al 2020; see also Raychaudhuri and D’Agostino, 2019). I will not say more about this analogy today, but trust that Indian observers will find what I have to say about Trump, the pandemic, and Terror Management Theory relevant to your own situation. Inasmuch as authoritarianism and ethnocentrism are salient today in many parts of the world (Petschauer, 2019), this paper may also resonate with the experience of people living in some other countries.

Many observers, in the US and elsewhere, were puzzled by Donald Trump’s rise in American politics, winning of the White House in 2016, surprisingly strong support last year given his catastrophic mismanagement of the pandemic, and his ability to gaslight his party’s voters about who actually won the 2020 election. There are, of course, many levels of analysis needed to understand all this and many relevant variables to consider. Terror Management Theory is a particularly useful tool, especially when combined with an historical analysis of the processes of globalization that have been operating for over a century.

Terror Management research examines the pervasive role of death anxiety in all domains of human culture, including politics and religion. The basic theory holds that the individual’s awareness of her or his mortality—a dilemma unique to our species—motivates identification with something larger than the self that is imagined to be immortal, especially one’s social group. The resulting social immortality systems may take many overlapping forms, including racial/ethnic, gender, class, religious, political party, and national identifications.

Numerous peer-reviewed TMT studies, some of which will be summarized in this paper, have confirmed the causal nexus between death anxiety and group identification (Solomon, et al, 2015). These findings emerge from two kinds of experiments. In the first kind, a treatment group is unwittingly exposed to death-related words or images and is then found to have higher levels of group identification than control subjects. Ethnocentrism is heightened, feminists become more feminist, nationalists more nationalist, leftists more leftist, fundamentalists more fundamentalist, scientists more committed to scientific materialism, etc. Second, when group identities are challenged, it is found that people spontaneously produce more death-related words and images than control subjects.

Thus, consciousness of death is heightened both directly by exposure to death reminders such as wars and pandemics, and indirectly by challenges to the symbolic immortality systems that normally keep death anxiety at bay. The COVID pandemic has been a massive, global, months-long immersion in death reminders (Fuchsman, 2020), both through the direct experience of loss as well as 24-7 media coverage. TMT predicts that such massive exposure to death would heighten group identifications, which applies, for example, to political party identification, political ideology, and in the United States, white supremacy and Christian fundamentalism.

Prior to the pandemic, opinion poll data indicated that degree of identification with any of these groups predicted degree of support for Trump, and this relationship is stronger for individuals identifying with two or more of the groups, for example, the Republican Party and the Evangelical Christian community. Thus, even if Trump in 2020 lost a lot of support in these groups due specifically to his abysmal mismanagement of the pandemic, TMT explains how this same pandemic may have produced a countervailing psychological effect that cancelled or even reversed that loss of support.

Meanwhile, this same death reminder effect also increased group identification for feminists, racial justice activists, progressives, and other groups who typically identify with the Democratic Party. For members of these groups who opposed Trump before the pandemic, we would expect a positive synergy between their heightened group identification(s) and their outrage at the president’s failure to ameliorate the pandemic and undermining of his own public health officials. This synergy, it appears, was powerful enough to drive high voter turnout and defeat Trump decisively in the 2020 election and give Democrats control of the Senate, notwithstanding that the pandemic also boosted the turnout of Trump supporters.

To summarize the effects of death anxiety on group identification, we can say that the pandemic has been a factor in increasing political and ideological polarization. Such polarization was already high before the pandemic, but TMT predicts that the massive death immersion from COVID-19 has heightened political and ideological polarization even more. Let us now examine in more depth the findings of this body of research on the psychology of death anxiety.

**Terror Management Theory (TMT)**



Terror Management Theory (TMT), examines the inter-relationship of four primary factors—chronic death anxiety, self-esteem, group identity, and belief systems (Solomon et al, 2015). As early as age three, children become aware that other animals—dogs, cats, grandfathers—die. Older children, when their egos become sufficiently formed, realize that they too are going to die; death is now more than the grief of losing significant others and becomes the terror of imagined self-annihilation. Thus begins a lifelong struggle with terror management, a process which can be characterized by various levels of self-deception.

The basic strategy of terror management consists of identifying oneself—a mortal being—with something larger than oneself that is imagined to be immortal. For children, merging psychically with their parents typically provides a temporary refuge from the terror of self-annihilation. As a person matures, however, it becomes painfully obvious that parents—as well as parent surrogates such as teachers, bosses, or political leaders—will also die and are thus incapable of providing the needed immortality. Identification with the larger social group of which parent figures are delegates then becomes the terror management strategy of choice. This requires a belief system in which the group will persist indefinitely and in which the individual will be remembered as a valued member of the group.

Such systems of social/symbolic immortality take many forms. Examples include religious communities, nations, and even the international scientific community. Being a member in good standing of any such group confers self-esteem, security, and a measure of symbolic immortality. Having children provides another avenue of symbolic immortality available to most anyone, independent of other social accomplishments.

Terror Management Theory, sketched only briefly here, has proven to be a rich source of testable hypotheses. Sheldon Solomon et al’s 2015 book *The Worm at the Core: on the Role of Death in Life* summarizes this research for the general reader. Here are some examples. To test the hypothesis that group identification functions to manage death anxiety, an ethnocentrism questionnaire is administered to subjects on the sidewalk under two conditions—in front of a cinema advertising a violent film and in front of a food store. Questionnaires collected in front of the violent advertisement show measurably more ethnocentrism. Other experimental studies also demonstrate the converse, that challenging ethnocentric beliefs makes death imagery and ideas more salient.

Nor are the belief systems at issue in TMT research limited to ethnic or national group identities. For example, a person who identifies as a left activist will become more leftist in response to death reminders, and a person who identifies as a scientist will become more militantly pro-science and opposed to anti-scientific viewpoints. These findings are independently corroborated by research showing that death anxiety increases the desire to proselytize, independently of the content of the belief system being propagated, and that proselytizing alleviates death anxiety. All of this confirms the picture that increased ideological polarization in the world at the present time may be related to increased death anxiety.

Note that increased death anxiety can result from direct sources, such as the current pandemic, and/or indirect sources—death anxiety induced by challenges to one’s cherished beliefs due to clashes of culture. The latter shows the relevance of TMT to understanding a number of trends in our historical period related to ideological polarization, such as the huddling together of like-minded individuals in “silos” on the internet and on social media.

Also relevant in this historical context is research showing the effects of death reminders on support expressed for types of political candidates. Compared with a control group that did not receive death reminders, the treatment group in one such experiment preferred charismatic candidates to relationship-oriented candidates or ones who promised to “get things done.” This suggests that charismatic leaders such as Donald Trump, Jair Bolsonaro, Narendra Modi, and Vladimir Putin may be capitalizing on an era of death anxiety resulting from a worldwide “clash of cultures” in our time of globalization and expanding telecommunications (D’Agostino and Benson, 2021).

Other TMT research explores the nexus between self-esteem and group identification. Confirming the hypothesis that group identification is driven by threats to self-esteem (with self-annihilation being the ultimate such threat), individuals whose self-esteem is experimentally undermined cling more to their cultural meaning systems than those whose self-esteem is experimentally boosted. In addition, when individuals’ self-esteem is undermined, they spontaneously produce more death-related words than those whose self-esteem is boosted, confirming that self-esteem and group identification function to keep death anxiety at bay.

Other studies show that self-esteem is related to the extent to which a person lives up to the ego ideals constructed by their culture. Personal beauty and fame have typically been so idealized across many cultures, and personal wealth is idealized in capitalist cultures, which construe it as the product of an individual’s talent, frugality, and hard work. Confirming these relationships and consistent with the TMT framework, death reminders are found to increase admiration for famous people and belief in the lasting nature of their work. Thoughts of death also increase the attractiveness of luxury items and induce people to plan more extravagant parties. Counting paper money reduces fear of death, as compared with control subjects counting blank pieces of paper. Finally, and consistent with the symbolic immortality conferred by posterity, death reminders prompt thoughts of having children and thoughts of having children mitigate death anxiety.

I want to conclude this overview of Terror Management Theory by connecting some dots between the topics of self-esteem, religious fundamentalism, and authoritarianism generally. As I mentioned previously, TMT experiments generally employ exposure to death reminders (death-related words or imagery) as the treatment condition, or, conversely, manipulate another causal variable to measure the effect on spontaneous production of death-related words or imagery. A key causal variable in this research is self-esteem, which can be boosted or undermined by administering a short achievement test and telling subjects that they scored above or below the average. TMT research does not generally examine individual personality differences, but in one study, subjects were partitioned into high and low self-esteem groups based on a psychological test; the results were similar to those from studies where self-esteem was experimentally manipulated.

The topic of self-esteem links TMT to other bodies of empirical research, such as the attachment literature, which shows that individuals with high baseline levels of self-esteem typically experienced secure attachment in infancy and early childhood (Fonagy, et al 2014; Fraley, 2018). Such individuals are still vulnerable to adverse experiences in later life, including death anxiety, but navigate such experiences with more resilience and are less overshadowed by them.

The nexus between self-esteem and authoritarianism in terror management also merits further investigation. There is evidence that threats to self-esteem increase death anxiety, which in turn increases authoritarian identifications with social groups (e.g. ethnocentrism) and charismatic leaders. Here TMT intersects with research in psychohistory and political psychology showing the roots of adult authoritarianism in the childhood experience of punitive parenting (Greven, 1992; Milburn and Conrad, 2016; D’Agostino, 2019).

All of this suggests the need to distinguish two poles in a continuum of religion, which can be designated “fundamentalist” and “humanist.” I hypothesize that fundamentalist groups of any religion tend to attract individuals with low baseline levels of self-esteem while humanist religious groups attract high self-esteem individuals. Some examples of this fundamentalist/ humanist typology include the Orthodox and Reformed branches of Judaism, the Wahhabi and Sufi movements in Islam, Opus Dei and the Focolare Movement within the Catholic Church, and the Hindu nationalist and Vedanta traditions in India.

There is some evidence that supports this picture. Based on interview data and the writings of adherents, Strozier et al (2010) provide rich and detailed descriptions of fundamentalist belief and personality systems. The picture that emerges from these descriptions is one of low self-esteem being displaced onto “human nature,” which is seen as inherently deformed. While the Book of Genesis says that humans are made in the image of God, this is not a salient feature of human nature for fundamentalists of the Abrahamic religions, who dwell on the effects of the Fall and the bondage of all people to sin. Salvation is completely unmerited; those who God chooses for salvation do not deserve to be saved and remain forever unworthy.

This contrasts with the viewpoint found in religious humanist writings, including Gourgey (2021) on Torah and the teachings of Jesus, Taylor (2018) on Black empowerment, Aslan (2011) on the origins, evolution and future of Islam, and Barber (2020) on faith and social justice in the United States. For religious humanists, creation in the image of God is the essence of human nature and evil is a deformation of this essence. While they acknowledge that violence and oppression have marred society for centuries, they view history as a story of moral progress. For religious humanists, the future is uncertain but whatever it holds, humans will create it and will either flourish or perish together.

In summary, the fundamentalist might say “I’m not OK and you’re not OK,” to quote American psychologist Eric Berne, “but God saved me.” By contrast, the religious humanist might say “God is the infinite potential in all of us.” What might account for such differences in belief and personality systems? Wilhelm Reich (1930/1980) and Adorno et al (1950) examined the role of sexual repression in the etiology of right wing authoritarianism, including religious fundamentalism. Greven (1992), Heimlich (2011), Milburn and Conrad (2016), and Benson (2016) explored the nexus between punitive parenting and religious fundamentalism. D’Agostino (2019) used Q-sort data, psychoanalytic concepts, and Perceptual Control Theory to show how punitive parenting may give rise to the authoritarian personality.

In light of this research, it would appear that Freud’s critique of religion in *The Future of an Illusion* (1927/1989) continues to be relevant today, but applies mainly to the fundamentalist and not the humanist variants of religion. Religious humanists do not entertain crudely anthropomorphic notions of God, anti-sexual moral codes, gender stereotyping, or apocalyptic and otherworldly mindsets. The afterlife is not a salient feature of their meaning systems, and many do not believe in any kind of individual survival after death. The faith of many religious humanists consists of a mystical appreciation of the unity of all things, which they have in common with thinkers such as Adi Shankara, Spinoza, and Einstein. This distinguishes them sharply from fundamentalists, who tend to embrace dichotomous and individualistic thinking, culminating in an eternal rift between the saved and the damned at the end of history (Strozier et al, 2010). Religious humanists generally embrace spiritual values such as non-violence and love, and frequently define God as the epitome of love.

As with all social typologies, the one I propose here is a continuum and not a dichotomy. “Fundamentalists” and “Humanists” are what Max Weber called “ideal types,” and particular religious communities and individuals are complex composites that are situated across the entire continuum and rarely at either of the poles. This complexity can be seen in the different meanings attached to the word “love.” Those close to the fundamentalist pole may reject altogether the notion that “God is Love,” while those closer to the center may qualify it by saying that God is also strict and demanding. When talking about love, fundamentalists frequently use the term “tough love” as a euphemism for punitive parenting.

Christian theologian Donald Capps (1995) describes this mindset and the use of religious ideas and biblical injunctions to legitimize punitive parenting. He expresses eloquently the painful relational trauma that corporal punishment creates for children and the resulting lifelong wounds to self-esteem. Capps also mobilizes the biblical tradition as a resource for healing the “mutilated soul” of adult survivors of childhood religious abuse. (For a summary of Capp’s work, see Benson, 2016). By contrast with fundamentalists, when Capps and other humanists say that “God is Love,” they typically have in mind something like what Eric Fromm or Martin Buber meant by the term. Benson (2016) discusses this fundamentalist-humanist continuum using examples from American Protestantism, and traces divergent images of God to associated parenting norms.

**TMT and the Global Historical Context**



Now I want to place the foregoing findings of Terror Management Theory into the context of modern world history. We live in a global capitalist civilization groping for pathways to a more peaceful, equitable, and sustainable future. To appreciate what an anomaly industrial capitalism is in the human experience, we must begin by noting that it has existed for less than three centuries, having originated in 18th Century Europe. That is less than 1% of the 40 or 50 millennia that humans have lived on this planet in behaviorally modern societies, which is to say societies that practice rituals upon the death of kin, that use fire, and that make art, music, and dance. It is less than one tenth of 1% of the era of anatomical modernity, that is, the 300 millennia that homo sapiens has existed with essentially our current genome.

To be sure, capitalist civilization is not the first great innovation in the human story. Since the dawn of behavioral modernity itself, agriculture and the domestication of animals marked a great departure from foraging cultures. Urbanization and the formation of states marked another major innovation, and the invention of writing still another. Yet despite the great diversity of pre-capitalist cultures, it appears they were all alike in one fundamental respect. The common denominator, I would argue, is a traditionally religious view of reality. According to this view, there is an eternal cosmic order that subsumes nature, human society, and a divine realm of some kind (Campbell, 1976). The capitalist and scientific revolutions upended this cosmic order and ushered in our own era of accelerating transformation—social-cultural, technological, and political-economic (Polanyi, 1944/2001).

The sacred text of this new and dynamic civilization was Adam Smith’s 1776 book *The Wealth of Nations*. In the emerging world Smith outlined, social order would be based no longer upon religious obligation but henceforth on possessive individualism.[[2]](#footnote-2) Innumerable individuals freely pursuing their own personal gain, he wrote, would be guided by the Invisible Hand of market rationality to advance the happiness of all. The road to this materialist utopia passed through the industrial revolution, which imposed horrendous hardships on the common people of Europe and now of the whole world. But images of the freedom and prosperity promised by capitalism have been kept alive by mass media, beginning with the print periodicals of Smith’s own day and culminating in radio, television, and the internet in the Twentieth Century.

In modern capitalist societies, it is hard for people to think about death organically and holistically as a phase in the continuity of life. Through the lens of possessive individualism, persons are regarded as separate and isolated monads measured according to their monetary net worth, rather than participants in an ongoing cosmic and social drama. The ego is viewed as the ultimate reality, and loss of the ego at death the ultimate annihilation.

Meanwhile, religion did not simply disappear, but took on novel forms. One was the new religion of possessive individualism itself, promoted in the United States by Freud’s nephew Edward Bernays and other inventors of mass advertising (Curtis, 2002). The 20th Century also saw the rise of totalitarian civil religions, notably fascism and communism, and of religious fundamentalisms. Terror Management Theory sheds light on all these developments. It tells us that threats to one’s meaning system exacerbate death anxiety, which in turn causes a person to cling even more fiercely to his or her cherished beliefs.

The rise of mass communications made such challenges to people’s meaning systems chronic and routine. The new medium of motion pictures, for example, became a cultural battlefield between racist films in the United States like The Birth of a Nation (1915) and Gone With The Wind (1939), and Charlie Chaplain’s work celebrating social equality. While a mortal conflict between communist and fascist propaganda was raging in Europe and Asia, the United States saw a culture war between rural fundamentalists and urban secularists, which erupted in a 1925 nationally publicized courtroom drama on the teaching of Darwinian evolution in public schools. This culture war between fundamentalists and secularists continues in the United States until this day.

By the year 2000, global corporations were allied with U.S. military hegemony and were deploying sexualized advertisements and other content promoting a consumerist lifestyle (Curtis, 2002), undermining traditional religions around the world (Sacks, 2003) as capitalism had previously threatened rural Protestantism in the United States. This “clash of civilizations” was the context in which fundamentalist jihadis staged globally televised attacks in 2001, striking the World Trade Center—a symbol of transnational capitalism—and the Pentagon, a symbol of U.S. military hegemony. The George W. Bush Administration responded to these attacks—which were both potent death reminders and forceful challenges to cherished American immortality systems—with a nationalistic War on Terror that escalated both the death imagery and the clash of civilizations. While the Obama Administration dialed back this militant foreign policy, America’s first Black president became an intolerable challenge to the country’s millions of white supremacists, opening a new, domestic front in the culture wars.

For religious fundamentalists and other adherents of authoritarian cults, the possessive individualism of capitalist culture is supplemented by or replaced with distinctive worldviews having archaic elements. Some, for example, believe that God will destroy the entire world except for a faithful “remnant” of believers who will enjoy permanent happiness in Heaven (Strozier et al, 2010). Others, like adherents of the QAnon cult in the United States, entertain a group fantasy featuring cannibalistic Satan worshippers.

The prevalence and tenacity of such cults suggests that possessive individualism cannot satisfy our species’ deep-rooted need for community. Humans are social beings, and will create and seek out novel forms of community if the dominant culture fails to meet their needs. Individuals suffering from low self-esteem may be especially attracted to the forms of community offered by religious fundamentalisms and other authoritarian cults. But the underlying problem is the large-scale failure of possessive individualism to provide authentic community, not in the first instance some people’s personality deficiencies.

**Clinical and Social Implications**



I conclude this paper with some necessarily abbreviated clinical and social implications of the foregoing. The clinical framework that I bring to the topic of death anxiety is that of relational trauma in childhood and its life-long effects on self esteem. As mentioned previously, the literature on attachment disorders is one resource for thinking about this topic. Superimposed on the early experiences involving attachment are those in later childhood, especially resulting from punitive parenting (Milburn and Conrad, 2016; D’Agostino, 2019). The psychology of religious fundamentalism, examined by Strozier et al (2010), can generally be traced to punitive parenting (Greven, 1992; Heimlich, 2011; Benson, 2016; Capps, 1995).

Survivors of punitive parenting typically exhibit repression of rage, which may be projected onto scapegoats (e.g. where white males are enabled to victimize “the other;” D’Agostino, 2019), projected onto others like oneself (e.g. where Black males in the United States victimize one another; Taylor, 2018), displaced onto one’s own children, or turned onto oneself, as in the case of a female drug addict discussed by Miller (1986). Recovering this unconscious rage and bringing it to consciousness can be central to the healing process for such individuals (D’Agostino, 2019).

At the societal level, displacement of unconscious rage onto political scapegoats is central to the psychology of authoritarianism (Milburn and Conrad, 2016; D’Agostino, 2019). Scapegoats that can represent the punished child are usually vulnerable outgroups, such as Jews in Nazi Germany, Muslims under Hindu nationalism, or Blacks and immigrants in the politics of white supremacism in the United States. Those who displace their rage onto scapegoats typically persecute others because they find it too painful to confront the traumatic memories of their own abusive treatment by parents.

When political scapegoating and similar displacements are expressed in the consulting room, they can provide important clues to clients’ unconscious complexes. For example, idealization of public agencies that use force, notably the military and police, may be clues to the client’s experience of corporal punishment in childhood (Milburn and Conrad, 2016). This displacement of introjected feelings of power onto authority figures typically alternates with scapegoating, indicating that the client is oscillating between “identification with the aggressor” and discharging the unconscious rage of the inner punished child (D’Agostino, 2019).

In addition to promoting individual healing, therapists and psychohistorians can intervene at the societal level by supporting parenting education. For example, parenting classes in schools can help free future generations from attachment disorders and punitive parenting (Kind, 2014). Teaching these classes to boys as well as girls also helps dismantle the intergenerational transmission of gender stereotypes, notably the notion that baby care is woman’s work (Miedzian, 2019). Another parenting education initiative is the French magazine PEPS (<https://pepsmagazine.com/>), which provides a forum for parents to share positive parenting practices and experiences. Other parenting education resources include The Wonder Weeks book and website (<https://www.thewonderweeks.com/>) and Parents First!™, an educational organization that supports parenthood (<https://parentsfirst.net/>).

The Twenty-first Century threats facing humanity can only be adequately addressed on many levels simultaneously. Capitalism’s culture of possessive individualism must be replaced by what C. G. Jung called individuation, an ongoing dialog between the conscious ego and the entire unconscious psyche. Meditation is an important healing modality that can be put into practice by individuals. One effortless form of meditation, rooted in India’s tradition of Advaita Vedanta but not requiring any religious beliefs, has been validated by voluminous peer reviewed research (O’Connell and Bevvino, 2015).

At the same time, new forms of community are needed, including expanded forms of political participation and more democratic and empowering schools and workplaces (D’Agostino, 2012). Renewals of the world’s religions are needed that create authentic community and mutual love. Erich Fromm’s *The Art of Loving* can be a resource for facilitating such renewal and community building. Inter-religious examples of such renewal include the Poor People’s Campaign in the United States (Barber 2020) and the worldwide Focolare Movement, founded by Italian Catholic reformer Chiara Lubich (Masters and Uelmen, 2011). Finally, as noted above, parenting education is a powerful societal intervention that can help dismantle the intergenerational transmission of relational disorders at the basis of so much human destructiveness, religious and secular.

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1. This presentation is dedicated to the memory of my dear friend Prof. Souvik Raychaudhuri; see my memorial essay, “Leaders, Celebrities, and the Hero Complex: Remembering Souvik Raychaudhuri” (D’Agostino, 2021) <https://ipanewsletters.com/> [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. C. B. Macpherson (1962/2011) coined this term to describe a private property oriented political philosophy that arose in 17th Century England; Adam Smith’s later version of possessive individualism (though Smith himself does not use this term) articulates more fully the logic of this new way of thinking and provides what is arguably its classical programmatic formulation (Heilbroner, 1953/2000). [↑](#footnote-ref-2)