

LIBERATING POWER:  
A SOCIAL JUSTICE AGENDA FOR DEPTH PSYCHOLOGY  
by  
Maricela Patiño Morales

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---

Aaron Kipnis, Ph.D.  
Faculty Advisor

On behalf of the thesis committee I accept this paper as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of Arts in Counseling Psychology.

---

Allen Koehn, D.Min., M.F.T.  
Research Coordinator

On behalf of the Institute I accept this paper as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of Arts in Counseling Psychology.

---

Stephen Aizenstat, Ph.D.  
President

If there is no struggle, there is no progress. Those who profess to favor freedom yet depreciate agitation... want crops without plowing up the ground, they want rain without thunder and lightning. They want the ocean without the awful roar of its many waters. . . . Power concedes nothing without a demand. It never did and it never will.

Fredrick Douglass, 1857

Those of us involved in Depth psychology need to struggle towards a new psychological valuing of the potential of political engagement itself. Involvement in the external world and passionate political involvement are as psychologically valuable as an interior perspective.

Andrew Samuels, 1991

## Abstract

### LIBERATING POWER: A SOCIAL JUSTICE AGENDA FOR DEPTH PSYCHOLOGY

By Maricela Patiño Morales

The deeper roots of this text are the countless children, families and communities throughout time to the present, that urge our conscious liberation from oppression's every day violence and killing in its subtle to brutal forms, from prejudice to war. Our human practice of oppression, through direct and indirect killings, psychological torture and everyday –isms (classism, racism, sexism, heterosexism etc.), is powerfully sustained by denial, cultural norms, public roles, private relationships, organizations, institutions, and laws. Here and throughout the world, liberation from oppression is basic to personal and collective survival and necessary for internal and external psychological freedom.

The death and life-long restrictions caused by oppression, throughout time, geography, and culture, warrant the study of oppression as a form of psychological pathology to end and transform. Depth psychology in the United States of America (U.S.), is not now, but could be about the psychological work of preventing the unjust torture, death, and life-diminishing of millions of people in the U.S. and around the world. A hermeneutic exploration of theoretical writings from liberation, critical, community, and depth psychology on themes of oppression, power, liberation, and politics, along with historical and present day examples of social movements provide ideas, values and experiences that depth psychology may incorporate to participate in the

struggle from oppression to liberation. Depth psychology can choose to invest in the theoretical research, academic study, and institutional and clinical application of a social justice approach to bring oppression out of the individual and collective shadows and help stop the abuse that kills and psychologically harms primarily people of color, indigenous peoples, immigrants, and low wage working families. The electronic copy of this thesis is a PDF file which can be opened with Acrobat Reader 9.0.

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## CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

In contemporary neo-colonial and hierarchical environments, the oppressed feel a constant assault on, and rupture of, their dignity, humanity, and dreams for happiness. Those privileged to live comfortable lives in the midst of human misery, must perform ever more complete percepticide within their own psyches if they are to sustain a sense of comfort.

Lorenz and Watkins (200b), p. 15

### Power in Mutual Freedom

We all want to live free. Freedom is a basic human need and desire. Oppression kills freedom, our own and that of others. Oppression is defined in the dictionary as: “1a. unjust or cruel exercise of authority or power and 2. a sense of being weighed down in body or mind” (Merriam-Webster, 2008). In human experience it can be described as destructive roles and relationships where one person or group has power over another, derived from a socially privileged characteristic, role or resource that has become internalized as having greater worth.

A relatively recent, dramatic example of this is the system of apartheid in South Africa where four million whites dominated some twenty million blacks. The oppression was a collective, external one in that it led to millions of people being killed or displaced, and it was an internal one in that, for generations, it fostered life-long fear, anxiety, depression and other forms of less visible personal destruction. Oppression is carried out

by presumably mentally healthy, common, normal and good people, and the relatively few in every institution (government, university, business, church, other) with decision making power, considered to be civil, caring and intelligent adults.

A hermeneutic methodology is used to explore how different threads in the field of psychology work with the ideas and values related to oppression, liberation, power, and politics to develop a deeper understanding of the experience of oppression and how depth psychology may engage in the work of liberation from oppression. This thesis primarily uses examples of cultural, economic and political oppression in the U.S. because it is what is most familiar to the author. Nonetheless, oppression on a global scale, such as in the form of corporate globalization, cultural imperialism and environmental degradation, is also in desperate need of profound attention by depth psychology. When abusive or unjust power, at a personal and collective level, becomes conscious, we can begin to use this critical consciousness to do the liberating work that sets ourselves and others free from oppression. Beyond oppression we are free to fully develop and express our human potential, to individuate at the personal level, and express social justice, equity and fairness at the collective level.

Educator Paulo Freire, student of phenomenology and the psychology of language, was exiled from his native country of Brazil for writing and speaking about liberation from oppression. His seminal book, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, first published in 1968, has become the foundation for the field of critical pedagogy. Critical pedagogy is similar to depth psychology in that it aims to uncover the deeper significance of thought, action and human experience. The aim of critical pedagogy is very specifically to liberate ourselves from social oppression through a focus on the system and practice of

the field of academic education. Depth psychology has a very different mainstream history that is preoccupied with personal individuation through the integration of the individual unconscious into consciousness. By incorporating more of the big “S” Self to expand our little “s” self, we realize more of our humanity, we grow, we heal, we are transformed and transcend what was a more limited or less developed human experience. Depth psychology can learn from critical pedagogy and consider individuation within the collective or social context – what could be considered the big “S” of Society.

Depth psychology focuses on individuation primarily as building from the positive and developing beyond the harmful or insufficient parental care. Beginning with Freud and continuing with Jung, attention is on the power of the mother-child relationship on our psyche. Jung goes beyond the mother-child to explore ways in which archetypes, cultures, and mythology affect the psyche. It is this author’s contention that the insufficient attention, on the part of depth psychology, to the study of oppression on our psyche, perpetuates social injustice and in that way thwarts individuation.

Oppression, to-date, effects and shapes every human experience, every human psyche. Erroneously, it is assumed to be an issue only for or of the oppressed, as if the perpetrator is not implicated or part of the destructive process. Common examples of oppressed groups are people of color, the working poor, GLBTQ (gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender, queer) and women. As the perpetrator of oppression, the “oppressor” is also dehumanized and enslaved to a shadow or negative figure. George Bush is the perpetrator of the killing of millions of Iraqi civilians and that diminishes his humanity. The corporate perpetrators of junk sub-prime loans that have led to suicides and millions of

working families becoming homeless are not served at a deeper psychological level by their acts of economic oppression.

Mutual liberation from oppression is advanced when both the oppressor and oppressed are not reviled, revered, nor protected by the denial or justification of their abuse of power, nor for their struggle against oppression. Recognizing that both are harmed by oppression clarifies that liberation is not a superficial reversal of the oppressor, apparent winner, and the oppressed, apparent loser. Depth psychology understands about light and shadow co-existing – that there is ultimately no winner or loser. The aim is for mutual liberation and not role reversal. Depth psychology also has the concept of the transcendent function that is somewhat akin to mutual liberation in the social collective arena.

There is fear in the opportunity or challenge to transcend. In an oppressive situation the oppressor is advantaged or privileged by the excess power over the oppressed, while the oppressed is at a loss of freedom and even physical death. When the abuse of power is stopped, the oppressor can fear the loss of privilege, even when it means the life of the oppressed is protected and allowed to flourish. Depth psychology can assist with mutual liberation by addressing the fear at the root of oppression through a critical consciousness that informs and supports people, institutions, systems, actions, and relationships of liberating power.

#### Area of Interest

I first began this thesis eight years ago. It began in grief and anger. As a Latina, I chose Pacifica Graduate Institute (PGI) because it presented itself as being conscious of

and respectful of diverse, non-white, non-dominant, cultures. Through direct experience, I found this to be untrue. I learned that PGI is rooted in, and casts a long and deep shadow of, the hegemonic tradition of white Western European culture and institutions. The fact that this experience shocked me is indicative of my own lack of awareness and denial of the pervasiveness, complexity, and depth of oppression.

A personal journal entry of mine during my first year at PGI reads,

I still have to fight the pacifist and colonized voice in me that has been socialized to believe that in America the collective includes me. The dominant social collective does Not include me and countless others who are not white.

It still causes me to cringe inside when I hold the mirror up to white members of this society – for them to see their shadow as red as Lady Mac Beth’s hands. Their blood saturated soul is drowning them but they are too engrossed in their grandeur, caught in their scientific traps, blinded by their pure white and golden beauty and too busy paying tribute to their uniform self-portraits. And as I raise the mirror before them I cringe – they will shatter the mirror in denial and fear. With the sharp pieces they will cut me and try to annihilate me while all the while self-righteously asserting their innocence with a smile. White Western culture has a proud, long standing tradition of sacrificing the Soul of the Other upon their temple called Freedom to feed their God of Dominance. (Author’s personal journal January 20, 1999)

There are many examples of ways in which PGI proved to be an oppressive institution. One example has to do with the required readings. In our first year of study, all of the required readings were by white authors. The second year, only after our class petitioned for the inclusion of diverse writers, Toni Morrison’s *Beloved* was added, as optional reading. Another example had to do with the absence of diversity in the study of mythology. Although PGI is located in California where Mexican and Indigenous peoples have been present since before the region was declared to be the U.S. and where today Latinos are the fastest growing ethnic population, PGI only presented Greek or Western European mythological figures and stories to the exclusion of the prominent depiction

and psychological relevance of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe (Our Lady of Guadalupe) whose image and spirit, quite literally, reigns in millions of Mexican, Central American and other Latino households throughout America. Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe is commonly tattooed on *veterano* gang-bangers and is also a symbol of spiritual inspiration, strength, and protection at political rallies in support of disenfranchised farm workers and immigrants. PGI's power to select the curriculum is used in a way that continues to privilege white mythologies and exclude non-white mythologies.

These are only a few examples of institutional oppression. Oppression is integral to the fabric of our individual and collective lives. It is that way not because it is encoded in our genes, but rather as a psychological complex that remains unconscious and relentlessly active, not unlike an autoimmune disease. Another way to think of oppression is as a dye that permeates our human experience.

With much struggle it is possible to curtail oppression, and even create from it, nonviolently. For example, although we have yet to expunge the violence and oppression of human trafficking, undocumented immigrant workers and policies that perpetuate impoverished black communities, we have expunged the more overt oppression of black slavery. The abolition of slavery, the freedom from oppression of slavery, was driven by individuals and groups that were conscious of the abuse of power of one people over another people. It was a collective, critical, consciousness that generated many acts of liberating power to move from oppression to freedom, together, but also against people who resisted becoming conscious of oppression.

It is a common aspect of the human experience to hold and be held captive, enslaved, and, to varying degrees, weakened and limited by oppression. At the same time,

we are all capable of developing a psychological, critical consciousness to use our liberating power to stop oppression and grow beyond it. I am interested, through this thesis, to further depth psychology's study of our power for mutual liberation from oppression to freedom. Neither perpetrator nor victim is free, until we are all free. Sitting in jail in 1963, Martin Luther King Jr. wrote,

Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere. We are caught in an inescapable network of mutuality, tied in a single garment of destiny. Whatever affects one directly, affects all indirectly. (as cited in Washington, 1986 p. 290)

Social oppression is a collective expression of individual psychology. The complexity lies in the fact that no individual person, community, institution, or country is perpetrator, victim, or liberator *exclusively*. In a given relationship, context, or role we are capable of being either perpetrator, victim, or liberator in thought, word, and action.

Liberation from dehumanizing oppression is needed by each one of us.

### Guiding Purpose

I want Depth psychology to develop a critical consciousness and serve as an active resource and agent for the human, institutional, and systemic process of liberation from oppression. In the spirit of critical pedagogy, each and every one of us is student *and* teacher (Freire, 1997). This thesis is the author's psychological, intellectual, spiritual, and empathic challenge to deepen the understanding of oppression. Individuation cannot occur without the deeper conscious study, dialogue, and action from oppression to freedom.

Freedom from oppression is primary to psychological individual and collective safety, survival, and individuation. To the extent that oppression is released by conscious power or critical consciousness, a fertile environment is created for the more full

potential of each individual to flourish. I do think, believe, and feel that all life is sacred, and therefore no person or thing is more worthy of life, protection, and prosperity than any other. It is not necessary to share this experience and perspective to address the importance of oppression to human individuation. Here, the author explores what the field of psychology has to say about the power that generates, resist, and seeks to transform both the raw killing and disenfranchisement of people of color, low income children, families, and communities, natural environments and entire societies, particularly indigenous and black.

What can depth psychology learn *and* teach about oppression, power, and the struggle for freedom from domination because of a particular social characteristic, role or resource? An insufficiently precise and shared Depth psychological analysis of oppression passively supports the killing and stifling of lives, personally and collectively, internally and externally, privately and publicly.

#### Rationale

Unjust power, oppression, is a destructive pathological force. This thesis is another witness to the violent power of oppression, via the field of depth psychology. It is another drop of water on the stones of oppression in an effort to wear them down or break-open their potential for the nonviolent liberating power of freedom, whether in the form of personal individuation, safe streets, or political peace.

Aurora Levins-Morales shared about the breadth and depth of violence, from the personal to the collective, the private to the public, needing liberation:

Whether it takes place in the supposedly private context of sexual abuse or the public and allegedly impersonal arenas of colonialism, patriarchy or a profoundly racist class society, the traumatic experience of being dehumanized and exploited



strips people of their stories, of the explanations that make sense of their lives.  
(1998, pp. 3-4)

Individual and direct one-on-one abuse is interconnected with the seemingly less personal violence of social oppression. The field of depth psychology, through its narrow focus on private individuals isolated from the public context of history and society, effectively turns a blind eye to the oppression of people and whole communities.

Still today, the individual and collective psychological implications of oppression merit an inconsequential investment of depth psychology's attention and wealth of resources. This withholding of resources maintains oppression in Depth psychology's shadow by institutional decision makers in privileged positions who benefit from systemic oppression. It is the privilege of a people that are physically and psychologically safe and prosperous enough as to be disconnected and blind to the marginalization of the needs of whole cultures and groups of people, the oppressed.

Low wage workers, single mothers, millions of economic and political refugees, disenfranchised native Americans in reservations, undocumented "alien" immigrants, and many others comprise the non-privileged oppressed that bleed invisibly through the struggle of survival, resistance, and liberation. The talk, acts, and violence of oppression encompass a broad spectrum of fantasies, beliefs, images, and behavior. Throughout the populated continents, here are only a very few disturbing sightings of human oppression from across the centuries:

They cut off the legs of children who ran from them. They poured people full of boiling soap. They made bets as to who, with one sweep of his sword, could cut a person in half. They loosed dogs that 'devoured an Indian like a hog, at first sight, in less than a moment.' They used nursing infants for dog food. (Bartolomé de las Casas, as quoted in Hawken, 2007, p. 97).

In this excerpt from *Poem of Alienation* by Antonio Jacinto of Angola, Africa, oppression is described as the unwritten experience of illiterate workers without the opportunity to express their own experience,

This is not yet my poem  
 the poem of my soul and of my blood  
 no  
 I still lack knowledge and power to write my poem  
 the great poem I feel already turning in me  
 My poem goes to market works in the kitchen  
 goes to the workbench  
 fills the tavern and the gaol  
 is poor ragged and dirty  
 lives in benighted ignorance  
 my poem knows nothing of itself  
 nor how to plead  
 (as cited in Moore, G. & Beier, U. Eds., 1998, p. 9)

Colonization does not, after all, affect people only economically. More fundamentally, it affects a people's understanding of their universe, their place within that universe, the kinds of values they must embrace and actions they must make to remain safe and whole within that universe. In short, colonization alters both the individual and group's sense of identity. Loss of identity is a major dimension of alienation, and when severe enough it can lead to individual and group death. (Allen, 1986, p. 90);

From 1976 to 1983, under the rule of a [Columbian] military dictatorship, nearly 30,000 people were disappeared. They were kidnapped, tortured, often mutilated and murdered. The only public protest to this came from the Mothers of the Disappeared (Shinoda Bolen, 2005, p. 104).

Extinction of species and cultures is driven by globalization, the pursuit of progress through resource extraction and economic expansion—the dream of the North, if you will, the dream of Columbus... The Dayak peoples of Borneo, which include the Ibans, Kenyahs, Kelabits, Penans, and two hundred other riverine or hill-dwelling ethnic groups, face siltation, erosion, and destruction of their homeland from extensive clear-cutting of primary forests and water and crop pollution from oil companies. The Ijaw and Ogoni people of Nigeria have seen the rich Niger River delta devastated by oil pipeline ruptures, air and water pollution, toxic wastes in their rivers and fisheries, and fires from the accidents and flaring of gas. The Kogi of Colombia face extermination due to aerial spraying by U.S. planes of herbicide cocktails (Agent Green) designed to prevent the cultivation of coca, which the Kogi do not grow as a cash crop. The Wapishana of Guyana are challenging patents on their native foodstuffs by

multinational corporations. The Garifuna of Honduras are protesting the construction of resorts and developments on expropriated land... The Sammi in Norway are threatened by military and hydroelectric projects. The list goes on and on (Hawken, 2007, pp. 102,104,105).

With unrelenting horror, it is no wonder the overwhelming majority of us numbingly and protectively cling to pragmatic explanations, intellectual dissociation, defensive denial, or hopeless pity about oppression. Helene Shulman Lorenz's knowledgeable description of our psychological conditioning is this:

Conquest, land-theft, slavery, and genocide do not fit easily into heroic narratives of national destiny. When these brutalities are not publicly named and mourned, a habit of dissociative thinking is hardened into a cultural complex. Educated within it, we may learn to disown all that is disruptive, bloody, bodily, and disorienting in both personal and social experience by climbing up to the peaks of a universalist discourse (2000a, p. 227).

Despite our protective desire to justify or ignore oppression, the human psyche does have the capacity to witness (become conscious of) the violence of oppression and struggle towards liberation.

### Method

A hermeneutic methodology is used to contribute towards a deeper understanding of oppression and liberation and explore opportunities for depth psychology to address oppression. The works of various psychology writers including depth, critical, community and liberation psychology are reviewed for their ideas, values and descriptions of oppression. Within depth psychology, writers include, Helene Shulman Lorenz, Mary Watkins, Andrew Samuels and James Hillman. Writers of liberation psychology include primarily Ignacio Martin-Baro and in critical psychology there are Dennis Fox and Isaac Prilleltensky. These writers provide opportunities for depth

psychology to advance psychological freedom at the individual *and* collective, and the private *and* public level.

Themes explored include power, liberation psychology, the political psyche, socio-political activism, and critical consciousness. I turn to authors who have resisted oppression and taken on politics along with depth psychology such as, Paula Gunn Allen, Gloria Anzaldua, Ana Castillo, Ignacio Martin-Baro, Paulo Freire, Judith Herman, James Hillman, Nancy Caro Hollander, Aurora Levins Morales, Edward Said, and Andrew Samuels. I refer to them by name to thank them for helping me survive, heal and grow from the psychological alienation and fragmentation I experienced as an oppress-ed person. I present a potential diagnostic tool to help to identify and understand oppress-ive and oppress-ed sub-populations from this literature review and experience living, working and discussing with people of color, immigrants, and low-income communities.

Cultural and liberation psychology methods include sharing expertise, dialogue, and co-authoring a different reality. I reference the work of other master's students to engage and further a written discussion. There is no individual expert or authority figure; everyone is both a teacher and a student to one another (Sampson, E., 1998). By including the voices of depth psychology graduate students along with published depth psychologist experts and authors, I am consciously attempting to diversify the voice of authority. From this literature, there is much to learn and work with to begin to consciously develop a social justice agenda for the field of depth psychology.

### Overview

Following the Introduction and first interlude, Chapter II offers a literature review that references research from depth, feminist, critical and liberation psychologies, with

examples from human experience. Through this review, the impact of and struggle with oppression is considered as well as the application of liberation, critical, and depth psychology to help us liberate ourselves from the complex of oppression.

Throughout this thesis, a poem, excerpt, or hip-hop spoken word is included as an interlude from chapter to chapter to bring us back to the human experience of oppression and liberation that can easily get lost while immersed in a written exploration of ideas. The struggle for liberation has been on the streets and, rarely, in the lecture halls where the immediacy of the everyday violence on the psyche so easily gets lost in theory, like a kite with no connection to the earth.

In Chapter III, having reviewed existing literature concerning oppression, the chapter introduces the Oppression Complexes in the form of a DSM diagnostic tool as a potential tool to help identify or diagnose oppression. Paul Hawken writes, “In business, what isn’t measured isn’t managed; in the media, what isn’t visible isn’t reported” (2007, p. 15). Similarly, in clinical psychology, what is not in the DSM is not a legitimate psychological problem that warrants treatment. The chapter then presents the possibilities of applying a critical consciousness and developing a social justice agenda for depth psychology for a psychological movement from oppression to freedom.

Chapter IV concludes the thesis with a summary and recommendations for depth psychology to further the study and practice of liberating power for mutual liberation from oppression to freedom.

*Interlude I*

## "Two Women"

**I am a woman.**

I am a woman.

**I am a woman born of a woman whose man owned a factory.**

I am a woman born of a woman whose man labored in a factory.

**I am a woman whose man wore silk suits, who constantly watched his weight.**

I am a woman born of a woman whose man wore tattered clothing, whose heart was constantly strangled by hunger.

**I am a woman who watched two babies grow into beautiful children.**

I am a woman who watched two babies die because there was no milk.

**I am a woman who watched twins grow into popular college students with summers abroad.**

I am a woman who watched three children grow, but with bellies stretched from no food.

**But then there was a man;**

But then there was a man;

**And he talked about the peasants getting richer by my family getting poorer.**

And he told me of days that would be better, and he made the days better.

**We had to eat rice.**

We had rice.

**We had to eat beans!**

We had beans.

**My children were no longer given summer visas to Europe.**

My children no longer cried themselves to sleep.

**And I felt like a peasant.**

And I felt like a woman.

**A peasant with a dull, hard, unexciting life.**

Like a woman with a life that sometimes allowed a song.

**And I saw a man.**

And I saw a man.

**And together we began to plot with the hope of the return to freedom.**

I saw his heart begin to beat with hope of freedom, at last.

**Someday, the return to freedom.**

Someday freedom.

**And then,**

But then,

**One day,**

One day,

**There were planes overhead and guns firing close by.**

There were planes overhead and guns firing in the distance.

**I gathered my children and went home.**

I gathered my children and ran.

**And the guns moved farther and farther away.**

But the guns moved closer and closer.

**And then, they announced that freedom had been restored!**

And then they came, young boys really.  
**They came into my home along with my man.**  
 They came and found my man.

**Those men whose money was almost gone.**  
 They found all of the men whose lives were almost their own.

**And we all had drinks to celebrate.**  
 And they shot them all.

**The most wonderful martinis.**  
 They shot my man.

**And then they asked us to dance.**  
 And they came for me.

**Me.**  
 For me, the woman.

**And my sisters.**  
 For my sisters.

**And they took us.**  
 Then they took us.

**They took us to dinner at a small, private club.**  
 They stripped from us the dignity we had gained.

**And they treated us to beef.**  
 And then they raped us.

**It was one course after another.**  
 One after another they came after us.

**We nearly burst we were so full.**  
 Lunging, plunging—sisters bleeding, sisters dying.

**It was magnificent to be free again!**  
 It was hardly a relief to have survived.

**The beans have almost disappeared now.**  
 The beans have disappeared.

**The rice—I've replaced it with chicken or steak.**  
 The rice, I cannot find it.

**And the parties continue night after night to make up for all the time wasted.**  
 And my silent tears are joined once more by the midnight cries of my children.

**And I feel like a woman again.**  
 They say, I am a woman.

Written by anonymous working class Chilean woman in 1973 after President Salvador Allende was overthrown (Anonymous, 2007, p. 128).

## CHAPTER II UNCONSCIOUS POWER

### Oppression: A Human History

Despite the archetypal nature of oppression over time and cultures, there is only a rare study of oppression, much less a social justice approach by depth psychology for liberation from oppression. Depth psychology impacts the field and practice of psychology, and yet that power is predominantly unconscious of oppression. A first step, all be it troubling and uncomfortable, to bringing oppression out from the shadow is to witness oppression, to take the time to consider the constant presence of oppression beginning in mythology and up to modern day human events, institutions and relationships. These external, public, and collective experiences are acted out by, and impact on, individual people.

#### *Oppression in Mythology*

The roots of oppression run very deep in human history as to coincide with our beginnings as seen in mythology. In the beginning . . . there was war. Having been created, the gods and humans made war. About 4000 BCE the Sumerians in what is today Iraq were invaded by the Semitic Akkadians (Armstrong, 1993, p. 6). There were Asian invasions into ancient Egypt about 2000 BCE. In Asia, the first dynasty (Xia) was overthrown by the Shang dynasty in 1700 BCE. Back in the Middle East, during the times of the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac and Jacob (2000-1500 BCE) there were gods,



God, and war. One recaptured creation epic, the *Enuma Elish* of the Babylonians (1700 BCE), goes something like this,

But creation had only just begun: the forces of chaos and disintegration could only be held at bay by means of a painful and incessant struggle. The younger, dynamic gods rose up against their parents, but even though Ea was able to overpower Apsu and Mummu, he could make no headway against Tiamat, who produced a whole brood of misshapen monsters to fight on her behalf. (Armstrong, 1993, p. 8)

War, whether in mythology or real life, is the most externally brutal form of oppression impacting millions of people. War is archetypal; it is not limited to any one geography, culture, and time.

#### *Oppression in Ancient to Recent Times*

The Trojan War of 1200 BCE was followed by wars throughout Europe, Russia, Africa, Asia and the continent of the Americas where,

Some time between 650-700 (AD), Teotihuacan was sacked and put to the torch by unknown invaders... The sack of Teotihuacan, and the later plundering of Tula, the Toltec capital, show that native conquerors were every bit as destructive as the Spaniards were to be. Conquerors, after all, come to impose themselves, and what they do not raze to the ground they use as building blocks for their own memorials (Haas, 1982, p. 25).

Another 800 years later, about 1521, Cortes from Spain made war on the Mexicas (commonly known as Aztecs) and won. Bartolome de las Casas, a young priest and plantation owner with Indian slaves wrote in his multivolume *History of the Indies*, “from 1494 to 1508, over three million people had perished from war, slavery and the mines. Who in future generations will believe this? I myself writing it as a knowledgeable eyewitness can hardly believe it...” (As cited in Zinn, 2003, p. 7).

### *International Oppression by the United States*

In the 1970s-80s there were civil wars throughout Latin America killing millions. The civil wars were fueled by U.S. interests, policies, and actual training of mercenaries at the School of the Americas in the U.S. Today, our U.S. “war against terrorism,” has killed some 88,656 - 96,766 Iraqi civilians - infants, kids, youth, moms, dads, grandparents and elders ([www.iraqbodycount.org](http://www.iraqbodycount.org); October 27, 2008); 143,341 wounded U.S. soldiers; and 4,188 U.S. dead soldiers ([www.icasualties.org/oif/](http://www.icasualties.org/oif/), October 27, 2008). The deaths and wounds, even of U.S. soldiers, are masked by veils of patriotism and “homeland security” relegating the violence to the collective shadow.

### *Traumatizing Oppression*

This incredibly brief overview through time presents the most visible, social, and physical manifestations of oppression in its most irreversible form, death through war. The non-fatal acts and impacts of oppression have only recently, in the latter 1900’s, been written about and studied.

Perhaps the closest the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders IV (DSM) comes to addressing the psychological impacts of oppression is Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD). PTSD is limited in that it is a specific diagnosis regarding the overt trauma of war, sexual assault, or other physically life threatening experiences. It was the American Vietnam war veterans’ experience that had much to do with qualifying PTSD as a specified anxiety disorder in the DSM. One of the PTSD criteria is increased arousal, in essence, anticipation (APA, 4<sup>th</sup> Ed., 1994, pp. 424 - 429). Expecting future trauma can be a protective strategy, a means of attempting not to “get caught off guard.”

Psychology writers addressing impacts of traumatic experiences of oppression include assassinated Salvadoran liberation psychologist, Ignacio Martín-Baró, Nancy Caro Hollander, author of *Love in a Time of Hate*, and Harvard psychiatry professor, Judith Herman. Hollander applied the liberation psychology of Latin America to the U.S. and Herman commented on the intense resistance to moving oppression out of the shadows, “As predicted, the study of psychological trauma has remained highly controversial. Many clinicians, researchers and political advocates who work with traumatized people have come under fierce attack” (1997, p. 238).

Martín-Baró described the behavior of Salvadorans living in war as demonstrating signs of paranoid delirium, hyper-vigilance, and suspicion of every common stranger. War, he explained, modifies and molds relationships through violence, polarization, and lies. The violence of oppression at the macro level becomes normalized on the personal level, “as the war drags on, the recourse to violence, which at one time was considered only as a last resort and temporary solution, becomes a habit and the preferred response”(1994, p. 112). He concluded that human relations become diseased by war as the violent behavior is pervasive and encompasses everyday living. Children grow up in a normal-abnormal context that is everyday violence (1994, p. 125-134).

Violence is commonly facilitated by separating groups of people to opposite extremes, or poles, where,

. . . no frame of reference can be taken for granted as valid for everyone; values no longer have any collective validity; and even the possibility of appealing to ‘common sense’ is lost, because the assumptions of coexistence themselves are being put on trial. (1994, p. 113)

Lastly, pervasive lies by institutions and leaders are to such an extent that an imaginary world is created “whose only truth is precisely that it is a false world, and whose only pillar of support is the fear of reality” (p. 113-114).

Specific to children in and of war, Martín-Baró cites the following impacts: emotional insensitivity as a form of defense from the cruelty, night terrors, inability to concentrate, regression, irritability, sensitivity to sudden noise, somatization in many forms, psychic flight into fantasy which can lead to schizoid syndromes, impaired family relationships, and deprivation of affection “or dreams for the future” (1994, p. 128). U.S. Depth psychologists are often unconscious of the psychological dimension of U.S. foreign policy that shapes civil war abroad.

Here in the U.S., Herman’s experience working with a U.S. northeast population of survivors of concentration camps and war, and also of chronic domestic violence and child abuse, led her to develop an outline of trauma symptoms including:

1. A history of subjugation to totalitarian control over a prolonged period.  
Examples also include those subjected to totalitarian systems in sexual and domestic life
2. Alterations in affect regulation, including
  - a. Persistent dysphoria
  - b. Explosive or extremely inhibited anger (may alternate)
3. Alterations in consciousness
4. Alterations in self-perception including
  - a. sense of helplessness or paralysis of initiative
  - b. shame, guilt and self-blame
  - c. sense of defilement or stigma
  - d. sense of complete difference from others
5. Alterations in perception of perpetrator, including
  - a. Preoccupation with relationship with perpetrator
  - b. Unrealistic attribution of total power to perpetrator
6. Alterations in relations with others, including
  - a. repeated search for rescuer
  - b. persistent distrust
7. Alterations in systems of meaning
  - a. Sense of hopelessness and despair (1997, p.121).

This outline is part of her recommendation for a new diagnosis she calls the “complex post-traumatic stress disorder” (1997, p.119) that differentiates between the impact of isolated violent experiences to the impact of recurring acts of domestic and foreign terror.

### *Pervasive Oppression*

For as timeless and global as oppressive acts of military and economic war are, they are not oppressive experiences that impact everyone directly. Examples of war are traumatic experiences with readily identifiable roles of perpetrator and victim, a beginning and end to the traumatic attack, and quantifiable occurrences. There is another type of oppression where the perpetrator-victim roles are subtle and where the violence is not physically life-threatening. This everyday oppression is systemic and is shaped by and impacts people’s past, present and future psychology, including racism, sexism and other –isms. To date, there is not a DSM diagnosis or description that addresses the psychopathology of oppression in its diffused form of “-isms,” – racism, classism, sexism, heterosexism, and others -- that have a psychological dimension to them from the individual to group level.

Pacifica’s library of master’s theses includes a small, but significant, collection of about two-dozen theses that provide an academic sampling of the experience and of the study of pervasive, systemic, or “everyone-everyday” oppression.” Oppression is explored from about five different references including colonialism, race/ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, economic, and political each manifested at the personal, institutional, and social levels. Of these, only a sparse overview is presented here to illustrate some common forms of oppression.

Rachael Vaughn in “New world order: de-colonization in the search for authentic identity” asks the question, “Who are the Colonized?” and answered that the colonized can be just about anyone hiding behind a false self out of fear of social rejection, in addition to groups of people that are disenfranchised as well as occupied countries (2002, p. 15). Her interest is in the intersection of personal experience with political and social prejudice resulting in both social and psychological alienation (2002, p. 6).

Wilton Martinez (1999), in “Latin American Eclipse: Pathologizing in the postcolonial underworld,” provided an intricate examination of *Latin American fatalism* as a psychic complex of psychic alienation, inferiority, splitting, and an oedipalized consciousness seeded and nurtured by centuries of colonization and imperialism.

Most of the studies related to oppression in the United States focus on gender and race/ethnicity, in terms of the experience of people of color, or non-whites. Some oppression study has been done on the dominance or oppressiveness of white people in the U.S.. Pacifica graduates Leslie Kirby (1994) and Michele Peterson (1996) explored critical scholarship on “whiteness,” white-privilege, and racism. Kirby shared,

In my formal training to become a therapist in the company of mostly white students (there was never more than one black person or three people of color in any of my classes), we never explored our own issues around race. For the most part, we did not talk about race unless it was brought up in a class specifically about it...Outside of these classes, an occasional symbolic reference to a “Black Chief” or “Black Madonna” was made within the context of Jungian dreamwork, but the mention of real black people or ourselves as white people and the possible projections we put on black people did not occur. We never spoke about the fact that most of our training was from a white perspective. This silence occurred in the three institutions I attended in the multi-racial communities of Oakland, San Francisco and Santa Barbara—its absence warranted the topic of race as taboo. In these therapeutic institutions, white silence around race is a collective white counter-transference issue in itself.

There is clearly something stopping white people from looking at racial issues, so what can we expect to encounter when we descend in to them? Like any material

that lives in the shadows, we can expect to meet our own defenses. We can expect our vision of our whiteness to be impaired. We can anticipate that such a journey may bring discomfort (otherwise we would have done it sooner). We can also hope that it puts us in touch with undeveloped and unexpressed potentials. (1994, p. 9)

In “White shadows: The unconscious aspects of white privilege,” Kirby wrote of oppression’s pleasurable tantalizing fruit called privilege; having exclusive additional rights and enhanced authority over others (1994 p.36). Peggy McIntosh, from the Wellseley Center for Research on Women, in her paper, “White privilege and male privilege: A personal account of coming to see correspondences through work in women’s studies” identified at least forty-six advantages people of whiteness have due to race/ethnicity that are, “an invisible package of unearned assets that I can count on cashing in each day, but about which I was ‘meant’ to remain oblivious. White privilege is like an invisible weightless knapsack of special provisions, maps, passports, code books, visas, clothes, tools, and blank checks,”(Kirby, 1994, p. 28). Examples of unconscious white privileges are:

1. My culture gives me little fear about ignoring the perspectives and powers of people of other races.
2. I can be sure that my children will be given curricular materials that testify to the existence of their race; my chief worries about them do not concern other’s attitudes toward their race.
3. I am never asked to speak for all the people of my racial group.
4. I can be sure that if I need legal or medical help, my race will not work against me.
5. If I declare that there is a racial issue at hand, or there isn’t a racial issue at hand, my race will lend me more credibility for either position than a person of color will have, (pp. 80-83)

Privilege is a powerful force to remain unconscious of oppression. People retain or enlist membership in the dominant group that brings advantages and non-members idealize and protect the dominant group, spurred by their wish to partake of the special

feast. In the United States, the dominant group is white, and race/ethnicity based oppression privileges people who are white or embody whiteness. Class oppression privileges wealthy people. Differently-abled oppression privileges the fully-abled. Gender based oppression privileges men and on and on.

Another PGI student, Chie Lee, wrote of the “psychological conflicts experienced by the post 1960 Chinese immigrant women in their adaptation to the American Culture,” as she “struggles to maintain the integrity of her soul” (1989, p. 5). According to Lee, Chinese and Euro-American religious, gender role, and race differences precipitate a splitting of the internal assimilated or acculturated whiteness from the internal *and* external non-whiteness. This psychological identity split is further aggravated by the desire to have the privilege, including protection, of whiteness and yet aware that whiteness also entails projections leading to self-oppression or internalized racism:

For even though [the Chinese woman] was valued for the projections of reticence and submissiveness the culture placed on her, she was after all, valued...It would be some time before she recognized some of the projections placed on her by white society as racist, (1989, p. 15)

This elucidates the “between a rock-and-hard place” experience of oppressed peoples. As non-dominant outsiders they need not only to be tolerated, but to be valued. The pressing need to be tolerated promotes assimilating the dominant group’s culture. To protect or recapture the cultural differences is to risk rejection from the dominant group. Rejection from the dominant group involves a form of death. From the symbolic death of cultural “invisibility” to the non-dramatic deaths in the form of lower life expectancy of low wage workers and people of color, to the violent physical deaths caused by oppression, as in the case of present day beatings and killings of gay men .



Lee later cites an example of institutional and cultural racism displayed at the Third Conference on Health Problems of Chinese in America, held at Columbia University in 1986, at which it was suggested that one treatment goal was to “achieve a new sense of identity by adopting the Western value of assertiveness, which led to better personal and familial fulfillment,” (1989, p. 45).

Having reviewed a few far-ranging experiences of the everyday-everyone systemic type of oppression, from women, ethnic, and white Americans, to cultural imperialism, we turn to some approaches from the field of psychology with a critical consciousness of oppression that struggles for liberation. Liberation, community, and critical psychologies each have something to contribute to a depth psychology with a social justice agenda.

## Psychology and Oppression

### *Liberation Psychology*

Global to local and back again, this past and immediate presence of oppression is a human thing, a thing of mind and minds. Ignacio Martín-Baró, university administrator, research and clinical psychologist and Spanish Jesuit priest, wrote numerous essays compiled in his book, *Writings for a Liberation Psychology*. He wrote, “it is much more important to examine the histories and needs of our peoples than to define ourselves in terms of psychology’s parameters as a science or activity,” (1994, p. 33) and was assassinated twenty years ago.

Born in Latin America, liberation psychology expresses the spirit of liberation theology – a preferential option for the poor, the oppressed, the mind of critical pedagogy, and the passion of a revolutionary, like Ernesto “Che” Guevara who said, “At

the risk of seeming ridiculous, let me say that the true revolutionary is guided by a great feeling of love” (1968, p. 21). Martín-Baró’s writings are an important present day “seeing instrument” or *ibal* for depth psychologists to see oppression. The Popol Vuh, a mythological writing of the Quiché Maya indigenous peoples of Central America, was their *ibal*, to alter their nearsightedness and see with god eyes, above and below and around (Tedlock, 1985, p. 23). Liberation psychology sees that the dominant lens of psychology is based on five unconscious assumptions including positivism, individualism, hedonism, homeostatic vision, and ahistoricism (negating the historical context) that hold oppression in the collective shadow (Martin-Baro, 1994, p. 21). These assumptions are problematic for depth psychology:

From the liberation psychology approach, positivism sees only, or primarily, the dominant perspective and is blind or unconscious to the experience of the oppressed. The problem with individualism is that it “proposes the individual as an entity with its own meaning as the final subject...and reduces all structural problems to personal problems” (Martin-Baro, 1994, p. 22). Personal problems can also have a systemic dimension related to race, poverty, unemployment or a lower quality of education. With regard to homeostatic vision, it leads to distrust of change and a preference for sustaining the status quo so that,

it becomes hard, more or less implicitly, for the disequilibrium inherent in social struggle not to be interpreted as a form of personal disorder...and for the conflicts generated by overthrowing the social order not to be considered as pathological (Martin-Baro, 1994, p. 22-23)

Liberation Psychology recognizes the pathology of “business as usual” when that business is about oppression, maintaining status quo relationships of dominance. Lastly, ahistoricism, is the absence of the historical context of human experience. The history of

the role and experience of women, people of color, GLBTQ, men, poor and wealthy are very different and cannot be ignored or assumed to be irrelevant to individual and group psychology.

Liberation Psychology involves the psychological study and application of power, political socialization, and the political psychology of work. Although writing from El Salvador, Martín-Baró had something in common with U.S. women suffragettes when he wrote of the psychology of politics and the politics of psychology; which is another way of saying the personal is political and the political is personal. Speaking specifically to the role of Central American psychologists what could, just as easily, apply to U.S. Depth psychologists, Martín-Baró stated 1) “it is urgent to take on the perspective of the majority of the population” and 2) “it is a question of whether psychological knowledge will be placed in the service of constructing a society where the...interests of the minority do not demand the dehumanization of all” (1994, p. 46).

Liberation Psychology opts, unequivocally, to invest in the experience of people subjected to oppression. It is a matter that begins with protecting literal life from being murdered, and attends to psychological survival and liberation. In Nancy Caro Hollander’s epilogue “A Liberation Psychology for the United States,” (1997) she refers to a narcissistic gratification and displacement of fear and aggression onto scapegoats, and asked, “Could a liberation psychology emerge in the United States to address the connection between unconscious mental processes and socioeconomic forces...?” (1997, p. 234)

### *Community Psychology and Social Justice*

In addressing trauma caused by oppression, liberation psychology advances a social justice approach that prioritizes the experience of survivors of oppression and seeks to change the assumptions and structures of oppression. Community psychology also has a conscious focus on oppressed, or “disadvantaged,” people and it articulates a specific set of values that direct its work, including 1) caring and compassion, 2) physical and emotional health, 3) self-determination and participation, 4) human diversity and 5) social justice. These underlying values are applied to the practice of psychology on the micro (individual), meso (institutional) and the macro (social system) levels. (Fox and Prilleltensky, 1997)

Of the five values, the two values of human diversity and social justice are ones that most differentiates community psychology from mainstream psychology, including Depth psychology. While mainstream psychology focuses on the micro, or internal and individual level, the values of human diversity and social justice applied to the meso level are absent or inactive.

According to community psychology, human diversity involves not only recognizing that there are human differences, but also that there are power differences among humans which give rise to oppressive relationships and experiences. It is not just relevant to use care and compassion (value 1) in practicing psychology, but it is also important to make sure that care is given to different people, poor and rich, gay and straight, immigrant and non-immigrant, white and non-white. This is the diversity value that leads to the consciousness of including people with different physical, cultural or social characteristics.

The social justice value stems from the consciousness that there are differences in power among different individuals and groups. The more powerful are more advantaged and the less powerful are disadvantaged. Community psychology considers it relevant that there be “fair and equitable allocation of bargaining power, resources and obligations in society” (Fox and Prilleltensky, 1997, p. 168)

*Critical Psychology, Social Justice and Transformation*

Critical psychology challenges community psychology to be more effective in its goal of improving the health and well-being of disadvantaged people. In addition to the meaningful step of working directly with disadvantaged people and in their communities, critical psychology recommends that community psychology consciously prioritize the value of social justice to get at the underlying cause of oppression. The following guiding principles of action are recommended for community psychology:

1. Advancing the well-being of disadvantaged communities requires actualizing all five values in a balanced way
2. Within a given social ecology, some values appear at the foreground of our consciousness while others remain in the background. We must move the neglected values to the foreground to attain the necessary value.
3. Within the present social context, the value of social justice remains in the background. By neglecting this value, we reinforce the same unjust state of affairs that disadvantaged many communities in the first place.
4. We must distinguish between ameliorating living conditions within the present social structure and transforming the conditions that create disadvantage.
5. We must expand the implementation of values from micro and meso contexts to macro social ecologies. (Fox and Prilleltensky, 1997 pp. 167-171)

Liberation psychology addresses psychology, and psychologists assisting individuals to break free from oppression. It focuses much needed attention on the pathological impact of war that requires nothing less than liberation, as opposed to mere survival and adaptation to a deadly force. Critical psychology places, front and center, the need for social justice to end oppression, as opposed to simply lessening the impact of

oppression. This is a difference between the amelioration vs. the transformation of oppression.

Critical psychology considers that the dominant psychology field helps maintain oppression through institutions and relationships that marginalize the issue of oppression. Although oppression is pathological and pervasive in historical to present everyday relations via legal, political, and social structures, the dominant field of psychology still assumes that the status quo is inherently just. Hence, mainstream psychology approves of and does not question or seek to change the status quo. In other words, it is assumed that individuals are unjust, but the social systems themselves created by individuals are not unjust. Critical psychology disagrees.

Critical psychology believes the status quo is inherently unjust and so must be changed; that includes the dominant field of psychology and its practice. A fundamental shift is to recognize that every study and application of psychology advances certain values. Part of the shadow of mainstream psychology, including depth psychology, is to assume it is neutral or value free.

There is no way around this sort of controversy, because critical psychology is inherently value-laden, not value-free. It aims to change society just as it aims to change psychology...mainstream psychology is also inherently value-laden. It seeks to maintain things essentially as they are, supporting societal institutions that reinforce unjust and unsatisfying conditions. (Fox and Prilleltensky, 1997 p. 3)

Prilleltensky and Nelson, in their chapter on Community Psychology: Reclaiming Social Justice, presented a social justice agenda for community psychology theory, research, and action and education and training (Fox and Prilleltensky, 1997 p. 179). It included attention to various types of interconnected relationships: between the personal and political; between micro, meso and macro contexts; and between constituents. An

example of a social justice agenda for theoretical work is to study the role of intrapersonal, interpersonal, and social conflict in social justice. With regard to research and action case studies on the effects of injustice and power inequality at the micro, meso and macro levels can be included. Lastly, a social justice agenda for psychology education and training can involve building long-term relationships with social justice organizations. For the complete table of “key themes for a social justice agenda” for community psychology see Appendix A.

### *Jungian Political Psyche*

While not trained as a critical psychologist, Jungian analyst Andrew Samuels took a critical approach to his own field of depth psychology. He did not do so from a values framework, although he did speak of social or political change that transforms the oppressive status quo. As a depth psychologist he addressed the external world and the nexus between the public and private. In *The Political Psyche* he explored the potential contributions of depth psychology specifically to the realm of politics. He wrote about the relevance and imperative of depth psychology to engage with politics for the sake of helping people, which is an active fantasy of all theories and practitioners of psychology, including depth psychology.

At the time of publishing *The Political Psyche*, more than a decade ago, Samuels considered that the depth psychological (psychoanalysis, analytical psychology) therapeutic attitude and its methods were the profession’s most useful gift to politics.

A therapeutic attitude toward the world is most appropriate when we come to politics because politics is the dimension of social reality that contains the social world’s pathology: Palpable injustices, such as an unfair distribution of wealth, skewed gender relations, racism, poverty, disease and a wrecked ecology. (1993, pp. 30-31)

Specifically, he offered, to politics, the method of countertransference for insight into psychic reality and the tools of the personal, subjectivity and irrationality to analyze a political problem creatively and morally. Countertransference, with its practiced attention to subjectivity (perspective based on direct experience) can help make the personal political. In the clinical setting, he was able to integrate the process of individual individuation *and* depth political analysis. He shared an extensive example of a patient that brought to the clinical session a dream that involved a polluted body of water. The end result was his insight into both his troubled relationship with his father *and* his personal concern about a real polluted lake. The client personally attended to his relationship with his father and politically attended to the polluted lake. To the concern of depth psychologists that talk of politics will divert attention from the “true” work of individuation, Samuels wrote,

Political involvement can certainly be a means of avoiding personal conflicts or acting out such conflicts, leaving others to do the changing. But political involvement can surely also be a means of expressing what is best in humans, acknowledging the fact of our social being, that we are not the isolated, solipsistic monads that some psychological theories might lead us to believe we are. (1993, p. 14)

*In The Mirror and the Hammer: Depth Psychology and Political Transformation*

Samuels again addressed the interconnection between the external and internal that makes politics relevant to the field of depth psychology:

For there is a connection between economic power and power as expressed on the domestic private levels. Where the public and private, the political and the personal intersect, there is a special role for Depth psychology in relation to processes of political change and transformation. (Samuels, 1991, audio)

With regard to a social justice agenda for depth psychology to address oppression, Samuels advanced a depth psychological understanding of politics and power for



transformation. In his audio lecture he spoke of the fragmentation and complexity of social and political empowerment and the successful revolution at the collective level as the workings of transformation. Samuels commented that we all have the desire for power and that desire is placed in the shadow to our detriment. The unconscious power shows up in distorted ways in oppression, either the desire for excessive power as the role of oppressor or the fear of power as a dark, dirty or destructive force in the role of oppressed (Samuels, 1991).

In depth psychology, in addition to Samuels, the work of James Hillman focusing exclusively on the word and impact of power is very helpful to the study of oppression.

#### *Hillman on Power*

The title of this thesis and the introductory quotes by Fredrick Douglas and Andrew Samuels include the word “power.” In oppression related writings, conversations, and actions the word power is consistent. Hillman dedicated an entire book to power, *Kinds of power: A guide to its intelligent uses* (1995). While Hillman did not write of oppression, at least not enough to warrant mention in the index, he did write of forms of oppression including fascism, tyranny, and domination. In his exploration of “efficiency” as a style of power he refers to fascism as the extreme form of efficiency. “Materials may be exploited, whether raw stuffs or laboring hands...Efficiency for the sake of the bottom line rules” (1995, p. 42).

More profound than a particular style of power, Hillman presented the challenge with power beginning with its basic definition, which is about hierarchy and, thus, potentially inherently about subordination. “For the root of the word is *poti* meaning husband, lord, master; Greek *posis*, husband, from which *des-potes*, ‘lord of the house’

from *domos* (Greek), *domus* (Latin), and *posis*, master (1995, p. 97).” So it would seem that power may not be redeemable as something positive and that an attempt to use it intelligently is contradictory to the very nature of power.

It is the great question of our historical psyche, perhaps of human nature: how to act without dominion, without oppressive control, and yet accomplish. It is the question that arises in parents raising their children, in social workers helping their clients, in managers giving instructions in an office. Wherever we would do something as agents, power appears, and where power appears so does our Western history in the word. We dominate in the image of our God, *Dominus*. (1995, p. 98)

He continues on to say, “Yet the power of conventional definitions continues to subordinate our thinking to such old and familiar notions as: power is basically a subordinating force” (1995, p. 214). It is not power itself, but the ideas of power that either dominate or liberate.

Hillman began to liberate our ideas of power in presenting at least 20 different styles of power, from control, authority, and office to charisma, resistance, and rising. He references the idealist and leadership power of Simón Bolívar who changed history (p. 155). Hillman addressed two types of absolute expressions of power. One is dark, negative, or destructive. The other is light, positive, or constructive. Tyranny is the dark form and Hillman quoted John Locke’s description of tyranny as, ‘an Absolute, Arbitrary Power one Man has over another to take away his Life whenever he pleases’ (Hillman, 1995, p. 189). Perhaps surprisingly, the “utmost extreme of subordination” (p. 199) is purism. People and groups that struggle for liberation can also learn from depth psychology about the potential for purist extremes in aiming to concretize the much needed ideal of liberation. As Hillman writes,

Spirit speaks in absolutes. It subordinates all that is below. It relegates to a lower place whatever does not accommodate to its superior vision. Spirit gives clear commands and always sets sights on higher peaks, no matter how lowly the sphere of its activity, as in the assemblies of both King and Gandhi. There is no place or person too small, for in just that humble modesty does spirit show its overcoming power . . .

This kind of power does not aim to rule over others. Its intention is neither despotism nor even control, but rather it seeks to stand above every other kind of power that is engaged with life. Purity is tyranny over life itself, showing the power of a single self over the claims of life. . . . Although it may speak the words of inclusive unity, embracing everyone in its vision, the vision itself is sharp and hard as the edge of a sword, utterly exclusive and uncompromising. . . . Singleness of vision--by which purism can be defined--isolates those who carry it. The self can exhibit power over the demands of life is a loner, sometimes a hermit, sometimes a righteous crusader, hardly different from a fanatic terrorist. Since only death is truly unconcerned with life, thereby wielding ultimate power over it, this kind of power tends its fire in death's cave, drawing power from death and acting as its emissary in the world in the name of the highest values. Purists are deadly. (1995, pp. 199-201)

#### *Depth Psychology for Liberation*

Former President of the British Psycho-Analytical Society, Hanna Segal, wrote, "What role can we, as analysts, play in this tragic drama? I think first we must look into ourselves and beware of turning a blind eye to reality," (1997, p. 155). Segal did not turn a blind eye she co-founded Psychoanalysts for the Prevention of Nuclear War.

Another depth psychologist with a critical consciousness is Kelly Oliver who is working to de-colonize psychic space by developing a Psychoanalytic Social Theory of Oppression. Instead of simply applying psychoanalytic terms, somewhat as metaphors, for expressions and impacts of oppression she argued, "We need a psychoanalytic social theory that develops concepts between the psyche and the social by socializing psychoanalysis" (Oliver, 2004, p. xvii). She posits relationality and our ability to respond as precursors to subjectivity. This individual subjectivity that is formed out of relating (social, cultural, political) interconnects us at the intrapsychic level. Hence, it is

imaginable that intrapsychic responsibility exists for what is unconscious, “for what we do not and cannot ever completely know about ourselves” (p. xxiii). This intrapsychic relating that threads personal-private-individual with the social-public-collective makes this radical ethic of unconscious and conscious responsibility for the unconscious possible. She concluded, “Only by acknowledging this singularity beyond recognition, beyond conscious reasons, beyond and yet constitutive of bodies and actions can we hope to overcome oppression,” (2004, p. xxiv).

The work of Helene Shulman Lorenz and Mary Watkins brought together depth and liberation psychologies to clarify the interconnectedness of personal individuation and socio-cultural and political liberation (Lorenz, Watkins 2000). Their analysis addressed the shadow of the Western Eurocentric heroic identification that “exiled other points of view, laying claim on reality and truth” (2000, p. 9).

From here Lorenz and Watkins presented the notion of creative restoration in response to social and political ruptures that result from the resistance to oppression or simply being confronted by the diversity of marginalized experiences. Creative restoration is “psychologically minded cultural work and culturally-minded psychological work that crafts psyche and world in the image of the deeply desired” (2000, p. 16). It is contrasted to normative restoration which is the knee-jerk reaction to conflict or upheaval in which we nostalgically (unconsciously) long for and even attempt to literally revert to some past romanticized golden age. Creative restoration considers that what is deeply desired is peace and justice and that involves very honest and difficult dialogue of the kind Matín-Baró wrote of “to confront reality in relationship to and with (but not over)

him or her, to unite in solidarity in a struggle in which both will be transformed” (1994, p. 183).

Integrating, or weaving, psychologies can be a means to transcend from individualism to mutuality. In his dissertation, *C.G. Jung and Political Theory: An Examination of the Ideas of Carl Gustav Jung Showing Their Relationship to Political Theory* (1980), Victor Fane D’Lugin, explored social change in terms of historical stages. He delved into the psychological and social progressions from participation to individuality to mutuality. Participation is the initial historical experience in which the individual and society were completely merged; there was no individual except in relationship to its group. From there, as individuals and society, we developed into the stage of individuality. This is where we’ve been now for centuries, if not over a thousand years. The U.S. is the epitome of individualism that sacrifices the group for the heroic success of the individual. Jung is quoted as stating, “Individualism means deliberately stressing and giving prominence to some supposed peculiarity rather than to collective considerations and obligation,” (1980, p. 136). But now we are seeing examples of expressed mutuality. D’Lugin wrote,

Mutuality is a coming together. But additionally it includes two components that are useful in understanding Jung’s thinking as to the evolutionary path that leads to this third historical stage. First for entities to come together they must first be independent and second mutual relations assumes correspondence on three levels; intellect, emotion, and action. Jung’s discussion of the self as the new center of human orientation suggests a unification of independent entities which includes thought, feeling and purposeful behavior. The final state requires as prerequisites the previous stages in history. The individual must give way to a newer and higher principle of organization, man as a social being, cannot in the long run exist without a tie to community. (1980, p. 156)

Today, we are seeing a new and deeper understanding of community, of our inherent social interconnectedness, without which we cannot survive, much less thrive. This is

demonstrated as much in our environmental consciousness on global warming as in the emerging critical consciousness.

### Summary

Jungian, psychoanalytical, community, liberation, and critical psychology help us see the interconnectedness between individual and collective, personal and political, and individuation and liberation. There is the raw material for an explicit social justice agenda for depth psychology from this *mestizaje* (integration, interweaving) of psychological approaches. A theory and methodology dedicated to liberating the unjust use of power that gives rise to, and sustains, oppression could facilitate the conscious collective power that facilitates relationships that do not protect and exalt one person, group, or country while killing, denigrating, or disenfranchising another person, group, or country.

*Interlude II*

...[O]nce being born it would no longer be innocent, for being was to survive and to survive, one must hurt weaker beings. No, the end of harming another living being was not the destruction but the saving of oneself, which becomes the true objective.

*UN TAPIZ: The Poetics of Conscientization, Ana Castillo, p. 23*

Long ago, there was a large forest fire, and all the animals of the forest fled and gathered around a lake, including a herd of elephants, deer, rabbits, squirrels, etc. For hours the animals crowded together in their small refuge, cowering from the fire. The leader of the elephant herd got an itch, and raised a leg to scratch himself. A tiny rabbit quickly occupied the space vacated by the elephant's foot. The elephant, out of an overwhelming desire not to hurt the rabbit, stood on three legs for more than three days until the fire died down and the rabbit scampered off. By then, his leg was numb and he toppled over. Still retaining a pure mind and heart, the elephant died. As a reward for his compassion he overcame the need for embodiment as an animal and was born as a prince...

*story as retold by Padmanabh S. Jaini*

## CHAPTER III LIBERATING POWER

### Oppressed and Oppressive Subpopulation Complexes

A diagnostic tool for oppression is a beginning towards a depth psychological social justice theory and methodology. A common means of diagnosing oppression, whether it be classism, sexism, racism, corporate globalization or other, is a technical step towards liberation from oppression. The diffused psychopathology of oppression that pervades our everyday human experience is complex, multi-faceted, multi-layered, interpersonal, and systemic. Because it also involves feelings of shame, fear, grief, anger, and guilt, that is most often unconscious, it may also be useful to have a technical diagnostic tool to move oppression from out of the shadow into consciousness.

There is not yet a DSM classification for oppression. Using the format of the DSM, here is a beginning framework for an Oppressed and Oppressive Group Complexes including diagnostic features, experience, response, specifiers, and treatments:

#### *Oppressed Group Complex*

##### I. Diagnostic Features of Oppression

- A. Subpopulation is the non-dominant group with respect to:
  1. population size
  2. trait or characteristic (e.g. wealth, race/ethnicity; sexual orientation, religion, etc.)
  3. legacy of public authority or social power



- B. Documented history of subordination, exclusion, disenfranchisement, subjugation and/or killing via one or more of the following means:
- |             |                             |           |
|-------------|-----------------------------|-----------|
| 1. economic | 4. military/law enforcement | 7. social |
| 2. judicial | 5. physical                 |           |
| 3. legal    | 6. professional             |           |
- C. Consistent *non-inclusion* or disproportionately *lower* representation in the general spectrum of public or private institutions or fields of public endeavor (e.g. professions, religious organizations, voting, etc.)
- D. Absent or constricted access to social authority, privilege, or influence via *limited*
1. representation in higher level positions of authority,
  2. representation in decision-making bodies
  3. physical, language, legal, cultural, or other standard adaptation
- E. Minimal social capital
1. Limited network of institutional resources (legal, financial, medical, social, etc.)
  2. Greater practical barriers (economic, physical, language, etc.) to access of the limited network
  3. Group's general perceived *role* is that of "leech."
  4. Group's general perceived *capacity* is that of "incompetent" or "irresponsible."
  5. Group's general perceived *status* is that of "needy."
- F. Socio-cultural *denigration* of non-dominant subpopulation
1. Group's history, current presence, concerns, and perspective are ignored, given cursory consideration or subordinated to the dominant group
  2. Group's history, culture, and social contributions are presented publicly, exclusively or primarily, from the dominant group's perspective
  3. Group's failures are given primary and immediate attention, and presented as indicators of non-dominant group's deficiencies.
  4. Group is disproportionately characterized in a negative and/or derogatory manner.
  5. Group ignores, denies, minimizes, or justifies its own experience of oppression as irrelevant, self-created, pragmatically necessary, and even benevolent
- G. Subpopulation has a disproportionately *higher* representation in
1. Spaces lacking in aesthetic, artistic and symbolic vitality (i.e. beauty, creativity, imagination).
  2. Criminal justice system
  3. High risk neighborhoods
  4. Harmful employment: low income, no benefits, high risk occupational health and safety, and increased exposure to exploitation

5. Substandard, unsafe and/or overcrowded housing
6. Low resource schools with simultaneously increased needs

## II. Experience of Oppressive Features by Non-dominant Subpopulation

The group and individual members' experience the following distress, causing impairment in social, academic, occupational and other important areas of functioning:

- A. Psychological alienation, dehumanization, and idealizing projection, self-depreciation; sense of inferiority, self-doubt about the experience of oppression, adherence, duality, and dissociation, horizontal violence
- B. Percepticide – extreme denial or renunciation of one's own perception of abusive power in order to avoid increased danger<sup>1</sup>
- C. Affect, varying in degree, of ambivalence (love/hate), gratitude, distrust, frustration, antagonism, resentment, and/or hatred towards dominant group
- D. Fatalism: resignation to or despair of ever realizing individual or group advancement
- E. *Oppression-maximus*: the fantasy that "our" group is the "most" oppressed

## III. Oppositional Response by Non-dominant Subpopulation to Oppressive Features

Individual members and/or the group resist oppression in its multiple dimensions:

- |                  |              |               |
|------------------|--------------|---------------|
| A. Cultural      | D. Legal     | G. Subversive |
| B. Individual    | E. Political |               |
| C. Institutional | F. Social    |               |

## IV. Specifiers

Specifiers can be used to indicate the dimensions of oppression, including (A) expression, (B) type, and (C) form. Dimensions function independently, at the group and individual levels:

- A. The expression of oppressive features may be:
  1. Acute, Intermittent, or Chronic (duration)
  2. Unintentional or Hostile (motivation)
  3. Particular or Pervasive (horizontal/breadth)
  4. Independent or Compounded (vertical/Depth)
- B. The type of experience of being *oppressed* may be:
  1. Acute, Intermittent, or Chronic
  2. Unconscious or Conscious
  3. Particular or Pervasive
  4. Independent or Compounded
- C. The form of oppositional response to oppression may be:
  1. Passive (e.g. discouraged, resentful, strategic or supportive compliance)

<sup>1</sup> Percepticide is a term used by Diana Taylor who studied extreme repressive injustice, specifically that of military dictatorships. Quoted in Lorenz and Watkins, 2000, pg. 4

2. Assertive (e.g. artistic depiction; academic theory; formal complaint; legal/policy advocacy; judicial restitution)
3. Aggressive (e.g. organized direct action; socio-political revolution; street gang violence)

### **Oppression-Oppressed Complex**

The interdependent features, experience, and response in their multiple dimensions comprise the **Oppression-Oppressed Complex**: the intricate intimate and broad public spectrum of image, thought, behavior, impact and experience of being oppressed.

Examples range from an individual, particular instance of unintentional sexism; to killing a white man because he's gay; to the pervasive, chronic subjugation of Native American's to reservations.

V. Oppressive features are held stable, but not static, by the dominant subpopulation, to the extent that the dominant subpopulation feels threatened or does not face an oppositional response.

VI. Oppressive features are directed at the group, with concurrent individual impact, and therefore not intrinsically personal.

Oppression is a function of *non-dominant group membership*. Oppressive features are imposed to the extent that the individual is perceived as or identifies with a non-dominant group. Because membership in a group is commonly linked with a stable or static personal identity (e.g. race/ethnicity, gender etc.), group membership, and personal identity are interpreted to be synonymous. Nevertheless, oppressive features can be and are directed at targeted individuals for personal reasons.

VII. Oppressed and Oppressive positions, of a group or individual, are not mutually exclusive (either/or). Both positions co-exist within the same group or individual.

VIII. Oppositional responses are tensile opportunities for personal, social, individual and collective development.

IX. Oppression differentiated from individual abuse

One blatant example is that of a white man who is killed because he is a "black lover."

X. Comprehensive Treatment required for/by Oppressed Non-dominant Subpopulation:  
Re-Claim Power

- A. Personal
- B. Social
- C. Individual
- B. Collective

### Most frequently recognized U.S. domestic oppressed groups

- White women
- Gay white men
- People of Color
- Economically poor

### Examples of not commonly recognized U.S. domestic oppressed groups

- Incarcerated people
- Immigrants
- Single mothers
- LBT (Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender)
- Differently-abled
- Minimally or not formally educated
- Non-Christian

## *Oppressive Group Complex*

### I. Diagnostic Features of Oppressiveness

#### A. Subpopulation is the dominant group with respect to:

1. population size
2. trait or characteristic (e.g. wealth, race/ethnicity; sexual orientation, religion etc.)
3. tradition of public authority or social power

#### B. Documented history of *perpetrating* subordination, exclusion, disenfranchisement, subjugation, and/or killing via one or more of the following means:

- |             |                             |           |
|-------------|-----------------------------|-----------|
| 1. economic | 4. military/law enforcement | 7. social |
| 2. judicial | 5. physical                 |           |
| 3. legal    | 6. professional             |           |

#### C. Consistent *inclusion* or disproportionately *higher* representation in the general spectrum of public or private institutions or fields of public endeavor (e.g. professions, religious organizations, voting etc.)

#### D. Exclusive or facilitated access to social authority, privilege or influence via extensive

1. representation in higher level positions of authority
2. representation in decision-making bodies
3. physical, language, legal, cultural, or other standards are those of the group

#### E. Maximum social capital

1. Extensive network of institutional resources (social, legal, financial, medical, etc.)
2. Minimal barriers to regular access of the extensive network

3. Group's general perceived *role* is that of "provider" and "leader"
  4. Group's general perceived *capacity* is that of "competent " or "responsible"
  5. Group's general perceived *status* is that of "donor"
- F. Socio-cultural *idealization* of dominant subpopulation
1. Group's history, current presence, concerns, and perspective are given primary attention, priority consideration, and are *the* culture
  2. Group's history, culture, and public contributions are presented publicly, near exclusively, and prominently from the group's own perspective.
  3. Group's failures are given minimum attention, most often in retrospect and presented as indicators of dominant group's contrition and/or capacity for continued improvement.
  4. Group is disproportionately characterized in a positive and/or grandiose manner.
  5. Group ignores, denies, minimizes or justifies perpetration of oppression as irrelevant, provoked, pragmatically necessary or benevolent.
- G. Subpopulation has a disproportionately *lower* representation in
1. Spaces lacking in aesthetic, artistic and symbolic vitality (i.e. beauty, creativity, imagination)
  2. Criminal justice system
  3. High risk neighborhoods
  4. Harmful employment: low income, no benefits, high risk occupational health and safety, and increased exposure to exploitation
  5. Substandard, unsafe and/or overcrowded housing
  6. Low resource schools with simultaneously increased needs

## II. Experience of the Oppressive Dominant Subpopulation

The group and individual members' experience the following, causing impairment in consciousness of and motivation to terminate or alter features of oppressiveness:

- A. Psychological denial, ambivalence, guilt or dissociation about role in oppression; sense of omnipotence; sense of superiority, self-aggrandizement, narcissism, vertical violence
- B. *Status-quo-ism*: fear of individual or group alteration related to oppression that threatens loss of status and privilege
- C. Affect, varying in degrees, of disinterest, ambivalence (annoyance/fascination), dislike, distrust, antagonism, resentment or hatred towards non-dominant group
- D. *Delusive individualism*: the fantasy that
  1. Individual and/or group progress is a near 100% autonomous pursuit, independent and of irrelevant to context (historical, social, cultural, economic, political etc.) of privilege
  2. individual membership in the dominant group is free of any responsibility of the group's oppressive features and impact

### III. Dominant Subpopulation Response to Non-dominant Subpopulation Oppositional Response

Individual members and/or the group *avoid, prevent, suppress or promote* the oppositional response in its multiple dimensions:

- |                  |              |               |
|------------------|--------------|---------------|
| 1. Cultural      | 4. Legal     | 7. Subversive |
| 2. Individual    | 5. Political |               |
| 3. Institutional | 6. Social    |               |

### IV. Specifiers

Specifiers can be used to indicate the dimensions of oppressiveness, including (A) expression, (B) type and (C) form. Dimensions function independently, at the group and individual levels:

- A. The expression of oppressive features may be:
1. Acute, Intermittent or Chronic (duration)
  2. Unintentional or Hostile (motivation)
  3. Particular or Pervasive (horizontal/breadth)
  4. Independent or Compounded (vertical/depth)
- B. The type of experience of being *oppressive* may be:
1. Acute, Intermittent or Chronic
  2. Unconscious or Conscious
  3. Particular or Pervasive
  4. Independent or Compounded
- C. The form of response by the oppressive to the oppressed may be to:
1. Avoid (e.g. assume compliance is acceptance or that oppositional response is inconsequential)
  2. Prevent (e.g. placate oppressed by accepting particular oppositional responses)
  3. Suppress (e.g. negate validity of oppression and/or denounce and abolish oppositional response)
  4. Promote (e.g. join in solidarity with oppressed group to validate and assist oppositional response)

#### **Oppression-Oppressive Complex**

The interdependent features, experience, and response in their multiple dimensions comprise the **Oppression-Oppressive Complex**: the intricate intimate and broad public spectrum of image, thought, behavior, impact and experience of perpetrating oppression.

Examples range from one extreme to the other: Klu Klux Klan, Transnational corporations, white abolitionists, wealthy philanthropists of social, economic and environmental justice

V. Oppressive features are held stable, but not static, by the dominant subpopulation, to the extent that the dominant subpopulation feels threatened or does not face an oppositional response.

VI. Oppressive features are directed at the group, with concurrent individual impact, and therefore not intrinsically personal

Oppression is a function of *non-dominant group membership*. Oppressive features are imposed to the extent that the individual is perceived as or identifies with a non-dominant group. Because membership in a group is commonly linked with a stable or static personal identity (e.g. race/ethnicity, gender etc.), group membership and personal identity are interpreted to be synonymous. Nevertheless, oppressive features can be and are directed at targeted individuals for personal reasons.

VII. Oppressed and Oppressive positions, of a group or individual, are not mutually exclusive (either/or). Both positions co-exist within the same group or individual.

VIII. Oppositional responses are tensile opportunities for personal, social, individual and collective development.

IX. Oppressiveness differentiated from individual abuse

X. Comprehensive Treatment for/by Oppressive Dominant Subpopulation: Re-Turn Power

- A. Personal
- B. Social
- C. Individual
- B. Collective

#### Most frequently recognized U.S. domestic oppressive groups

- Male
- White
- “Rich”

#### Examples of not commonly recognized U.S. domestic oppressive groups

- The 1% of the population with 40% of the wealth
- Corporate executives and stockholders
- The physically fully-abled
- Government policy making bodies
- Professional, institutional, faith and civic leaders

This beginning diagnostic tool can help with basic questions that commonly emerge in efforts to address oppression. In the literature review, for instance, Vaughn's broad definition of who is colonized brings up one of the challenges to understanding oppression, and that is the basic question of, when is a group of individuals oppressed? The absence of an objective, empirical, or scientific formula to assess more objectively if, when, and how an individual or a group is oppressed or oppressive, is one of the common delusive tools used to invalidate and deny oppression and instead protect the continued practice of oppression. An example is that of the concept of "reverse discrimination." The use of reverse discrimination to maintain oppression is the argument that proactive efforts to increase the number of non-white people in a particular field (institution, employment etc.) inherently limits white people's participation and, thus, it is now white people who are facing discrimination. The present effect (in this case, the lack of racial integration) of a legacy of inequitable privilege and power (centuries and existing racial prejudice) is dismissed to protect the status quo (the maintenance of inequitable privilege and power).

I refer to a culture of norms, policies, attitudes, and beliefs, as opposed to a particular individual or group people. This gets us beyond the belief that in America only white, rich heterosexual men oppress. It is not that simple, although it is that common. The perpetration of the unjust use of power is not a matter of personal identity, as it is a matter of cultural practice.

This cultural practice is exhibited in every dimension: individual, institutional, social, political, legal, economic, scientific, academic and makes it impossible to escape from or eliminate oppression in one fell swoop. We are left with the opportunity to do the



difficult personal and social, individual and collective work of witnessing, healing, individuating, and re-integrating.

Then the question becomes, “As members of a dominant group, by virtue of our privilege, are we *inherently* oppressive to the non-privileged?” Shockingly, I think not. But, then again, yes. It depends. Oppression is very complex. Like all, if not most, psychological experience it is not black and white.

The no, yes, and maybe of enacting oppression goes something like this: an individual is not inherently oppressive by virtue of membership in a privileged group. Unlike the dictate of original sin - that by virtue of being a member of the human race one is a sinner – as an individual, no one is inherently an oppressor. *But* individuals, I think, are still responsible and accountable as members of a dominant group.

As members of a group we share in its rights and responsibilities, advantages and disadvantages, its privilege and disdain. Just as the group cannot simply “give-up” its privilege, it cannot simply “give-up” the excess power inherent with position of privilege. A dominant group enacts oppression by virtue of maintaining its privilege, its elite separatism. Also, groups have a present that cannot be separated from its multi-generational histories. The history of violence and oppression is part of the unconsciousness and consciousness of the group – it is the group’s personal legacy just as much as their gains. The individual and group or collective work is to illuminate the shadow of privilege, the unjust use of power.

#### *Resistance for Social Justice*

Working from the Oppressed Group Complex tool, a common and frequent oppositional response to oppression by the non-dominant group is resistance. This

development of skill and inspiration, individually and collectively, is something that a social justice agenda can inform and assist. Usually resistance is considered an obstacle by psychology, but with regard to oppression it is healthy and necessary to survival and liberation.

First and second generation immigrant children in America anticipate the violence of oppression and resist it. The Sundance award- winning documentary, *Fear and Learning at Hoover* (1996) follows the reactions of elementary school students and teachers to the ballot Proposition (Prop.) 187. Prop. 187, passed by California voters, intended to withhold basic resources for undocumented immigrants, including public education for children. When asked, “What does ‘illegal alien’ mean?” one 10 year old answered,

Americans don't want us here; they don't like us just 'cause we're Latino. We know we don't belong here but we came for a better life... “Illegal alien” means, feels like: we're not human beings; we're just a little piece of dirt; we want to feel like human beings, like Americans do too; as if we're their enemies; like we don't have no right to be here or go to hospitals. (1996, *Fear and Learning at Hoover*)

Psyche's life instinct, in the case of oppression, can be said to positively fuel resistance. Resistance within the context of oppression is the movement for psychological, physical, socio-cultural, and political survival and emancipation as well as celebration! In therapy, resistance is limiting, it is what holds us back from or presents a barrier to individuation. In war and oppression resistance is imperative to psychological survival, liberation, and health. Resistance is expressed in many forms.

In exploring the de-colonization of a country and its peoples, Vaughn shared that the process of collective de-colonization, in the case of Mexico, have involved a search for oneself, rediscovery of one's history, and revolution. She quoted Octavio Paz, Nobel

Prize author, “The Revolution...is an explosion of reality: a return and a communion, an upsetting of old institutions, a releasing of many ferocious, tender and noble feelings that had been hidden by our fear of being,” (2002, p. 21). The search for personal identity, recovering cultural history, and enacting political revolution are all forms of resistance which allow one to survive and discover freedom for oneself and social family.

As an example of colonized peoples’ *individual* resistance to internalized racism, Vaughn turned to psychologists Janet Helms and Frantz Fanon. As part of the process of identity development beyond internalized racism, anger becomes a dominant emotion. Prior to that anger, the idealization of whiteness, and white culture, and internalized racism was unconscious. It is this anger that provides energy for political participation to change the culture of oppression. Anger, then, is important in the process of resistance towards emancipation. For Frantz Fanon, to overcome self-negation also involved a psychological descent and return to oneself as distinct from the white dominant culture. From this psychological fire burns his words of survival and emancipation, as cited in Vaughn,

I took up my negritude and with tears in my eyes I put its machinery back together again. What had been broken to pieces was rebuilt, reconstructed by the intuitive lianas of my hands. My cry grew more violent: I am a Negro, I am a Negro, I am a Negro. (2002, p. 30)

Resistance in war and oppression is not just unapologetically and proudly reclaiming oneself and one’s social family for survival and freedom. It is celebrating what life you have and that more may be possible. Psychoanalyst, Hanna Segal reviews Freud in stating, “The idea of the life instinct is the love of life which includes love of self and life-giving objects,” (ed.1997, p. 80). Celebration in the midst of war and oppression is a very necessary individual and collective act precisely because of its

healing and life-affirming psychological impact. Nevertheless, many would deny joy – or the attempt to remember joy – to the very people that most need to hold onto joy. For instance, it is not unusual to judge and further oppress economically poor people for the simple and yet profound and survivalist act of having festive parties to enjoy life.

Resistance is one of the antidotes to oppression. Other antidotes for oppression are non-violence or seeing through the divisions to our shared humanity, equal dignity and interdependence. Here, depth psychology can learn much from turning away from its privileging, to the point of narcissism or obsession, Western European gods, goddesses and religion and instead paying direct attention and resources to learning from eastern myth and religion.

*Non-Violent Power: Resacralization and Social Movements*

In addition to psychological diagnostic tools, depth psychology can integrate along with the theoretical elements of liberation and critical psychologies the study of nonviolent social change movements. Oppression is a form of violence. Often, in defense of or protection from violence we respond with violence. In transforming oppression it is important to consciously use non-violent means. Ahimsa is the use of non-violent force for creative and restorative power as opposed to abusive and unjust power. Ahimsa was resurrected to popular consciousness by Mahatma K. Gandhi. Through his personal, group, and political practice, writings and public discourse he informed people of his time and now of the science of Satyagraha or Soul-Force. His “science” was the moment-by-moment lived experiment of disciplined conscious (not just thought or spoken of) practice. The scientific attitude of incorporating the non-rational spirit and heart *with* the rational mind is usual to Eastern philosophy and spirituality, in contrast to the Western

religious emphasis on the instruction of dogma promoted by non-rational faith in the dogma as presented by religious leadership of the day. Ghandi, and Eastern philosophers for millennia have presented the soul-heart- body experiential practice and its fruit of non-violence to the self-world and world-self.

Ghandi's Satyagraha centered on ahimsa – non-violence. Christopher Chapple, professor of theology, traced ahimsa to the Jaina spiritual tradition, rooted in the Indus Valley dating to 3000 BC, pre-dating Hinduism and Buddhism (1993). Terracotta seals, two-by-two inch images, present scenes of what was meaningful enough to document. They scenes depict what appear to be proto-yoga scenes and harmonic scenes of nature and animals. In the Jaina tradition, in addition to non-violence, laypeople practiced truthfulness, not stealing, sexual restraint, and nonpossession. The most evolved monks following a rigorous practice did not travel in order to prevent the most minimal of violence to animate or inanimate things. Jaina's symbolic depictions of enlightened monks have four faces, representing the four directions. This is similar to the Mayan reference to the first four earthly beings that saw in all four directions, as the gods.

There are few, yet incredibly powerful, modern day examples of solidarity leaders and groups that have re-introduced the antiquated spiritual tradition of non-violence into the secular. Bringing the holy out into the secular is what Andrew Samuels calls resacralization (1993). If one considers non-violence as holy, then nonviolent social movements are a form of resacralization.

Two modern day U.S. examples of the conscious practice of non-violence in the social sphere are the civil rights movement of the 1960's and the farm worker movement of the 1970's. These movements, involving resacralization, profoundly altered the psyche

of millions of individuals of future generations of Americans. No longer is it psychologically consonant to promote oppression.

There are present day examples of resacralization from the spiritual, political, research, and grassroots social justice efforts at the international, national and local levels. Examples include the research based Institute for Women's Policy Research (IWPR), the faith inspired community organizing of the Gamaliel Foundation and the Clergy and Laity United for Economic Justice (CLUE) and the regional focused Central Coast Alliance United for a Sustainable Economy (CAUSE). These are embodied practices of psyche's living *animae mundi colendae gratia* – for the sake of tending soul, in and of, the world, in a way that liberates a nonviolent power that transcends individual and collective oppressive domination.

A cursory introduction to these examples of liberating authentic nonviolent power in the world is as follows. The Institute for Women's Policy Research (IWPR) national research project involves women feminist theologians along with grassroots, organizational, political and faith based women leaders towards developing a Women's Public Vision for Religion, Politics and Civil Society. Qualitative research involving nationwide grassroots faith based women leaders identified the common values of 1) stewardship – the responsibility to leave this world a better place; 2) love, peace and compassion; 3) sacredness and therefore dignity of every individual; and 4) interconnectedness (Caizza, 2005 p. 55).

The Gamaliel Foundation and Center for Community Change are organizations conducting the Community Values Campaign (CVC). The CVC cuts through the traditional myth of individualism and religious divisions that help maintain oppression. In

the place of the myth of individualism the Community Values Campaign emphasizes interconnectedness (<http://www.communitychange.org/our-projects/communityvalues>).

Lastly, there is an expansion or resurgence of institutionalized faith based advocacy in the service of reclaiming restorative power for individual and collective liberation. Organizations like the Gamaliel Foundation and CLUE are increasing the number of individual and institutional faith based people engaged in socio-political justice work by fostering their political psyche. A political psyche rooted in the values of a preference for the oppressed and the power of love over hate, hope over fear holds tremendous potential for the liberation from oppression. These are examples of ahimsa, nonviolent or authentic power, and resacralization, drawing out the sacred the secular. Nonviolent power has its roots in the individual but its wings are through the collective.

Jung's fifth, and least developed, function for myth was as a model for behavior in community. The other four functions are internally oriented including, revealing the collective unconscious; encountering it; making life meaningful by bridging the internal and external; and assisting the clinical practice of analytical therapy (Segal, 1998). Of the fifth function of mythology, Segal explained, "The lives of heroes described in myths serve as models for members of society to emulate. Myth here abets socialization. Hero myths also reassure us that others have had struggles like one's own." (1998, p. 99).

When individuals are conscious of a shared struggle, there is the possibility of reclaiming individual power as one of many within a social movement of mutuality.

#### *A Social Justice Agenda for Depth Psychology*

Psychological liberation can be understood as the individual and collective effort to reach beyond internal colonization, public cultural hegemony, and environmental

imperialism and political exploitation along the myriad “isms” – heterosexism, racism, sexism, classism. . . Samuels, in *The Political Psyche* referred to this internal exertion that extends to the political in this way, “the imagery of analysis is all about struggle *within* the patient. . . But the idea of struggle has resonances and relevances that are political, reflecting the collective’s accurate fantasies about the nature of politics” (1993, p. 66).

Rachel Bagby, in *Divine Daughters: Liberating the Power and Passion of Women’s Voices*, presented a personal example of this intrapsychic personal-political struggle via Marva, her self-described “inner voice,”

[Marva] actively challenges the psychic residue of ongoing, socially condoned, color-and gender-coded wrongs. Her fierce commitment to freedom translates into outrageous acts that effectively redress the personal suffering born of social injustices. She enters a liberating resonance with internalized sexism and racism, first by respecting the powers of their voices and pervasive iconography, then by shouting them down and physically articulating her freedom from their influence. She does not try to heal herself alone.

Marva’s allies in maintaining her resilience include the soil, trees, air, and darkness. Her allies include dance, forgiveness, participation in a sisterhood, and bodacious practices of symbolic speech.

Marva subdues the internalized voices of ism schisms and gives them a physical form, which she then retains in jars. Her ongoing interactions with the captives stored in her root cellar free her body, mind, and spirit from health-diminishing behaviors and beliefs. (1999, p. 181)

We must consciously move from oppression (traumatic violence), to active resistance (survival), to mutual liberation (nonviolent freedom, healing and individuation). This involves the psychology of making visible the interconnectedness of internal personal borders and external political borders to change the destructive walls into connective channels. The split Manichean “us” and “them” can become a mutual “we” of light *and* darkness, un-documented people and documented people, poor and rich, uneducated and educated and so much more.



Borders are referenced with respect to oppression, as Pacifica graduate student Wilton Martinez wrote, “positioned within such long history of oppression and resistance, contemporary postcolonial critics propose, first, to contest the borders of selfhood and otherness” (1999, p.19). I am particularly drawn to “borders” because of my personal and political experience as a Chicana or Mexican-American with a socio-political conscience.

Whether literal, imagined, or as metaphor, borders can become channels to liberate all oppress-ive and oppress-ed peoples and, in its place, develop personal and political mutuality. Between oppression, resistance, and liberation there are channels. Between oppress-ive and oppress-ed, personal and social, depth psychology and politics, channels are being built. Samuels (1993) wrote of the potential for depth psychology to shape society through the interplay between 1) the private, intrapsychic world and the public, political system someone is embedded in; and 2) psychic and sociopolitical reality.

The theory, instruction, and application of depth psychology, created by depth psychologists, are sources of power. This power is primarily used unconsciously and in this way, depth psychologists continue to replicate and reinforce an oppressive academic and clinical field that maintains white educated people as the privileged set of individuals. Samuels reminded us, “the technical rules of analysis are not politically or culturally neutral” (1993, p. 67). Assassinated liberation psychologist and Jesuit Ignacio Martin-Baro stated the choice before psychologists:

It is a question of whether psychological knowledge will be placed in the service of constructing a society where the welfare of the few is not built on the wretchedness of the many, where the fulfillment of some does not require that

others be deprived, where the interests of the minority do not demand the dehumanization of all. (1994, p. 46)

This question or choice has clinical and policy applications. The policy applications can begin with institutions of learning. What resources are dedicated to learning about the abuse of power? What concrete goals are put into practice to dismantle the abuse of privilege and replace it with staff and curriculum that move us out, albeit through an uncomfortable and even painful critical consciousness process, of the shadows of oppression? That means, for example, concrete goals of inclusion of non-white *and* critically conscious theorists and practitioners. Beyond the internal academic policies is the psychological establishment's proactive use of its power as a valued institution in the broader community in support of *indigenous, immigrant, social, economic and environmental justice* (I2SEE Justice).

The clinical applications require the individual development of a critical consciousness. Without this awareness, practitioners will not be aware of their own privilege or be able to assist their clients understanding of the collective dimension of their personal individuation. Just as clinicians are taught to be aware and address the shadow side of unconsciously maintaining the client in the powerless victim role, clinicians can learn to become aware of how they continue to deny the socio-political context in the therapy room. Clinical applications require an extensive amount of shadow work on the oppressive and oppressed complexes within the field of depth psychology. Depth psychology liberation work is, relatively speaking, in the newborn or infancy stage of development.

*Interlude III*Spoken Word: Seeds of a Brighter Day  
(M. Shuman, 2007)

Paz y Justice, para con la injustice  
 Decimos Paz y Justice, para con la destruction  
 A todas las Mujeres y todos los ninos  
 Todos los hombres en todos caminos  
 Los trabajadores y los campesinos  
 Todos somos ciudadanos de un mundo  
 Todos somos residentes de un mundo  
 Todos somos seres humanos en un mundo  
 Y la verdad es que vivimos juntos  
 Y Dios nos creo y todos somos uno

And, the police come out shootin' but it's a non-violent movement  
 The ghettos keep on lootin' but it's a non-violent movement  
 Food to starving children parachuting, but it's a non-violent movement  
 Guns to our heads but it's a non-violent movement

This dawn will bring a brighter day, collectively we sew the seeds for a new day  
 With the professional peace makers anti-war mongers  
 Sick of living in 1984 so long  
 From the days of colonization to Ronald Regan  
 The chances of the Hip Hop Generation  
 Getting' rich is like winnin' the lotto in Vegas unless we change this  
 rid ourselves of the chains from this makeshift system  
 hypnotism instead of livin'  
 ancient rhythms getting' raped by radio rotation

Still, We can build a new nation day by day  
 with a positive vibration to overcome Satan  
 but if you wanna compete then the battles on  
 sucker sheep get chanted down like Babylon

The pressure the pain the insecurity  
 The battles of insane individuality  
 Has gotten to all of us through the fast food culture  
 Intentionally as part of the divide and conquer mentality to control society  
 Y hoy en dia con polucion y humo  
 Es dificil sobrevivir y la vida es dura  
 Pero quiero un mundo que respeta cultura  
 Donde podemos vivir, soñar, y aprender  
 No solo ser soldados en una Guerra

Por una empresa, nacion, y gobierno de los ricos

And the struggle for harmony and inter-being goes on  
 And the hope for collective action lives on  
 As our souls move on, as the world turns on to social and economic justice dawning  
 Divided we fall in a TV nation, but millions of natives pack the streets for immigration  
 The movement of Jah People we walk and we picket  
 Y como dijo Bob Marley es el movimiento de la gente de dios  
 We don't have to lie to kick it, striking with dignity  
 Like the saint of lightning for a quick path to justice

Step by step we move and victory has already been claimed  
 Because we live our days with integrity  
 From the civil rights movement to the Zaptista uprising  
 We keep our eyes on the prize even as the devils in disguises  
 Wave desires that crash our emotions and cloud our reality  
 We agree to disagree and live with honesty  
 This dawn will bring a brighter day, collectively we sew the seeds for a new day

## CHAPTER IV MOVING FROM OPPRESSION TO FREEDOM

### Summary

Neither oppression nor freedom is static, and the transformation from one to the other is also dynamic. It is most often called a struggle, like that of the painful yet transformative movement of human birth. Depth psychology's study of oppression begins with some basic themes of acknowledging that we are social beings, not isolated individuals and that because power is in everyone's hands and it is not neutral a conscious awareness and choice can be made as to whether power will be used constructively or destructively to liberate or oppress. As Samuels' writes, "The act of choice, of temporarily suppressing the dove in favor of the hawk, takes us onto a subtle moral plane. Problems of choice lie at the heart of political and moral philosophies," (1993, p. 80). Problems of choice are the problems of the all too human political work.

There is the psychoid level of the unconscious of the 'unfathomable' unity of realms including the psychic and political (Samuels, 1993). It is akin to physics' investigation of the place of action-at-a-distance where the gravity, electromagnetic, and other forces are one. These psychological and physical "unities" are not conceived as simplistic reductions to one, but the obscure complexities of a plurality of one. It brings us back to Oliver's *singularity beyond recognition*. What that means for politics is the

anticipation of being able to “see personal pain as a statement about social conditions . . . as the motive force in changing those conditions” (Samuels, 1993, 73).

This thesis aims to further bring out from the shadows the killing and enslaving destructiveness of oppression at an individual and collective level that has not received sufficient attention by the field of depth psychology. In this way, depth psychologists today unconsciously remain captive to and sustain oppression. Oppression as the unjust use of our individual and collective power to create can be transformed by drawing from existing depth, liberation, and critical psychologies and examples of nonviolent power used in past and contemporary social institutions and collective movements.

#### Recommendations for Further Work

While we are instructed by writers such as Martín-Baró and Nancy Caro Hollander, nevertheless their work is specific to the civil war experience in El Salvador and the experience of combat veterans and political prisoners living in the American northeast. Cultural psychology cautions against presuming the knowledge and experience of one group is transposable to another. This is why more research and clinical work on the psychological impacts of war and oppression is necessary.

Although, as a civilization we have grown in our consciousness of individuation and in that way we have a higher respect for the protection and prosperity of individuals there is work to be done in furthering the next stage of mutuality that sees the interconnectedness and interdependence amongst all of us human and the environment. Particularly along the consciousness about our human interconnectedness, we are just beginning to see the broader implications of and come to a deeper psychological knowing of indigenous, social, economic and environmental justice. This arena of study is in its

infancy stage requiring much sensitivity, intensive focused attention and even protection from passive and aggressive attacks that oppression can be addressed through the traditional tools for individuation that ignores historical and socio-political context. The labor of Helene Shulman Lorenz, Mary Watkins, Christina Mentes, Chela Sandoval and Aaron Kipnis can breathe a new consciousness into or add a desperately needed additional dimension to all of the other theory, practice and politics of Pacifica specifically. The revolution starts with ourselves. It begins in the home we call the U.S.

### Conclusions

It is possible to outline a framework for a DSM Oppressive and Oppressed Complex to diagnose and thus “see” oppression. In a world where the written word and objective science determines to a great extent what exists and what does not, what is considered legitimate vs. illegitimate, it cannot be underestimated how significant it is for there to be some diagnostic tool to give credence to the archetypal expression and clinical experience of oppression.

This has been a very a difficult thesis to write (as my advisor can attest to) not only because there is very little that has been written specifically about oppression, but more so because of my own personal experience and identification with oppression. I am still held captive and unable to value my own experience of powerlessness and power, oppression and liberation, in anticipation of the more dominant voice of denial, by the very people and institutions, such as Pacifica, that take pride in being aware, inclusive and just in their use of power.

How the researchers and practitioners of depth psychology choose to continue can be either a conscious or unconscious choice. There are fantastic (root word- fantasy)

possibilities to choose from for research, clinical and political work, as well as for institutional and systemic re-organizing and investment of resources. If the traditional oppressive leaders in depth psychology can be inspired, informed by, *and* gather courage from the traditionally oppressed leaders they will be able to handle feeling near-to-fragmentation and see beyond the delusion of annihilation to a different depth psychology in service to the psychological safety, survival and prosperity of the masses, not only a privileged elite few. It is possible.



Appendix A  
Key themes for a social justice agenda<sup>2</sup>

Community Psychology Activities	Connections between the personal and the political	Connections between micro, meso and macro contexts	Connections between constituents
Theory	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Grounding in issues and settings</li> <li>▪ Attention to subjectivity and personal experiences of oppression</li> <li>▪ The role of intrapersonal, interpersonal, and social conflict social justice</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Interdisciplinary frameworks</li> <li>▪ Integrative theory of change</li> <li>▪ Sensitivity to interdependence at all levels</li> <li>▪ Need to address implementation of values at all levels</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Balance between rights and responsibilities</li> <li>▪ Balance between individual and collective issues</li> </ul>
Research and Action	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Emancipatory research and action</li> <li>▪ Participatory action research approaches</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Multiple levels of analysis and intervention</li> <li>▪ Naturalistic case studies on effects of injustice and power inequality at all levels</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Involvement of multiple stakeholders and negotiation of power differences</li> <li>▪ Sensitivity to diversity of stakeholders</li> </ul>
Education and Training	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Recruiting for diversity</li> <li>▪ Attention to personal interests that might interfere with actualization of values</li> <li>▪ Promoting conscientization</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Addressing issues of justice within training programs</li> <li>▪ Mentoring in settings espousing social justice causes</li> <li>▪ Learning to identify contradictions at all levels</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Creating a psychological sense of community within the training program</li> <li>▪ Building long-term relationships with settings espousing social justice</li> </ul>

<sup>2</sup> From Eds. Fox and Prilleltensky, 1997 p. 179

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## Autobiographical Sketch

Maricela Patiño Morales is the daughter of immigrant working class parents from Mexico. As a teenager she began volunteering with nonprofit organizations. After working as a certified nursing assistant her senior year in high school, Maricela earned a B.A. degree in Human Biology from Stanford University. She then dedicated a year to volunteer work with homeless runaway teens at Covenant House, Hollywood. Maricela woke-up to the power of liberation through social change when she began volunteering with the Ventura County Living Wage Coalition. This volunteer work led to her current work as Associate Executive Director of the Central Coast Alliance United for a Sustainable Economy (CAUSE) in California. CAUSE's mission is to build grassroots power for social, economic, and environmental justice. Maricela's grassroots advocacy work brought her face-to-face with the lack of diverse representation and attention to social justice by elected officials. In 2002, as part of a grassroots effort she was elected the first Latina to her local city council where she served as Mayor in 2007. She draws inspiration from the potential for personal and social transformation, the legacy of human dignity and solidarity in the radical struggle for social justice, and remembering that we are all one.