

APPLYING HUMANISTIC THEORY TO THE PRACTICE OF COMMUNITY
DEVELOPMENT: EXPLORING HUMANISTIC PSYCHOLOGY'S
POTENTIAL TO ADDRESS THE HUMAN PROBLEMS OF TODAY

A dissertation presented to
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in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.) in Psychology
by
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AbstractAPPLYING HUMANISTIC THEORY TO THE PRACTICE OF COMMUNITY
DEVELOPMENT

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This theoretical dissertation seeks to identify and expand some of the core concepts in humanistic psychological theory through a content analysis of humanistic literature and related sources. The purpose of this process is to explore how humanistic theory may become relevant to communities that share vastly different socioeconomic, political, and ecological circumstances than people who have primarily become familiar with humanistic theory through individual counseling or academic inquiry. It is argued that humanistic psychology's principles of emancipation and positive growth provide a useful framework for community development. In the process of analysis, eight thematic categories emerged: Fundamental Human Needs, Freedom, Process of Change, Empathy, Cognitive Understanding and Awareness, Interconnection, Responsibility, and Ethic of Care. The resulting categories are applied to community development in Guatemala, notably to the researcher's case study of Association Ija'tz, a Maya community in San Lucas Tolimán, Guatemala.

Dedication

To the Maya people of Guatemala,

Who continue to seek freedom and well-being

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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

Countering prior physicalist views, the new principles of causality affirm that subjective human values are today the most strategically powerful driving force governing the course of events in the civilized world—and the key to our global predicament and its solution.

– Roger Sperry (1995, p. 8)

I am riding in the back of a small pickup truck, which serves as taxi service over the mountain from San Lucas Tolimán to the neighboring Maya village of Atitlán in the highlands of Guatemala. This rural route takes us through the heart of the coffee-growing region. Along the roadside gather men, women, and children with bags full of the day's pickings. I see a young boy, barefoot, carrying a large bag of coffee on his back. The 125-pound bag surely weights twice as much as he does. It is an image I will not forget.

The Maya

Along with the Olmec, the Aztec, and the Toltec cultures, the ancient Maya were one of the original Mesoamerican civilizations. For more than 3,000 years, they flourished throughout the Yucatan peninsula, Guatemala, and the northern regions of El Salvador and Honduras and developed advanced methods of engineering, astronomy, mathematics, and stone carving that far surpassed their contemporaries in Europe. An elaborate writing system featured the Maya Long Count Calendar, which the modern Maya observe to this day. The resilience and pride of the present-day Maya, comprised of 21 distinct ethnic groups, is evident in the activism they have shown towards rightfully reclaiming their communal and familial lands, the proliferation of their languages, the celebration of their cultural and spiritual traditions, and in demanding social justice in the face of impunity.

Since colonial times, the Maya have retained their identity as indigenous peoples and have resisted assimilation to ladino culture although they have suffered tremendous exploitation and oppression. Beginning with the colonization of the Spanish, and exacerbated by the production of coffee in the late 19th century, the Maya have been enslaved and exploited for their labor and dispossessed of their communal lands. During the 36-year civil war, the Guatemalan government's policy of genocide towards the Maya resulted in more than 200,000 deaths and millions displaced. During a short intense period of violence in the 1980s, over 400 Highland villages were burnt to the ground. The Pan-Maya movement that emerged from the Peace Accords in 1996 represented a first step towards a formal recognition of the sovereignty of the Maya people and the gratification of basic human rights; however, the realization of social and economic justice has mostly been thwarted by a corrupt government and a weak judicial system and undermined by foreign interests.

In 2005, the Guatemalan Congress passed the Dominican Republic-Central America Free Trade Agreement (DR-CAFTA) in spite of massive public protest and without a national referendum (Barreda, 2006). DR-CAFTA has effectively eliminated protective tariffs and trade barriers, making 80% of U.S. imports duty free. Since its inception in 2006, it has had detrimental effects in a country where agriculture is the foundation of the economy—nearly one fourth of its GDP, two thirds of its exports, and half of the country's employment (Foster, 2006). Nearly 70% of the people in Guatemala live in poverty; chronic malnutrition affects more than half of all children under 5 years of age, the highest level of malnutrition in Latin America (United Nations World Food Program [UNWFP], 2009). Centuries of resource extraction and industrial agriculture

have ravaged local ecosystems, making them more susceptible to hurricanes and other natural disasters. In October of 2005, Hurricane Stan set off flash floods and mudslides that destroyed entire villages around Lake Atitlán in the Guatemalan highlands.

The experience of sociopolitical, economic, and environmental devastation is not unique to the Maya of Guatemala. Land-based populations around the globe are now being plunged into deeper levels of poverty due to the decrease in arable lands through the globalized system of agricultural production and distribution and environmental devastation. Since the United Nations defined the term *least developed countries* (LDCs) in the 1970s to signify severe deprivation of economic and human resources, the number of LDCs has more than doubled, from 24 to 50 (United Nations Conference on Trade and Development [UNCTD], 2007). LDCs are identified by the criteria of low income (based on a 3-year average of gross national income per capita at or below \$900); weak human assets or resources (indicators such as health, nutrition, education, and adult literacy); and economic vulnerabilities (including a dependence on imports and a narrow range of exports, and susceptibility to exogenous market conditions).

For the men and women with whom I worked in San Lucas Tolimán, Guatemala, development is about more than increasing their standard of living. The mission statement for Association Ija'tz, a community organization comprised of 62 Mayan families, speaks to their desire “to promote democratic participation in the communities of the municipality of San Lucas Tolimán, to foster sustainable development and to work against the destruction of the ecosystem of Lake Atitlán” (Asociación Ija'tz, n.d., ¶ 1). Their integrated development is one that reclaims their identities as Maya people, their approach being grounded in the “principles of the Mayan cosmovision” (Asociación

Ija'tz, n.d., ¶ 2). Through organic coffee production, agroecological interventions, and other sustainable projects, Ija'tz seeks to bring economic, ecological, and relational well-being to its community. Humanistic psychology may provide a valuable theoretical framework for community development.

Applying Humanistic Theory to Community Development

Humanistic psychological theories emphasize that the power to change begins within the individual; within each person lies an inherent potential to be actualized. Development, in humanistic theory, centers on the holistic engagement of intellectual, spiritual, and physical capacities. Human relationships that are grounded in empathy and respect heal emotional wounds and give affirmation to new visions of what could be. Humanistic psychology's focus on healthy intra- and interpersonal relationships and its tools for self-awareness and effective communication offer a unique contribution to the discourse of community development; this focus on the development of relationships may provide a sustainable foundation for development work (Diaz-Laplante, 2007).

Purpose of This Research

The healthy development of communities towards collective actualization, empowerment, and well-being should be acknowledged by a theory of humanistic psychology that speaks to their needs and challenges. For Ija'tz and other land-based communities, what extensions to humanistic psychological theories are needed? What modifications should be made to humanistic psychology so that it is able to guide communities whose most basic physical needs are presently not being met and whose best hopes lie in the sustainable development of their communities? How can humanistic

psychology, with its theoretical and clinical focus on the individual, be extended to cultures that approach change and growth on a community level? Through the analysis of humanistic theorists—of the past and present—as well as the complementary ideas of other schools of psychology, liberation pedagogy and participatory research, economics, indigenous scholars, and other literature, the purpose of this research is to identify some of the core concepts in humanistic theory and to identify how those core concepts may be extended or modified to become relevant to developing communities such as Ija'tz.

CHAPTER 2 REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The Mission of Humanistic Psychology

Aanstoos (2003), Richards (2003), and Criswell (2003) articulated their views for the present mission of humanistic psychology. Aanstoos (2003) argued that if humanistic psychology is to have an impact in the 21st century, it must address the issues of the future. Humanistic psychology's grounding in holism is what is needed to guide us now in resolving the critical issues of the next generation, including globalization, human and ecological health, and spirituality. Yet, it must cultivate this holistic view of the self and an "engaged, involved, situated self, concerned and caring about the whole of Being of which it is an interrelated manifestation" (Aanstoos, 2003, p. 128).

Richards (2003) identified three fundamental convictions of humanistic psychology: (a) the importance of the subjective experience, (b) concepts of healthy psychological development and functioning and the belief in the human potential for goodness and well-being, and (c) an understanding that dynamics in human relationships can foster or inhibit psychological growth and potential in individuals and groups. Richards views the existence of numerous educators, nonprofit agencies, artists, and therapists who promote humanistic ideals and visions for the future evidence of the continued relevance and mission of humanistic psychology and calls for collaboration between the individuals and groups who share these ideals and visions.

Criswell (2003) noted that humanistic psychology has a larger mission than that of rebelling against other branches of psychology. Criswell wrote,

Humanistic psychology's larger mission is nothing short of freedom and autonomy for all human beings. The opportunity for all humans to be treated as people of worth and dignity and allowed to actualize their potential in a balanced

global environment is the goal. The challenge to humanistic psychology is to realize its larger mission and to organize its resources to fulfill that mission. The need for this work in the world is urgent. The challenge of humanistic psychology is to fulfill its own potential, to have a positive effect on global well-being. (p. 43)

The current crisis of global affairs—poverty, disease, violence—requires a worldview that encourages self-responsibility, aims toward maximizing health, and encourages the full development of the person within the context of community and society. To promote this view of global well-being, we must “blend the individualistic tendencies of humanistic psychology with a more collaborative model for dealing with world situations” (Criswell, 2003, p. 51), including a greater appreciation for cultural diversity and interspecies well-being.

The above literature illuminates two themes for a new mission of humanistic psychology to meet the demands of global society. First is the emphasis on an expanded vision of the self-in-context; second is the call for professional collaboration and the expanded application of humanistic concepts and values in practice. To meet these calls, the underlying ideological and political assumptions of the theoretical concepts and values of humanistic psychology should be considered.

Ideological and Political Assumptions in Psychological Theory

In *The Morals and Politics of Psychology*, Prilleltensky (1994) proposed a framework of analysis for the ideological and political assumptions that are inherent in all psychological theory. Psychological theories and practices affect, and are affected by, the social order, and they promote social, cultural, and political values. Most frequently, these values are defined by the dominant segments of society. Prominent among these values is “the maintenance of the existing state of affairs in society” (Prilleltensky, 1994, p. 38),

yet this may not be the intention of the theory or practice of psychology. With the considerable authority given psychology in human affairs, what is needed is an “identification and comparison of instances where psychological theories and practices operate as (a) conformity-promoting and (b) change-promoting forces in society” (p. 39).

Prilleltensky (1994) offered a compilation of literature outlining various ideological elements that contribute to the maintenance of the prevailing social order. I will limit this discussion to those elements that may be found within humanistic theory. The first element highlighted is the tendency to “attribute excessive weight to individual factors, such as genetic or psychological constitution, in explaining individual and/or social behavior,” which also implies “a disposition to omit socioeconomic and political variables or to portray an asocial and ahistorical image of people (p. 39).

Following this example is the tendency to analyze social problems that originate in the classist patriarchal socioeconomic system, in terms of psychological maladjustment (Prilleltensky, 1994). Another conformity-promoting element is the matter of portraying values that benefit the dominant segments of society as benefiting society as a whole (Prilleltensky, 1994). Lastly, new knowledge and services may highlight innovative techniques, yet fail to address systemic predicaments (Prilleltensky, 1994). In sum, these ideological elements share the propensity “to reduce the probability that the recipient of psychological knowledge and/or practice (a) would become aware of the importance of adverse social influences on his or her life conditions, or (b) would engage in activities to promote macrosocial change” (p. 40).

Alternatively, other components of psychological theory and practice confirm the promotion of macrosocial change, including the consideration of social determinants, and

the need to modify environmental conditions, which are conducive to psychopathology (Prilleltensky, 1994). Other elements include prevention programs that are critical of the ability of the present social system to promote the well-being of the population (Prilleltensky, 1994). Lastly are critiques of “socially structured inequalities and their psychological effects” (p. 40). Prilleltensky cited feminist psychologists as the most likely group within the discipline of psychology as a whole to “denounce and expose the consequences of structural and cultural sources of oppression” (Prilleltensky, 1994, p. 40).

Prilleltensky (1994) considered these elements as they relate (or do not relate) to humanistic psychology (HP), finding that “conservative elements of HP have played a significant role in upholding a basically unjust state of social affairs” (p. 80).

Prilleltensky (1994) highlighted three conformity-promoting elements within HP: (a) the nearly unlimited potential for individual change and growth, (b) the assumption that individual transformation amounts to macro social change, and (c) “retreatism” from sociopolitical issues (pp. 80-87).

Humanistic Psychology: Review of Ideological Elements

Prior to Prilleltensky’s (1994) analysis, in the 1980s humanistic psychology conducted its own review of the ideological elements underlying its theory and practice. In addition to illuminating the elements later identified by Prilleltensky (1994), Greening (1984), in *American Politics and Humanistic Psychology*, discussed humanistic psychology’s consideration of the nature of human beings and the question of political engagement. Each of these elements will briefly be reviewed in turn.

The Fundamental Nature of Human Beings and Theories of Change

The nature of human beings—as fundamentally good and/ or evil—has consequences for theories of individual and social change and in how we relate to one another. What we conceive to be the natural state of human beings affects how we propose to deal with them. In *American Politics and Humanistic Psychology*, Greening (1984) presented the disparate positions of Carl Rogers and Rollo May, as well as their prescriptions and predictions for how their theories inform social change. Their arguments will not be presented here but instead will serve as a portion of the data set for the present content analysis.

Individual Theories for Change and Growth

Nord (1984) and Buss (1984) offered critiques of humanistic theories of individual change. Nord (1984) examined individual change in light of Marxist theory. Nord considered that the goal of self-actualization for all members of society is unlikely to be achieved without major changes in economic organizations and distribution of power. The individual is embedded in an ensemble of social relationships with varying degrees of political and economic influence. “Without changes in these relations, human beings as a species, and hence as individuals, cannot develop their full potential . . . much of humanistic psychology may be too psychological to be effectively humanistic” (Nord, 1984, p. 136).

Buss (1984) found the sociohistorical roots of self-actualization and humanistic psychological theories of growth in general in liberalism, which emphasize the autonomous individual. The ideas of growth, becoming, self-actualization, individual freedom, and tolerance all embody the values of liberalism: optimism, pluralism,

individual freedom, gradual progress, and development towards perfection. Ultimately, the “excessive individualism” in the theory of self-actualization serves to

. . . mask the larger social questions surrounding society’s structures and institutions. A theory that predisposes one to focus more upon individual freedom and development rather than the larger social reality, works in favor of maintaining that social reality. (Buss, 1984, p. 140)

Shaw and Colimore (1988) similarly equated Maslow’s theory of self-actualization with the ideology of capitalism. Economic individualism, the authors argued, concurs with the psychological individualism of humanistic psychology by emphasizing that individual needs and desires are of paramount importance. Implied within Maslow’s theory of human motivation is that the individual’s hard work, perseverance, and industry lead to peak experience. Shaw and Colimore (1988) wrote,

Those who fail to reach the heights described by Maslow may feel that they are personally to blame for their discontent. . . . The individualization process of success and failure can also result in blaming those who suffer from social justice for the hardships they face. (p. 60)

Prilleltensky (1994) noted that the importance placed on therapy and on the “almost unlimited possibilities of change in the individual” (p. 82) may lead to the conclusion that change should happen within the individual—the problem is located at the individual, not the society, level.

“Retreatism” From Sociopolitical Involvement

Lafferty (1984), in the first of four essays presented in *American Politics and Humanistic Psychology*, argued that therapy encourages self-responsibility but not civic responsibility. The essays that follow highlight a lively exchange between Ferguson (1984) and Marien (1984) on the matter of social transformation. Marien criticized Ferguson’s belief in the inevitable progress of an increasingly humanistic-oriented

society. Marien described this unrealistic view of social transformation as Sandbox Syndrome, where children play in the sandbox “while adults carry on, undisturbed, in their usual wicked ways” (p. 53). The Sandbox Syndrome is highlighted by the absence of social, economic, and political criticism, an equation of goals with actual results, and the self-centered belief that individual consciousness has the power to bring about outward change.

Humanistic Psychology and Political Engagement

The final section of *American Politics and Humanistic Psychology* (Greening, 1984) considers whether humanistic psychology should directly contribute to the political process or indirectly analyze the results of the political process. Matson (1984) argued that humanistic psychologists must “translate principles into policies and humanistic theory into humane practice” (p. 151) through public policy and program design as well as contributing to the areas of conflict resolution, cultural diversity, and economic reform.

In spite of its emphasis on personal growth, Anderson (1984) distinguished humanistic theory as a positive and hopeful vision for change. Yet, if the highest development of human beings is truly our collective intention, we must

. . . think about the growth possibilities of all people, at all social and economic levels, and also to understand fully what it means when a species begins to become responsible for its own evolution. As we consider such questions, the humanistic perspective becomes not merely psychological, but political; we are not talking about principles of research or therapy, but about principles of social action and institutional change. (Anderson, 1984, p. 182)

Reclaiming Humanistic Psychology’s Social Transformation Agenda

Although the practice of humanistic psychology has largely focused on the transformation of individuals through the medium of private psychotherapy, there is a

strong tradition of social transformation within the field of humanistic psychology, including work in the areas of peace and conflict resolution (Greening, 1986; Nelson, 1984; Pilisuk, 1997, 2001a); ecological psychology (Kuhn, 2001; Pilisuk, 2001b; Pilisuk & Joy, 2001); non-proliferation of nuclear weapons (Friedman, 1984); and social action (Brown & Mazza, 1996; Lyons, 1996, 2001). As O'Hara (2009) pointed out, for his work in intergroup conflict resolution, Rogers was nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize.

Working in the field of sustainable agricultural development, Jeannette Diaz-Laplante (2007) advocated for the application of humanistic psychology principles to the theoretical framework of community development in the developing world. Humanistic psychology's focus on building self-awareness and respectful and effective communication, furthermore, has a special role to play in the training of development workers. Diaz-Laplante's arguments for an expanded theory and practice of humanistic psychology are featured prominently in this content analysis.

Tammy Hanks (2008) argued for the adoption of a new humanistic psychological paradigm based on the principles and values of the African collectivistic philosophy of Ubuntu, explaining, "It is time for a unifying psychology that recognizes *cultural* and societal *potentialities* and offers the opportunity for *universal* actualization" (p. 118). Hanks explored the practical application of the Ubuntu paradigm in the "sanctuary" model of adolescent treatment in South Africa, which focuses on healing through the power of connection and compassion rather than individualized treatment protocols.

In her Spring 2009 address to the Society of Humanistic Psychology, Maureen O'Hara stated that humanistic psychology must change to address the human problems of the day—poverty, famine, violence, and ecosystem collapse. We must reclaim, she

argued, humanistic psychology's original activist spirit to create a better world through the application of humanistic principles on a social scale. O'Hara (2009) cited a number of global nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) as well as small community groups dedicated to social and environmental health and justice, describing how the missions of these organizations are the core values of humanistic psychology: human dignity, the capacity for choice, and the importance of empathy, among others. O'Hara encouraged humanistic psychologists to "join up" and "bring our particular take on the human story to the service of the world at this pivotal point in human history" (p. 2). She continues,

We must ensure that when psychological knowledge is called for in these challenging situations it is the empowering humanistic vision of psychological potential that gets considered by policy makers, NGO officials and aid workers, rather than the disease and treatment models, that have so come to dominate American psychology of late. Though I spent many rich years as a psychotherapist, I now seek to learn how we can link the micro world—the inner life of unique individuals—with what we need to know about macro scale processes of culture, society and ecology. (p. 3)

Purpose of the Research

The purpose of this research is to inquire into how humanistic theory can reclaim its tradition of social transformation through the application of community development. Through content analysis of humanistic and other bodies of literature, conceptual themes in humanistic theory will be extended to address the needs and issues relevant to developing communities such as Asociación Ija'tz.

Research Questions

Building on the arguments presented, the central questions of the research are as follows: How can humanistic psychology inform community development? How can

humanistic psychology become a guiding theory for the emancipation and growth of communities?

Additional questions guiding the study include the following:

- In what ways is humanistic psychology well suited to inform a theory of social transformation through community development?
- What are the key concepts in humanistic psychology that may lead to change at the community level in countries such as Guatemala that share problems of extreme inequity and social injustice?
- In what ways is humanistic psychological theory presently inadequate as a comprehensive theory of change at the societal level?
- What are the key concepts from other bodies of literature that are central to effecting change in less individualistic societies?
- How can we extend humanistic psychology through an integration of the key concepts from these other traditions?

CHAPTER 3 METHODOLOGY

Thematic Content Analysis

Content analysis is a research method for making replicable and valid inferences from texts to the contexts of their use (Krippendorff, 2004). Qualitative content analysis focuses on the content or contextual meaning of the text (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005).

The method originated in the field of journalism at the beginning of the 20th century in response to the rapid increase in the mass production of newsprint. The qualitative and quantitative content analysis of newspapers, primarily in the United States, sought to show how “worthwhile” news items were being increasingly dropped in favor of gossip, sports, and scandals (Robson, 2002). Between World War I and World War II, content analysis was employed to study the influence of propaganda in mass news media (radio, film, and television) as well as political and religious speeches and academic lectures. The fruits of these efforts were applied in World War II by Axis leaders to arouse and inform their countrymen and women, as well as to predict and prepare for Nazi and Japanese military campaigns (Krippendorff, 2004). In studying the techniques of propaganda, experimental psychologists incorporated the method, introducing the method to the field of psychology.

Thematic content analysis is the method of choice for the present research, whose data is almost exclusively comprised of literary sources and whose purpose is the emphasis and description of concepts and values.

Data Sources

This theoretical study focuses on the literature of humanistic psychology; liberation theology, pedagogy, and psychology; community psychology; global psychology; ecological psychology; economics; developmental psychology; social cognitive neuroscience; feminist psychology; indigenous knowledge; and participatory action research. This broad collection of literature was selected to represent a range of theoretical and practical perspectives that may add to or modify humanistic perspectives, for the purpose of making humanistic theories applicable to communities such as Ija'tz.

As a starting point, data sources for humanistic psychology focused on the writings of Maslow, May, and Rogers; a preliminary reading broadly outlined anchor points for emergent themes. These authors were intentionally selected because their work is most prominent in classic humanistic theory. Contemporary humanistic sources, including Pilisuk and Diaz-Laplante, were selected for their considerations of the emergent themes. Buber and Adler, who are sometimes included as representatives of humanistic theory, are also included here. This is a very short list of humanistic authors. Other theorists associated with the humanistic movement (some whose contributions are briefly noted below) such as Murphy, Allport, Murray, Sarason, Buhler, Smith, Horney, Moustakas, Jourard, Tillich, Bugental, and Frankl, were not included in this content analysis.

This research was not intended as a comprehensive review of humanistic literature. Data selection, in the end, was also a practical matter of procedure. After a preliminary reading of May, Maslow, and Rogers and the sketching of themes, the data selection process continued—not with additional humanistic sources but with sources that

perhaps contrast most with the classic humanistic literature of Maslow, May, and Rogers, including Freire, Martín-Baró, Prilleltensky & Nelson, Fals Borda, Max-Neef, and Sen. Other sources, notably Skinner and Fromm, were selected because of prominent writings on particular themes (in this case, Freedom). While these two sources do offer alternative perspectives, in the end, their ideas were not integrated into the theoretical scheme.

Data collected from my own case study of Ija'tz, along with other development projects and case studies in Guatemala and elsewhere, are utilized to illustrate the possible application of humanistic principles in the work of sustainable community development.

My intention was to build on the unique contributions that humanistic psychology brings to the discourse of community development, including its focus on psychological health and healing, its emphasis on self-awareness and effective communication, the development of healthy interpersonal relationships, and its understanding(s) of human nature and potential for growth and change. Based on the sociopolitical critiques of humanistic psychology presented in the previous section, these selected pieces of literature offered an expanded focus of the self-in-context and link inner change with outer change through collective action.

Data Analysis

This research employed a directed approach to thematic content analysis, which is the particular method of content analysis for the purpose of extending a current theory (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). For this directed content analysis, initial coding started with general theories of humanistic psychology: I began by identifying key concepts as initial coding categories, which are identified in the following section. Units of analysis were

comprised of paragraphs or passages of text. Operational definitions of each category were created, and subsequent data were organized into coded thematic units.

Qualitative content analysis recognizes that multiple meanings or themes may exist within a single passage of text. However, it still applies that the categories should be defined in such a way that they are internally as homogenous as possible and externally as heterogeneous as possible (Yan Zhang & Wildemuth, 2006).

Procedure

After a preliminary analysis of Maslow (1968, 1970, 1971, 1984); Rogers (1961, 1980); and May (1950, 1969, 1981, 1983, 1984), six thematic categories were determined: (a) *Requirements for Health*, (b) *Process of Change*, (c) *Cognitive Understanding*, (d) *Social Interest/Community Feeling*, (e) *Empathy*, and (f) *Place of Being*. The coding process resumed with an examination of literature in the fields of liberation theology, liberation pedagogy, liberation psychology, community psychology, global psychology, ecological psychology, and indigenous knowledge. Text that could not be coded with these themes was assigned a new code.

Maslow's theory regarding human needs as requirements for health (1968, 1970, 1971) and the writing of economist and developmental theorist Max-Neef (1991) was selected. Based on Max-Neef (1991) and May (1981), *Freedom* emerged as a new categorical theme. At this juncture, Fromm, Skinner, and Sen were also consulted on *Freedom*. Based on the importance and complementary nature of responsibility in relation to freedom (particularly in the writings of May and Sen), *Responsibility* emerged as an additional category. From there, Buber, Adler and Erikson were selected for their thoughts on this theme. Related to the work of Buber and the writings of a number of

ecological psychologists, another new category, *Interconnection*, was created. Finally, contemporary literature in humanistic psychology, community development, cross-cultural psychology, developmental psychology, feminist psychology, social cognitive neuroscience, and narrative methods was then examined for its work related to all the thematic categories. These authors included Diaz-Laplante, Pilisuk, Moghaddam, Kretzmann and McKnight, Hoffman, Surrey, Gilligan, Decety and Jackson, Josselson and Lieblich, Rappaport, Ledwith, Slim and Thompson, and Montejo. From the work of Gilligan and Pilisuk on the theme of *Responsibility*, a final category was created, *Ethic of Care*. Based on this last thematic development, the work of care ethicist Slote was selected. The indigenous perspective of Vasquez is also included in this final category.

The title of the first category, *Requirements for Health*, was renamed *Fundamental Human Needs* to reflect Max-Neef's (1991) theory of human needs. *Cognitive Understanding* was expanded to *Cognitive Understanding and Awareness* to account for text samples emphasizing subjective awareness. The fourth preliminary category, *Social Interest/ Community Feeling*, was dropped after subsequent readings found that the text samples were subsumed within the categories of *Cognitive Understanding and Awareness and Responsibility*. The initial category entitled *Place of Being* was eliminated because the initial text samples were most accurately placed under *Process of Change* and *Cognitive Understanding and Awareness*.

Qualitative thematic content analysis allows for "fuzzy" boundaries between categories, recognizing that one unit of text may contain multiple meanings. Among the resulting eight categories there was considerable overlap. For example, Maslow's theory of self-actualization is discussed in terms of human needs, as a process of change or

growth, and in its aspect of Being Cognition; similarly, Freire's conscientización is a process of change as well as a process of cognitive understanding.

A Note on Data Selection

As noted previously, this research was not intended to be an exhaustive analysis of all humanistic theorists. The selection of data sources began with Maslow, Rogers, and May representing core humanistic theorists because it is their work that is most often associated with humanistic psychology. The overall procedure of data selection at this point continued with the selection of theorists that I believe represent a counterpoint or complementary perspective to Maslow, Rogers, and May, including Freire, Prilleltensky and Nelson, Martín-Baró, and Fals Borda. While some contemporary contributors to the literature of humanistic psychology are included in this analysis, many of the progenitors of the humanistic psychology movement are not. A few of these important individuals and a brief description of their work are noted below.

Gordon Allport

Gordon Allport's personality psychology championed humanistic values of subjectivity, freedom, and holism. Allport believed the person was lost in deterministic and behaviorist theories of psychology. His theory of functional autonomy considers the human capacity for growth beyond infantile drives; propiate functional autonomy recognizes different value systems that drive the person towards various paths in life. In *The Nature of Prejudice*, Allport (1954) uncovered both the affective and cognitive aspects of prejudice, which he defined as "an antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalization" (p. 9). Allport explained that, at a societal level, prejudice perpetuates

discriminatory practices; at an individual level, it serves a need for categorization, anxiety and security, and scapegoating. His feedback model for prejudice and aggression highlighted the observation that aggression, rather than providing catharsis, feeds upon itself, leading to more aggression. In overcoming prejudice, Allport recognized that intergroup contact is not enough; what is needed are the conditions of equal status, common goals, no intergroup competition, and authority sanction. His ideas continue to be supported in research around the globe (Pettigrew, 1999).

Henry Murray

Known to many as the creator of the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT), the personality and social psychology of Henry Murray was influential to the burgeoning humanistic psychology movement. Along with Allport, Murray led the Department of Social Relations at Harvard University and was a contributor to the culture and personality movement. His theory of personality, or personology, considered the holistic development of the person throughout his or her lifetime and the interaction between individual and social needs.

Gardner Murphy

Gardner Murphy, with Allport and Murray, represents humanistic psychology's roots in personality and social psychology. Murphy's biosocial theory takes into account the social conditions necessary to allow human potential (at the individual and social levels) to be realized. One of the founding members of the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues (SPSSI), Murphy believed that the task of social psychology was to examine the social context of the day and to inform and serve public interest.

M. Brewster Smith

M. Brewster Smith's humanistic social psychology emphasizes social action. Building on the personality and social psychology of Allport and Murphy, Smith has advocated for the scientific understanding of social problems and its application to improve human life. Throughout his lifetime, he has been an outspoken critic of the political threats to human well-being—and has been equally critical of the field of psychology when it fails to respond.

Seymour Sarason

Seymour Sarason articulated the problems and potential solutions towards a humanistic education system. Uncovering the psychology of the institution and the culture of the classroom, Sarason showed how the education system has often had an oppressive effect on students and teachers. School psychology, in its misdirected use of intelligence testing, has served to label students and hinder their capacity for learning rather than help; administrators often fail to include teachers, parents, and students in the decision-making process. Education should teach students about themselves, others, and the world; success in education occurs when confidence, sensitivity to others, critical and creative thinking, and social responsibility is cultivated in students.

Charlotte Buhler

Charlotte Buhler contributed to the foundation of humanistic psychology through her child and adolescent developmental theories. Buhler's methods and theories reflected her intent to study the whole person and to make psychology not the study of behavior or illness but of wellness and purpose in human life. In her observations of infants, Buhler

found evidence of curiosity, social interest, delight in achievement, and distinctive individual styles in activity of infants no older than a few months (Gavin, 1990).

Karen Horney

In *Neurosis and Human Growth*, Karen Horney (1950) argued for the self as the core of the human being, which has the potential for self-realization or actualization. For the healthy person, actualization is the goal of life. The real self contains both gifts and deficiencies—the latter of which may plague neurotic individuals, creating a split between real and idealized self, the person they believe they should be. Increasing one's self-awareness strengthens the real self, fostering the actualization process. Horney's *Feminine Psychology* (1967) highlighted that women's perceived inferiorities to men were not based in biology but the particular view of a male-dominated culture (as interpreted by a man, Freud). Women and men have a need to be productive members of society; Horney clarified Freud's characterization of penis envy more accurately as an envy of male privilege that affords men greater opportunities to develop their potential.

James Bugental

James Bugental developed the concept of presence in his existential-humanistic approach to psychotherapy. Presence means attending to the moment, being with the client—which is to be aware of the client's subjective world, one's own subjective process, and the intersubjective space between. Related to presence is the concept of the therapeutic alliance, a commitment to the whole person, which requires authenticity on the part of the therapist. The purpose of existential-humanistic psychotherapy is to

develop presence and authenticity in the therapeutic relationship and to extend this way of being in life.

Paul Tillich

In *The Courage To Be*, theologian and existential philosopher Paul Tillich (1952) described the phenomenon of anxiety—the threat of nonbeing—as taking three forms. Most directly is the threat to one’s very existence (the threat of death); second is the threat of guilt and condemnation; third is the threat of emptiness and the loss of meaning. Tillich correlated these types of anxiety with Western history, pointing out that one or another of the three main periods of anxiety predominantly appear at the end of an era. Of the modern era of which he wrote, Tillich sensed the threat of emptiness and meaninglessness, “the threat of spiritual nonbeing” (p. 61) to be the most predominant. The courage to be comes not from the ego or self but from having faith in the power of being.

Clark Moustakas

Clark Moustakas’ (1961) heuristic research methodology seeks to reveal more fully the essence or meaning of a phenomenon of human experience through personal reflection. His heuristic study of loneliness became the basis for the method. Moustakas (2001) described heuristic inquiry as a recreation of lived experience, through depictions of the experience from the frame of reference of the experiencing person.

Sidney Jourard

For Sidney Jourard, self-disclosure is indicative of physical and psychological health. Self-disclosure is linked to personal growth and health: Making ourselves “transparent” to others allows them to see us as we are and makes us more aware of ourselves. Self-disclosure also elicits disclosure. Building on Buber’s writings, Jourard (1968) described dialogue as “mutual unveiling, where each seeks to be experienced and confirmed by the other. . . . Such dialogue is likely to occur when the two people believe each is trustworthy and of goodwill” (p. 21).

Victor Frankl

Victor Frankl’s logotherapy was an existential psychoanalysis that focused on meaning, the purpose being to recover the analysand’s sense of meaning in life. Even the most dire life circumstances contain meaning. Frankl further developed his ideas based on his own experiences of living and surviving the Holocaust. He believed that as human beings, we have the freedom to find meaning in our experiences, even those that cause us great suffering.

CHAPTER 4 ANALYSIS OF THEMATIC CONTENT

Eight thematic categories were generated as a result of the directed content analysis: (a) *Fundamental Human Needs*, (b) *Freedom*, (c) *Process of Change*, (d) *Empathy*, (e) *Cognitive Understanding and Awareness*, (f) *Interconnection*, (g) *Responsibility*, and (h) *Ethic of Care*. The description of each theme will begin with a definition of terms and a delimitation of the literature examined.

Fundamental Human Needs

Definition of Terms

Based on the writing of Max-Neef (1991), I chose to adopt his title and definition of “Fundamental Human Needs,” which shares with Maslow’s theory the principle that universal needs—based on human values—must be met in order to be fully human. While Max-Neef’s comprehensive theory will be described below, the term *Fundamental Human Needs* implies that (a) needs are ontological—that they are requisite of being human, and (b) that all needs are fundamental—that is, there is no hierarchy of needs, all needs are required of being fully human.

Authors Selected for Content Analysis

The authors selected for content analysis are as follows: Maslow (1968, 1970, 1971); Max-Neef (1991); Prilleltensky and Nelson (2002); and Diaz-Laplante (2007).

Abraham Maslow

In his Theory of Human Motivation, Maslow described a universal, instinctual potential realized through the attainment of human needs. These needs are organized into

a hierarchy of prepotency, beginning with physiological needs and followed by safety needs, love/belongingness, and esteem needs.

Physiological needs. These are biological needs such as food, water, oxygen, and the regulation of body temperature.

Safety needs. Safety needs may be defined as those needs concerning protection, stability, law, and order.

Love/belongingness needs. These are needs for giving and receiving love and affection and for a sense of belonging.

Esteem needs. These are needs for self-esteem or self-confidence, worth, and capability, as well as the esteem of others—the need for reputation or prestige.

Maslow theorized that each of the basic “deficiency” needs must be met in turn: Until the requisite need is satisfied, human motivation will focus on the gratification of that need. Maslow (1970) described how one’s “whole philosophy” will be defined by the attainment of that need:

Another peculiar characteristic of the human organism when it is dominated by a certain need is that the whole philosophy of the future tends also to change. For our chronically and extremely hungry person, Utopia can be defined simply as a place where there is plenty of food. . . . Life itself tends to be defined in terms of eating. Anything else will be defined as unimportant. Freedom, love, community feeling, respect, philosophy, may all be waved aside as fripperies that are useless, since they fail to fill the stomach. Such a person may fairly be said to live by bread alone. (p. 17)

Self-actualization. At the top of the hierarchy is the need for self-actualization, which represents the need for the individual to express his or her highest potential. Basing his theory on people he found to be exceptional, Maslow described self-actualized people as having a superior perception of reality, increased spontaneity and richness of emotional reaction, and a higher frequency of peak experiences, among other

characteristics. He perceived qualitative differences between the lives of persons motivated by deficiency needs versus self-actualized persons motivated by growth-needs, which he also called B-values (Being-values) or meta-needs. The higher motives and needs of self-actualizers (Maslow distinguished 14 B-values) are ends in themselves, including Truth, Justice, Beauty, and Goodness. Building on the satisfaction of the inherent or “instinctoid” basic needs, B-values are also intrinsic to human health and are needed to achieve full humanness and growth (Maslow, 1971, p. 316).

The gratification of one’s needs is commensurate with psychological health.

Maslow (1970) explained:

It is clear that, other things being equal, a person who is safe and belongs and is loved will be healthier (by any reasonable definition) than one who is safe and belongs, but who is rejected and unloved. And if, in addition, the person wins respect and admiration and because of this develops self-respect, then he or she is still more healthy, self-actualizing, or fully human. (p. 38)

Building on the intrinsic basic deficiency needs, for the self-actualized, a deprivation of B-values or meta-needs brings about meta-pathologies: To lack Wholeness is to suffer Disintegration.

Maslow distinguished between motivation theory and behavior theory, which is concerned with the effect of the environment, the latter of which he believed defines psychological health in terms of adjustment—adjustment to reality, adjustment to society, adjustment to other people. “An extrapsychic centering point,” he wrote, “cannot be used for the theoretical task of defining the healthy psyche” (Maslow, 1968, p. 179). To do so, he reasoned, is to define the good organism in terms of what he or she is good for “as if he were an instrument rather than something in himself, as if he were only a means to some extrinsic purpose” (p. 179). To steer clear of adjustment theory, Maslow (1968)

implored, “We must leap beyond these statements . . . to the clear recognition of transcendence of the environment, independence of it, ability to stand against it, to fight it, to neglect it, or to turn one’s back on it, to refuse it or adapt to it” (p. 180).

Independence and transcendence of the environment extends, of course, to the environment of culture and society. One of the esteem characteristics of the self-actualized individual is autonomy. In his 1951 paper titled “Resistance to Acculturation,” Maslow highlighted his “healthy subjects”’ ability to consider culture critically; but he also emphasized how they show “a surprising amount of detachment from people in general” (in Maslow, 1968, p. 181).

In *Motivation and Personality*, Maslow (1970) explained that because they are propelled by growth motivation rather than by deficiency motivation, self-actualizing people

. . . are not dependent for their main satisfactions on the real world, or other people or culture or means to ends or, in general, on extrinsic satisfactions. Rather they are dependent for their own development and continued growth on their own potentialities and latent resources. Just as the tree needs sunshine and water and food, so do most people need love, safety, and the other basic need gratifications that can only come from without. But once these external satisfiers are obtained, once these inner deficiencies are satiated by outside satisfiers, the true problem of individual human development begins, namely self-actualization. (p. 136)

In spite of this emphasis on autonomy and detachment, Maslow pointed out that his self-actualized subjects had profound interrelationships and were “the most altruistic and social and loving of all human beings,” a dichotomy which is resolved in self-actualizing people. “The fact that we have in our culture put these qualities at opposite ends of a single continuum is apparently a mistake that must now be corrected” (Maslow, 1970, p. 157). Furthermore, a sense of social interest, although not directly presented, is implied in problem centering, meaning that self-actualizers are “strongly

focused on problems outside themselves. . . . These individuals customarily have some mission in their life, some task to fulfill, some problem outside themselves which enlists much of their energies” (p. 134).

Manfred Max-Neef

In *Human Scale Development*, Chilean economist, environmentalist, and development expert Max-Neef (1991) explained how “social and personal development are inseparable” (p. 59). “A healthy society,” he explained, “should advocate above all the development of every person and of the whole person” (p. 59). In the book, Max-Neef presented his theory of fundamental human needs.

Max-Neef (1991) emphasized that fundamental human needs must be understood as a system, and not in hierarchical terms. He wrote,

This means that on the one hand, no need is more important per se than any other; and that on the other hand, there is not fixed order of precedence in the actualization of needs (that of need B, for instance, can only be met after need A has been satisfied.) Simultaneities, complementarities and tradeoffs are characteristic of the system’s behavior. (p. 49)

There is, however, a “pre-systemic threshold,” that is, a feeling of deprivation may be so severe that the urge to satisfy that need may “paralyze and overshadow” any other impulse (Max-Neef, 1991, p. 49). This situation is not, he pointed out, limited to the matter of basic subsistence but is equally true of other fundamental needs.

Needs are satisfied within multiple levels—that is, with regard to oneself (Eigenwelt), the social group (Mitwelt), and the environment (Umwelt; Max-Neef, 1991, p. 18). Human needs are not infinite, nor do they change with time. Human needs are not culturally dependent. “Fundamental human needs . . . are the same in all cultures and in all historical periods” (p. 18). Max-Neef identified nine universal, fundamental human

needs: Subsistence, Protection, Affection, Understanding, Participation, Idleness, Creation, Identity, and Freedom (p. 17).

Max-Neef (1991) distinguished between *needs* and the *satisfiers* of those needs: While fundamental human needs are universal and timeless, it is the ways and means in which those needs are satisfied that change with time and context. There is no one-to-one correspondence between needs and their satisfiers; a satisfier may contribute simultaneously to the satisfaction of different needs. A mother breastfeeding her baby is simultaneously meeting her infant's needs for Subsistence, Protection, Affection, and Identity (p. 17). Conversely, a need may require multiple satisfiers in order to be met. Max-Neef suggested that the dropping of traditional satisfiers is a consequence of cultural change.

Human needs and satisfiers are existential and axiological. All fundamental human needs are met by satisfiers that are expressed in terms of *being* (personal or collective attributes); *having* (institutions, norms, mechanisms, or tools); *doing* (personal or collective actions); and *interacting* (locations and milieus). For example, Protection experienced as *being* may be represented as care and adaptability. Protection experienced in material terms of *having* may be insurance systems, financial savings, and civil rights. As *doing* and *interacting*, Protection may be experienced as planning and social environment respectively (Max-Neef, 1991, p. 32).

Isaac Prilleltensky and Geoffrey Nelson

In *Doing Psychology Critically*, community psychologists Prilleltensky and Nelson (2002) argued that well-being is achieved through “the simultaneous and balanced satisfaction of personal, relational, and collective needs” (p. 8). Just as collective

well-being cannot be reached without addressing the needs of individuals, such as mastery, choice, self-efficacy, and autonomy, personal well-being cannot be pursued without also meeting relational and collective needs. Well-being may also be seen as a hierarchical system: The well-being of the individual is predicated on the well-being of the immediate family; that of the community; and, ultimately, societal conditions (Prilleltensky & Nelson, 2002, p. 10).

Prilleltensky and Nelson (2002) explained:

Our theory of well-being regards human development in terms of the mutually reinforcing properties of personal, relational, and societal qualities. Personal needs such as health, self-determination, and opportunities for growth, are tied to the satisfaction of collective needs such as adequate health care, access to safe drinking water, fair and equitable allocation of resources and economic equality. (p. 12)

The role of the psychologist is to work towards the fulfillment of these fundamental needs that sustain well-being at the personal, relational, and collective level. Towards the promotion of well-being, psychologists and other professionals dedicated to human development and health must also focus on human needs at the collective level.

Jeannette Diaz-Laplante

Diaz-Laplante (2007) took issue with Maslow's hierarchy. In light of her experience working with poor rural communities in Haiti, she found that people are motivated not simply by hunger but also by the desire to improve their lives and their future for their children. She wrote:

Surely, it cannot be the case that those who are hungry every day (and there is an increasing number of them each moment) have no motivation to pursue love, self-esteem, self-actualization! What might be the mechanisms by which the poorest of the poor attain self-actualization? Perhaps it is in the very process of ensuring that their biological and safety needs are met that self-actualization needs are met. (p. 64)

Self-actualization may not be a process reached only after the basic physical needs, relational needs, and esteem needs are gratified—nor one that is pursued on an individual basis. In the communities of land-based peoples, the process of self-actualization may be in the form of restorative agricultural programs that engage the entire community, thereby serving physiological food and safety needs but also relational and esteem needs. This multidimensional process of community development is also the objective behind urban renewal projects that involve gang members in urban beautification projects to create gardens and healing spaces for the community (Bond, 1997, as cited in Diaz-Laplante, 2007).

Each of us, regardless of where we stand on the poverty-wealth continuum as experienced in today's globalized world, struggles to become our higher self. The tools we are given, both figuratively and literally, define how we build our path toward self-actualization and the realization of our higher self. (Diaz-Laplante, 2007, p. 65)

In working towards self-actualization in many impoverished communities around the world, in urban or rural settings, “the work of humanistic oriented psychologists is the work of community healing and community development” (Diaz-Laplante, 2007, p. 65).

Freedom

Definition of Terms

Based on Max-Neef (1991), *Freedom* is defined as autonomy and determination; as having equal rights; and as the ability to dissent, choose, and develop awareness.

Authors Selected for Content Analysis

This section considers the work of Maslow (1970), Skinner (1971), May (1981), Fromm (1941/1965), and Sen (1999).

Abraham Maslow

Maslow (1970) considered freedom a “precondition” of the basic needs.

Such conditions as freedom to speak, freedom to do what one wishes so long as no harm is done to others, freedom to express oneself, freedom to investigate and seek for information, freedom to defend oneself, justice, fairness, honesty, and orderliness in the group are examples of such preconditions for basic need satisfactions. (p. 22)

Maslow also identified the importance of freedom in relation to the esteem needs for interfacing with independence and agency in the world. In a footnote, Maslow noted that whether or not freedom is a universal desire is unknown. He pointed out that people who have “known true freedom . . . built on the basis of adequate safety and security” will not be willing to allow their freedom to be taken away. But he questions that if this will to defend one’s freedom “is true for people born into slavery” (Maslow, 1970, p. 21).

B. F. Skinner

In *Beyond Freedom and Dignity*, B. F. Skinner (1971) presented his theory of radical behaviorism and proposed that all human action is determined—in other words, freedom does not exist. “Man’s struggle for freedom,” he explained, “is not due to a will to be free, but to certain behavioral processes characteristic of the human organism, the chief effect of which is the avoidance of or escape from so-called ‘aversive’ features of the environment” (p. 42).

Skinner's (1971) conception of freedom, then, is a behavioral response to aversive stimuli. Various responses to the aversive stimuli range between complete avoidance and aggressive attack. Skinner noted that in one form or another, intentional "aversive control" is the predominant pattern of social "coordination"—including that of the family, of government, of economics, education, religion, even psychotherapy (p. 28).

For Skinner, it is the environment that shapes the individual. There is no such thing as "autonomous man" that is free to make choices. Skinner's technology of human behavior, what he refers to as "cultural engineering," seeks to create a better society through positive environmental control. However, misguided beliefs in freedom and human dignity hinder the advancement of cultural engineering because these traditional viewpoints perceive all forces of control as negative.

The philosophical literature of freedom, Skinner (1971) argued, is designed for the purpose of inducing people "to escape from or attack those who act to control them aversively" (p. 28). This is evidenced by its prescriptions for action towards tyrannical governments, which is where its value lies. The problem with the literature of freedom, he contended, is that it presents behavioral responses in terms of states of mind and feelings. "Freedom is a matter of contingencies of reinforcement, not of the feelings the contingencies generate" (pp. 37-38).

Rollo May

To May (1981), freedom is not only a state of mind but it is what distinguishes us as humans. Personal freedom allows us to think, to feel, and to speak authentically. May called freedom "the mother of all values" (p. 6), as it gives us the capacity to value. It serves as the very foundation of the human values of love, courage, and honesty.

In *Freedom and Destiny*, May (1981) distinguished between freedom of *doing* and freedom of *being*. Freedom of doing is defined as the ability to act, while freedom of being refers to the context from which the urge to act emerges. Freedom of being, then, precedes freedom of doing; it is the most essential freedom. May equated political freedom—liberty—with freedom of doing, while freedom of being represents one’s inner personal freedom.

To illustrate this difference, May described the experience of Bruno Bettelheim, who as a prisoner in an SS concentration camp discovered personal freedom in his ability to think, to question and reflect, and in his choice of attitude towards his captors. May (1981) recalled the words of a prisoner in San Quentin: “They have left me with nothing, nothing except an inner core, a secret, private place they have not yet found how to get to. . . . A man can live without liberty but not without freedom” (p. 56). May (1981) commented,

We could survive if we had to live under fascism or in prison, hate it as we may. But freedom is essentially an inner state. This “core,” this “secret place,” is absolutely necessary for our survival as humans. It is what gives the person a sense of being; it gives one the experience of autonomy, identity, the capacity to use the pronoun “I” with its full range of meaning. (p. 57)

This freedom, then, is not a freedom of security, but a freedom of discovery—of one’s “inner core,” of one’s imagination, hope and spirit.

Why is it, then, May asked, that some people achieve this fundamental inner freedom only when their liberty has been taken away? Is there a conflict between freedom of doing and freedom of being? May (1981) suggested that it is struggle and conflict—“when bread and comfort are no longer available” (p. 60)—that brings human

beings in touch with themselves. This view, he added, conflicts with Maslow's hierarchy of needs:

If we answer "yes" to these questions, we deny the popular idea that human beings move up through a hierarchy of needs from the biological to the psychological to the spiritual. It would mean, rather, that people evolve by conflict and struggle, and there is no simple and placid evolution from lower needs to higher ones. (p. 60)

May (1981) emphasized that the goal of existential therapy is to "help the patient discover, establish, and use his or her freedom" (p. 64); in short, to set them free. But freedom only has meaning in relation to one's destiny, one's "response-ability:" It is in struggling with this paradox between freedom and responsibility—our destiny—that we allow ourselves to create change, to grow. This matter—what constitutes the process of change—will be discussed in a forthcoming section.

May (1981) argued that Skinner's behaviorism is an example of a fear of freedom (p. 200). He pointed to the popularity of Skinner's *Beyond Freedom and Dignity* as evidence of human anxiety in regard to, as Kierkegaard (1844/1946) described it, "the dizziness of freedom" (p. 55), and of the desire to run away from personal responsibility. May contested Skinner's view that the environment controls and thus shapes the behavior of human beings, rendering them without choice and without responsibility. "But what, pray tell, is the environment composed of except other human beings like you and me?" (p. 197). By taking freedom and responsibility out of the hands of human beings, they are also left without a sense of agency. Yet, Skinner's viewpoint is appealing to those who fear freedom and shirk responsibility: "Thus, people 'dump' on their environment the very responsibility that would be needed if they are effectively to influence their environment" (May, 1981, p. 198).

Erich Fromm

In *Escape From Freedom*, Fromm (1941/1965) posed many questions regarding the nature of freedom. What is freedom as a human experience? Is the desire for freedom inherent in human nature? Is the experience of freedom universal across cultures or different to the degree of individualism? Is freedom defined as the absence of external pressure or the presence of something? What are the social and economic factors that allow for freedom? Can freedom be a burden from which we try to escape?

Fromm's primary argument in *Escape From Freedom* is that as human beings throughout history have gained more and more autonomy as individuals and come to experience the "ambiguity" of freedom, they must choose between engaging with the world in an authentic and constructive way or be compelled to seek security in ways that will limit their freedom.

Fromm (1941/1965) stated, "Human existence and freedom are from the beginning inseparable" (p. 48). Yet, the concept of freedom changes "according to the degree of man's awareness and conception of himself as an independent and separate being" (p. 39). Beginning with the collective individuation process of human beings and their sense of separation from the earth and other natural beings (Fromm recalled the metaphor of the Garden of Eden), human beings first experienced freedom. But with this freedom also came feelings of separation, isolation, and anxiety. Like the infant's process of individuation from the parent, these ambiguous feelings about freedom are rooted in a dialectic between the need for self-determination and mastery over one's capacities with the need for identity with nature, with one's family, clan, and religion. The solution Fromm presented is "active solidarity with all men and his spontaneous activity, love and

work, which unite him again with the world, not by primary ties but as a free and independent individual” (p. 52). Fromm distinguished between two aspects of freedom for modern humanity: “freedom to” and “freedom from.” Without regaining ties to society (“freedom to”), however, one will seek security—to escape from freedom—through conformity, destructiveness, or authoritarianism.

Fromm (1941/1965) described how a combination of psychological, ideological, and economic factors have historically impacted human character and our Western view of freedom. While the medieval period has been characterized as lacking in individual freedom, Fromm argued that because the rigid social order was conceived of as the natural order, being a part of that natural order—whatever one’s social position—gave one a sense of security and belonging. However, within one’s caste there was considerable room for professional and emotional expression. In other words, although there may not have been what we consider freedom—as individualism—in choosing the course of one’s life, there was a more practical freedom of everyday life (p. 58). “Medieval society,” Fromm wrote, “did not deprive the individual of his freedom, because the ‘individual’ did not yet exist; man was still related to the world by primary ties” (p. 59).

During the Renaissance, our modern sense of individualism was born. Individual, economic initiative and competition grew, enriching the upper classes, while at the same time alienating them from the social order. And it was the Reformation that upturned the security of the social order for the middle and lower classes. Lutheranism and Calvinism spoke to their insecurity of place and economic stature in a quickly rising capital system that left them feeling powerless and insignificant. In Calvin’s interpretation of

predestination, God not only predestines some for grace but also others for eternal damnation. This religious doctrine inspired a new ethic for work and effort (that could somehow forecast one's predetermined fate) that especially valued the results of one's work and effort. These character traits in turn became a productive force in modern capitalistic society.

Fromm (1941/1965) showed that the psychological problem of freedom cannot be separated from the economic, social, and political structure of society, that "the realization of positive freedom and individualism is also bound up with economic and social changes that will permit the individual to become free in terms of the realization of his self" (p. 298).

Amartya Sen

In *Development as Freedom*, Nobel Prize-winning economist Sen (1999) equated freedom with agency. Although individual agency is central to the process of development, it is "inescapably qualified and constrained by the social, political, and economic opportunities that are available to us" (pp. xi-xii). Recognizing both the importance of individual freedom and the reality of social influences on the extent of that individual freedom, the expansion of individual freedoms constitutes the end and means of Sen's approach to development.

Sen (1999) distinguished the differences between substantive, constitutive, and instrumental roles of freedom. Substantive freedoms include basic capabilities such as avoiding the deprivations of starvation, malnutrition, and premature mortality, as well as having the ability to read, to participate in the political process, and to enjoy uncensored speech. Constitutive freedom is the process of building upon these basic substantive

freedoms—the *end* goal of development. The instrumental role of freedom—the *means* of development—deals with the nuts and bolts of freedom; the rights, opportunities, and entitlements that promote development. Sen identified five types of instrumental freedoms: (a) political freedoms, (b) economic facilities, (c) social opportunities, (d) transparency guarantees, and (e) protective security (p. 10). Sen emphasized the empirical connections between these types of freedoms and the way in which they reinforce (and not compete with) one another. For example, political freedom (such as free speech and elections) promotes economic security; social opportunities like education and health care support economic participation. In turn, economic facilities (participation in trade and production) generate resources to support social programs (p. 11).

Sen spoke of individual freedom as a social commitment—we take responsibility for ourselves but also share a responsibility in the welfare of others. Social responsibility does not replace individual responsibility but supports it. The substantive freedoms we have (or do not have) are contingent not only on personal circumstances but also on social and environmental circumstances.

Process of Change

Definition of Terms

The third thematic category, *Process of Change*, concerns the nature of human beings and what constitutes the process of change or growth.

Authors Selected for Content Analysis

This thematic category examines Maslow (1968, 1971, 1984); Rogers (1960, 1980, 1984); May (1950, 1981, 1983, 1984); Freire (1970/2007); Martín-Baró (1994); Boff and (2007); Nelson and Prilleltensky (2005); Montero (1996); Fals Borda (1987); Fals Borda and Rahman (1991); Moghaddam (1987); Moghaddam, Erneling, Montero, and Lee (2007); Diaz-Laplante (2007); Kretzmann and McKnight (1993); and Pilisuk, McAllister, Rothman, and Larin (2004).

Abraham Maslow

Maslow (1971) described a natural impulse toward growth or toward “actualization of potential” (p. 25). His theory focused on the attainment of “full humanness” and psychological health. The growth process is stimulated through the gratification of basic needs (as described in the previous section). Individual will and determination also play a role in the growth process: The satisfaction of lower needs does not necessarily mean the individual will achieve self-actualization, and Maslow (1968) proposed that less than 1% of the adult population will achieve it (p. 204). Struggle is an inherent aspect of the growth or change process. Maslow (1968) described this as giving up the simpler and familiar for a more complicated and responsible life, which requires courage, will, choice, and strength.

Human nature, according to Maslow, is fundamentally good. Focusing on the human potential for good, for health, and for growth, Maslow distinguished his Theory of Human Motivation as one grounded in human values, not pathology or spiritual projections of evil. “This inner nature, as much as we know of it so far, is definitely not primarily ‘evil,’ but is rather what we adults in our culture call ‘good’” (Maslow, 1968,

p. 194). He supported this view with evidence from psychotherapy, which lessens things like malice, fear, and greed, and increases love, courage, creativity, and altruism in human beings, which suggests that the latter are “deeper,” more natural, and more intrinsically human. Through the process of psychotherapy, “bad” behavior is lessened or removed, while “good” behavior is encouraged and strengthened. Maslow (1968) considered evil behaviors as “reactive,” similar to a defense mechanism in Freudian terms (p. 195). Continuing this upward trajectory in his psychological theory, Maslow moved beyond the humanistic “third force” grounded in human values and potential for growth and change toward the “fourth force,” transpersonal psychology, with its focus on the “transpersonal, transhuman, centered in the cosmos rather than in human needs and interest, going beyond humanness, identity, Self-Actualization and the like” (Maslow, 1968, p. 128).

For Maslow, the self-actualized individual is the change agent in society. Maslow’s view of the relationship between the individual and society was somewhat ambivalent. He found evidence of both “growth-fostering” and “growth-inhibiting” cultures. “Better” cultures are distinguished as those that gratify basic needs and permit the self-actualization process; “poorer” ones do not (Maslow, 1968, p. 211). Social change is dependent on creating a society of actualized persons. These actualized persons are representative of the most creative, intelligent, and capable people in society and therefore gravitate toward civic, institutional, and educational positions that enable them to influence others.

In *Politics 3*, Maslow (1984) modified his description of the nature of human beings and their impact on society. Here, Maslow criticized “Growth Centers” and

“revolutionary youth” for “discarding the worth and value of rationality” (p. 80). He criticized their belief that “if one lifts the restraints and allows absolute freedom, that only good will result, which means (implies) an unfounded faith in basic human goodness and an implied belief that evil comes only from social restraints and inhibitions” (Maslow, 1984, p. 80).

Carl Rogers

We can say that there is in every organism, at whatever level, an underlying flow of movement toward constructive fulfillment of its inherent possibilities. In human beings, too, there is a natural tendency toward more complex and complete development. The term that has most often been used for this is the “actualizing tendency,” and it is present in all living organisms. (Rogers, 1980, pp. 117-118)

Like Maslow, Rogers discussed his theory of change and growth in naturalistic terms. For Rogers (1980), the actualizing tendency is an active and universal process in every living being. It is a constant and directional process; it occurs throughout the life span, and “underlying flow of movement toward constructive fulfillment of its inherent possibilities” (p. 117). The actualizing tendency is vulnerable to environmental circumstances. Rogers (1980) famously illustrated this phenomenon with his metaphor of potatoes stored in a dark cellar:

The conditions were unfavorable, but the potatoes would begin to sprout—pale white sprouts, so unlike the healthy green shoots they sent up when planed in the soil in the spring. . . . The sprouts were, in their bizarre, futile growth, a sort of desperate expression of the directional tendency I have been describing. They would never become plants, never mature, never fulfill their real potential. But under the most adverse circumstances, they were striving to become. (p. 118)

Rogers’ client-centered therapy is about creating the favorable conditions to encourage the natural actualizing process. By creating a climate of congruency, unconditional positive regard, and empathic understanding, the therapist fosters attitudes

of trust and respect towards the client. The “plan” of therapy is not to create treatment goals and strategies for the client, nor to engage in interventions based on diagnosis, but rather to trust the actualizing process by allowing the client to direct his or her own course of therapy. In this supportive environment, the client becomes more aware of himself or herself and begins to articulate his or her own thoughts and feelings. The goal of Rogers’ process of change is not one of externally defined optimum development but of becoming more “integrated,” “effective,” “healthy,” and “well-functioning.”

He is more self-confident and self-directing. He has a better understanding of himself, becomes more open to his experience, denies or represses less of his experience. He becomes more accepting in his attitudes toward others, seeing others as more similar to himself. (Rogers, 1961, p. 36)

According to Rogers, if given the proper supportive environment, all human beings will show compassion and prosocial behavior, thus providing evidence that humans are essentially good. If a positive environment brings positive outcomes, so will a negative environment bring negative outcomes—“it is cultural influences which are the major factor in our evil behavior. . . . I see members of the human species, like members of other species, as *essentially* constructive in their fundamental nature, but damaged by their experience” (Rogers, 1984, p. 12).

In his essay “Some Social Issues Which Concern Me,” Rogers (1984) highlighted a number of social concerns, including overpopulation, race relations, and a deficient education system, but does not propose an actualization theory for social change. He did indicate, however, that actualized persons represent “the change agents of the future” (p. 31). In the chapter titled “The World of Tomorrow, and the Person of Tomorrow” in the book *A Way of Being*, Rogers (1980) identified various movements “which have to do with ways in which change comes about in the individual,” including the “consciousness-

raising activities” of the women’s rights, gay rights, and black power movements, intensive group experiences, and the “strong trend” toward the use of psychotherapy (p. 346). Rogers explained,

Taken together, these trends profoundly transform our concept of the person and the world that he or she perceives. This person has hitherto undreamed of potential. This person’s nonconscious intelligence is vastly capable. It can control many bodily functions, can heal diseases, can create new realities. It can penetrate the future, see things at a distance, communicate thoughts directly. This person has a new awareness of his or her strength, abilities, and power, an awareness of self as a process of change. . . . In my judgment these elements constitute a “critical mass” that will produce drastic social change. (p. 347)

Rollo May

For May, personal growth or change is not an organic or biological process, nor is it represented by developmental stages, but is related to one’s recognition of the ontological nature of anxiety—change occurs with the increasing awareness of one’s beingness, in dialectical tension with the threat of nonbeing (May, 1950, 1983). Neurosis, by contrast, is the intentional shrinking of one’s world in an attempt to manage this fundamental anxiety. The goal of therapy is to help the client “become aware of his existence as fully as possible, which includes becoming aware of his potentialities and becoming able to act on the basis of them” (May, 1983, p. 162).

The potentialities of the individual are embodied in May’s concept of the *daimonic*. The daimonic represents the creative potential unique to the individual—in its negative and positive aspects. To focus on personal growth and the attainment of advanced stages of development, in May’s view, neglects the negative, darker side of human existence. May argued that the daimonic embodies the potential for evil as well as good that exists in every individual. May emphasized the need to recognize this potential

for its societal implications and the danger in denying its existence. Evil must be dealt with in therapy and recognized and integrated in society. Denying evil's existence is not only dangerous but also limits the understanding and potential for goodness.

When we can deal with this evil, then and only then what we say about goodness will have power and cogency. Then we can speak in ways that will genuinely affect our culture, in contrast to the miniscule number of people we see in our therapeutic offices. (May, 1984, p. 21)

One aspect of human existence that must be dealt with is the paradox of freedom and destiny. Personal freedom can be viewed as one's range of movement—to exist, to grow, to move, and to think. But our freedom or range of movement is limited by our personal destiny—our genetic, circumstantial, cultural, and cosmic make-up. May (1981) defined destiny as “the pattern of limits and talents that constitutes the ‘givens’ in life . . . it is in the confronting of these limits that our creativity emerges” (p. 89). Personal growth includes meeting each new freedom with a deepened sense of personal responsibility.

Increasing awareness of the existential nature of *beingness*—and the recognition of one's daimonic potential—situate one in a dynamic place from which one can enact change. The therapist helps bring these into consciousness:

It is the patient's seeing that he is the one who is threatened, that he is the being who stands in this world which threatens, he is the subject who has a world. And this gives him the possibility of in-sight, of “in-ward sight,” of seeing the world and its problems in relation to himself. And thus it gives him the possibility of doing something about the problems. (May, 1983, p. 31)

May also regarded meaning-creation as an aspect of personal change.

Meaning-creation allows one to clarify one's experientially based “story” about what has rendered one dysfunctional and what that implies for the future of one's life, which deals with one's values. This process is only complete if one acts on

these realizations and integrates these values into his or her life (Schneider & May, 1995, p. 175).

May viewed struggle as an inevitable part of the growth or change process; it requires courage to choose to meet one's problems—which is not the denial of fear but the constructive confrontation of anxiety. May (1950) stated, "Courage consists not of the absence of fear and anxiety but of the capacity to move ahead even though one is afraid" (p. 377)

Paulo Freire

Liberation is freedom of the mind and spirit, which seeks expression in social change. For Freire, the process of change—the praxis of conscientización—is the iterative process of reflection and collective action.

Functionally, oppression is domesticating. To no longer be prey to its force, one must emerge from it and turn upon it. This can be done only by means of the praxis: reflection and action upon the world in order to transform it. (Freire, 1970/2007, p. 51)

Reality is both an objective and a subjective social construction. In order for liberation, the oppressed must perceive "the reality of oppression not as a closed world from which there is no exit, but as a limiting situation which they can transform" (Freire, 1970/2007, p. 49). To overcome internalized negative images and beliefs mythologized and perpetuated by oppressive regimes, a dialectical process between facilitator and learner help bring about new awareness and perspective of cultural, socioeconomic, and political contexts. Conscientización means breaking through mythologies handed down by those in abusive positions of power and reaching a place of awareness and commitment to self-determination.

Consciousness and self-determination are hallmarks of human nature. Although Freire never defined the term directly, liberation brings one to the place of “full humanity.” The struggle for humanization is possible only because “dehumanization, although a concrete historical fact, is *not* a given destiny but the result of an unjust order that engenders violence in the oppressors, which in turn dehumanizes the oppressed” (Freire, 1970/2007, p. 44).

But a new understanding of the world and one’s place in it—a transformation of subjective reality—is not enough. Action is required to transform objective reality. Yet, action, to be meaningful, requires understanding, or reflection. Reflection must accurately perceive reality and understand it in order to transform it; action is human only when it is conscious. Reflection and action, then, are interdependent. Reflection without action is intellectualism or verbalism. Action without reflection is mere activism. It is the synthesis of reflection and action that allow for transformation. Freire also emphasized that this is not an individual process but a collective process. “The pursuit of full humanity,” wrote Freire (1970/2007), “cannot be carried out in isolation or individualism, but only in fellowship and solidarity” (p. 85).

Ignacio Martín-Baró

Building on Freire’s concept of conscientización, Martín-Baró (1994) argued that the human being is transformed through changing his or her reality. Through the process of decoding their world, people come to question the mythology propagated by the mechanisms of oppression. This questioning of the status quo and the recovery of their personal and collective histories lead to a new perspective of reality and new identities as active, transformative agents.

Hence, conscientización does not consist in a simple change of opinion about reality, a change of individual subjectivity that leaves the objective situation intact; conscientización supposes that persons change in the process of changing their relations with the surrounding environment, and above all, with other people. No knowledge can be true if it has not attached itself to the task of transforming reality, but the transformative process requires an involvement in the process of transforming human relationships. (Martín-Baró, 1994, pp. 40-41)

The new praxis for psychology, as Martín-Baró defined it, is to help people to attain a critical understanding of themselves and their reality. Utilizing the process of conscientización, psychology should preserve its focus on the personal level—but not the personal as opposed to the social level; the personal should always be viewed as one part of the greater social system. “There is no person without family, no learning without culture, no madness without social order; and therefore neither can there be an I without We, a knowing without a symbolic system, a disorder that does not have reference to moral and social norms” (Martín-Baró, 1994, p. 41). While mainstream psychology has committed itself to the de-alienation of individual consciousness, it has failed to address “the question of the mechanisms that block consciousness of an individual’s social identity, causing him or her to act like a dominated being or a dominator” (p. 41).

Martín-Baró rejected universalist theories of human nature and growth that fail to take contextual differences of time and place into account (he noted Maslow’s hierarchy of needs as an example of such a theory). Martín-Baró also criticized psychological theory for hedonistic views, that is, theory that holds pleasure and satisfaction as the motivating force behind all behavior. He attributed such views to a Western, capitalist system. Another assumption of prevailing psychological theory is individualism, which Martín-Baró described as the tendency to consider the individual as an entity with its own meaning as the primary subject. To do so, he argued, fails to consider the dialectic of

interpersonal relationships and the impact of social structures. Because of this, individualism ends up reinforcing existing social structures and reduces all structural problems to personal ones (Martín-Baró, 1994, p. 22).

Martín-Baró directly criticized humanistic psychology for presenting the “false dilemma” of humanism in its opposition to a “materialistic or dehumanizing” psychology. His criticism was based on the fact that neither of these schools is useful in addressing the needs and problems of the communities of Latin America. Behind such false dilemmas are “hidden dogmatic postures that belong more to a spirit of provincial dependency than to a scientific commitment to find, and more important, do, what is true for our Latin American peoples” (Martín-Baró, 1994, p. 25).

Leonardo Boff and Clodovis Boff

Boff and Boff (2007) also identified the process of conscientización as the process of change, the process of liberation from oppression. Through the praxis of conscientización, the oppressed come together; come to understand their situation and uncover the root causes of their economic, political, and spiritual oppression; and organize themselves into movements through the vehicles of base Christian communities, peasant organizations, trade unions, local associations, action and study groups, and popular political parties. The first step of “libera(c)tion” is followed by the second step of reflection, which Boff and Boff (2007) described as a reflection of faith and the meaning of liberation theology:

Reflecting on the basis of practice, within the ambit of the vast efforts made by the poor and their allies, seeking inspiration in faith and the gospel for the commitment to fight against poverty and for the integral liberation of all persons and the whole person—that is what liberation theology means. (p. 8)

Liberation theology emphasizes practice—or praxis—over theory and intellectual treatise. Boff and Boff (2007) described the hermeneutics of liberation as an interpretive process that “favors *application* rather than explanation” (p. 33). Textual meaning is sought but only to further practical meaning—as stories of inspiration and hope. “Liberative hermeneutics seeks to discover and activate the *transforming energy* of biblical texts . . . this is a question of finding an interpretation that will lead to individual change (conversion) and change in history (revolution)” (p. 34). This latter emphasis necessarily stresses the social context of the text—for example, the sociopolitical context of oppression in which Jesus Christ lived and died. The philosophy of liberation theology criticizes traditional academic approaches to theology for their ahistoricism, elitism, and lack of sensitivity to the needs of the poor and oppressed.

Geoffrey Nelson and Isaac Prilleltensky

In short, community psychology (CP) is the study of people in context (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005). Unlike most Western psychological traditions of psychology and psychotherapeutic practice, which focus on the individual or the microsystems of the family or peer group, CP seeks to implement a holistic, ecological analysis of the person in context to microsystems and macrosociopolitical structures (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005). Theories of development as well as clinical strategies aimed at the individual emphasize individualistic strategies of change and individual explanations of behavior. When problems (and their solutions) are focused exclusively on the individual, the individual is held responsible for his or her problems without consideration for the effect and interaction of larger systemic entities and processes. This leads to the stance known

as “victim-blaming” in the social sciences. When problems are reframed in terms of the social context, the tendency of victim blaming is reduced (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005)

The strategy of CP also emphasizes the strengths of persons and communities living in adverse conditions rather than focusing on needs (Rappaport, 1977; Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993). Rather than assuming an expert role, community psychologists acknowledge the capacity of community participants to identify their strengths and channel them into transformative change strategies.

CP emphasizes active participation, choice, and self-determination of the participants in any intervention, assuming that people know best what they need and that active participation in individual and collective change is healthy and desirable. (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005, p. 6)

The goal of community research, as Nelson and Prilleltensky (2005) defined it, is “to construct knowledge that challenges the societal status quo and is useful for the liberation of oppressed groups and the promotion of well-being for all” (p. 236). With this goal in mind, research is collaborative and action oriented.

Nelson and Prilleltensky (2005) emphasized active interventions in the practice of CP. As an agent of social change, community psychologists may work in a number of human service, education, and health settings, although these agencies may be resistant to change. Nelson and Prilleltensky (2005) suggested that other settings, such as nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) that focus on social justice issues and social movement organizations, are “ripe for partnerships” with community psychologists (p. 142). In regard to the nature of interventions in these alternative settings, they distinguish between ameliorative and transformative interventions. While ameliorative interventions aim to promote well-being, transformative interventions focus on changing power relationships and striving for community empowerment. NGOs that act as charities

(and determine what is needed for the communities they serve) represent an ameliorative intervention, while those that oppose economic colonialism and promote equanimity among community members represent a transformative approach.

Maritza Montero

The tradition of CP in Latin America is more closely aligned with social psychology rather than clinical psychology. Unlike CP in North America, CP in Latin America emerged as a new branch of psychology rather than a complement to psychiatry or public health assistance programs (Montero, 1996). In the 1970s, CP developed to address the rising social, economic, and political conditions in Latin America, highlighted by social inequality, increasing poverty, lack of economic development, and an increasing awareness of civil rights issues (Montero, 1996).

In Latin America, CP's approach to intervention is an incorporation of participatory action research and the Freirian method of conscientización. The most expanded model of CP intervention is one in which community members, in partnership with psychologists, "assume control over the circumstances affecting their daily lives in order to solve the problems affecting them" (Montero, 1996, p. 597). Based on the self-determined needs of participants, such circumstances may include the acquisition of adequate sanitation, housing, healthy ecology, property, and/or education. Montero (1996) described how these actions lead to a process of collective and individual growth for both community members and psychologists, who act as providers of services requested by the community. The emphasis is not focused directly on strengthening institutions to meet the needs of individuals but "on the transformation and strengthening of the people, who become the internal agents of their own change . . . [through]

motivating them to assume the direction, control, and conduct of the necessary problem-solving process” (Montero, 1996, pp. 597-598).

Orlando Fals Borda

The process of change and goal of participatory action research (PAR) is collaborative action towards social transformation. PAR views the convergence of methodology and praxis as a process of acquiring knowledge—knowledge that leads to social change. PAR features the collaboration between researcher and co-researchers, or participants, utilizing a number of strategies that seek to identify problems and strengths and seek solutions as defined by the participating community. Such strategies may include interviews, case studies, surveys, focus groups, and other methods. Community participants are involved at all stages of research, including the design; the data collection; and the analysis, interpretation, and reporting of data.

Building on the ideas and applications put forth by Freire, truth is constructed, interpreted, and realized through interactive dialogue and the iterative process of reflection-action. The principal researcher, therefore, is not a disinterested observer but an active participant, committed to the values and goals of the community he or she serves. That such goals include the empowerment of the community through an understanding of the history and context of power relationships and collective action towards shifting those power relationships, PAR is an inherently political process.

Active participation, in itself, is empowering. By participating in creating meaningful change, community co-researchers not only acquire knowledge but also become aware of their own skills in relation to the group and their own capacity to affect change. The role of the principal researcher, therefore, is to encourage and facilitate these

processes. The principal researcher begins by designing or creating a process to bring participants together to engage in research strategy. The principal investigator is also responsible for interpreting and reporting the results of the research in a way that will be meaningful and useful for participants. The principal researcher must be aware of his or her own limitations, insecurities, and ignorance in regard to the community's issues. Bearing these in mind, the researcher can listen and learn from community participants, through empathy and friendship, what his or her needs and feelings are.

Fals Borda (1987) made several critical points about the nature and practice of PAR. He described how through the “actual experience of something we intuitively apprehend its essence, we feel, enjoy and understand it as reality, and we thereby place our own being in a wider, more fulfilling context” (p. 332). Complementing experience is the authentic commitment to bring transformation to the world—the researcher is purposefully engaged to effect change.

Collective research is the systematic use of information collected and verified by the group. This social validation cannot be achieved through individual methods. The *critical recovery of history* is “an effort to discover selectively, through collective memory, those elements of the past which proved useful in the defense of the interests of exploited classes, and which proved useful and may be applied to the present struggles to increase awareness” (Fals Borda, 1987, p. 339). The discussion of folk heroes, data, and facts may correct or clarify official or academic accounts and reclaim regional histories. *Valuing and applying folk culture* is the recognition of essential or core values among peoples. This takes into account cultural elements such as art, music, drama, cosmology, myth, storytelling, and other expressions that are frequently ignored—or belittled—by the

political system. “These cultural processes operating within the heart of the community are an active force which allows the knowledge of the people to ferment in a vast cauldron or melting pot, and build up the incredible resources of resistance which characterize the popular struggles” (Fals Borda, 1987, p. 343). Finally, the *production and diffusion of new knowledge* is the central part of the feedback and evaluative objective of PAR and highlights the need for people to direct the publication and dissemination of the research in ways that expand the ownership of this knowledge to those who may use it to enhance the strength of the community.

Fathali Moghaddam

Cross-cultural psychologist Moghaddam (1987) stated that the non-elite peoples of the developing world require an applied psychological practice that addresses fundamental human needs. What is preventing change? How can we bring about fundamental change, particularly toward democratization? Moghaddam suggested that what is needed is a generative psychology that is concerned with instigating social change. Moghaddam argued that “the most important factor shaping indigenous third-world psychology is the demand that it contribute directly to the development effort of third-world societies” (p. 918).

Moghaddam (1987) identified six criteria for evaluating the appropriateness of cross-cultural psychologies: self-reliance, needs responsiveness, cultural compatibility, institutional feasibility, economic suitability, and political practicality. The concept of *self-reliance* does not mean to promote isolationism but rather emphasizes that developing countries gain confidence to rely upon local human resources to define and develop a discipline of psychology. *Needs responsiveness* refers to the effectiveness with

which psychology meets the needs of people in developing countries. *Cultural compatibility* brings up the question of methodological validity across cultures. Attention should be given, Moghaddam said, to establishing the criteria for an appropriate methodology for the developing world, irrespective of whether or not such a method is appropriate for the developed world. *Institutional feasibility* has to do with the feasibility of making psychology effective, given the institutional support available. This refers both to research institutions as well as social service institutions. Moghaddam referred to *economic suitability* as it relates to psychological research and how in the past developing countries have relied upon foreign capital to support research whose scope is aimed mostly at the modern sector. What is required is a greater sensitivity to the needs of developing populations and greater efforts towards redirecting investments in training and infrastructure where they are needed most. *Political practicality* refers to the political reality—usually in the form of limitations—of a country and the nature of ideology and its influence on psychology. Whereas psychology in the developed world has been influenced by capitalist ideology, Latin America, as we have seen, is influenced by Marxist ideology and social constructivism—in a much more overt way.

Most recently, Moghaddam has collaborated with cross-cultural and community psychologists (including Montero) to develop the conceptual foundations for a global psychology (Moghaddam et al., 2007). These researchers/practitioners proposed that the psychologies indigenous to the developing world, which they identify as *alternative* approaches (specifically, alternative to the predominant approaches of the United States), inform their conceptual basis for their “attempt to achieve greater contextual sensitivity to

address the diverse needs of continually changing societies” (Moghaddam et al., 2007, p. 181).

The authors identify Latin American liberation theology as an example of a mature and theoretically grounded alternative psychology that informs their conceptual foundation for a global psychology. Moghaddam et al. (2007) distinguished three philosophical components of liberatory psychology that relate to the process of change. First is an *epistemology of relatedness*, which describes a mode of knowing based in relationships with both other people and their objective world. Second is an emphasis on *analectics*, which brings the Other into dialogue. Third, analectics is transferred into practice through participatory action research (Moghaddam et al., 2007).

At the conceptual core of alternative psychologies is a priority to meaning-making over behavior, the collective construction of psychological reality, and normative (rather than causal) explanations of behavior (Moghaddam et al., 2007).

Jeannette Diaz-Laplante

Diaz-Laplante (2007) argued,

If humanistic psychology is to make a significant impact on the processes of global change as related to poverty eradication and to the improvement of the quality of life for peoples throughout the world, it must do so through the application of humanistic psychology principles and practices to development work, defined as community building, environmental and economic development, and restoration. (p. 58)

In response to the comparison of the emancipatory approaches of Rogers and Freire (O’Hara, 1989), Diaz-Laplante (2007) pointed out that what is missing from the process of Rogerian therapy is social action:

For Freire, consciousness raising work, group dialogue, and the development of empowering relationship are simply the means to the end of larger social change.

The process of becoming aware of what one already knows about the dynamics of oppression and power is incomplete without a link to a larger process of collective action. . . What is missing from humanistic psychology is a clearly specified link between personal healing and social transformation; the emancipatory goals of humanistic psychology cannot be achieved without linking dialogue to action. (p. 62)

Diaz-Laplante (2007) identified a synergy between humanistic psychology and community development work. The discourse of community development informs humanistic psychological theory by bringing to light the cultural, economic, social, and political context of work on psychological growth with individuals and groups, while humanistic psychology informs the work of community development through its emphasis on psychological healing. Furthermore, when the principles of humanistic psychology are integrated into development work, “the focus expands to include the nature of relationships among individuals within communities and between community members and community development workers; these relationships, essentially, become the vehicles for community healing and transformation” (Diaz-Laplante, 2007, p. 61).

Diaz-Laplante (2007) challenged humanistic psychology to address the implicit economic and political assumptions of its theories and engage in discussions as to how humanistic principles may inform these systems. She suggested collaboration among the social sciences in addressing the issues of poverty eradication and sustainable community development, yet highlighted that because the nature of this work is, at its core, psychological work related to the human experience, humanistic psychology is uniquely suited to address it.

John Kretzmann and John McKnight

Kretzmann and McKnight (1993) sought to build communities from the ground up. Rather than focusing on needs and deficiencies, and meeting those needs and deficiencies through outside resources, their process of community change starts with the assets of individuals, local associations, and institutions.

By focusing on deficiencies, needs-based strategies lead to survival, not transformative change. Change is perceived as coming solely from the expertise of outside service providers who determine the course of treatment or intervention aimed at individual clients. The relationships that matter are not those among community members but the relationships between experts and particularly between experts and their funding sources. To maintain these funding sources, the expert creates a cycle of dependence: Problems must always be worse than the previous year (or at least worse than other communities) if funding is to be renewed (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993). This approach fragments community relationships, denigrates local leadership, and perpetuates a sense of hopelessness and dependence.

The assets-based approach, by contrast, is internally focused and relationship driven. This approach recognizes that all community members have capacities and skills to contribute towards positive change in their community. Kretzmann and McKnight (1993) outlined the basic steps toward whole-community mobilization that begins with mapping the capacities, assets, and skills of individuals, neighborhood and other citizens' associations, and local institutions. The next steps are to concentrate on building relationships to connect these assets and to create a dialogue among members in order for them to develop mutually beneficial problem-solving strategies, economic development

planning, and information-sharing practices. After these networks are in place, a shared vision and plan may be determined that will integrate outside investment and resources based on local assets and locally defined development.

Marc Pilisuk, Joanne McAllister, Jack Rothman, and Lauren Larin

Pilisuk et al. (2004) outlined some of the challenges to community-building that have come as a result of the global context and proposed that “if the causes of local problems are found in global activities, then local projects will have to be linked to a larger movement for social change” (p. 97).

Pilisuk et al. (2004) described how efforts towards community-building may be impeded by the contemporary political, economic, and social contexts. These issues include war and the global economy that have brought about massive displacement and a fraying of the social fabric that might have otherwise offered help from kin and neighbors. Local problems often result from control over resources by far-removed corporate interests. These challenges are exacerbated by the collusion of corporate and government power that often acts at the expense of local communities.

For local community efforts to be effective, participants and change agents should connect their local efforts with others who share their concerns. When communities seek policy changes, they benefit by connecting with public-interest organizations that may form broad-based coalitions and also bring previously inaccessible information to community organizations. Through media advocacy, communities have an opportunity to advance their initiatives and make their voices heard. In collaboration with other social change organizations, training programs, information directories, and meeting spaces may be shared, facilitating mutual support. Alliances with national and international

social movements “help keep alive a culture of caring and concern amid global trends toward competitive control. Each local effort will have to offer a connection to other groups whose joint actions constitute a social movement to return a measure of global corporate accountability to the local community” (Pilisuk et al., 2004, p. 112).

Empathy

Definition of Terms

Empathy is the capacity to experience the feelings of another and understand the world from another’s perspective.

Authors Selected for Content Analysis

This section considers the work of Rogers (1980); Decety & Jackson (2004); and Martin Hoffman (2000).

Carl Rogers

In contrast to techniques designed to shape behavior, underlying the empathic approach in therapy is a desire to find “ways of being with people that locate power in the person, not the expert” (Rogers, 1980, p. 140). Rogers (1980) described empathy as the process of entering the private perceptual world of the client and becoming sensitive to the subtleties of the client’s changing felt meanings of experience. It is the process of temporarily living in another’s life, without judgment or prejudice. The therapist imagines in the world of the client and describes the feelings that come up for himself or herself, as if he or she were the client. The client checks these descriptions of felt meaning “against the ongoing psychophysiological flow within” (p. 141).

The psychophysiological flow within refers to the actualizing tendency or growth process within the client. Through the process of empathy in therapy, the client identifies or discovers his or her own feelings and needs and develops a sense of trust. Through feeling valued and cared for by the therapist, the client begins to value and care for himself or herself. This process ultimately has a positive effect on the client's self-concept. Rogers (1980) stated,

When persons are perceptively understood, they find themselves coming in closer touch with a wider range of their experiencing. This gives them an expanded referent to which they can turn for guidance in understanding themselves and in directing their behavior. If the empathy has been accurate and deep, they may also be able to unblock a flow of experiencing and permit it to run its uninhibited course. (p. 156)

Empathy unblocks the flow of experiencing and reorients the natural actualization process within the client, allowing him or her to become in tune and in touch with his or her feelings and needs of what is naturally right for the client. Creating an empathic climate in therapy, then, promotes the natural growth process in the client.

Jean Decety and Philip Jackson

Social-cognitive neuroscience is a relatively new discipline that explores neurological and cognitive processes and their effects on social behavior. The mapping of the activity of mirror neurons in the brain has been one of the breakthrough discoveries of the last 15 years. A number of researchers have independently linked the activity of mirror neurons to empathy (Decety & Jackson, 2004; Gallese, 2001; Gallese & Goldman, 1998; Preston & de Waal, 2002).

In the perception-action model that represents the function of the mirror neuron system, the perception of emotion activates neural mechanisms that are responsible for

the generation of emotions. As evidenced in functional magnetic resonance imagining (fMRI) scans, when one person observes another person in pain, the same neural regions of the brain that process personal pain and the pain of others are activated in the brain of the observer. For example, the anterior insula and anterior cingulate cortex are activated in the brain of both the person experiencing pain and the person witnessing that person in pain (Decety & Jackson, 2004).

The ability to understand the emotions and feelings of others—whether witnessed directly or represented in a photograph or story, or merely imagined—is the phenomenological experience of empathy. Neurological research shows that empathy is not something that is completely learned; rather, “the basic building blocks are hardwired in the brain and await development through interaction with others” (Decety & Jackson, p. 71). The authors continue,

Such a capacity to understand others and experience their feelings in relation to oneself illustrates the social nature of the self, the inherently intersubjective. Humans are indeed social animals, and virtually all of their actions (including their thoughts and desires) are directed toward or produced in response to others (Batson, 1990). (p. 71)

Decety and Jackson (2004) explained that empathy involves both the affective experience of another person’s actual or inferred emotional state (recognizing emotional expression) and understanding of another’s emotional state. The authors acknowledged that their work took into account the research and experience of psychotherapists, specifically Carl Rogers, who described empathy as the perception of the “internal reference of another person with accuracy and with the emotional components and meanings which pertain thereto as if one were the person, but without losing the as if condition” (as cited in Decety & Jackson, 2004, p. 73).

Integrating evidence from developmental psychology, social psychology, and cognitive and clinical neuroscience, in their article titled “The Functional Architecture of Empathy,” Decety and Jackson (2004) identify three major functional components that interact to produce the experience of empathy in humans: (a) affective sharing between the self and other, (b) self-other awareness, and (c) mental flexibility to adopt the subjective perspective of the other and self-regulatory processes (p. 75).

Affective sharing. The affective component of empathy in its most basic form is the ability to recognize the emotional state of another person. Research in developmental psychology has shown that very young infants are innately predisposed to be sensitive and responsive to the inner states of other people; newborn infants (aged 36 hours) are able to discriminate between happy, sad, and surprised facial expressions in live models (Field, Woodson, Greenberg, & Cohen, as cited in Decety & Jackson, 2004). Other studies have shown that while infants respond to the sound of other babies’ cries, they do not respond to the sound of their own cries (Martin & Clark, as cited in Decety & Jackson, 2004). This capacity for emotional resonance is considered to be an important precursor for empathy (Hoffman, 2000). Neurological damage to specific regions of the brain (the right somatosensory-related cortices) precludes the ability to recognize affective states; patients with impaired somatic sensation (like Parkinson’s disease) are often unable to express emotional faces and perceive emotional affect.

Self-other awareness. Self-awareness paves the way for achieving an inferential knowledge of the mental states of others. The emergence of secondary representation in development is vital for the empathic process; self-awareness and other-awareness develop during the second year. Self-awareness requires a capacity for secondary

representation; other-awareness implies taking the perspective of another into account (Decety & Jackson, 2004). Empathic behaviors (defined as helping, caring, and comforting actions) do not begin until about the second year. In the preschool years, children develop the capacity to represent and report their own and others' mental states. At this stage, the synthesized processing of the inferior parietal cortex with the prefrontal cortex plays an important role in distinguishing a sense of self by comparing the source of sensory signals, which is necessary to track the origin of the feelings (Decety & Jackson, 2004).

Mental flexibility and self-regulation. Empathy may be initiated by witnessing someone else in distress, or through imagining someone else's distress; however, "in these conditions, empathy requires one to adopt, more or less consciously, the subjective point of view of the other" (Decety & Jackson, 2004, p. 84). This action is often referred to as perspective-taking. Imagining how another person feels and imagining the emotion-triggering action occurring in oneself in a particular situation require distinct forms of perspective-taking that likely carry different emotional consequences. Being able to adopt another person's subjective perspective may invoke empathic concern. Imagining oneself being in distress produces a more dramatic physiological response (rapid heartbeat, sweating palms, etc), and may induce personal distress in the observer. Whereas empathic concern may instigate an altruistic motivation to help the other, personal distress more likely will produce an egoistic motivation to reduce personal distress. Self-regulation refers to the need "to regulate one's own perspective that has been activated by the interaction with the others or even the mere imagination of such an interaction" (Decety & Jackson, 2004, p. 86). "Such a regulation is also important to

moderate one's own vicarious emotion so that it is not experienced as aversive" (Decety & Jackson, 2004, p. 86).

Being able to adopt another's perspective is more difficult if one is not familiar with the cultural norms of the other. Studies have shown that individuals have shown less emotional and cognitive empathy for another person experiencing distress if the observer does not have an understanding of the cultural norms brought to bear on the person in distress (Nelson & Baumgarte, as cited in Decety & Jackson, 2004).

Martin Hoffman

Developmental psychologist Hoffman (2000) viewed empathic distress on a continuum; too little distress translates to no engagement by the observer, while too much contributes to what he described as "over-arousal" (p. 198). Hoffman defined over-arousal as "an involuntary process that occurs when an observer's empathic distress becomes so painful and intolerable that it is transformed into an intense feeling of personal distress, which may move the person out of the empathic mode entirely" (p. 198). Various biases on the behalf of the observer may inhibit empathy and preclude an empathic response. These are "familiarity bias" and "here-and-now" bias. Familiarity bias has to do with one's preference in helping those with whom one has the most familiarity, the strongest being among people with familial ties; "here-and-now" bias refers to the tendency for one to feel more empathy for a stranger in close proximity than a nameless, faceless stranger far away.

Hoffman (2000) found that through training, or induction, parents, teachers, and other moral educators can help children develop their capacity to empathize with others, particularly others with whom children are in conflict. Induction involves highlighting the

other's perspective and pointing out their distress. "A major task of moral education is to transcend empathy's familiarity bias and extend empathy to other groups so that children will be more aware of the impact of their actions on others who differ from them in obvious ways" (p. 294). One way of closing the gap of familiarity is to point out the emotional commonalities between all people and the "emotional responses to being applauded, criticized, and treated unfairly, and similar emotional responses to universal life crises and significant events such as attachment, separation, loss, and aging" (p. 294). Moral educators can also encourage empathy in children by teaching them to look beyond the immediate situation and to ask themselves how their actions may affect the other person not only now but also in the future, or whether there are other people, present or absent, who might be affected by their actions (p. 296).

Cognitive Understanding and Awareness

Definition of Terms

Cognitive understanding is defined here as processes of perception, learning, and reasoning; awareness refers to the subjective knowledge or experience.

Authors Selected for Content Analysis

This section focuses on Maslow (1968); May (1969, 1983); Freire (1970/2007); Diaz-Laplante (2007); and the narrative methods of Josselson and Lieblich (2001), Brown and Gilligan (1992), Rappaport (1995), Ledwith (2005), Slim & Thompson (1995), and Montejo (2005).

Abraham Maslow

In *Towards a Psychology of Being*, Maslow (1968) described Being cognition (B-cognition). B-cognition represents the advanced stage of cognitive and perceptive abilities as exhibited by self-actualized individuals. Being cognition distinguishes self-actualized persons in their ability to perceive reality more acutely—that is, reality is not skewed by the deficiency of one’s needs. Maslow (1968) stated, “In B-cognition the experience of the object tends to be seen as a whole, as a complete unit, detached from relations, from possible usefulness, from expediency, and from purpose” (p. 74).

In the normal perceptions of self-actualizing people and the occasional peak experiences of average people, perception can be relatively egoless, unmotivated, and detached from personal needs and desires. Maslow (1968) borrowed Krishnamurti’s terms of *choiceless awareness* and *desireless awareness* to describe the passive and receptive nature of B-cognition (p. 86). Whereas ordinary cognition is highly volitional, demanding, and preconceived, “In the cognition of peak experience [B-cognition], the will does not interfere. It is held in abeyance. It receives and doesn’t demand. We cannot command the peak experience. It happens *to us*” (Maslow, 1968, p. 87). In B-cognition, the individual sees the world more concretely and more abstractly at the same time; it is the stage where many dichotomies and polarities of human experience are fused, transcended, or resolved. Self-actualized persons are both selfish and unselfish, individual and social, connected and detached from others (Maslow, 1968, p. 91). It is in the B-cognition of peak experience where the personality is fully integrated.

The B-cognition of peak experience is felt as a self-validating, self-justifying moment that carries with it its own intrinsic value (Maslow, 1968, p. 79). It is an end

rather than a means-to-an-end experience. As intrinsically valid in itself, Maslow considered the peak experience as only good and desirable, never experienced as evil or undesirable. This is not, he described, that there is no evil in the world, but rather from the more realistic perception of peak experience, the evil and undesirable aspects of life are understood and accepted as the way things are. Maslow (1968) explained,

Another way of saying this is to compare it with one aspect of the concept of “god” which is contained in many religions. The gods who can contemplate and encompass the whole of Being and therefore understand it, must see it as good, just, inevitable, and must see “evil” as a product of limited or selfish vision and understanding. If we could be godlike in this sense then we, too, out of universal understanding would never blame or condemn or be disappointed or shocked. Our only possible emotions would be pity, charity, kindness and perhaps sadness or B-amusement with the shortcomings of the other. (p. 82)

Maslow (1968) explained the main danger of B-cognition is of making action indecisive or impossible. As B-cognition is a godlike state of universal understanding, a passive awareness of the way things are, it is also without decision and action. Maslow correlated anger, fear, and the desire to improve the situation as human centered (not godlike) conclusions. The contemplative aspect of B-cognition also makes one less responsible in helping other people. This inhibition of action and responsibility leads to a sense of fatalism—the world is as it is, and there is nothing one can do about it. Maslow (1968) acknowledged that this loss of free will and self-determination is “certainly harmful to everybody’s growth and self-actualization” (p. 119).

Rollo May

For May, the acknowledgement and acceptance of the paradox of existence—our human daemonic potential for good and evil, of our freedom and destiny—results in a life

lived more fully and consciously. It is in recognizing the threat of nonbeing that our being is meaningful.

Without this awareness of nonbeing—that is, awareness of the threats to one’s being in death, anxiety, and the less dramatic but persistent threats of loss of potentialities in conformism—existence is vapid, unreal, and characterized by lack of concrete self-awareness. But with the confronting of nonbeing, existence takes on a vitality and immediacy, and the individual experiences a heightened consciousness of himself, his world, and others around him. (May, 1983, p. 105)

“To accept” the threat of nonbeing—to accept anxiety, hostility, and aggression—means to “tolerate without repression and so far as to utilize constructively” (May, 1983, p. 107). An overwhelming experience of these elements does harm to oneself and others. But to run away from these elements—to not accept or integrate them into consciousness—“leaves one with a vapid, weak, unreal sense of being—what Nietzsche meant in his brilliant description of the ‘impotent people’ who evade their aggression by repressing it and thereupon experience ‘drugged tranquility’ and free-floating resentment” (p. 108).

Becoming conscious of one’s identity as a self-directed being is represented by May’s concept of will. “The generic term for self-conscious intentions is for our use, will. This term reflects the active flavor and self-assertiveness of such intentional acts” (May, 1969, p. 266). To will something implies commitment to its realization. May speaks of the underlying power of human intentionality that mobilizes the will and gives it meaning.

Meaning has no meaning apart from intention. Each act of consciousness *tends toward* something, is a turning of the person toward something, and has within it, no matter how latent, some push toward a direction for action. Cognition, or knowing, and conation, willing, then go together. We could not have one without the other. This is why commitment is so important. If I do not *will* something, I could never *know* it; and if I do not *know* something, I would never have any content for my willing. In this sense, it can be said directly that man makes his

own meaning . . . if he is not engaged in making his meaning, he will never know reality. (May, 1969, p. 230)

Paulo Freire

The goal of conscientización is to become fully human. Freire considered the generative theme of our epoch to be *domination* (1970/2007). Oppression is not destiny but the result of an unjust social order. We have a choice in the direction of our lives and the nature of the relationships that we have with others. Freire (1970/2007) stated, “Within history, in concrete, objective contexts, both humanization and dehumanization are possibilities for a person as an uncompleted being conscious of their incompleteness” (p. 43). Dehumanization affects not only those whose freedom and dignity have been stolen, but also those who have stolen it. It is the “humanistic and historical task” of the oppressed to liberate not only themselves, but their oppressors as well from political and economic systems that perpetuate injustice and engender violence.

Conscientización begins with the liberation of the mind from the internalization of oppression. This process begins with the cognitive understanding and awareness that oppression is not an inevitable condition but rather a limiting situation that can be transformed (Freire, 1970/2007, p. 49). The internalization of oppression shows itself in oppressed communities through a sense of fatalism, self-depreciation and distrust of one’s abilities and intelligence, and emotional dependence on those in power.

The role of the investigator or agent of change is not to “explain to,” the approach of what Freire calls the “banking system” of education. Storing “deposits” of knowledge only perpetuates passivity and lack of self-trust and esteem. Freire argued that this view assumes a dichotomy between people and their world—people are not in relationship

with the world but merely exist in it. From this perspective, consciousness is a thing to possess. “Problem-posing education,” however, responds to “the essence of consciousness—intentionality—rejects communiqués and embodies communication. It epitomizes the special characteristic of consciousness: being conscious of. . . . Liberating action consists in acts of cognition, not transferals of information” (Freire, 1970/2007, p. 79).

Problem-posing education occurs through dialogue, or a co-investigation between people. Co-investigators engage in the process of understanding, unveiling, and ultimately actively transforming reality. The role of the psychologist, or change agent, helps community members to uncover what Freire (1970/2007) called the “generative themes”—issues or problems—that face community members. Through dialogue, participants reach a broader understanding of the social, political, and economic contexts that they live within and discover their collective and personal roles in creating transformative change for their community.

Freire (1970/2007) identified “decoding” as the process of uncovering and exposing harmful messages and propaganda that perpetuate oppressive social systems.

In the process of decoding, the participants externalize their thematics [or, generative themes] and thereby make explicit their “real consciousness” of the world. As they do this, they begin to see how they themselves acted while experiencing the situation they are now analyzing, and thus reach a “perception of their previous perception.” By achieving this awareness, they come to perceive reality differently; by broadening the horizon of their perception, they discover more easily in their “background awareness” the dialectical relations between the two dimensions of reality. (p. 115)

The psychologist or change agent listens to participants. He or she challenges participants by asking questions that embody collective issues or generative themes. This process results in their externalization or realization of “sentiments and opinions about

themselves, the world, and others, that perhaps they would not express under different circumstances” (Freire, 1970/2007, p. 118).

Freire (1970/2007) identified a danger in shifting the focus of investigation from meaningful themes to people themselves, thereby treating the people as the objects of investigation (p. 107). Focusing on the people as objects of investigation disallows the co-investigation, or dialogue, and results in a narrow or “focalized” view of reality. Transformative change does not come as a result of the scientific objectivity of the expert but through people “producing and acting upon their own ideas” (p. 108). Here, Freire emphasized the “situationality” or the relation of people to the context of their world:

Reflection upon situationality is reflection about the very condition of existence. . . . Only as this situation ceases to present itself as a dense, enveloping reality or a tormenting blind alley, and they can come to perceive it as an objective-problematic situation—only then can commitment exist. Humankind *emerge* from their *submersion* and acquire the ability to *intervene* in reality as it is unveiled. *Intervention* in reality—historical awareness itself—thus represents a step forward from *emergence*, and results from the *conscientizacao* of the situation. *Conscientizacao* is the deepening of the attitude of awareness characteristic of all emergence. (Freire, 1970/2007, p. 109)

Jeannette Diaz-Laplante

Diaz-Laplante (2007) described how humanistic psychology informs the work of community development by providing a theoretical framework and language regarding our understanding of human nature. Working with communities living in conditions of extreme poverty and where centuries of brutal oppression have showcased the worst of human nature requires an understanding and awareness of the potential of human beings—in both their darkest and most transcendent aspects. “To be maximally effective,” Diaz-Laplante (2007) explained, “field workers must be psychologically

prepared to experience that gamut of what humanity is capable of—avarice, desperation, greed, violence, spiritual generosity, heroism, hopefulness in the face of despair” (p. 59).

To illustrate this point, Diaz-Laplante shared the story of a close friend of hers who had been a political prisoner in Haiti for 9 months in the late 1980s. The prisoner stated that the time he spent in prison—where he was repeatedly beaten and tortured—was the most “beautiful” time in life because it showed that there are people in the world who are without compassion and without heart. As a result, he became clear about what human beings are capable of but also hopeful about humanity’s ability to bring transformative change to the world.

For development workers, remaining unaware of deep-seated beliefs regarding the nature of human beings may have a negative impact on relationships, the management of resources, and the work itself.

The ability to acknowledge the reality of human behavior, both at its best and worst, can give us the wisdom and strength needed to move forward . . . and forces us to hone our intuition so that we can make wise judgments as to who we work with and the approach we take to our work. (Diaz-Laplante, 2007, p. 60)

Another unique contribution of humanistic psychology to the work of development is to “provide the tools for increasing our awareness of our attitudes, emotions, and patterns of communication” (Diaz-Laplante, 2007, p. 59). Diaz-Laplante explored how many of Rogers’ insights regarding self-awareness as a therapist are equally valuable to the person involved in development work. In her experience with rural farmers in Haiti, Diaz-Laplante noted the import of genuineness and authenticity when working in uncomfortable situations. Being honest about one’s trepidations and concerns allows others to see that “we share the same challenges of being human” even though we may come from very different cultural and class backgrounds (Diaz-Laplante,

2007, p. 63). Understanding another person has special meaning in community development work in least developed countries, she noted, due to others' different perceptions of time, the urgency of a project, or the different ways in which people relate to money; opening oneself to allow others in to share their world is the only means to real understanding (Diaz-Laplante, 2007, p. 63).

Being aware of the challenges we collectively face, Diaz-Laplante (2007) highlighted the point made by Rogers that the "facts are friendly," and to take care lest we "rush in to 'fix things'" is one of the most important in doing development work (p. 63). The levels of poverty, ecological degradation, and oppressive political circumstances experienced by the communities we seek to help were created over several hundred years' time; these issues will not be resolved overnight.

How can these facts be friendly? They are friendly in the sense that they provide us with a perspective of the task at hand and steer us away from the false belief that we can "rush in and fix things." When we allow ourselves the space to be gentle with ourselves and with others and to hold our realities within the space of compassion, we, again, free ourselves from the need and false belief that we can rush in and fix things. (Diaz-Laplante, 2007, p. 63)

Being mindful that life is not static but rather a flowing and constantly changing process is another valuable insight that applies to the work of development. The political and economic structures of LDCs are often extremely unstable, and therefore what was relevant or true about our work yesterday or today will be true tomorrow. This makes the previous points about self-awareness, communication, and acceptance all the more important in doing development work, in maintaining "open communication and acceptance of what is rather than what we would like it to be and a foundation of strong and constructive relationships with the people with whom we work" (Diaz-Laplante, 2007, p. 64).

Narrative Methods

Ruby Josselson and Amia Lieblich. Whereas humanistic psychology emerged to promote human potential, “narrative research has developed as a means of studying whole people in context, partly in hopes that such understanding will lead to means to better the human condition” (Josselson & Lieblich, 2001, p. 286). Narrative research seeks to develop our understanding of peoples’ experience.

Josselson and Lieblich (2001) described how humanistic psychology and narrative methods of inquiry are rooted in phenomenology and hermeneutics, and regard meaning-making and the subjective experience of the person as the most valuable outcome of the research process. The authors defined narrative research as study based on discourse or on people’s (oral or written) accounts of their experiences, and they describe the process as “encounter” of another “in which aspects of what is to be known are invited to permeate the knower” (p. 281). To the extent that there is authentic encounter, the narrator’s participation in the research may itself have healing properties (Miller, as cited in Josselson & Lieblich, 2001).

Josselson and Lieblich (2001) highlighted differences, however, in narrative research’s regard of subjectivity, which is more inclusive of the person’s social, economic, and political context, and pay particular attention “to aspects of the person’s experience that relate to his or her socially constructed position in life, a position that might feel self-authored to the person but may actually be a product of the person’s place in his or her culturally constituted world” (pp. 281-282). In addition to personal and sociocultural levels of interpretation, the holistic consideration of narrative also involves the interplay between public and private voices (Brown et al., 1988).

Life stories are relational. As for humanistic psychology, dialogue is central to narrative research, involving respectful and open dialogue among three actors: the narrator (who provides the essence of the work), the scholar (who assumes responsibility for the research), and the readers (who are invited to enter into dialogue with the issues under study; Josselson & Lieblich, 2001, p. 286).

Lyn Mikel Brown and Carol Gilligan. Brown and Gilligan (1992) described the aspects of their voice-centered and relational narrative method:

Voice is central to our way of work. . . . Voice is inherently relational—one does not require a mirror to hear oneself—yet the sounds of one’s voice change in resonance depending on the relational acoustics: whether one is heard or not heard, how one is responded to. (p. 20)

The voice-centered narrative method developed by Brown and Gilligan (1992) grew out of their desire to learn about women’s development through the life stories of adolescent girls. Building on earlier work around women’s moral development, Brown and Gilligan (1992) found that traditional methods of psychological interview not only failed to reflect the relational aspects of women’s development they sought to uncover but tended to “silence girls’ public voices” (p. 14). In their study, which followed middle school-aged girls over the course of 5 years, Brown and Gilligan (1992) utilized guiding questions to analyze their conversations with the girls: Who is speaking? In what body? Telling what story about relationship—from whose perspective or from what vantage point? In what societal and cultural frameworks? (p. 21).

In the context of growing up within male-dominated society and male-voiced cultures, for girls at adolescence “to say what they are feeling and thinking often means to risk, in the words of so many girls, losing their relationships and finding themselves

powerless and all alone” (Brown & Gilligan, 1992, p. 217). The sense of disconnection from others and from themselves were reflected in the shifts in girls’ voices as they reached adolescence. “Our work with girls has clear implications for preventing psychological suffering in women, and also opens relational avenues through which women can recover their strong voices and their courage” (p. 232) and has potential for societal and cultural change.

Julian Rappaport. Rappaport (1995) proposed empowerment in community psychology is strengthened in both theory and practice through narrative approaches that give voice to people of interest. Rappaport stated,

The goals of empowerment are enhanced when people discover, or create and give voice to, a collective narrative that sustains their own personal life story in positive ways. This process is reciprocal, such that many individuals, in turn, create, change, and sustain the group narrative. (p. 796)

Rappaport (1995) noted that for many people who lack social, political, or economic power, the narratives subscribed to them (at individual, community, neighborhood, or cultural levels) are often negative and usually written by others. Negative examples include the negative stereotypes of *mental patient*, or *welfare mother*, and represent what may be considered the “dominant cultural narrative” (p. 803). People seeking change at the personal or community level find their efforts are sustained through a collective narrative that promotes social support, identity, and new role opportunities.

Narrative methods are participatory methods that allow community members to “tell us what it means to be empowered in their particular context” (Rappaport, 1995, p. 799). The practice of community psychology should include creating new settings for people to tell their stories. Rappaport supported narrative methods as a participatory

process to describe, understand, and foster empowerment settings, which include (a) an inspiring, strength-based belief system focused beyond the self; (b) new role opportunities; (c) shared leadership; and (d) a peer-based support system that creates a sense of community (Maton & Salem, as cited in Rappaport, 1995, p. 799).

Margaret Ledwith. “Creating reflective learning contexts which connect deeply personal experiences with profoundly political consequences leads to the critical consciousness needed for collective action for social change” (Ledwith, 2005, p. 255). Ledwith (2005) views personal and social change on a continuum; the liberation of silenced voices brings empowerment and self-esteem but is not truly transformative until it becomes part of collective change process (Griffiths, as cited in Ledwith, 2005, p. 257).

In Ledwith’s work with communities in Scotland and Northwest England, the writing and sharing of stories connect the personal to the political, and the themes that emerge from these stories lead to a critical understanding of structural oppression. The new knowledge generated forms the basis of a community action plan to realize “new ways of being” (Ledwith, 2005, p. 260). The writing and telling of stories represents the reflective process in the Freirian praxis of reflection-action.

Hugo Slim and Paul Thompson. Like written narratives, oral testimonies give voice to the voiceless and connect the personal and political. Oral testimony is a participatory action tool that may be utilized particularly in communities with high rates of illiteracy and most appropriately in cultures that carry an oral tradition (Slim & Thompson, 1995). Oral testimony has a special role to play in reclaiming indigenous knowledge—for example, the recovery of traditional agricultural methods, or for the

revival and celebration of cultural histories, myths, and songs. In the context of addressing human rights abuses in events of war and genocide, oral testimony, in a safe and culturally supported manner, provides a powerful vehicle for personal healing and social justice. In Latin America, *testimonio* has been an effective vehicle for sharing one's personal experience of political and oppression with the world. Rigoberta Menchú, a Maya woman from Guatemala, famously brought awareness to the situation in Guatemala through her testimonio, *I, Rigoberta Menchú* (1984).

Victor Montejo. Montejo (2005) explained that storytelling is an important method for the revitalization and promotion of Maya values, politics, and epistemology. In Maya culture, the elders are respected and consulted on familial, legal, and ceremonial issues. Elders show concern for the unequal relationships their people have endured for centuries and the increasing pressures their communities experience from the outside world; storytelling is a way for elders to provide young people “with the elements that are basic or primordial in maintaining their underlying Maya ethnic identity or Mayaness” (Montejo, 2005, p. 142). Montejo continues,

Communal values are preached by the elders and expressed in everyday life through the repetition of stories, fables, myths, and legends that enhance the values of respect, communal solidarity, and the relation of humans with their environment. . . . Maya traditions are the expression of our Maya-logical world, one that has been fading away for the past five hundred years. (pp. 142-143)

Storytellers utilize various techniques to communicate with an audience. Elders recount stories in a way that will make them more personal for the listener and thereby encourage a more direct experience of their roots and heritage. Montejo, who is Jakaltek Maya from the Cuchumatán mountain region in the highlands of Guatemala, shared that the most important legend of the Jakaltek is “El Q’Anil, the Man of Lightning,” a story

that illustrates the values of respect, communal solidarity, open-mindedness, and cultural identity.

In the art of storytelling, gifted storytellers give meaning to current events and answer moral questions through the telling of such legends, putting special emphasis on certain parts of the story as a way of interpreting events or answering questions from a Maya perspective. Montejo (2005) recalled how one elder, Antun Luk, told the story of El Q'anil in response to the community's concern about a possible military confrontation between Guatemala and England over the territory of Belize in the mid 1970s. The people were overwhelmed with the thought of their men, with their inferior weapons and lack of resources, being drafted into a war against the British.

Fearing massive destruction, the elders recalled the Q'anil legend and revived their faith in the ancestors and heroes. Antun Luk said that even if they couldn't handle the lightning bolts as in the legend, the children would be protected if Q'anil were remembered in his magnificence and asked for his protection. (Montejo, 2005, p. 147)

Montejo (2005) also offered the example of a native Catholic priest who, during the La Violencia of the early 1980s, preached Maya anecdotes and parables in the Popb'al Ti' language to the people during his Sunday sermons. The sermons aimed at restoring the value of Maya communal life and worldview at a time when the military sought to undermine Maya culture through the co-option of Maya names and symbols and the dissolution of Maya leadership.

Interconnection

Definition of Terms

Interconnection is defined as a worldview or perspective that sees the inherent relationships among and between people, their institutions, and the living world.

Authors Selected for Content Analysis

Authors selected include Buber (1958); Surrey (1991a, 1991b); Boff (2006); Roszak (1992/2001); Metzner (1999); Glendinning (1994, 1995); Pilisuk and Joy (2001); Heber (n.d.); and Fernandez (1998).

Martin Buber

The primary word *I-Thou* can only be spoken with the whole being.

Concentration and fusion into the whole being can never take place through my agency, nor can it ever take place without me. I become through my relation to the *Thou*; as I become *I*, I say *Thou*.

All real living is meeting. (Buber, 1958, p. 11)

Buber (1958) described the fundamental human experience as grounded in meeting or engaging with one another. Real living, as the above quote suggests, is based on a mutual, open, and present dialogue with another; this is the dialogue between *I* and *Thou*, the meeting of two beings, subject-to-subject.

Buber (1958) distinguished this meeting or dialogue from the one-sided relationship between subject-and-object, the *I-It*, in which one views the other as object, from which something may be gained. The process of change and healing comes through dialogue and in being able to meet the other as another being. "Through the *Thou* a man becomes *I*" (Buber, 1958, p. 28). The *I* in the *I-It* relationship is not the same as the *I* in the *I-Thou* relationship; it is the difference between self-differentiation and relationship, a sharing of reality (p. 63).

The *I-Thou* relationship is not limited to human-to-human encounters but a meeting of spirits of being. Buber (1958) identified three spheres in the world of relation: (a) our life with nature, (b) our live with other human beings, and (c) our world with

spiritual beings. In consideration of a tree, he described, one may examine its form, perceive its movement, classify its species, or study its type.

In all this the tree remains my object, occupies space and time, and has its nature and constitution. It can, however, also come about, if I have both will and grace, that in considering the tree I become bound up in relation to it. The tree is no longer *It*. I have been seized by the power of exclusiveness. (Buber, 1958, p. 7)

In his dialogue with Carl Rogers in 1957, Buber articulated his ideas about the process of *confirmation*. Confirmation is the recognition of the unique potentiality of the other—a polarity of potential for good or evil. In meeting another person, one sees the other’s potential for becoming and in doing so strengthens this potential. In his dialogue with Rogers, Buber described confirmation as more than an acceptance of the other or the nurturing of a natural process in the growth of the self; in recognizing another’s potential, the action of recognition lends a weight of force or direction.

Buber (1988) wrote, “The inmost growth of the self does not take place . . . through our relationship to ourselves, but through being made present by the other and knowing that we are being made present by him” (p. 61).

Janet Surrey

Surrey (1991a) explained that for women, the primary experience of self is relational, “that is, the self is organized and developed in the context of important relationships” (p. 52). Relationship is, furthermore, seen as the basic goal of development, defined as “the deepening capacity for relationship and relational competence” (p. 53).

This is in contrast to traditional theories of development that stress separation from the mother in early childhood (Mahler, 1972); from the family at adolescence

(Erikson, 1963); and from the teachers and mentors in adulthood (Levinson, 1978), all of which are focused on increasing autonomy, self-reliance, and independence (Surrey, 1991a). Although Erikson's model features intimacy and generativity in adulthood, it is considered possible only after establishing the separation stage or closure of identity in adolescence. Following one's unique calling or destiny for personal fulfillment is greatly valued.

Surrey (1991a) explained that the self-in-relation model assumes that other aspects of self such as creativity, autonomy, and assertion develop within this primary context. "That is, other aspects of self-development emerge in the context of relationship, and there is no inherent need to disconnect or to sacrifice relationship for self-development" (p. 53).

Empathy is the central organizing concept in women's relational experience; learning to experience and respond to one another in relationship is what constitutes development. "Through this process, the capacity to learn to 'see' the other and to 'make oneself known' to the other highlights one's own self-knowledge and fosters growth in the other and in the self" (Surrey, 1991a, p. 58).

Surrey (1991b) described the qualitative differences between empowering versus diminishing relationships. The experience of self as connected *with* others represents action, power, and movement "that acknowledge the power inherent in 'being together,' 'moving together,' and 'acting together'" (p. 163). This is an alternative vision offered to replace the notion of power as dominion, control, or mastery, implying "power over." This "power with" or "power together" model "overrides the active/passive dichotomy by

suggesting that all participants in the relationship interact in ways that build connection and enhance everyone's personal power" (p. 165).

In creating and supporting the development of empowered relationships, Surrey (1991b) noted that beyond her therapeutic work with women and couples, her participation with Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament (WAND) illustrates many aspects of empowerment through connection, which, in the latter example, is channeled into political action.

Surrey (1991b) summarized the value of development through relationships that reach maturity in the mutual empowerment of both persons:

Growing and becoming empowered in relationship means being aware of our shared responsibility for mutual security and well being through the aliveness and growth-supporting aspects of our relationships. It means learning how to open, create, repair, and let go in relationships with sustained awareness of how interconnected we are. This sustained awareness, in turn, will present a healthy challenge to the defensive need, based in part on contemporary Western culture, to feel self-sufficient and independent. (p. 175)

Leonardo Boff

The paradigm of connectedness calls for a reclaiming of the dimension of the sacred. "Without the sacred, affirming the dignity of Earth and the need to set limits on our desire to exploit its potentialities remains empty rhetoric" (Boff, 2006, p. 115). For Boff, this paradigm is grounded in an ecological spirituality; it is earth centered rather than human centered. Most basically defined, ecological spirituality recognizes spirit as "everything that breathes, that inhales and exhales; everything living is spirit or bearer of spirit" (p. 190). Spirit in the human being cannot be disconnected from spirit in nature or spirit in the cosmos.

Boff looked to the life of St. Francis of Assisi as an example of a life lived by this understanding and awareness of the living Earth. The gentle and reverent love St. Francis had for the living world is dismissed by some as a simplistic, romantic view. Boff (2006) argued that romanticism is distinguished by a relationship to self. In St. Francis's way of being, however,

. . . the self is called to rise above itself, to open the closed circle, and to become kin with things, so as to sing jointly the hymn of praise to the Creator. This attitude comes forth only when we give up possessing things, or rather, when we do as Francis did with the cricket, when we create community with it, join in the song, and sing with it the praises of our great heavenly Father. We want to delve more deeply into what constitutes the wellsprings of such a mode of being. (p. 213)

Boff (2006) articulated that in the praxis of reflection and action, this new consciousness in itself is not enough. The challenge for the “pedagogy for globalization” is to allow this paradigm to “enter into all realms of life, society, the family, the media, and educational institutions in order to shape a new planetary man and woman, in cosmic solidarity and in tune with the overall direction of the evolutionary process” (p. 119).

Theodore Roszak

Roszak (1992/2001) described this process as the recovery of the ecological unconscious. Roszak stated, the “repression of the ecological unconscious is the deepest root of collusive madness in industrial society; open access to the ecological unconscious is the path to sanity” (p. 320). The contents of the ecological unconscious embody the “living record of cosmic evolution, tracing back to distant initial conditions in the history of time” (Roszak, 1992/2001, p. 320). Biological, physical, and cultural evidence of ancient human relationships with the natural world create a new cosmology that

ecopsychology seeks to implement through therapies that emphasize the experience of being in nature.

Ralph Metzner

Metzner (1999) argued that Roszak's concept of the ecological unconscious and its recovery through eco-therapies is "not going to be sufficient for a path to sanity, unless it is supplemented by a recovery of ancient traditions of initiation and ritual celebration and a strong dose of ecological literacy" (p. 93). For Metzner, healing the connection between humans and nature involves a return to indigenous traditional healing methods informed by an understanding and awareness of spiritual entities in nature. Human experience of being in and of nature is facilitated through the use of natural psychotropic plants.

Chellis Glendinning

Glendinning (1994) identified the fundamental connection between human beings and nature as the "*primal matrix*: the state of a healthy, wholly functioning psyche in full-bodied participation with a healthy, wholly functioning Earth" (p. 5). The experience of human-nature connection has been lost to Cartesian dualism, the split of subjective and objective reality. Glendinning (1994) likened the effects of this disjointed view of the world to the effects of posttraumatic stress disorder and viewed our reliance on technology as collective addiction (Glendinning, 1995). We attempt to redress our lost sense of interconnection through our addiction to advanced technology and industry. Glendinning (1995) wrote,

Total immersion, loss of perspective, and loss of control tip us off to the link between the psychological process of addiction and the technological system.

Addiction can be thought of as a progressive disease that begins with inner psychological changes, leads to changes in perception, behavior, and life-style, and then to total breakdown. The hallmark of this process is the out-of-control, often aimless compulsion to fill a lost sense of meaning and connectedness with substances like alcohol or experiences like fame. (p. 46)

Exploring this metaphor of technology and addiction, denial, for example, plays a role in the U.S. government's rejection of global warming—dishonesty in the medical community's failure to link human illnesses and cancer to environmental toxins produced by industrial production.

Marc Pilisuk and Melanie Joy

Pilisuk and Joy (2001) found the humanistic roots of ecological psychology in Buber's recognition of the *I-Thou* relationship "in which the genuine value of the other contributes to the authenticity of the self" (p. 103); in Maslow's (1971) self-actualized people who are involved in a greater purpose outside of themselves; and in Moustakas' (1985) definition of *humanistic*, which includes authentic relationships between the self, other human beings, nature, and the universe. Pilisuk and Joy (2001) argued that while increasing our consciousness and experience of the inherent connection of all life is important, it is not in itself adequate to "avoid the horrors we would hope to avoid" (p. 107). In seeking to restore the living world around us, we must also increase our awareness of the daimonic potential within us and address the damaging and destructive systems and practices it perpetuates toward the natural world and each other.

Pilisuk and Joy (2001) proposed the "transition in consciousness and action to be bridged is at a point where humanistic and ecological psychology converge" (p. 107). Our awareness of our interdependence and knowledge of healthy human development must be channeled into a sustainable world order. We need a new vision and framework for

science, technology, business, and government. We need to replace our ethic of individualism and transform our pursuit of happiness to the pursuit of compassion (Pilisuk & Joy, 2001).

Robert Heber

Indigenous knowledge may be defined as “cultural-specific knowledge that is part of a people’s heritage and social identity that comprise a set of ecological relationships within an ethno-ecosystem” (Heber, n.d.). This knowledge encompasses an understanding and awareness of the interdependence of social, natural, physical, and spiritual environments.

The Dene people of Northern Saskatchewan have been following the caribou for several thousand years, and their relationship to the caribou defines much of their social, cultural, and spiritual realities that are the basis for systems of traditional resource management; caribou continues to be the major food resource (Heber, n.d.). Along with environmental contamination and health hazards, the encroachment of the mining industry and its impact on the caribou migration represents not only the end of a primary food resource but also the dissolution of the complex social, cultural, and spiritual systems that are connected to it.

Heber (n.d.) noted that the traditional knowledge and resource management Aboriginal peoples have practiced have ensured their cultural and environmental sustainability for millennia. Based on local knowledge systems, resource management occurs “when resources of the land are harvested, managed, shared, and conserved in a manner which respects and honors traditional social institutions and cultural practices” (Heber, n.d., p. 1). The author spoke to the need for the mining industry and government

to consult with Aboriginal people to determine how indigenous knowledge may best be incorporated into a resource management strategy that “has the potential to promote short-term efficiencies along with long-term environmental sustainability and environmental integrity” (Heber, n.d., p. 12).

Eduardo Grillo Fernandez

Fernandez (1998) spoke to the interdependence of social, natural, physical, and spiritual environments in his description of life in the *chacra* in the Andes. Fernandez (1998) stated,

Our community is not simply a human environment, rather it is all of us who live together in a locality: humans, plants, animals, rivers, mountains, stars, moon, sun. Similarly, our *ayllu*, our family, is not only the people of our blood lineage; rather we are the whole of the human community of the locality (*runas*) and also our natural community (*sallqas*) and our community of the sustainers of life (*huacas*) with whom we share life in our locality (*Pacha*). . . . We, the Andeans, reach the full delight of our lives in contributing to nurture our *ayllu* and in letting ourselves be nurtured by our *ayllu*. (p. 128)

Fernandez is co-founder of Proyecto Andino de Tecnologias Campesinas, Andean Project of Peasant Technologies (PRATEC). Fernandez, an agronomist and agricultural researcher, and co-founder Grimaldo Regifo Vasquez, an educator, founded PRATEC based on their observation of the failure of Western agricultural and industrial development programs in the Andes. Both are from indigenous peasant backgrounds, and each pursued various paths to development in hopes of bringing a greater sense of well-being to their communities.

The basis of the failure of Western approaches to development, they argued, is a lack of understanding of indigenous epistemology and ontology, a disregard for the Andean way of knowing, doing, and being. PRATEC, as a vehicle for cultural

affirmation—not “development”—is a participatory program dedicated to the promotion of peasant agriculture and its intersection with Andean culture and spiritual systems.

PRATEC grounds their practice and promotion of local methods of Andean agriculture in the Andean wisdom tradition of mutual nurturance. Fernandez (1998) explained,

In the Aymara region of Puno the *ispallas* are the deities (*huacas*) of the harvest. In the month of March, among many other rituals, there is one in the harvest of potatoes whose central event consists of ritually gathering in a shawl some old potatoes from the previous harvest (which are still kept in storage) with young potatoes newly harvested from the field. Culminating the ritual, through the Andean priest, the old potatoes say to the young ones: ‘nurture these men as we ourselves have nurtured them’. Thus it is evidenced in the ritual that as humans nurture the potato in the *chacra* with dedication and love, the potato, in her turn, also nurtures humans as their food. This is why in the Andean world, wisdom—that is, the capacity to live—consists in knowing both how to nurture and how to let oneself be nurtured. In the *chacra*, humans nurture plants, animals, soil, water, climate, and so on and they, for their part, nurture humans. This is the profound essence of the Andean equivalence: no one is self-sufficient; each one’s life depends on everyone else. (p. 224)

Responsibility

Definition of Terms

Responsibility is defined as personal accountability but also in the sense of cooperation and contribution to the whole out of care and concern for others.

Authors Selected for Content Analysis

The literature in this section focuses on the writing of May (1981), Buber (1958), Adler (1938/1998), Erikson (1950/1993), Nelson and Prilleltensky (2005), Sen (1999), and Pilisuk and Parks (1986) and Pilisuk and Rountree (2008).

Rollo May

May (1981) stated, “Responsibility is more than a moral teaching, more than another rule of the ethical life. It is part of the underlying ontological structure of life (p. 100).

As described in a previous section, personal growth involves the acceptance of responsibility in proportion to increasing freedoms. Responsibility is an aspect of our destiny. If destiny is a given, May asked, how can responsibility have any meaning? Although our lives are shaped by physical and cultural constraints and circumstances, we are responsible for our actions.

We choose our way of responding to the other people who make up the context in which our freedom develops. The paradox that one can be free only as one is responsible is central at every point in freedom. But the converse is just as true: one can be responsible only as one is free. (May, 1981, p. 64)

Because we have the freedom to choose our actions and interactions with other people, we bear responsibility for what we do and how we relate and interact with others.

Without freedom, we cannot be responsible.

“Response-ability,” wrote May (1981), “involves an awareness of others’ needs as we live in the community of the family or the village together with a capacity to respond to the needs also of one’s own self” (p. 64). Responsibility, then, is more than accountability for one’s actions and interactions; it also entails being aware and responsive to the needs of others. Destiny situates us in community with others; May (1981) described “the new narcissism” of the me-era as an “estrangement from community” (p. 140). Seeking freedom without regard for social responsibility leads not to freedom but to isolation.

The main problem in the “if I am me” syndrome, and the reason it so quickly goes bankrupt in the search for personal freedom, is that it omits other people; it fails to enrich our humanity. It does not confront destiny as embodied in the community. (May, 1981, p. 141)

“Does not the possibility or the power to do something about the situation at hand confer on one some responsibility to do it? I choose to say yes” (May, 1981, p. 100). The freedom to act confers on one the responsibility to act—and holds one accountable for the failure to act. To assume responsibility is to embody and acknowledge the ability to act.

Martin Buber

In *I and Thou*, Buber (1958) distinguished love from feeling—feelings accompany love but they do not constitute it. “Love is responsibility of an *I* for a *Thou*” (Buber, 1958, p. 15). To love another is to care for another, to wish for and work towards another’s well-being. With knowing another’s spirit of being comes a commitment to his or her new-shared reality.

In *Between Man and Man*, Buber (1966) elaborated on responsibility and the cultivation of character:

Genuine responsibility exists only where there is real responding. Responding to what? To what happens to one, to what is to be seen, and heard, and felt. Each concrete hour allotted to the person, with its content drawn from the world and from destiny, is speech for the man who is attentive. (p. 16)

Responsibility is responding. What is required to respond is presence to hear and answer the call with one’s whole being. Responding in this way means to be attentive to the unique needs of each situation and not relying on prescribed actions or traditional values. Buber (1966) stated,

Only then, true to the moment, do we experience a life that is something other than a sum of moments. We respond to the moment, but at the same time we respond on its behalf, we answer for it. A newly created concrete reality has been

laid in our arms; we answer for it. A dog has looked at you, you answer for its glance, a child has clutched your hand, you answer for its touch, a host of men moves about you, you answer for their need. (p. 17)

Alfred Adler

Alfred Adler's concept of social interest conveys the human need to be an integral part of the whole of community. The individual's resolution of the "unavoidable problems of humanity" (which Adler defined as our attitudes toward our fellow human beings, vocation, and love) has implications for not only healthy personality development but "the destiny and welfare of humanity" (Adler, 1938/1998, p. 20). The individual is conceived of as an integral part of the whole of society.

Human beings have an innate potential for social interest (or "community feeling," the original translation), which must be consciously developed. "If maladjustment to social life is thus unmasked, then the question arises . . . how and when was the growth of social feeling drained of its strength?" (Adler, 1938/1998, p. 20). This potential is most often thwarted in the development of the pampered child, whose lack of social perspective leads not to increased security but "an increased sense of inferiority" and "all the character-traits of an existence in a supposedly hostile environment: hypersensitivity, impatience, strengthening of affects, fear of life, caution, and greed—the latter in the form of an assumption that everything ought to belong to the child" (Adler, 1938/1998, p. 85). The inability to act in cooperation, comradeship, and fidelity, if not addressed in early childhood, must be addressed in the school setting.

The school has in it its power to awaken and foster the spirit of fellow feeling. . . . In general talks to the children [teachers] will be able to convince them that their own future and the future of humanity depend on an increase of our social interest, and that the great mistakes of life—war, capital punishment, racial hatred, not to speak of neurosis, suicide, crime, drunkenness, etc.—spring from a

lack of social interest and are to be seen as inferiority complexes, as pernicious attempts to deal with a situation in a way that is both unacceptable and unsuitable. (Adler, 1938/1998, p. 48)

The inferiority—and superiority—complexes are exemplary of a lack of the development of social interest. Inferiority shows itself as “evasiveness” and a “hesitant attitude”; the superiority complex is an ignorance of social interest and shows itself in the individual’s pursuit of “the glitter of personal conquest” (Adler, 1938/1998, p. 38).

As noted, vocation and love are fundamental human issues. Work, for the healthy adult, is for the benefit and well-being of others. “The socially-minded person can never doubt that everyone is entitled to reward for their labour, and that the exploitation of the lives and the toil of others cannot in any way further the welfare of humanity” (Adler, 1938/1998, p. 50). All forms of work play a role in the welfare of society and therefore all workers deserve “the right to a sufficient livelihood, to all the advantages of hygiene, and to suitable education for their children” (p. 51). Social interest in love and marriage shows itself in the couple’s capacity for devotion to one another and their mutual esteem of worth.

In regard to the progress of humanity as a whole, Adler (1938/1998) argued individual psychology seeks to improve society, in part through shifting “the weight of blame from the individual’s shoulders and assigns it to the failures of our society (in whose imperfections all of us are implicated) demanding co-operation for their removal” (p. 83). “It is a sign of the low stage of evolution that we have reached at this point that, in order to accomplish this, we have to consider not merely the strengthening of social interest but its very existence” (p. 83).

Erik Erikson

Erikson's (1950/1993) theory of the "Eight Ages of Man" described the ego qualities that emerge from critical periods of development throughout the human life span. Erikson's theory of generativity centers in the ego development of middle-age adulthood and is concerned with the individual's ability to care for others. Individual development comes through care of others and the production and contribution of something for the good of society.

Failure to develop through caring results in an "obsessive need for pseudo-intimacy . . . with a pervading sense of stagnation and personal impoverishment" (Erikson, 1950/1993, p. 267). "Individuals, then, often begin to indulge themselves as if they were their own—or another's—one and only child; and where conditions favor it, early invalidism, physical or psychological, becomes the vehicle of self-concern" (p. 267).

Bearing children (or wanting them), in itself, Erikson (1950/1993) noted, does not bring one to generativity.

The reasons are often to be found in early childhood impressions; in excessive self-love based on a too strenuously self-made personality; and finally . . . in the lack of some faith, some "belief in the species," which would make a child appear to be a welcome trust of the community. (p. 267)

Geoffrey Nelson and Isaac Prilleltensky

Nelson and Prilleltensky (2005) described the importance of commitment and accountability in the work of community psychology. As community psychologists, we commit and are accountable to five entities: values, self, others, community, and profession.

The values of community psychology are the guiding principles “that help us behave in ethical and defensible ways” (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005, p. 116). As previously stated, Nelson and Prilleltensky (2005) identified the values of community psychology as self-determination, caring and compassion, health, respect for diversity, participation and collaboration, support for community structures, social justice, holism, and accountability (p. 65). Commitment to these values occurs on the interrelated levels of self, others, and community. Commitment to any particular set of values in isolation creates a dangerous imbalance.

Making a commitment to advance my personal well-being, through values such as self-determination and personal control, can undermine relational well-being. . . . Our call is to improve personal well-being through relational and collective well-being, and to enhance collective well-being through relational and personal well-being. (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005, p. 117)

This is no easy task, as the values emphasized in community psychology are not always consonant with the values of our culture or our work places.

Commitment to ourselves, to the others that are close to us, and to those in our community demands a process and structure of accountability. “The accountability we propose is to people who suffer from exploitation and marginality, not to those who use and abuse their power for personal, governmental or corporate interests” (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005, p. 120). Accountability, furthermore, extends to others who are committed to social justice issues.

Nelson and Prilleltensky (2005) also advocated for a commitment to the development of community psychology. The overarching goals of community psychology, as they defined them—well-being and liberation—require an examination of psychological and political factors in our efforts to change individuals, groups, and

societies. Nelson and Prilleltensky proposed the need to both understand these factors as well as work for transformative change (p. 120).

Amartya Sen

As touched on in a previous section, Sen appreciated the connection between freedom and responsibility. Sen (1999) argued for individual freedom as a social commitment:

Responsibility *requires* freedom. The argument for social support in expanding people's freedom can, therefore, be seen as an argument *for* individual responsibility, not against it. The linkage between freedom and responsibility works both ways. Without the substantive freedom and capability to do something, a person cannot be responsible for doing it. But actually having the freedom and capability to do something does impose on the person the duty to consider whether to do it or not, and this does involve individual responsibility. In this sense, freedom is both necessary and sufficient for responsibility. (p. 284)

This social commitment, Sen suggested, should not be limited to government but must also involve political and social organizations, community-based organizations, nongovernmental agencies, the media, and market institutions.

The arbitrarily narrow view of individual responsibility—with the individual standing on an imaginary island unhelped and unhindered by others—has to be broadened not merely by acknowledging the role of the state, but also by recognizing the functions of other institutions and agents. (Sen, 1999, pp. 284-285)

Marc Pilisuk

Pilisuk and Parks (1986) situated the ideology of self-responsibility within the context of liberalism. The liberal philosophy considers the development of social programs, policies, and agencies too expensive to sustain; rather than denying responsibility, attention is shifted to individual and family responsibilities for health and well-being. "One is poor for reasons of inherent failure to achieve, ill because of failure

to take precautions. . . . This ideology blames the victim for the circumstances that have descended upon him or her” (Pilisuk & Parks, 1986, p. 195). According to this philosophy, the authors concluded, we are not collectively responsible for the suffering of others. Pilisuk and Parks (1986) wrote,

According to this theme, we are free from collective responsibility for those who die of starvation, who are killed with weapons supplied by our dollars, or who succumb after breathing toxic air. England’s Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher notes, “We have to get away from collectivism. Democracy is people taking care of themselves.” (p. 195)

More recently, Pilisuk and Rountree (2008) have broadly reviewed how this model of democracy has led to a global system of structuralized violence and military intervention. When democracy is defined in this way— as people responsible for their well-being—a vacuum of responsibility on behalf of corporations and government is created. Pilisuk and Rountree (2008) found the roots of the corporate structure in the 1890s Supreme Court ruling that granted legal personhood to corporations. Rather than serving the public interest, through the auspices of individual freedom, corporations were allowed to pursue their own, very specific objective—the unlimited growth of shareholder profits.

Direct, cultural, and structural violence create a system of violence. Johan Galtung defined violence as “avoidable insults to basic human needs, and more generally to *life*, lowering the real level of needs satisfaction below what is potentially possible” (as cited in Pilisuk, 2008, p. 49). These three forms of violence are distinguishable through their relation to time: direct violence is an event, structural violence is a process of ebbs and flows, and cultural violence is slow to change. The causal flow of these three aspects of violence begins with structural violence, which “feeds off of the steady stream of

cultural violence, which then erupts into an act of direct violence” (Pilisuk, 2008, p. 49).

Structural violence, on the surface, may look normal—and easily attributable to

individual failure. Pilisuk and Rountree (2008) explained,

The harmful effects [of structural violence] become apparent only after close inspection. Children may die of malnutrition. The prior removal of their family’s farm by a mining corporation is sometimes left unnoticed. Therefore, structural violence, more often than not, is left unchanged, and the cycle of violence continues. (p. 50)

Unexamined and unchanged, the structural violence wielded by the need for markets, labor, and natural resources drives a violent U.S. foreign policy. Examples include the overthrow of democratically elected leader Jacobo Arbenz in Guatemala in the 1950s and, more recently, the George W. Bush Administration’s intervention in Iraq.

Pilisuk and Rountree (2008) urged that our commitment to the fulfillment of human potential must be matched with a realization of the capacity for human violence. And in realizing we are susceptible to situations that allow us to disregard the basic human needs—or lives—of others, “peace will have to be accompanied by the creation of human institutions and cultural norms that hold us accountable when we might otherwise be drawn to war” (p. 47).

Ethic of Care

Definition of Terms

The ethic of care is a moral orientation grounded in human relationships and the responsibility one feels for another’s well-being.

Authors Selected for Content Analysis

This final category focuses on the work of Gilligan (1982), Slote (2007), Pilisuk (2001b), Pilisuk and Parks (1986), and Vasquez (1998).

Carol Gilligan

As we have listened for centuries to the voices of men and the theories of development that their experience informs, so we have come to more recently to notice not only the silence of women but the difficulty in hearing what they say when they speak. Yet in the different voice of women lies the truth of an ethic of care, the tie between relationship and responsibility, and the origins of aggression in the failure of connection. (Gilligan, 1982, p. 173)

From her qualitative inquiry that considered the experience and thought process of women seeking abortion, Gilligan (1982) proposed that women often utilize a different standard of measurement in solving moral conflict, one that is relational in perspective and grounded in responsibility and care for others. She took issue with her colleague Lawrence Kohlberg's theory of moral development, which focused on a justice orientation concerned with abstract and universal determinations of what is right and fair. Kohlberg's theory of moral development failed to account for the reasoning processes often utilized by women, which were concerned with maintaining relationships and avoiding hurt. As Gilligan (1982) explained,

This [latter] conception of morality as concerned with the activity and care centers moral development around the understanding of responsibility and relationships, just as the conception of morality as fairness ties moral development to the understanding of rights and rules. (p. 19)

Gilligan (1982) described the ethic of care in three developmental stages. In the first stage, care is restricted to the self for matters of survival or self-preservation. In the transition to the second stage, one recognizes the connection between the self and others and begins to focus on the needs of others—often to the exclusion of one's own needs.

Gilligan (1982) highlighted that it is in this stage that a dilemma between selfishness and responsibility appear.

Here the conventional feminine voice emerges with great clarity, defining the self and proclaiming its worth on the basis of the ability to care for and protect others. . . . The strength of this position lies in its capacity for caring; the limitation of this position lies in the restriction it imposes on direct expression. (p. 79)

In the transition to the third stage, one begins to question the logic of self-sacrifice for the care of others. Responsibility in this stage involves not only caring for others but in being honest with oneself and being responsible for the choices one makes.

Responsibility for the care of oneself and others is given equal weight; in doing so, the disparity between selfishness and responsibility disappears.

Gilligan (1982) clarified that the ethic-of-care perspective is characterized not by gender but by theme; she stated that she has observed this perspective most often in women, proposing that “differences arise in a social context where factors of social status and power combine with reproductive biology to shape the experience of males and females and the relations between the sexes” (p. 2). The ethic of care represents a distinctly different approach to resolving moral conflict, and, because it is an approach more often utilized by women and not men, is devalued. Gilligan (1982) explained that in recognizing the differences in women’s experience and understanding expands human development theory and could lead to “a more generative view of human life” (p. 174).

Michael Slote

Beginning with Gilligan’s work in the early 1980s, a large body of literature has developed on the ethics of care, much of it focused on the difficulty in extending the care orientation to the public domain. Slote (2007), a professor of ethics, took issue with care

ethicists who do not regard caring as a total approach and should be integrated with justice approaches into a comprehensive framework (Held, 2006; Baier, 1995; Clement, 1996). Grounding his thesis on the psychological literature on empathy and moral development (Hoffman, 2000), Slote explained that “caring motivation is based in and sustained by our capacity for empathy with others” (p. 4) and therefore can be used to understand the whole of individual and political morality.

Gilligan (1982), and particularly Noddings (1984), who developed the specific idea of an ethics of care based on Gilligan’s work and her own research, described how genuine acts of caring involve an emotional sensitivity to particular other people. Slote (2007) reasoned that if we cannot have relations of caring with others we do not know personally, then our moral relations with them are not governed by an ethic of caring but by considerations of justice.

However, once we acknowledge that our attitudes toward strangers or distant others can amount to caring (of some kind), then the way is open to treating our relations with such people within an ethics of care, and even . . . to understanding justice as a whole in terms of caring. (Slote, 2007, p. 11)

Hoffman’s (2000) work focused on how empathy actually develops; through inductive training, the development of full moral motivation is reached, which at its most sophisticated level allows individuals to experience empathy on a hypothetical basis. As we become more aware of the future or hypothetical results of actions or events in the world, “we learn to empathize not just with what a person is actually feeling, but with what they will feel or what they would feel, if we did certain things or certain things happened” (Slote, 2007, p. 15). Hoffman turned to the example of adolescents who, as they become aware of the existence of groups or classes of people and the common goal or interests that may unite them come to empathize “with the plight, say, of the homeless

or the challenged or various oppressed races, nations, or ethnicities possible and real for adolescents in a way that would not have been possible earlier in their lives” (Slote, 2007, p. 15).

Slote (2007) explained that the ethics of empathic caring could encompass social justice. If institutions and laws, as well as social customs and practices, reflect empathically caring motivation on the part of those responsible for originating and maintaining them, we may say that the ethics of empathic caring can provide a moral framework for social justice. As individuals may show the strongest empathic concern for persons close to them but may develop their empathic capacity to concern for persons they do not know, legislators (as empathic individuals) may show more concern for their constituents, but also, Slote (2007) continued,

The legislation they approve (for example, the level of humanitarian foreign aid they support) should at least reflect a substantial amount of concern for the welfare of people in other countries (and for the welfare of the countries themselves considered in aggregate terms). (p. 100)

Marc Pilisuk

Pilisuk found that caring is an implicit component of a worldview that sees the inherent connection between humans, their institutions, and the living world. In the article titled “Ecological Psychology, Caring, and the Boundaries of the Person,” Pilisuk (2001b) identified caring as “the uniquely psychological aspect of interdependence” (p. 27). The ethic of care lies in contrast to the prevailing ethic of the marketplace that pervades Western culture. The theory and practice of psychology, too, has been pervaded by the ethic of the marketplace, as evidenced by its definition of development as growth and fulfillment through consumption. However, Pilisuk (2001b) argued,

A case can be made that ecological psychology is a call for a redirection of psychology's paradigm to one in which interdependence is predominate and caring (for persons and planet) emerges as the central psychological activity. This thesis is consistent with what is known about altruistic behavior and cooperation between humans and other primates. Unselfish caring for others of one's species, and even for other forms of life has evolutionary survival value. (p. 27)

Pilisuk (2001b) described how efforts toward environmental protection that do not take into account the experience of everyday people derive “from the value position that new developments are so important that they must not be restricted until they are proven to be harmful” (p. 31). This is the ethic of the marketplace.

Towards creating an ecologically centered psychology grounded in care, the role of the psychologist may focus on restoring the quality of these human and ecological connections at a number of levels. In *The Healing Web: Social Networks and Human Survival*, Pilisuk and Parks (1986) described how human health is nurtured by caring relationships. Social support is identified as a contributing factor affecting our ability to resist illness and maintain physical and mental health—and that the disintegration of interpersonal networks of the family and community has potentially disabling effects on one's well-being. Elsewhere, Pilisuk (2001b) has shown that mentally or psychiatrically disabled persons (persons who may be identified as among the most marginalized in our society) have greatly benefitted from programs that foster supportive interpersonal relationships through work programs, shared housing, and community services.

Another connection to be redressed is between people and their places of living. Pilisuk (2001b) noted programs that bring inner-city youth “into restorative, challenging, and team-building adventures” in the forests and urban gardens (p. 34). Other programs nurture the bond between humans and animals in ways “that add purpose and joy to individual lives”; in addition, rehabilitation programs for brain-damaged adults that

engage these individuals with the community in creative and nurturing ways “focus more on improving quality of life than solely on the improvement of a particular function” (p. 34).

Finally, the psychologist working within the paradigm of interconnection and care is challenged to “bridge the constraints of professional safety” (Pilisuk, 2001b, p. 35) through addressing the damage brought to bear on human and ecological health by the prevailing marketplace ethic. Community-based social marketing approaches (McKenzie-Mohr, 2000) showed great potential in changing individual behaviors toward ecological responsibility. “Yet, the effects on individual behaviors are small in relation to the need for institutions to change” (Pilisuk, 2001b, p. 35).

Grimaldo Rengifo Vasquez

Vasquez (1998) described the wisdom of the Andean way of being as one of nurturance. Based on the paradigm of interdependence, *knowing* in the indigenous sense is not a relationship of distance between a subject and an object outside from oneself.

Vasquez (1998) explained,

What is experienced between human communities, Andean deities and nature is a reciprocal dialogue—a relationship that does not presuppose distancing and the objectification of those who converse, but instead presupposes an attitude of affection and comprehension regarding the other’s life. This dialogue does not lead to the knowledge of the other, but rather to mutual empathy, to a desire to attune oneself with the other’s way of being, and together to generate and regenerate life. (p. 174)

Knowing the land in this manner implies a nurturing relationship that is facilitated by dialogue, a communication of sensibilities. Knowing the other is not about acting upon or transforming the other but is about attunement between beings. “Dialogue here does not result in an action that falls on someone, but rather in reciprocal nurturing, that makes life

flower and flow: it is personal, generating; it is seminal, it is a dialogue for life”

(Vasquez, 1998, p. 177).

Deepening one’s knowledge or wisdom is based on learning to dialogue better. It is, as Vasquez (1998) explained,

. . . to know how to nurture with more intensity, to be alert with respect to what the other says, to have an attitude of attunement with others. Wisdom in the Andean world does not have to do with knowing *more*, but with knowing *how* to nurture and allow oneself to be nurtured. (p. 181)

CHAPTER 5 RESULTS

The key points that define the eight conceptual themes are presented in turn. The description of results begins with tables that summarize the themes as they are described by the selected sources and figures to illustrate processes and relationships. Following the schematics, each section will include a brief introduction of the examples utilized to flesh out the proposed theory. Based on my experience with Asociación Ija'tz and other projects in Guatemala, each theme is discussed as it relates to community development. The discussion of each theme will conclude with how humanistic theory does or does not speak to the experience of land-based peoples and suggest how other theoretical orientations may expand humanistic theory and practical applications.

Fundamental Human Needs, Including Freedom

Table 1 illustrates *Fundamental Human Needs* as described by the selected sources.

Table 1

Fundamental Human Needs

Theorist	Description
Diaz-Laplante	Collective attainment of needs can constitute actualization
Maslow	Hierarchy of needs; indicative of psychological health
Max-Neef	Nonhierarchical, independent system
Nelson and Prilleltensky	Well-being is the satisfaction of individual and collective needs

Figure 1 shows the process of needs fulfillment leading to actualization and well-being.

Figure 1. Fundamental human needs.

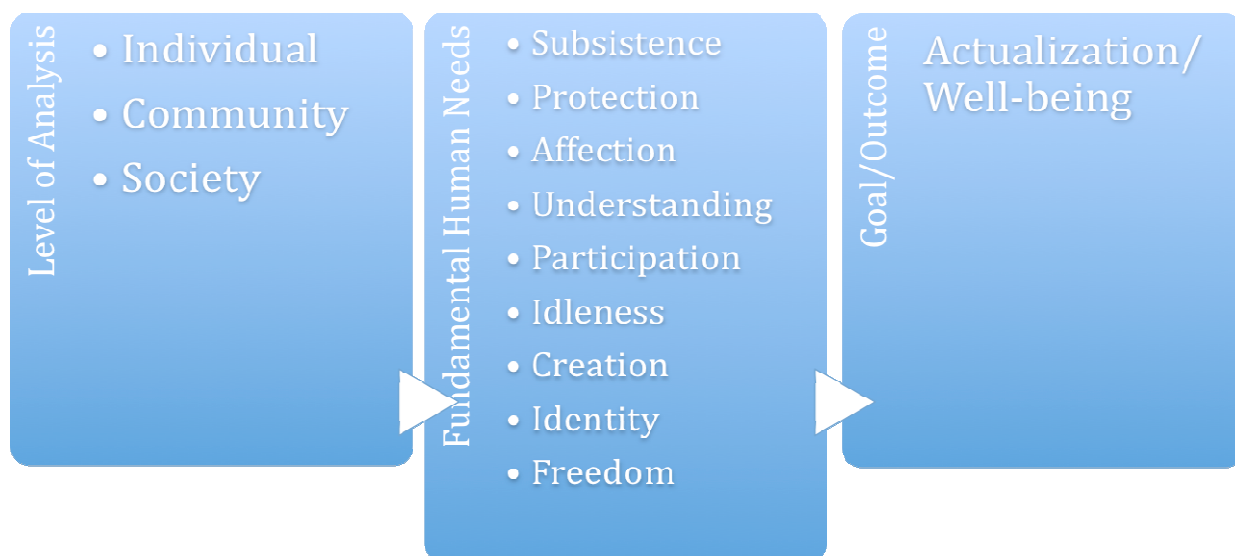


Figure 1. Universal fundamental human needs are nonhierarchical (Max-Neef, 1991).

Fulfillment of needs at the individual level is tied to the satisfaction of needs at the collective level (Prilleltensky & Nelson, 2002). For people in land-based communities, restorative agricultural programs satisfy multiple needs possibly leading to the actualization of the whole community (Diaz-Laplante, 2007).

Table 2 summarizes the definitions and theoretical concepts of freedom.

Table 2

Freedom

Theorist	Description
Fromm	Freedom <i>to</i> is to identify role of self in relation to society
Maslow	Precondition of basic needs
May	Freedom of <i>being</i> precedes <i>doing</i>
Sen	End and means of development
Skinner	Response to aversive control

I aim to show that for the families of Asociación Ija'tz, their approach to well-being is not predicated on economic development but is part of an integrated and participatory approach to meeting multiple fundamental human needs. In addition, a broad comparison of the approaches of Ija'tz and other projects highlight various definitions and approaches to freedom through development.

Economic development alone is not the answer in community development. On a national scale, Fisher and Hendrickson (2003) pointed out that Guatemala is not a poor country; it consistently shows more economic growth than neighboring Honduras, Nicaragua, and El Salvador. Yet, 87% of the population lives in poverty, and 67% in extreme poverty, which is defined by the United Nations Development Program as income that is below what is needed for minimal subsistence and caloric intake. Rather, “the problem of poverty in Guatemala is not so much one of wealth as of inequality” (Fischer & Hendrickson, 2003, p. 27).

It is for lack of substantive freedoms for most Guatemalans—particularly the 5 million indigenous Mayans—that so many live in poverty. Centuries of colonization that were followed by decades of authoritarian regimes, a 36-year civil war, and a slow-to-develop postwar democratic process have severely limited civil rights, access to health care, and opportunities for education for the majority of Guatemalan people.

On top of these, the recent implementation of the Central American Free Trade Agreement (CAFTA) has widened the divide between rich and poor. As a result of CAFTA, Guatemala has been flooded with American agricultural and industrial goods, including maize, which is sold tariff free. In combination with massive subsidies of U.S. agribusiness, this has resulted in the decline of Guatemalan agricultural production. Affecting mostly the indigenous farming community, estimated losses of agricultural wages are between 10% and 30%, or 41,000 to 120,000 jobs (Stop CAFTA Coalition, 2006).

Based on his experience working with indigenous peasant communities in the highlands of Ecuador, Max-Neef's (1991) Human Scale Development begins not with an economic plan but with the people and their living place, an integration of human needs, values, and natural limits. Sen (1999) raised the point that the intrinsic nature of freedom underlies this approach to development. "There is an inescapable valuation problem involved in deciding what to choose if and when it turns out that some parts of tradition cannot be maintained along with economic or social changes that may be needed for other reasons" (Sen, 1999, p. 31). In Guatemala, the Maya are making these hard decisions for themselves.

Meeting Fundamental Needs: Asociación Ija'tz

The Kaqchikel Maya community I lived and worked with in San Lucas Tolimán, Asociación Ija'tz, describes itself as an organization “shaped by men and women who drive an integrated and sustainable development . . . focusing on the equality of the sexes, respect of the environment, and the principles of the Mayan cosmovision” (Asociación Ija'tz, n.d., ¶ 2). Its mission is to “promote democratic participation in the communities of the municipality of San Lucas Tolimán, to foster sustainable development, and to work against the destruction of the ecosystem of Lake Atitlán” (¶ 1).

Ija'tz (which means *seed* in Kaqchikel) began as a seed-saving cooperative and restorative project to redress the local ecology. A few years later, the organization grew into an organic coffee cooperative, a likely economic strategy for development in a highland town that has revolved around the coffee industry for more than a century. However, the Ija'tz community effectively split over the issue of coffee production; several core Ija'tz members left the group to form another community association called Instituto Mesoamericana de Permacultura (IMAP) to maintain the original focus on restorative agriculture and native seed promulgation. This conflict over economic development versus ecological and cultural restoration represents different understandings of what constitutes freedom and basic, immediate, and long-term needs.

Table 3 represents the various definitions of freedom and how these definitions inform general approaches to development and their potential impact on project recipients or participants.

Table 3

Paths to Freedom in Community Development

Definition of freedom	Approach to development	Project examples	Issues
Economic development	Foreign investment in industry and infrastructure	Goldcorp's Marlin mine in Guatemala	Economic development for few; detrimental effects on health; displacement
Increasing individual and collective agency	Improving health, access to education, reclaiming cultural identity, economic development	Asociación Ija'tz	Balancing multiple goals of development
Cultural sovereignty and autonomy	Reclaiming cultural identity, improving health through agriculture and subsistence practices	Instituto Mesoamericana de Permacultura (IMAP)	Limited economic development

Freedom and Community Development

Coffee production in Guatemala's history has been associated with colonialism and foreign development. IMAP's rejection of coffee production as a means of economic development underscores its desire to separate itself from the legacy of colonialism and free itself of dependence on global markets. IMAP focuses on restorative agriculture as a means of ecological and cultural revitalization. It emphasizes education—training local and nonlocal Maya farmers and community organizations, women's groups, school children, and foreign students—in permaculture methods, integrating Maya stories along

the way. IMAP does not directly promote a specific program for economic development; improved subsistence agriculture is emphasized rather than market production.

At the time the Ija'tz community made the decision to implement the coffee program, most community members were already working as coffee growers and harvesters. Their decision to produce coffee through Asociación Ija'tz was less about creating a new economic development scheme and more about coming together as a community, pooling their resources, and creating measures to protect themselves both economically (through the cooperative system and fair trade) and ecologically (by growing organically).

While the coffee program is now the predominant program, Ija'tz has also initiated various health programs in recent years; one program utilizes banana trees to treat disease-carrying grey water, and another builds medicinal plant spirals featuring local medicinal plants in the homes of community members and offers workshops on Kaqchikel herbal medicine. A rabbit-breeding program has succeeded in providing new opportunities for income as well as a reliable food source for many San Lucas families.

Ija'tz pursued organic practices for their coffee program after the realization that much of the agrochemical run-off was going into the lake, where several native species of fish and birds have already perished and where men catch fish to bring to market, and women and young girls bathe, wash their clothes, and collect water for cooking. One of the community's health clinics noted that many people had complained of chronic headaches and stomach and respiratory problems (Dudenhoefer, 2004). When I was there, however, the community was in the process of changing its organic certification to a less rigorous "sustainable" certification, in response to the declining price and demand for

organic coffee in combination with declining yields. This decision was the outcome of many months of research and dialogue between community members. Their deliberation emphasizes their attempt to balance economic development with their mission of ecological and human health.

The families of Ija'tz seek to improve their lives not only through increasing their incomes but also through protecting and promoting human and ecological health through new (and old) agroecological practices. Their coffee cooperative and restorative agricultural programs were formed to provide economically and ecologically protective measures for the betterment of the community as a whole. While their identity as Kaqchikel Maya shape their considerations for ecological health, they do not reject consumer-driven agriculture but continue to shape its production according to the community's needs. Freedom may not be defined by Western standards of economic achievement nor achieved by seeking complete autonomy as a community. Instead, freedom may be the community's ability to identify and balance multiple and equally important needs.

*Humanistic Psychology, Fundamental Human Needs, Freedom,
and Community Development*

Maslow's hierarchy of needs does not speak to the experience of land-based peoples for a number of specific reasons. First, the focus on individual needs gratification may appeal to our Western individualism but does not apply to indigenous cultures that pursue needs collectively as families and communities. Furthermore, the grinding poverty experienced by many land-based peoples around the world is the result of politically and

economically oppressive regimes, institutions, and systems (not a result of a lack of motivation), making the individual fulfillment of any needs exceedingly difficult.

Second, the base of Maslow's hierarchy begins with the attainment of subsistence needs. Yet, conventional approaches to development that emphasize economic development often disregard the importance of participation, cultural identity, and other needs that contribute to the well-being and actualization of the community as a whole. The multiple projects and mission of Asociación Ija'tz underscore its motivation to meet multiple needs—including, but not limited to, economic development.

Maslow identified freedom as a prerequisite to the attainment of basic needs. Land-based peoples such as the Maya who have suffered due to an extremely inequitable distribution of resources and complete lack of basic human rights are disregarded by Maslow's theory from the very start. Freedom—not only in May's existential sense of being but also in the sense of *having* basic rights and thus the freedom of *doing*—is, as Sen (1999) argued, the end and means of development.

A humanistic theory of needs that speaks to the cultural, socioeconomic, and political experience of land-based peoples provides a positive and hopeful theory of community-determined change and growth. Actualization may represent the individual *and* collective fulfillment of needs that lead to the health and well-being of the whole community. May's emphasis on the freedom of being may provide the roots from which the substantial freedoms of human rights may grow. The inner experience of freedom may be an important part of the conscientización process that identifies and peels away the layers of internalized oppression.

Process of Change

Table 4 summarizes the selected sources' descriptions of the change process.

Table 4

Process of Change

Theorist	Description
Boff & Boff	Reflection on faith and collective liber(act)ion
Diaz-Laplante	Linking psychological healing with community building
Fals Borda	Participatory action research; collective recovery of history and identity
Freire	Reflection and collective action
Kretzmann and McKnight	Strengths-based community development
Martín-Baró	Critical understanding of selves and social context leading to action
Maslow	Gratification of needs leads to self-actualization
May	Integration of paradox and awareness of potential
Moghaddam	Participatory action research
Montero	Participatory action research aimed at individual and community change
Nelson and Prilleltensky	Transformative interventions for community empowerment
Pilisuk	Connecting local change efforts to global networks, collaboration

Figure 2 illustrates the iterative change process of reflection-action-reflection.

Figure 2. Process of change: Reflection-action.

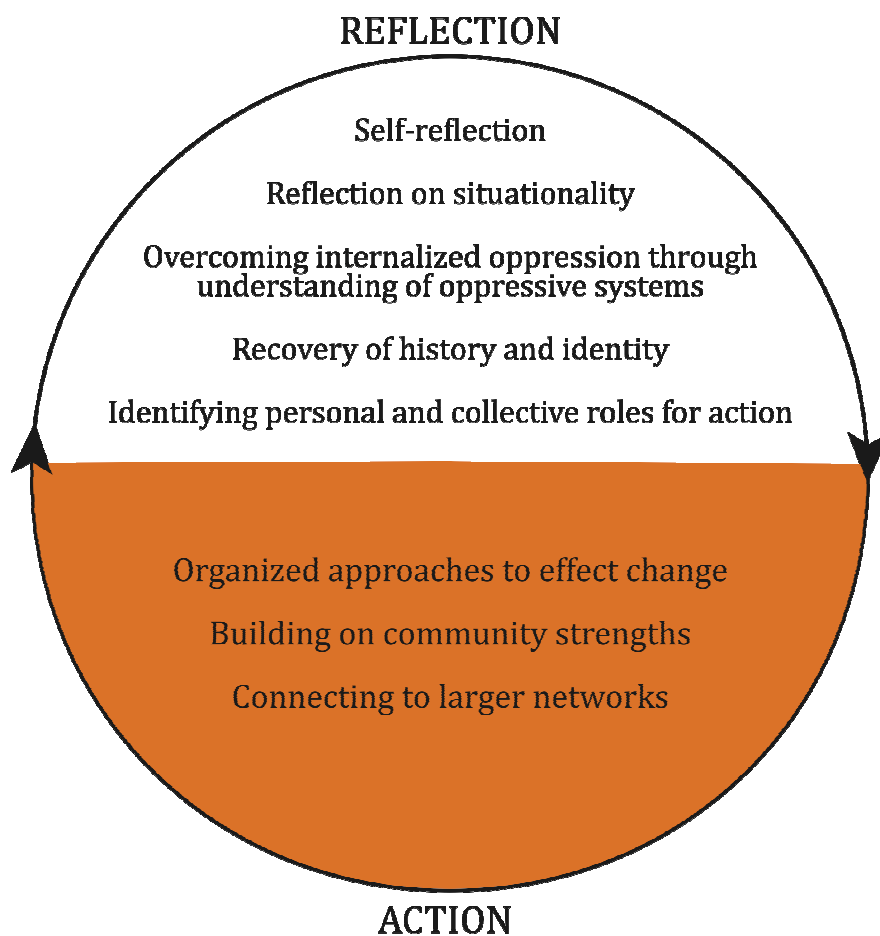


Figure 2. Building on Freire's (1970) concept of the cyclical process of reflection-action, this illustration represents the integration of some additional concepts related to the change process. The reflective process includes the practice of self-reflection promoted by Rogers (1980) and May (1983), as well as the collective recovery of history and

identity (Fals Borda, 1987) and the identification of personal and collective roles for action (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993). The action process builds on individual and community strengths (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993); communities find support by connecting to larger change organizations and networks (Pilisuk et al., 2004). This participatory cycle repeats with a return to reflection, refined and informed by the action process.

Change in Guatemala

The following examples of community development organizations in Guatemala illustrate the reflection-action change process. For the Maya and many other land-based peoples, positive change requires the recognition of cultural sovereignty and the peoples' interdependence with the land. The work of the Comité de Unidad Campesina (CUC) illustrates a process of reflection on centuries of institutionalized racism against the Maya and the Guatemalan government's usurpation of Maya land and conscription of Maya labor. The recovery of Maya history and identity is tied to the return of Maya familial and communal land. Since the late 1970s, the CUC has been working for land reform and has protected and advocated for indigenous communities who are threatened by elite interests. Asociación para el Desarrollo Integral de las Víctimas de la Violencia en las Verapaces, Maya Achí/Association for the Integral Development of the Victims of Violence of Verapaces, Maya Achí (ADIVIMA) is a community-based organization in Achí Verapaz. Its efforts toward empowerment and change build on community strengths and have become stronger by linking to international networks such as Rights Action and The Advocacy Project.

Comité de Unidad Campesina

In Guatemala, community development began in the midst of the civil war. The 36-year war began with the U.S.-sponsored overthrow of the democratically elected Arbenz. The overthrow of nationalist president Arbenz occurred in response to his agrarian reform program, which claimed over 550,000 acres of land owned by the U.S.-owned United Fruit Company and redistributed land to more than 100,000 peasants. In the spirit of democracy and freedom from communism, the United States trained and funded the Guatemalan military in a counterinsurgency campaign—a scorched earth campaign that did not discriminate between guerillas and the indigenous campesinos. By the end of the war, more than 200,000 people were killed and millions displaced.

Beginning in the 1960s, in their work with the poor indigenous communities of the highlands, priests, missionaries, and other religious workers bore witness to the massive social injustice and oppression of their communities. The state-sponsored violence during the civil war was only the most recent form of oppression, after centuries of institutionalized racism against the indigenous population. U.S. and elite Guatemalan interests in the temperate regions of the highlands forcibly removed indigenous communities (in the form of scorched earth campaigns during the war) and forced people into proscribed labor.

By the 1970s, liberation theology sparked a popular movement, which took several organizational forms. In the highlands, catechists and missionaries organized grassroots Christian base communities that began to form a network linking together different parts of the highlands. Catholic action leaders organized peasant leagues. By the late 1970s, these groups merged into a national peasant organization called the Comité de

Unidad Campesina (CUC). The CUC was formed in 1978 with 20,000 members, the first official organization of peasants and landless Guatemalans. For the next 20 years, the CUC worked for rights to land tenure and organized labor. The group has survived in spite of violent opposition, including the 1980 peaceful occupation of the Spanish Embassy in Guatemala City, when police forces locked the building and burned the activists alive. At the end of the civil war in 1996, the CUC played a critical role in the development of agrarian reform for the Peace Accord. Its most radical proposal was to redefine land ownership and use on the basis of the social function of property, thus directly challenging the government's definition of land ownership since the fall of Arbenz' government in 1954. Agrarian reform—as well as the economic and social reforms put forward in the Peace Accords—have largely been unrealized; with the 2007 democratic election of Álvaro Colom, it is hopeful that more progress will be made toward these major reforms. Land reform continues to be a major issue to this day: An estimated 2% of the population own 72% of agricultural land (Krznic, 2006). This distribution of land tenure is exactly the same as existed in the country before Arbenz's reforms in the 1940s.

The CUC continues to be active, not only in pushing for land reform but for protecting and advocating for indigenous communities who continue to be threatened by elite interests—including the interests of the United Fruit Company's successor, Del Monte, which since the 1970s has continued to buy up Guatemalan land. Bandegua, the largest banana exporter in Guatemala (a subsidiary of Del Monte), has a long history of the illegal eviction of Maya communities and is responsible for the killing and

intimidation of CUC members representing peasant rights to land and labor (Institute for the Study of International Migration [ISIM], 2002).

More recently, the development of the biofuels industry has negatively impacted the Maya K'eqchi communities of Alta Verapaz. In July 2008, peasants attempted to rebuild and replant their rightful land in an area known as Finca Los Recuerdos, a region that in years past had become overrun by Ingenio Guadalupe, a biofuel company, which began cutting down trees and replanting sugar cane. The peasants were killed by the company's paramilitary security forces; several CUC members were kidnapped or killed when they demanded the prosecution of those responsible and the clarification of the land title situation (Rights Action, 2008).

CUC National Committee member Aparecio Perez has worked with several social justice organizations in the United States in an attempt to bring awareness and change to the agrarian situation that is heightened by the biofuels industry.

The extreme hardship that the CUC has endured, however, has not been without success. A community of 135 families in the village of Tzaneen Siwan, in the state of El Quiche, is celebrating the one-year anniversary of the legal communal entitlement to their land. More than a century ago, their land was illegally sold to the wealthy Botrán family, who forced the villagers to work on their farm and to lease their own land. In 1990, the community began its struggle to regain its land. Refusing to pay its lease, and suffering threats of death and displacement in return, the community saw the need to organize with other farmers and to defend itself. In 2002, community members, now CUC participants, began the process of seeking legal entitlement (Comité de Unidad, 2009).

ADIVIMA

ADIVIMA (Asociación para el Desarrollo Integral de las Víctimas de la Violencia en las Verapaces, Maya Achí/Association for the Integral Development of the Victims of Violence in Maya, Achí Verapaz) is a grassroots community development organization devoted to social, economic, and political change. The organization was spearheaded by three survivors of the massacres of Maya Achí communities of Río Negro in the early 1980s, when paramilitary forces killed hundreds and displaced thousands during the Guatemalan government's construction of the Chixoy hydroelectric dam, an economic development program sponsored by the World Bank and Inter-American Development Bank. Encouraged by the potential of the Peace Accords, ADIVIMA quickly grew to 800 members who filed requests for exhumations, pressed charges against war criminals, and erected monuments for those who lost their lives (The Advocacy Project, 2009).

ADIVIMA has partnered with a number of social justice organizations to strengthen its efforts and to bring its message of peace and justice to an international audience. In 1999, Rights Action, a Washington D.C.-based NGO, assisted in the creation of a legal clinic to facilitate members' legal issues, including pressing criminal charges, collecting oral testimony, and organizing a resettlement plan. The Advocacy Project, also based in Washington, has helped bring ADIVIMA's experience and needs to an international audience. In partnership with these groups, Carlos Chen brought his community's story to Washington in 2000 during the spring meeting of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund. Other organizations have since rallied behind the organization, including the Washington-based Center for Environmental Law and the California-based International Rivers Network.

In addition to fighting for human rights, ADIVIMA has also created economic development projects that utilize the craftsmanship of its participants, including a carpentry shop that builds and sells furniture and an agricultural cooperative that distributes supplies to communities throughout the region. The organization is also investing in its future through the education of its youth. In 2007, the organization initiated a scholarship program for girls, who are less likely than male children to attend school. ADIVIMA's hope for these students is that they will acquire professional skills and return to help their communities.

Many of the female participants, as survivors of the massacres of Río Negro, are forming a women's weaving cooperative. The cooperative is intended not only as a means of economic development but also as an integral part of the healing process. The women are holding weaving workshops in resettlement communities and in the process are telling their personal stories, honoring their lost loved ones, and reviving the lost art of Maya weaving. A commemorative quilt was completed in the summer of 2008, nearly 30 years after the massacres at Río Negro. The quilt is currently being presented in ADIVIMA's call for reparations. In 2008, Guatemalan president Alvaro Colom signed a breakthrough accord with members of ADIVIMA who lost family members. In this accord, the government acknowledged for the first time that "damages and violations" occurred during the dam's construction and accepted the obligation to offer reparations (The Advocacy Project, 2009).

Humanistic Psychology, Process of Change, and Community Development

The weavers' cooperative touches on self-reflection and psychological healing; humanistic psychology's emphasis on self-reflection and healing is an important part of

the change process. However, its focus on change within the individual fails to address the larger social, economic, and political problems that are, particularly for many land-based peoples, the root of pain and suffering. Psychological healing, if it is to be truly transformative for the individual, must be linked to active measures toward change at the community and societal levels. At the same time, community-development projects may benefit by paying attention to the importance of psychological healing at the individual level as well as at the community level.

Empathy

Social cognitive neuroscience has produced physical evidence of empathy—a human phenomenon and powerful force for change that humanistic psychologists such as Rogers intuited. Because the capacity for empathy and emotional connection to others is built into our neuroanatomical structure (Decety, 2002; Decety & Jackson, 2004; Gallese, 2001; Gallese & Goldman, 1998; Preston & de Waal, 2002), community-development projects that promote transformative change may represent a practical expression of our shared human experience. This research also explains how we may become overwhelmed with the experience of others' pain or grief and so seek to avoid pain through blocking our awareness of others' suffering.

Table 5 summarizes authors' descriptions of empathy.

Table 5

Empathy

Theorist	Description
Decety & Jackson	Neuroanatomical structures in human brain provide functional architecture of empathy, which may lead to helping behaviors
Hoffman	Perspective-taking can develop capacity for empathy
Rogers	Sensing another's private world as if it were your own

Figure 3 illustrates the three integral components that comprise empathy.

Figure 3. Empathy: Three functional components

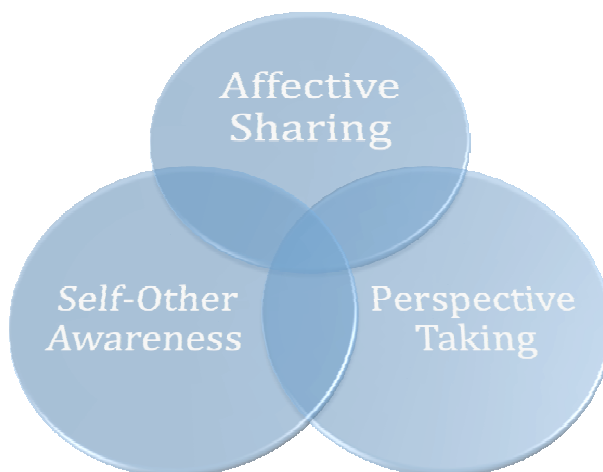


Figure 3. The recognition and shared emotional experience of another, the awareness and ability to distinguish between the emotions that originate within the self versus another,

and the mental flexibility to adopt another's perspective are the three major functional components which dynamically interact to produce the experience of empathy (Decety & Jackson, 2004). Neuroscientific research supports Rogers' understanding of empathy (Decety & Jackson, 2004).

Figure 4 illustrates how these three functional components are necessary for an experience of empathy that leads to helping behavior.

Figure 4. Functional components of empathy required for helping behavior.

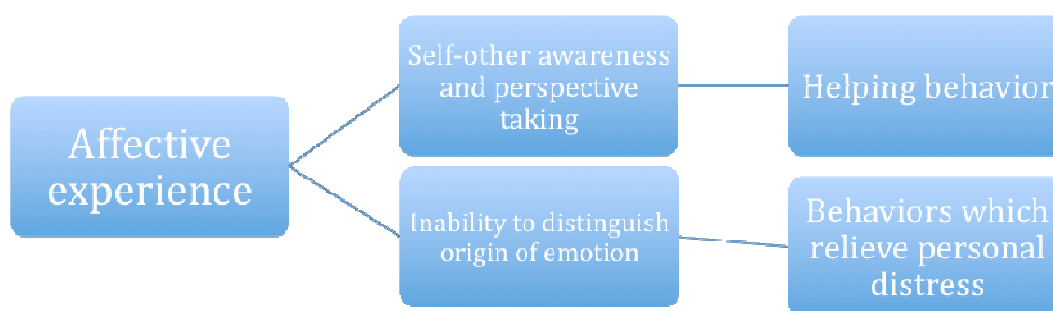


Figure 4. Witnessing another's affective emotional state produces a neurological response that reproduces the affective experience in the observer. This sharing of affective experience, combined with the ability to distinguish between emotions that originate in the self versus another and the capacity to cognitively understand the unique perspective of another person, forms empathy, which may lead to helping behavior. Without self-regulation, an aversive emotional reaction may occur, which may lead to behaviors selected to mitigate personal distress (Decety & Jackson, 2004).

Developing Our Capacity for Empathy

Decety (2005) has described self-perspective as our “default mode.” Because it is essential to the experience of empathy, Decety identified perspective-taking as “the royal avenue to empathy” (p. 143). Hoffman (2000) believes perspective-taking should be the focus of moral development. Adopting another person’s perspective comes most readily with those we are emotionally close to; developing our perspective-taking ability involves imagining the emotional experience of people in environments and circumstances unfamiliar to us (Decety & Jackson, 2004; Hoffman, 2000).

Education programs that develop our natural capacity for empathy, particularly towards people who are very different from ourselves, may represent a new model for social transformation. Krznaric (2008) showed that empathy education is often limited to personal emotional development or focused on the development of affect-sharing. The author highlighted other programs such as Oxfam’s Education for Global Citizenship and the U.S.-based social studies program Through Other Eyes as examples of empathy education programs that focus on developing perspective-taking.

The Potential of Empathy Education

In a research report for Oxfam Great Britain (GB), Krznaric (2008) argued that empathy education is at a turning point in history. It can remain as a tool for personal development within local institutions, “or its potential for creating social change can be realized by expanding it to the global level, so students develop mutual understanding across borders” (p. 42). To meet this potential, empathy education programs “must step outside the classroom, so that students are given the opportunity to engage in real

conversations and experiences that will shift not only how they look at others, but how they look at themselves” (p. 42).

In his review of current established empathy education programs in Great Britain, Canada, and the United States, Krznaric (2008) found that many programs focus on the development of affective aspect rather than the perspective-taking aspect of empathy. This emphasis on learning to identify the emotions of others needs to be balanced with “a greater focus on children’s ability to comprehend the perspectives and lives of others, especially people in other communities or countries who they may rarely or never meet” (p. 11).

Krznaric (2008) suggested that the focus on the affective aspect of empathy is linked to the influence of psychologist Daniel Goleman’s (1996) *Emotional Intelligence: Why It Can Matter More Than IQ*. Goleman’s work refers to empathy as a skill with the goal of helping people form positive relationships and being able to understand and respond to the emotions of others in a helpful way. The UK’s agenda for social and emotional learning resulted in the Social and Emotional Aspects of Learning (SEAL) program for primary schools in England. The aim of the SEAL program is to develop five social and emotional skills—self-awareness, management of feelings, motivation, empathy, and social skills—which mirror Goleman’s (1996) five areas related to emotional intelligence.

Krznaric (2008) argued that the problem with the SEAL program—and Goleman’s work—is that it primarily concentrates on individual behavior and personal development. While the program does recognize both the affective and perspective-taking aspects of empathy, the development of emotional understanding is emphasized.

In terms of behavior, empathy is seen as a key tool in managing anger and discouraging bullying and youth crime. Although SEAL materials utilize examples of bullying based on racial or socioeconomic prejudices, the program does not approach international issues or explicitly encourage developing empathy with people in other countries.

Education for Global Citizenship

Krznaric (2008) pointed to other empathy education programs in the UK and elsewhere that focus on developing the perspective of others at an intergroup and international level. Oxfam GB's Education for Global Citizenship has a number of programs aimed at teaching students about development-related issues including climate change, fair trade, child labor, poverty, and social justice. The Education for Global Citizenship program "encourages children and young people to care about the planet and develop empathy with, and an active concern for, those with whom they share it"; the objective of the program is to nurture "empathy towards others locally and globally" and to gain a "sense of common humanity" (Oxfam GB, as cited in Krznaric, 2008, p. 29).

The Climate Chaos program, which is geared for students ages 9 to 11, utilizes a number of written, visual, and online materials that teach students about climate change. The second day of the five-day program centers on activities that develop students' capacity for perspective-taking. The students read short case studies and are asked to write a story or draw a picture from the viewpoint of one of the people they have read about. They are encouraged to imagine whether the person in the story has a family, what kind of home the person lives in, how the person spends his or her time day to day, and what issues may worry the person. The first case study features a person in Tuvalu in the South Pacific, and the second features the perspective of a homeowner in the UK.

Another activity, called “From My Grandchild,” aims to raise awareness about the impact of climate change on loved ones and others in future generations. In this activity, each child is encouraged to write a story or poem from the viewpoint of his or her own grandchild.

What is particularly notable about Oxfam’s program is not the method of teaching but the focus issue—climate change—and level of analysis. Empathy is encouraged both across geographical space (by imagining how climate change affects people in developing countries such as Tuvalu, as well local climate change issues) and time (through empathizing with future generations).

Through Other Eyes

Another program that emphasizes perspective-taking in the development of empathy is a textbook written by Skolnick, Dulberg, and Maestre (2004) in the United States, titled *Through Other Eyes: Developing Empathy and Multicultural Perspectives in the Social Studies*. The textbook features 15 activities (for ages 8 and older) that focus on personal and family history, work, migration, social conflict, and social change. Krznicaric (2008) pointed out that what sets this text apart from other materials or programs that address empathy is its sophisticated theoretical framework that distinguishes the multiple aspects of empathy—separating and highlighting the importance of both affective sharing and the cognitive aspect of perspective-taking. Skolnick et al. highlighted that empathy and perspective-taking are “at the heart of the multicultural curriculum,” as they encourage students to “venture outside of their own experience” in order to “understand their classmates and the world” (Skolnick et al., 2004 as cited in Krznicaric, 2008, p. 40).

The direction of this curriculum's approach connects empathy for and knowledge about others' experiences to actively solving problems and making personal choices. One activity geared toward younger students features children's literature and narratives of migration that form the basis for creating a piece of art to represent migration experiences. The students read the narrative of Mai, a young Hmong refugee from Laos, who lives in a Thai refugee camp with her grandmother. Mai is taught by her grandmother to stitch a pa'ndau, or embroidered story cloth, which illustrates her life story—including the death of her parents—in pictures. The next stage of the activity involves reading other first-person accounts of migration of children who have come to the United States. The children may choose to interview migrants of older generations who live in their community and write their stories. Based on these written or oral narratives, the students are asked to imagine the feelings and thoughts they believe these individuals may have had during their migratory journeys. The final stage of the project is the creation of a story cloth that illustrates these feelings and initiates a discussion about why people move, what choices they have to make in migrating and leaving their homes, and how these issues relate to students' own lives.

Like the Oxfam-based program, the *Through Other Eyes* activity addresses international issues (migration) and encourages empathy on global and local levels (the story of Mai and narratives and the oral narrative of others in the community).

Humanistic Psychology, Empathy, and Community Development

Rogers' (1980) theory of empathy and its role in the healing relationship revolutionized the practice of counseling. Through entering the perceptual world of the client and becoming sensitive to the subtleties of the client's felt meaning of experience,

the therapist can temporarily “live” the client’s life. As Rogers described it, empathy is the catalyst for the actualization process.

In the later years of his life, Rogers applied his theories to the work of international conflict resolution. In this context—learning to see the world from another’s perspective, to listen to, to understand another person and learn to see beyond one’s prejudices—perspective-taking is more likely to transcend racial, political, and socioeconomic boundaries than in the therapist’s office. In this broader context, empathy education may be a catalyst for social change—not simply change for the individual in counseling. As described in the field of social cognitive science, empathy is fully realized in prosocial behavior (Decety & Jackson, 2004). For communities such as Ija’tz, it is hopeful that empathy education programs can teach present and future generations in the United States and other developed countries about the challenges such communities face and inspire a commitment to the well-being of peoples perhaps very unlike themselves.

Cognitive Understanding and Awareness

Table 6 summarizes the selected authors’ descriptions of cognitive understanding and awareness.

Table 6

Cognitive Understanding and Awareness

Theorist	Description
Brown and Gilligan	Narrative as recovering voice
Diaz-Laplante	Awareness of duality of human nature and human potential
Freire	Understanding oppressive systems and conscious action
Josselson and Lieblich	Narrative as understanding subjective experience
Ledwith	Narrative as reflection leading to conscious action
Maslow	Peak experience
May	Awareness of nonbeing, meaning-making
Montejo	Storytelling as revitalization of cultural values, identity, and power
Rappaport	Reclaiming collective voice
Slim and Thompson	Oral testimony connects personal and political change

Understanding and Awareness in Guatemala

An understanding and awareness of ourselves and the social, political, and economic contexts in which we are embedded leads to self-conscious action towards change. For several core members of Ija'tz, coffee production represents a colonial legacy of oppression; for other members, however, the formation of the Ija'tz coffee cooperative represents the empowerment of a community coming together to share resources.

This section contains subsections that relate to cognitive understanding and awareness. The first subsection speaks to the related theme of interconnection. I turn to Fisher and Benson (2006), who showed how globalization has given rise to nontraditional, contract agriculture in Guatemala and how Maya farmers have embraced it for cultural reasons in spite of an often declining market price. The second subsection focuses on self-awareness and its impact on the work of community development. Examples from Oxfam worker Tony Vaux and psychologist Jane Gilbert support Diaz-Laplante's points about the vital importance of self-awareness in development workers and methods for increasing self-awareness and efficacy in its practice. The third subsection centers on narrative, which in its various representations may focus on phenomenological study or may represent a method of conscientización.

Coffee and Conscientización

Several core members of Ija'tz left the association when the community voted to initiate a coffee cooperative. The majority of Ija'tz' members were already involved in the growing and harvesting of coffee, in a town that has centered on coffee production since the early 20th century. The members that left Ija'tz formed another organization, IMAP, which aims to follow the original vision of ecological and cultural revitalization through agroecological methods.

The split over the coffee issue is a significant one; at the heart of the matter is the history of coffee production in San Lucas Tolimán, and the Guatemala highlands in general. The refusal to support coffee production is a rejection of the legacy of oppression.

Lacking the mineral resources of Mexico or the Andes, the Spanish colonists quickly came to concentrate on agricultural resources for export, including cacao, cotton, indigo, tobacco, and cochineal dye, all of which were produced by the enforced wage labor of the Maya population. The end of Spanish colonial rule was the beginning of a succession of republican dictatorships that opened the doors to foreign development, forging new alliances with British, German, and North American interests. Their economic program stressed the promotion of exports—particularly agricultural exports.

By 1870, coffee was Guatemala's leading export. To meet the labor-intensive demands of coffee production, the state formalized and extended labor laws. As McCreery (1994) explained, coffee production did not invent forced wage labor in Guatemala, but “the onset of large-scale coffee production prompted the codification of coercive systems, increased the level and efficiency of these extractions, and generalized forced wage labor to regions of the country and parts of the indigenous population that previously had been little affected” (p. 218). Coffee also had an increasingly detrimental effect on land tenure. Coffee production, which required far larger tracts of land than previous export crops and favored the highland mountain climates of the indigenous population, had a tremendous impact on land ownership. By the mid 1920s, only 7.3% of the Guatemalan people owned Guatemalan land (Percy, 2006).

The history of coffee production in San Lucas Tolimán highlights these issues of land and labor. At the turn of the 20th century, San Lucas had a communal land tenure system; there were no land titles, but each family had publicly recognized rights over certain plots of land that could be passed on to heirs but could not be sold. It was during this period that indigenous farmers began to experiment with the production of coffee.

The sharp decrease in the corn supply and other subsistence crops provoked a major conflict between subsistence farmers and coffee growers. This conflict was eventually settled by the municipal government, which was still under the traditional control of *cofradía*, and which forbade the production of coffee on communal lands. The coffee growers looked for support outside the municipal government and returned with a lawyer and an engineer. A compromise was made: San Lucas was redesigned on the colonial grid pattern; titles to traditional family lands were drawn; and a section of the town's land was set aside for *milpa* (corn, beans, squash) agriculture only (Farrell, 1977).

By the mid 1970s, 10 *fincas* existed in the municipality of San Lucas. Like most *fincas* throughout the country, these were primarily owned by wealthy landowners and managed by an administrator in charge of directing the indigenous people who lived on the property and constituted the labor force. Many of these workers were from surrounding municipalities who came to San Lucas for work in the *fincas*. To this day, the economy of San Lucas depends of the exportation of coffee, and the land continues to be dominated by a handful of large coffee *fincas*, with smatterings of private and cooperatively held lands for coffee production as well as small parcels for subsistence agriculture.

The conflict between subsistence farming and coffee production in San Lucas Tolimán has been ongoing for nearly a century. IMAP's rejection of coffee production represents a conscious rejection of the legacy of oppression and dependence on a foreign market. IMAP's emphasis on the subsistence-production of native crops and other plants aims to improve ecological health and promote Maya cultural identity.

For the members of Asociación Ija'tz, however, conscious action regarding the legacy of coffee and other nontraditional agriculture in Guatemala does not lead them to the rejection of coffee but to define and control their own production. Ija'tz members explained that they are insulated from the worst effects of the foreign marketplace through the protections of Fair Trade and other economic and social opportunities provided through their cooperative system. The production of coffee allows them to live year-round on their land (and the communal land Ija'tz shares)—and not be forced to migrate to the coast to work in the fincas of industrialized agriculture or to the city to work in the maquiladoras (not to mention the United States). Ija'tz members take pride in their sustainable coffee production and the equipment they have purchased to depulp their own coffee. At the time I was there, they were also researching how to sidestep local coffee coyotes and become direct traders of their own coffee. The following section describes some of the cultural benefits of nontraditional agriculture.

Interconnection: Understanding the Connections Between Development, Culture, and the Global Marketplace

Table 7 summarizes the selected sources' descriptions of interconnection.

Table 7

Interconnection

Theorist	Description
Boff	Reclaim sacred in nature
Buber	Living is meeting
Fernandez	<i>To know</i> in the indigenous paradigm is be in relationship
Glendinning	Lack of connection results in trauma and addiction
Heber	Integrating indigenous knowledge with resource management
Metzner	Nature heals
Pilisuk	Sustainable vision and framework
Roszak	Recovering ecological unconscious
Surrey	Self-in-relation

In Broccoli and Desire: Global Connections and maya Struggles in Postwar

Guatemala, Fisher and Benson (2006) described the production of broccoli as an example of the increase of nontraditional agricultural production as a result of the globalization of the marketplace. Fisher and Benson showed how Maya farmers have turned to the production of nontraditional agriculture through a desire to improve their lives not only in economic terms but also along cultural and moral lines, including community organization and political mobilization, and values associated with family life. In spite of an often declining market price for broccoli, Maya farmers report that broccoli cultivation has improved their quality of life. Fisher and Benson believe this response is due to

farmers' desires to control their means of production and to stay home with their families to work their own land and to contribute and engage in community and political organizations, in addition to their desire to increase their income.

This perspective adds another piece to the discussion of cognitive understanding and awareness in its practical application in nontraditional agricultural development.

Fisher and Benson (2006) explained,

What Maya farmers have to say about globalization is often at odds with both utopian paradigms of neoliberal economics and celebratory models of resistance and solidarity. They acknowledge the power of global cultures and economies to erode traditions, create new opportunities, and make life more complicated or efficient. For them, the business of export agriculture remains compelling despite economic hardships because it is precisely at the level of everyday desiring that global processes are engaged, not at the purely cognitive level of rational economic decision making. (p. 8)

This example regarding nontraditional agriculture in Guatemala illuminates the lines of interconnection at multiple levels—the impersonal but important connection between consumers in the north and contract farmers in the south, the interdependence between farming community members who desire to remain engaged in civic responsibilities and local development, the high value farmers place on keeping their families together, and the deep connection between farmers and their land. While nontraditional agricultural production via contract farming offers the potential for increased income, it would appear that the ties to land, family, and community are deeper and stronger than the economic incentive of the global marketplace.

Humanistic Psychology, Interconnection, and Community Development

Humanistic psychology's focus on interconnection has by and large been devoted to the study of the mind/body system. If humanistic psychology seeks to address social

issues, the study of interconnection must expand to an examination of the social, political, and economic systems that affect our relationships as human beings. Ecopsychology seeks to uncover and restore the relationships between human beings and the natural world. Its practical applications range from approaches that aim to develop our personal relationships with nature to projects designed to repair damaged local ecosystems. What must be added to these approaches is the creation of a sustainable vision and framework for development that will guide and protect the relationships between humans and other living beings; our pursuit of individual happiness and personal fulfillment must be transformed to the pursuit of compassion (Pilisuk & Joy, 2001). Real living, Buber (1958) reminds us, is meeting.

The romantic regard for indigenous peoples' understandings of the interdependence between human and natural systems has done little to address our treatment of natural resources. As Heber (n.d.) has proposed, indigenous knowledge of human-nonhuman interdependence should be integrated into a value based framework for managing natural resources. Knowledge, after all, in the indigenous paradigm is not objective but subjective knowledge that maintains intimate communication with the land and other living creatures. *To know* is to nurture and to let oneself be nurtured (Fernandez, 1998). Humanistic psychology's emphasis on subjective experience should expand beyond phenomenological explorations of subjective experience to real-world applications of subjective knowledge towards the health and well-being of human and natural systems.

The Role of Self-Awareness in the Work of Community Development

Three aspects of self-awareness that figure prominently in the practice and efficacy of community development include assumptions about the nature of human beings, the ability to present oneself authentically, and realistic attitudes about personal and situational limitations. These aspects of self-awareness (or lack of self-awareness) correspond with personal and interpersonal effects that may potentially impact project work (Diaz-Laplante, 2007).

Table 8 highlights three different aspects of self-awareness as they inform the work of community development.

Table 8

Self-awareness and Community Development

Aspect of self-awareness	Effect	Potential impact on development
Duality of human nature: Capacity for violence, avarice & brutality as well as generosity, heroism, and hopefulness	Naïve optimism may lead to despair and cynicism; negative views of human nature disregard hope and capacity for transcendence	Mistrust of others; inability to work and communicate with others; misuse of resources; abandonment of project
Genuineness and authenticity	Honesty and openness about fears and concerns reveals our humanness	Bridges divides of culture and economic class; facilitates communication
Personal and situational limitations	Realism about the pace of change and the personal and structural barriers to be overcome	Fluidity to meet ever changing economic and political environments; maintaining open communication and acceptance of what is rather than what should be

Tony Vaux, a relief worker for Oxfam UK for nearly 30 years, supports Diaz-Laplante's argument for the necessity of self-awareness in the practice of development work. Vaux (2001) illustrated through case studies of his experience as an aid worker how lack of self-awareness impacts relief and development work at both the individual and organizational level. Vaux (2001) identified the principle of humanity to be "concern for the person in need"; what is required in responding to that need is a holistic understanding of the person, which includes his or her social, economic, and political context (p. 2). Vaux (2001) argued, "We need to pare away personal prejudice and preconception in order to reach a comprehensive understanding of 'the person in need'" (p. 5).

Many of these prejudices and preconceptions involve cultural and racial stereotypes. Vaux (2001) admitted that for him and many of his fellow aid workers, understanding and "connecting" with aid recipients was more likely to occur with Eastern European aid recipients than with African recipients. Vaux (2001) wrote,

The equation of white with power and black with suffering had created a barrier. It was a two-way process, involving Africans' perceptions as much as my own. We stereotyped each other and remained distant. As my African colleague observed, it was only when she saw a white person's vulnerability that she could react to him as a person rather than as a symbol. (p. 165)

A lack of awareness about our beliefs regarding the nature of human beings is an important issue that is little discussed among relief workers. Vaux (2001) warned, "If we protect ourselves by simply believing that all humans are 'good,' we cannot cope with what we then have to call 'evil' when we find it in ethnic cleansing and genocide" (p. 2). His experience working amidst the genocide in Rwanda confirmed his belief in the duality of human nature. Considering the ethnic, political, and economic issues brought

to bear, Vaux argues that the larger meaning to be made from the genocide should be to “feel a sense of tragedy for the human race, an awesome sense of what is inside ourselves” (p. 196). Vaux suggested that aid workers must have “an inner confidence which is proof against all shocks” and embrace our “ability to challenge and protest, to fight against the cycles of oppression and impoverishment” (p. 200).

As Gilbert (2005) pointed out, what is lacking from Vaux’s analysis is a discussion about how one can learn to develop self-awareness. Gilbert, a clinical psychologist, argued that the two most fundamental capacities of the self that could form the foundation of personal development for aid workers as (a) the capacity to listen actively and accurately to another person, and (b) the capacity for internal reflection on one’s own feelings without fear. Gilbert noted that these connected and seemingly simple practices are difficult because the listener must “distinguish between his or her own internal emotional reactions, motives, and vulnerabilities, and those of the person to whom they are listening,” and to be able to “reflect on her or his own internal processes with clarity and honesty” (p. 66).

In working with people from very different backgrounds and experiences, complex issues surrounding power, knowledge, culture, language, vulnerability, helplessness, and control may be activated. Active listening in the collection of oral testimony reverses the roles of expert and pupil.

Are we prepared to address our own vulnerability and fears when we become the pupil rather than the teacher? . . . Negatively judging and blaming the other person can sometimes seem an easier option than to acknowledge ignorance and fear within one’s self. (Gilbert, 2005, p. 67)

Developing self-awareness requires facing up to difficult and painful parts of the self. Experiential tasks facilitated in a nonthreatening atmosphere provide an opportunity

to examine potentially shameful feelings. Increasing one's capacity for engaged listening and internal reflection entails the development of what Gilbert (2005) called the *internal observer*. This detached observer listens to the many "voices" that represent various emotional wounds, vulnerabilities, motives, drives, pride, and so forth; once these are acknowledged, the internal observer can more effectively put these temporarily aside and more fully listen and attend to the person in need in his or her particular social and cultural context.

Gilbert (2005) concluded that the self-reflection should be the basis for action—we should be acting with care, not from a knee-jerk, emotionally reactive place but out of an awareness of what matters most in situations where hard decisions must be made.

Gilbert stated,

It is my view that the more an aid worker or manager has the courage to develop the capacity for internal reflection, to confront his/her own fears, and be aware of the often contradictory and emotionally painful parts of the self, the greater likelihood that those decisions can be based on the principle of humanity. (p. 68)

Humanistic Psychology, Self-Awareness, and Community Development

As Diaz-Laplante (2007) observed, many of Rogers' (1961) insights into intrapersonal awareness in the practice of counseling are equally relevant in the practice of community development in least developed countries. Humanistic psychology's philosophy and methodology for developing self-awareness and effective interpersonal communication may offer an important contribution to the work of development.

Training for development and relief workers should require psychological preparation to protect the worker; to facilitate communication; and, most of all, to provide the most attentive and effective manner of assistance to project participants or aid recipients.

Humanistic psychology's emphasis on the personal development of the psychological practitioner could be adapted to the practice of development work. Bearing social, economic, and political considerations, humanistic psychology's message of hope and framework for positive change make it well suited to inform the emancipatory goals of human development. As O'Hara (2009) has noted, human development is the expertise of humanistic psychology, and development policies and applications would benefit from humanistic theory versus psychodynamic or cognitive psychological theories.

Linking Inner and Outer Awareness and Healing: Narrative Methods

Figure 5 illustrates the scope of various narrative methods.

Figure 5. The impact of narrative methods.



Figure 5. Narrative methods, as represented by Josselson and Lieblich (2001), Brown and Gilligan (1992), Rappaport (1995), Ledwith (2005), Slim and Thompson (1995), and Montejo (2005), represent the potential impact of narrative methods, which range from a focus on phenomenological understanding to empowerment through the recovery of individual and community voices, to narrative methods that link individual and community healing with participatory action.

When they apply reflective insight to action, narrative methods serve as a method of conscientización. In Guatemala, the process of reflection involves the need to articulate and heal the trauma of brutal violence and stifling oppression. Narrative methods such as oral testimony, or *testimonio*, link the healing of sharing one's story and being heard to active, participatory measures that will bring perpetrators to justice. The following section highlights the role of testimony in Guatemala and two specific programs that utilize *testimonio*—Equipo de Estudios Comunitarios y Acción Psicosocial (ECAP) and Brinton Lykes' PhotoVoice project with Ixil Maya women in Chajul.

Guatemala: Testimony to La Violencia

The Commission for Historical Clarification (CEH) described the nature and brutality of the violence waged by the military against Mayan civilians:

The massacres, scorched earth operations, forced disappearances and executions of Mayan authorities, leaders, and spiritual guides, were not only an attempt to destroy the social base of the guerillas, but above all, to destroy the cultural values that ensured cohesion and collective action in Mayan communities. (Commission for Historical Clarification [CEH], 1999, Point 32)

In addition to the CEH document referenced above, *Guatemala: Never Again* (Human Rights Office of the Archdiocese of Guatemala [ODHAG], 1999) was based on

more than 5,000 testimonies of victims and witnesses of political violence. The study analyzed the collective impact of these many years of violence on the emotional climate and cohesion in Mayan communities, showing how the complete lack of institutional structures to protect victims and particularly state-sanctioned violence intensifies the impact of violence on the emotional climate and collective behavior (Lykes, Beristain, & Pérez-Armiñan, 2007). The group massacres and the public torture of victims in Mayan communities by the Guatemalan military were designed to rupture interpersonal relations, fracture communities, and instill a state of fear and terror.

The climate of fear and silence resonates through village communities to this day. Victims and perpetrators exist side-by-side. As a result of the civil patrols, a method of psychological warfare instituted by the military in which civilians were coerced into policing positions, neighbors and close family members are confronted every day with painful memories as both victims and transgressors. Fear of retaliation prohibits discussion of the past and the expression of past and present suffering.

Throughout Latin America, *testimonio*, urgent narrative accounts of political and social violence, has been an influential medium in bringing awareness of such injustices to international audiences. Nora Strejilevich in Argentina, María Teresa Tula in El Salvador, and particularly Rigoberta Menchú in Guatemala have shared their personal experiences of suffering and emancipation and have spoken out against oppressive forces, becoming international advocates for social justice.

The original Spanish title of Menchú's (1984) testimony, *My Name is Rigoberta Menchú and This is How My Consciousness Was Raised*, has been translated into twelve languages and has received numerous international awards (Abram, 1999). The

well-known English translation is entitled *I, Rigoberta Menchú, An Indian Woman in Guatemala*. In her testimony, Menchú described her childhood spent migrating to the coffee fincas on the Pacific coast with her family to work. As a teenager, she became influenced by the liberation theology movement within the Catholic Church, becoming active in a burgeoning women's movement and, later, in the newly formed Committee for Peasant Unity, the Comité de Unidad Campesina (CUC). Menchú's father and brother were also active members of the CUC; her father died in the famous fire at the Spanish Embassy in 1980, when the Guatemalan military locked CUC activists inside the building and set it on fire. Her brother was later tortured and killed. Within a few years, Menchú lost her parents, two brothers, her sister-in-law, and three nieces and nephews to military forces.

After the death of her family, Menchú became more involved with the CUC, organizing for workers' rights in the plantations of the Pacific coast where she had worked as a child. She also became active in educating the Maya in resistance to massive military oppression. In 1981, Menchú was forced to flee to Mexico, and then to Europe, where she told her story to Elisabeth Burgos-Debray, an anthropologist, who arranged the transcripts. Menchú's testimony brought immediate international attention to the Guatemalan military's clandestine operation and the plight of the Maya.

In 1992, Menchú received the Nobel Peace Prize for her work for social justice and human rights for the Maya. She has lobbied the United Nations to recognize the struggle of indigenous peoples facing discrimination, displacement, and genocide; has served as ambassador of UNESCO; and has created the Rigoberta Menchú Tum Foundation to assist indigenous refugees in their return to Guatemala. In 2004, under the

Berger Administration, Menchú served as Goodwill Ambassador to the Peace Accords. Through this appointment, she urged the Spanish court to examine cases of genocide, which has resulted in international warrants for several individuals involved in the abuses of the 1970s and 1980s, including General Ríos Montt.

Participatory Action Research: Oral Testimony and Community Narrative

A number of projects in Guatemala are healing the deep psychological wounds of war through therapies that engage the entire community, combined with civic and political action. These participatory interventions seek to help communities recover by sharing their experiences through oral testimony, creating the opportunity for victims to reclaim their voice and experience and contribute to the collective process of speaking out against impunity. As these examples will show, individual testimony is integrated with methods aimed at healing relationships between community members and reasserting cultural identity.

*Equipo de Estudios Comunitarios y Acción Psicosocial (ECAP)
(Community Studies and Psychosocial Action Team)*

ECAP began working with a few Achí Maya communities in Rabinal, Guatemala. Extending the individual testimony model to the community, ECAP created social spaces for communities to share their experiences, emotions, and conflicts. At times, the program concurred with truth commission exhumations of the mass graves; ECAP created support groups for widows, widowers, and orphans. The response to the pilot project was so great that by the end of the first year ECAP was working in 19 Achí communities in Rabinal, at the communities' request (Sanford, 2003). ECAP (n.d.) described the group focus of their treatment model:

In groups, members can express their feelings and what bothers them the most. In groups, they can reconstruct their history, express and listen, understand, share and receive/give support and affection. Their testimony, after a long process, is converted into a repairing device. In the case of torture victims, methods range from responsible listening to accompaniment [to trial] and social support. After a psychosocial diagnosis that establishes what the trauma is and the individual mechanisms to confront it, we work with victims individually, and within the family and community. Words are used by victims to construct their own histories and give them the strength to confront the anguish produced by a feeling of defenselessness. Overcoming the imposed silence through a testimony of what happened allows the victim to gradually register his/her history in an official way. Recognition of the facts returns dignity and self-esteem to the victim. (pp. 1-2)

An important aspect of ECAP's program is its training of participants in listening, communication, and conflict resolution and providing low-level literacy training publications and educational tools. By doing so, ECAP's goal is for communities to sustain collective healing practices and develop their capacity to work together toward common goals.

As touched on in its description of the program, ECAP assists participants in the official documentation of testimony, in filing legal proceedings, and in accompanying them to trial.

Between 1995 and 2003, ECAP assisted in the first series of criminal and civil trials in the country's history in which an indigenous community initiated criminal proceedings, and appeals resulted in the eventual condemnation of soldiers directly responsible for the massacre (but absolved their leader; Lykes et al., 2007). For their efforts in bringing perpetrators to justice, ECAP facilitators themselves have become victims of violence and intimidation (Human Rights First, 2006). However, through their assistance to indigenous communities, they continue to contribute to the slow process against impunity in Guatemala.

Voices and Images: Maya Ixil Women of Chajul

For nearly 30 years, M. Brinton Lykes, community psychologist and professor of community and social psychology at Boston College, has been working with highland Maya communities. Lykes has served as principal investigator in numerous participatory action research projects over the years. Lykes spent several years in the village of Chajul, during which time Lykes assisted a group of women in forming a women's organization and several education and economic development projects.

In the context of Guatemala's negotiations toward the Peace Accords between the Guatemalan military and the Unidad Revolucionaria Nacional Guatemalteca/Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity (URNG), Lykes served as facilitator and technical advisor to a participatory action research PhotoVoice project with 20 Maya women in Chajul, all direct victims and survivors of La Violencia. In this project sponsored by the Ignacio Martín-Baró Fund, the women interviewed one another, sharing their personal stories that often involved the murder of loved ones, and spoke of the collective experiences they had in their community—the public hanging of a village woman, the destruction of their communal and family fields, and the desecration of their sacred spaces. The iterative process of interview, narrative, and creating and analyzing photographs provided the opportunity to document the atrocities of the past, to grieve, to reclaim their voices, and to regain their sense of place and community. Through group role-play and reflection-action processes, the women examined their fears and challenges related to violence, gender, and social oppression that they continue to face. Lykes et al. (2007) explained,

For the women, these processes ultimately helped them to problem-solve ways to overcome the barriers that they faced in completing the task, as well as to

confront their losses and to develop the self-confidence and interpersonal skills necessary for taking up their new roles in their community. (p. 383)

This project culminated in a publication of their stories and photographs, *Voices and Images: The Maya Ixil Women of Chajul* (Asociación de la Mujer Maya Ixil Ak' saqb'eb'al & Lykes, 2000). Upon the completion of the project, the women coordinated a new educational program for the children of Chajul in addition to their ongoing participation in a number of local organizational and economic programs (Lykes et al., 1999).

*Humanistic Psychology, Understanding and Awareness,
and Community Development*

Maslow's theory of Being cognition bears little resemblance to the process of conscientización experienced by the participants of ECAP and the Chajul PhotoVoice project. Unlike peak experience—when a detached, objective view of reality is perceived without the clouding of subsistence, protection, relational, or esteem needs—the process of conscientización is driven by the need for emotional healing, reparations to esteem and trust, and mourning the dead. Conscientización seeks to overcome the internalization of oppression—not accept the evil and undesirable aspects of life as they way things are. In its active aspect, it is driven by the purpose to hold violators accountable for their actions and put the horrors of the past to rest so that lives may be rebuilt. Truth is not an objective reality but is born of subjective experience and constructing together as community members create new lives and livelihoods for their families (Fals Borda & Rahman, 1991).

May's existential theory of the threat to nonbeing and the integration and acceptance of anxiety does not speak to the Maya experience described here. In the years

of La Violencia—and continuing today with the increase in civil violence—the immediate and constant threat of harm and death to ones being puts the Maya experience on the extreme edge of the continuum of May’s theory. The goal of integrating of anxiety and accepting the threat of nonbeing does not consider the source of anxiety nor the severity of the threat. How can anxiety be utilized constructively without careful attention paid to or active measures taken to confront the source of anxiety producing violence?

Humanistic psychology’s emphasis on phenomenological understanding of individual subjective experience, while informing theory and the practice of counseling, does not have a direct impact on outward change. Narrative methods that link personal testimony to social action have the greatest potential for producing real change for the individual, the community, and greater society.

Responsibility

Table 9 highlights the selected sources’ descriptions of responsibility.

Table 9

Responsibility

Theorist	Description
Adler	Social interest cultivates well-being
Buber	Responding
Erikson	Generativity, maturity
May	Response-ability
Nelson and Prilleltensky	Professional accountability
Pilisuk	Accountable human institutions, collective responsibility
Sen	Social support increases, not limits, individual responsibility

Responsibility includes many aspects beyond personal accountability, including the ability to respond to others' needs (Buber, 1966, May, 1981); the responsibility to contribute to society (Adler, 1938/1998; Erikson, 1950/1993); and professional accountability to people who suffer from exploitation and marginality (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005). This expanded definition of responsibility also identified the need for accountable human institutions (Pilisuk, 2008) and clarified that social support does not limit personal responsibility but supports it (Sen, 1999).

Responsibility in Guatemala

Communities such as Ija'tz cannot thrive while living in fear. In the highlands of Guatemala, responsibility is limited by a culture of impunity. For Ija'tz and many other communities, the Guatemalan government's lack of accountability for the military's

abuses during La Violencia has created a vacuum of responsibility and fomented a lawless environment where perpetrators roam freely and victims and advocates who dare to speak out face intimidation, torture, and death.

The Guatemalan Commission for Historical Clarification (CEH), the truth commission which examined and reported the impact of the 36-year civil conflict in Guatemala, determined that more than 90% of the human rights violations and acts of violence during the conflict were attributable to actions by the state, with 85% attributable to the Guatemalan military (CEH, 1999). The Peace Accords of 1996 represent an official but primarily symbolic ending to such violence.¹ For the last 13 years, the Guatemalan Army, paramilitary groups, and organized crime have continued to act with impunity in a seemingly lawless environment. The rate of impunity in Guatemala is 98%; only 2 out of 100 cases ever go to trial (U.N. Department of Public Information, 2009).

For decades, Guatemalan civil organizations like the CUC, professional organizations such as ECAP, and a number of international human rights organizations have pressed for the incarceration of Ríos Montt and other members of the military and have been met with intimidation—many have even lost their lives. Even before the 1996 Peace Accords, these organizations have reported how the military groups that carried out Montt's program of genocide were transitioning into clandestine squads with criminal agendas that included kidnapping; extortion; and assassination of personal enemies, business rivals, and media and human rights advocates who reported their activities

¹ The accords consisted of a series of agreements dealing with human rights with particular attention to rights for indigenous peoples, the establishment of a truth commission, land tenure system, role of the armed forces, terms of a ceasefire, constitutional and electoral regime, and integration of guerrilla forces. (UNHCR, 2009)

(Washington Office on Latin America [WOLA], 2008). In 2007, after many years of pressure by these human rights groups, the Guatemalan Congress granted the United Nations the authority to investigate and assist in the persecution of current and past state-related abuses. Unfortunately, the International Commission Against Impunity in Guatemala, much like the U.N.-brokered Peace Accords, has thus far been largely ineffective in combating impunity (Council on Hemispheric Affairs [COHA], 2009).

In March 2009, Guatemalan President Alvaro Colom, as the first left-leaning president in Guatemala's history since Arbenz in the 1950s, is offering some hope with the establishment of a presidential anti-impunity committee, a panel to review and declassify military archives from the civil war, and an elite U.S.-trained antidrug force. As social justice advocates note, committees and panels within the government structure seem unlikely to be able to investigate themselves, and the establishment of an elite U.S.-trained paramilitary vehicle to combat narcotics trafficking could tempt history to repeat itself. The dilemma for Guatemala is that the military is now being confronted with a more powerful force than itself as drug cartels move southward from Mexico (COHA, 2009). The hope is that these government-appointed panels and projects will work in conjunction with the Comisión Internacional Contra la Impunidad en Guatemala/ International Commission Against Impunity in Guatemala (CICIG), the former providing action and the latter maintaining accountability and oversight.

The culture of impunity in Guatemala has fomented a lawless society where the homicide is at one of the highest per capita in the world. In 2008, there were 6,200 registered homicides, which translates to 17 deaths per day; only 382 individuals were detained on murder charges (Wilson, 2009). The worsening of homicide statistics in

recent years is attributed to the increase in drug-related activity. Drug enforcement analysts believe that traffickers perceive Guatemala as a safe haven for the narcotics trade.

Social justice organizations noted that leaders at the recent Summit of the Americas failed to discuss human rights issues (Amnesty International, 2009). Impunity was not discussed, yet drug enforcement was; the failure to acknowledge the link between lack of government accountability and its responsibility and inability to protect its citizens is a reflection of the current state of affairs in the United States, where the Obama Administration has failed to identify and charge its own human rights abusers.

Impunity in San Lucas

For obvious reasons, violence is a subject that Ija'tz members are hesitant to discuss. Because the time I spent with the community was limited to a number of weeks, I did not develop the trust required to delve into an inquiry of personal experiences of violence. According to popular media sources in Guatemala, these dramatic increases are linked to increased gang activity. During the weeks I spent in San Lucas, not a day passed without a newspaper displaying a photograph of a severed limb or a mutilated body. But the greater threat to Maya communities continues to be the activity of underground paramilitary groups that continue to this day—"social cleansing units" as they are called—that aim to eliminate the so-claimed undesirables of society. I had a brief discussion with one member of Ija'tz regarding the activity of Limpieza Sociale, the local social cleansing regime, who informed me that the undesirables targeted by the group include homeless street children, prostitutes, drug users, drug traffickers, brujas (witches), and other marginalized individuals. This member also explained that the local group of

Limpieza Sociale extorted money from many of the coffee cooperatives in the region (it was unclear whether Ija'tz was one of those cooperatives). The abuses of paramilitary groups such as Limpieza Sociale reinforce and perpetuate the climate of terror that originated in counter-insurgency tactics during the civil war. The photographs of mutilated and decapitated bodies are more likely the work of such groups, who utilize the media to convey their message (North American Congress on Latin America [NACLA], 2008).

Humanistic Psychology, Responsibility, and Community Development

In Guatemala, the culture of violence and impunity eclipses human rights—the substantive freedoms that make personal responsibility possible. To be of service to communities such as Ija'tz, humanistic psychology must expand its response-ability to address these needs and to work towards creating accountable human institutions. Humanistic psychology has an opportunity to contribute to the work of organizations, such as Amnesty International, who advocate for human rights. As individual practitioners, professional organizations, and research institutions, representatives of humanistic psychology must be clear about the field's political stance towards governments and institutions that deny such rights to their citizens.

In Latin America, the work of Ignacio Martín-Baró offers an example of psychological work melded with advocacy. Dedicating his life to human rights, equality, and social justice for the people of El Salvador, Martín-Baró was an outspoken critic of the Salvadoran ruling class and U.S. policy towards Central America. The psychologist and Jesuit priest was assassinated by the Salvadoran military in 1989. At the time, he was working towards creating an international network of individuals and organizations to

address human rights issues. The Martín-Baró Fund was created to carry on his work. The fund supports community-based projects that address individual and community healing and activism for social change in North, Central, and South America; Southeast Asia; Africa; the Middle East; the Caribbean; and the Philippines (The Ignacio Martín-Baró Fund, 2009).

In Guatemala, the Martín-Baró Fund has supported the Chajul community's PhotoVoice project (described in the previous section), facilitated by U.S. psychologist M. Brinton Lykes. The Asociación Centro de Educación y Formación Maya Ixil is a community association in Chajul initiated by the participants of the PhotoVoice project. Since 2004, the Martín-Baró Fund has helped support the participant-organized workshops for women and youth that focus on identifying and understanding the nature of Guatemala's armed conflict and the continuing violation of human rights toward the Maya people.

Ethic of Care

Table 10 summarizes the authors' descriptions of the ethic of care.

Table 10

Ethic of Care

Theorist	Description
Gilligan	Moral orientation grounded in relationships
Pilisuk	Central psychological aspect in the world view of interconnection; replaces ethic of marketplace
Slote	Provides a framework for social justice
Vasquez	Mutual nurturance in relationships among humans and between humans and the living world is the basis of wisdom

The ethic of care is grounded in human relationships. It is a moral orientation and framework that may guide our pursuit of social justice, bringing abstract and universal determinations of what is right and fair down to earth and measuring their utility and purpose from the empathic perspective of everyday human interactions. In the initial stage of Gilligan's (1982) stages of moral development, the goal is individual survival. The morality of the marketplace may reflect this individualism, with the end goal or "bottom line" being the most money to be made regardless of the related human or environmental cost. Gilligan (1982) found the maturity of moral development in the principle of care and nonviolence. The goal in this advanced stage is to find a balance between others' needs for well-being and one's own. In the following example, I argue that direct trade may represent an ethical alternative for the coffee industry, a model for human interaction grounded in an ethic of caring relationships.

Direct Trade

Direct trade represents a new model for ethical business relationships between roasters and producers in the coffee industry. A number of roasters in the United States purchase coffee directly from the producers themselves. While a comparison of fair trade and direct trade is beyond the scope of this section, the basic distinction is that direct trade pays growers at least 25% above the fair trade price and maintains the commitment to sustainable environmental and social practices but is not regulated through third-party certification. However, the hallmark of direct trade is the relationship between roaster and producer, a relationship built through a shared commitment to production practices that are economically and socially beneficial for the producers.

The economic argument for direct trade is to pay the coffee producer directly with money that would otherwise be paid to coffee collectors, transporters, and brokers. Paying 25% or more above the fair trade price to the producer may still be economically advantageous to the roaster versus the conventional market system. Intelligensia Coffee and Tea, a Chicago-based company that is one of the first roasters to exclusively sell directly traded coffee, markets its coffee as a superior product that can only be produced through a collaborative process with coffee producers. This collaborative process boils down to an investment in the communities that produce coffee. From an economic perspective, multiple visits each year to the communities and family farmers that grow and harvest the coffee Intelligensia buys and “invests” in may be viewed as a means to control production, but the time and creative energy shared in the process also builds relationships.

Qualitative research regarding coffee producers' perspectives of direct trade is needed to create a valuable discussion. How collaborative is the “collaborative” process that Intelligentsia describes? This is an area that demands future research. However, based on the descriptions of the direct-trade model presented by Intelligentsia and Sustainable Harvest, the direct trade model may represent a business model that is grounded in the ethics of human relationships.

Sustainable Harvest

Sustainable Harvest, based in Portland, Oregon, describes its trading practice as “the relationship coffee model” (Sustainable Harvest, 2008, ¶ 3). Its social entrepreneurial model aims to build direct linkages for several coffee-growing communities in Mexico, Latin America, and Africa. The majority of the company's operating income is invested in farmer development, such as its Kigoma, Tanzania, coffee promotion project, a 3-year project to teach farmers agroecological methods, infrastructure development, and more effective and sustainable technologies for coffee production. As part of this project, Sustainable Harvest planted 60,000 trees in the Kigoma district, which contributes to the health of the soil, the biodiversity of the region, and coffee quality (Sustainable Harvest, 2008).

In 2006, Sustainable Harvest was selected by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) to develop growing practices and direct-trade partnerships with the Karaba cooperative in Rwanda. A major component of the project involved creating a website and multimedia training materials about the cooperative. Through podcasts, development program leaders document the production process. Special emphasis is given to interviews with project participants about their experience.

Programs like Sustainable Harvest represent new models for businesses that combine for-profit structures with community development, a practice referred to as social entrepreneurship. More about social entrepreneurship and its capacity for development will be discussed in the concluding section.

Indigenous Economics

Economic development strategies among indigenous peoples in the developed world consider community- and nation-building as the foundation of sustainable economic and social development (Begay, 2007). The nation-building approach to development emphasizes the need for organized and effective self-governing structures that form a secure basis for development and promote respectful relationships between themselves and trading partners, grantors, and investors. Local leadership structures can help to maintain the long-term vision and goal of projects that are intended to benefit the whole community. Partnerships with foreign investors via Direct Trade may be most successful if the participating families and cooperatives are clear on their goals for development and have representatives that communicate those goals with potential trade partners.

Humanistic Psychology, Ethic of Care, and Community Development

Humanistic psychology came into being as an advocate for the ethical treatment and care of the individual in therapy and psychological research. Yet, self-determined theories of change and growth are easily pervaded by the ethic of the marketplace, where development is defined as growth and personal fulfillment is reached through consumption (Pilisuk, 2001b). Promoting the ethic of care on a social level requires a

worldview of interconnection between human beings, their institutions, and the living world and the application of humanistic principles to human interactions outside of the therapist's office. As the history of oppression and violence in Guatemala makes clear, the ethic of the marketplace has little regard for the well-being of humans and the natural world. Humanistic psychology can speak for the well-being of land-based peoples such as the Maya if it promotes the ethic of care in the relationships that presently operate by the ethic of the marketplace—the relationships between agricultural producers and consumers.

As Diaz-Laplante (2007) has argued, if the overarching goal of humanistic psychology is truly the betterment of the world (Cain, 2003; Campbell, 1984; Criswell, 2003), it must address the political and economic reality of all people. An interdisciplinary approach is required to link the psychological aspect of care with economic practices that deeply impact land-based peoples. The 2008 subprime mortgage crisis has been upheld as an example of the need for ethical business practices that will protect us against our own capacity for greed. The moral imperative of doing what is best for one's self and others is consistent with what we know about altruistic behavior and cooperation between humans and other primates—unselfish caring for one another (including other forms of life) has evolutionary survival value (Pilisuk, 2001b). Mutual nurturance, Vasquez (1998) told us, is wisdom.

Exploring Conceptual Links

Table A-1 (presented in the Appendix) illustrates the conceptual relationships between the eight thematic categories. These connections are briefly described here.

Fundamental Human Needs

Fundamental human needs include the freedom of *being*—the inner, subjective experience of freedom emphasized in May’s theory—as well as the outer, objective freedoms of *doing* and *having*. Working to expand these substantive freedoms is the work of development, the work of restoring health and well-being. Working together to fulfill these and other fundamental needs may lead to the actualization of all involved. Furthermore, actualization may occur as the result of individual and collective responses to disaster and turmoil. Growth, as May (1950, 1981) suggested, comes not with a careful and plodding process of needs satisfaction but through struggle and confrontation.

In our local communities and in communities unfamiliar to us, as citizens and change agents we must be aware of and empathic to others’ needs and understand the inherent connections that tie our individual needs to those of our local and global community. As global citizens we bear a collective responsibility for the needs and well-being of others. Unselfish caring has evolutionary survival value (Pilisuk, 2001b); caring behavior helps ensure that our needs and others’ needs will be met.

Freedom

Freedom, a fundamental human need, is both the end and means of development; the expansion of freedom is both the primary goal and the overarching process of development. This contrasts sharply with development perspectives that consider human rights and civic and political agency as secondary to economic development. Furthermore, as Sen (1999) showed, individual freedoms rely on the social support of public services to provide access to necessities such as healthcare and essential education. An understanding and awareness of different perspectives of what constitutes the goals

and paths to freedom is essential in the articulation of a humanistic framework for community development. The concern for human freedom is based on our capacity for caring; developing empathy for others with severely limited freedoms is requisite for social transformation (Krznaric, 2008).

Process of Change

Actualization can occur through the collective fulfillment of fundamental needs. The desire for transformative change is borne out of our own experience and our empathy with others' experiences of need and oppression. The process of transformative social change connects personal healing with outward participatory actions designed to redress systems of social, economic, and political oppression that are often the root of personal suffering. Engaging in social change—as a participant and change agent—also requires an awareness of self and an understanding of the dualistic nature of human beings. Response-ability means to hear and be responsive to another's call for help—it implies action. The ethic of care is part of the humanistic framework of change and development, one grounded in positive and empowering human relationships.

Empathy

Our human capacity for empathy allows us to emotionally connect with others whose social, cultural, political, and economic circumstances are very different from ours. Empathy with others' suffering is what motivates us to work for social transformation. As global citizens, social responsibility requires an empathic response to others' needs. Through *feeling* the life of another person—we are guided by an ethic of care that promotes caring and responsibility in human relationships.

Understanding and Awareness

Fundamental human needs are nonhierarchical. Freedom of *being*, *doing*, and *having* is both the end goal and the constitutive means of development. The transformative change process requires both an understanding of oppressive systems and awareness of self and the duality of human nature. Empathy, furthermore, requires an awareness of others' perspectives. The interconnection between human beings, their institutions, and the natural world informs the humanistic worldview; the attendant psychological action of this worldview is *to care* for each other.

Interconnection

Individual needs are tied to the needs of family and community. Economic freedom is not the starting point of the hierarchy of needs gratification but is connected to the fulfillment of other equally substantive needs. The process of change is a cycle of reflection (personal and collective healing, the recovery of identity, and the shedding of internalized oppression) and action (conscious, collective measures towards social change). Cognitive neuroscience suggests that as humans we are designed to have empathy for others' experiences; however, in working for social change, this capacity must be expanded towards peoples whose circumstances are distant from or unfamiliar to our own. The paradigm of interconnection compels human institutions (that are comprised of human beings) to be accountable for their actions and to be guided by an ethic of care.

Responsibility

We are responsible for the needs and well-being of others; the conservative perspective finds that each individual can and should be responsible for themselves. The image of the “self-made” individual is highly regarded; however, it fails to account for the social support the individual received along the way—for example, federal student loans for education, state-subsidized healthcare, or job training. The connection between responsibility and the process of change is that the act of responding implies action; empathy guides our response. To properly address the issue to which we are responding, what is required is an understanding of the systems of oppression in effect. We are accountable for our own actions as citizens, professionals, and members of human institutions. Grounded in our human relationships, our ethical system is based on caring for others versus abstract concepts of truth and justice.

Ethic of Care

Unselfish caring has evolutionary survival value because in caring for one another we are ensuring that our needs and others’ needs will be met; caring is the central psychological aspect in the paradigm of interconnection (Pilisuk, 2001b). It is possible that connection and caring give us the freedom to work together for our needs, as we are not preoccupied with individual pursuits and our behavior is not motivated by a fixed-sum view of economics (trying to get our piece of the pie). Care influences the process of change through focusing on the nature of all of our human relationships. Based on our capacity for empathy, the ethic of care can provide a framework for social justice—guided by empathy, our goals for social transformation are based on the lived experiences of human beings. Humanistic social theory emphasizes the healing social web or network

of care (Pilisuk & Parks, 1986), which is a view familiar to land-based peoples. However, in the discourse of development, the social network of support is mostly spoken of in terms of economic capacity or “social capital,” a term which has been used broadly. Humanistic theory could clarify this distinction and focus on the support and development of community networks of care and healing, and prevent against reducing the definition of social capital to relationships that are economically beneficial.

CHAPTER 6 DISCUSSION

Reflections on the Results

As indicated in the research proposal and presented in the literature review section, major emphasis was placed on the criticism of humanistic psychology's focus on individual development and well-being in theory and practice. Although the sources presented illustrate social, participatory, and interdependent views, there is not a specific emphasis on an alternative description of collective or communal development and well-being, particularly as they appear in land-based cultures. The incorporation of these theories, from anthropology and indigenous studies, would add a more complete discussion of the intersections of culture, health, economics, and politics.

Limitations of the Research

Related to the previous point, the greatest challenge and limitation to this research has been the literature selection process. The process began with the selection of work by various authors that represent a distinct contrast to the theory and practical approach of humanistic psychology as defined by Maslow, May, and Rogers. Clearly, starting with a broader set of humanistic theorists would have created a broader set of conceptual themes. Future research could examine the development of various humanistic themes over time in greater detail, for example, Adler's influence on Maslow, yet Maslow's diminished focus on the subject of social interest.

Additional theoretical perspectives on the relationships between the self, community, and society would have greatly benefited this research. Again, an analysis of literature of cultural anthropology in particular could be an important focus of future

research. An examination of indigenous conceptions of health and well-being—particularly that of the Maya—and their similarities and contrasts with humanistic theory would be a valuable subject for future research.

Reflections on the Research Process

Because of the close relationship between various conceptual themes, the initial challenge to this process was to determine how text samples and their identified themes should best be presented to the reader, or in which context various discussions of a particular text should take place for the sake of making and maintaining a coherent argument and limiting repetition.

At the outset of the analysis process, I had anticipated that all of the literature would be more equally represented in the themes generated. That was not the case. Specifically, the literature of global psychology, ecological psychology, and indigenous knowledge did not inform each of the eight themes because (a) some themes were not represented in the literature available to me, (b) the other themes generated did not inform the subject of social change, and/or (c) I was unable to procure sufficient literature for the analysis process.

Future Research and Applications

Three primary areas of future research and associated applications are noted here. First, theoretically and experientially based humanistic programs may be valuable in training development and relief workers. As noted, identifying underlying assumptions about the nature of human beings, becoming cognizant of personal sensitivities and

prejudices, and gaining skills in respectful and effective communication may greatly impact the outcome of development projects in a positive manner.

Second, Rogers' legacy of empathic training in counseling could become an important component of empathy education programs. Empathy education may be greatly enhanced by utilizing humanistic principles as a guiding framework rather than cognitive, developmental, or positive psychological models. Participatory research that encourages students to connect with community projects and to find creative ways to advocate for and act on behalf of project members could create a new method of empathy education.

Third, and illustrative of the application of humanistically oriented research to real community life, more research is needed to inquire about coffee producers' experiences of direct trade. Does direct trade promote meaningful community participation and emancipation? Organizational case studies of the relationships between roasters and producers would also be valuable.

The Potential of Social Entrepreneurship

The term *social entrepreneurship* has recently emerged to define the practice of applying entrepreneurial principles to create social change. While social entrepreneurship may occur within the nonprofit, private, or government sector, its practice is distinguished by viewing the problem and the solution not in terms of individual interventions but in terms of redirecting social systems. Journalist David Bornstein (1996) documented the history of Muhammad Yunus and the Grameen Bank, who pioneered the field of micro-finance. In his most recent work, Bornstein (2007) presented case studies of several social entrepreneurs around the globe who are addressing human needs for economic development, access to healthcare, legal advocacy and protection,

and ecological restoration. Although only nine individuals are represented in Bornstein's book, 100 people were interviewed over the course of 4 years. From these interviews, he highlighted a number of points about social entrepreneurship and its impact on the process of social change.

First, social entrepreneurship begins with an understanding and perspective from within the system. Many are education or health professionals who have been working within the public school or health systems and know from practical experience where these systems are failing students and patients. Their innovative ideas are applied to incorporate new methods and services. In the area of economic development, ideas focus on strategies such as access to capital (micro-finance) and improved market relations and market access (such as Fair and Direct Trade).

Second, project success depends upon participation. This includes a commitment to listening and the ability to adapt to feedback and the expressed needs of project participants. Project participants also take active roles as advocates and "barefoot" health professionals. In Bombay, social worker Jeroo Billimoria's Childline recruits street youth as advocates for other street children; Veronica Khosa trains young people in need of work to provide home care for AIDS patients in Gautang Province, South Africa, many of whom are HIV positive or have AIDS themselves.

Third, projects are interdisciplinary and link citizen, government, and business sectors for comprehensive solutions. To make books available to black South Africans, Beulah Thumbadoo commissioned new books by South African writers in 10 local languages, created a government adult literacy program, and worked with South Africa's Book Development Council.

The Future of Humanistic Psychology

In the language of nongovernmental and nonprofit organizations, capacity-building is defined as the ability of nonprofit organizations to fulfill their missions in an effective manner (McPhee & Bare, 2001). Aanstoos (2003), Richards (2003), and Criswell (2003) proposed that if humanistic psychology is to have an impact in the 21st century, it must align its mission and vision with the global issues of today—poverty, violence, ecological degeneration, and limited human rights. As Criswell (2003) noted, the mission of humanistic psychology is “nothing short of freedom and autonomy for all human beings” and for the field to have a “positive effect on global well-being” (p. 43).

To develop humanistic psychology’s ability to meet this mission and vision, educational programs must include curriculum that focuses on cultural, political, and economic issues and their impact on developing (and developed) countries. As Diaz-Laplante (2007) has noted, students should have a clear understanding of the life conditions that face many peoples throughout the world and how these conditions translate to various priorities and approaches to human health. What factors, for example, are inhibiting the empowerment, health, and well-being of land-based communities in highland Guatemala? In general, research may focus on the exploration of how humanistic values can directly inform community development in practice. For example, can we develop a framework for human development that focuses on the restoration of relationships and encourages equal participation among community members? In my own experience of development, projects aimed at ecological restoration often fail to acknowledge that human relationships are an integral component of a healthy ecological

system. How can humanistic theory enter into the discourse of sustainable ecological development? As O'Hara (2009) has suggested, humanistic organizations should become actively involved with advocacy and peace organizations, social movements, and policy-making. Literature contributions should not be limited to humanistic journals but be extended to these other areas. Finally, practice should be extended to participatory action research projects directly with communities. Narrative may be incorporated as a method of reclaiming identities and creating a vision for collective action.

The cultural, technological, economic, and political impacts of globalization (both negative and positive) have underscored the interconnected nature of human beings, our institutions, and our ecological systems. In seeking the actualization of communities around the globe, the interventions most needed are ideas and community-building projects aimed at systemic change. The capacity of humanistic psychology as a theoretical model and practical force for self-determined change can expand through the application of its principles in human development. Faced with the challenges of today, psychological knowledge that embodies hope, health, and empowerment should inform the practice of NGOs and the policy of lawmakers rather than disease and treatment models. Subjective human values, noted Sperry (1995), are the driving force of current events; humanistic psychology has the opportunity to promote positive human values and consciously work toward global solutions.

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Table A-1

Links Between Conceptual Themes

	FUNDAMEN- TAL HUMAN NEEDS	FREEDOM	PROCESS OF CHANGE	EMPATHY	UNDERSTAND- ING/AWARE- NESS	INTERCONNEC- TION	RESPONSIBI- LITY	ETHIC OF CARE
FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN NEEDS		Freedom of being, having, and doing are fundamental needs	Actualization can occur through the collective fulfillment of fundamental needs	Sensitivity to others' needs	Understanding fundamental needs are nonhierarchical	Individual needs are connected to community needs	We bear collective responsibility for the needs and well being of others	Unselfish caring has evolutionary survival value, helping us meet our needs together
FREEDOM	Freedom of being, having, and doing are basic needs		Freedom is the end and means of development	Developing empathy for others with limited substantive freedoms	Understanding multiple definitions of freedom and their expression in community development	Freedom for economic development is tied to substantive freedoms (fundamental human rights)	Individual freedoms are dependent upon social responsibilities	Concern for human freedom based on ethic of care
PROCESS OF CHANGE		Freedom is the end and means of development		Experiencing empathy with others motivates us to work together for social change	Change process requires awareness of self and systems of oppression	Individual healing and change is linked to conscious collective action	Response-ability implies action	The ethic of care provides a framework and approach to changing the nature of human relationships
EMPATHY	Sensitivity to others' needs	Developing empathy for others with limited substantive freedoms	Experiencing empathy with others motivates us to work together for social change		Empathy requires both self-awareness and awareness of others' perspectives	Our human capacity for empathy allows us to emotionally connect to people who are unfamiliar or far away from us	Social responsibility requires an empathic response to others	Based on our capacity for empathy, the ethic of care can provide a framework for social justice
UNDERSTAND- ING/AWARENESS	Understanding fundamental needs are nonhierarchical	Understanding multiple definitions of freedom and their expression in community development	Change process requires awareness of self and systems of oppression	Empathy requires both self-awareness and awareness of others' perspectives		Understanding the paradigm of interconnection between human beings, their institutions, and the natural world informs social change	Responding requires an awareness of others' needs	Awareness that caring relationships are healing and support change

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Table A-1 (cont'd)

	FUNDAMEN- TAL HUMAN NEEDS	FREEDOM	PROCESS OF CHANGE	EMPATHY	UNDERSTAND- ING/AWARE- NESS	INTERCONNEC- TION	RESPONSIBI- LITY	ETHIC OF CARE
INTERCONNEC- TION	Individual needs are connected to community needs	Freedom for economic development is tied to substantive freedoms (fundamental human rights)	Individual healing and change is linked to conscious collective action	Our human capacity for empathy allows us to emotionally connect to people who are unfamiliar or far away from us	Understanding the paradigm of interconnection between human beings, their institutions, and the natural world informs social change		Interconnection compels personal and institutional accountability	Caring is the central psychological aspect of the paradigm of interconnection
RESPONSI- BILITY	We bear collective responsibility for the needs and well being of others	Individual freedoms are dependent upon social responsibilities	Response-ability implies action	Social responsibility requires an empathic response to others	Responding requires an awareness of others' needs	Interconnection compels personal and institutional accountability		Caring motivation to be responsible for others' well being
ETHIC OF CARE	Unselfish caring has evolutionary survival value, helping us meet our needs together	Concern for human freedom based on ethic of care	The ethic of care provides a framework and approach to changing the nature of human relationships	Based on our capacity for empathy, the ethic of care can provide a framework for social justice	Awareness that caring relationships are healing and support change	Caring is the central psychological aspect of the paradigm of interconnec-tion	Caring motivation to be responsible for others' well being	