Lawrence R. Alschuler

The Psychopolitics of Liberation

Political Consciousness from a Jungian Perspective

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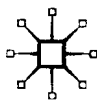macmillan

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To: "Traditions for Tomorrow," a Geneva-based international network of nonprofit associations that accompanies the efforts of indigenous peoples in Latin America seeking to safeguard their cultural identity. Its work is in harmony with the conclusions of this book.

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Foreword

Lawrence Alschuler has achieved what had been thought to be virtually impossible. From an academic base as a political scientist, he has understood, digested, and then applied ideas from depth psychology to the "treatment" of pressing social and political issues of our time. He has done this in a way that I—and, no doubt, other analysts—find to be without violence to the concepts that underpin our daily clinical work. He "gets it," and then some. In fact, I would go so far as to say that Jung in Alschuler's hands is a Jung that the contemporary academy would be happier to engage with than is presently the case. And analysts such as myself can learn from some of the reworkings of central ideas of analytical psychology as found in this book.

Then, as one who has intensively studied Jungian psychology in Zurich, he has paid attention to the pitfalls of taking a psychological tack with respect to political issues. Mainly, these include a tendency to Olympian judgments and a sort of psychological triumphalism in which all problematics are reduced to their psychology.

So, almost alone, Alschuler has established in the concrete form of a book something that, for most of us who work the psychology-politics field, has been a goal, and perhaps even an ideal fiction. The two-way street between politics and depth psychology that I felt almost impossible to achieve when I wrote *The Political Psyche* in 1993 is here before my eyes. The hybrid language I was struggling to write is here beyond its pidgin phase.

What follows is by no means written in collusion with the author who may balk at the way I have read his text. Nevertheless, it is surely the job of the one who writes a Foreword to whet the appetite by showing the impact the work has had on him and not let his piece degenerate into a testimonial.

I want to underscore the way Alschuler proceeds when he makes his moves from oppressed consciousness to liberated consciousness. He is clearly interested in the obstacles that prevent the flowering of the liberated state. That is

to say, he regards liberated consciousness as what one might call the default potential. This is what humanity aspires to and is capable of achieving. But then it all goes wrong and the potential stays a potential. This is, in a way, a clinical approach to the matter because, in analysis, what the analyst does is to work with all the negative and destructive stuff that prevents a flowering of the patient's potentials. It is assumed that everyone has a potential to individuate, meaning to be in felt harmony with oneself, and, as we have learned to point out, in a good-enough relation to society. It is also assumed by Jungian analysts that the unconscious is not only the source of conflicts and destructive tendencies—it is also, as Jung argued *contra* Freud, the place where those positive and benevolent movements of the soul are first encountered.

All this leaves Alschuler in a fascinating place. His task is to understand how the social conditions of oppression so damage the creative potential of the unconscious for liberation that the latter never comes on stream. In this respect he is in a very similar place, though using different language and concepts, to those psychoanalysts who seek to understand the operations of the normative social unconscious—what a subject (a person) takes in from inhabiting a particular social order with its particular sets of social relations.

Of course, here we are up against distortions of Jung that would leave out his recognition of the importance of the personal unconscious alongside the better-known idea he developed of the collective unconscious. These days, I think many analysts regard the hard and fast distinction between personal and collective unconscious as rather old-fashioned—how could there be one without the other? But, for the most part, what is collective is regarded as the psychological analogue of *things biological*, as mental representations of the drives and of the body generally. Alschuler encourages us to see that the collective unconscious may also be regarded as the psychological analogue of things *social*, as the place where certain kinds of cultural experience find their crystallized resting place.

Alschuler makes an explicit comparison between his work and the approaches taken by liberation theology. I think this is apt but we can learn a thing or two from the history of liberation theology that will be relevant to the psychopolitics of liberation. We can take it as a given that the powerful will not appreciate such projects, but there is more to say. There is a necessary stretching of the original animal (theology, psychology) to embrace the goal of liberation. How far can these entities stretch? How much hybridization can they take before something essential is lost? At what point does the radical priest cease to be a priest and become a politician? At what point does the radical analyst cease to be an analyst and become an activist? And who decides?

Anyone familiar with debates about politically motivated art and literature will be aware of what is at stake here. In the arts, we hope to find undoubted

genius or at least talent and certainly some aesthetic appeal alongside the political commitments. If we don't then we will relegate the work to the category of agitational propaganda and not art. Many approaches to Bertolt Brecht stress his lyricism alongside his politics, so he can safely be regarded as an artist. When it comes to Augusto Boal, sometimes the general verdict tips the other way. But, as I say, you have to check out the desire of the critic who may well want to drive a certain kind of artist from the canon, just as the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church drove out Leonardo Boff.

So far, I have acknowledged Alschuler's extraordinary achievement in opening the crucial two-way street between depth psychology and politics, suggested that his is a clinical model without claiming to be so, appreciated the reworking of what we might understand by collective, and worried away at the category definitions that surround what he is trying to do. In the remainder of the Foreword, I want to look in a bit more detail at his method and suggest a meaning to the project that may not have been in the mind of its creator.

In his analysis of the testimonies and stories of the four indigenous activists whose material forms a central section of the book, Alschuler is using what psychoanalysis calls the "case history" method. We can learn things that will apply to others in the same situation by examining how certain ideas illuminate the material of one particular person. It is how Freud, in particular promoted psychoanalysis and there are many today who will claim that, viewed generously, this is indeed a scientific methodology.

If this naming of the method as case history is correct, then one can make sense of the brilliant and innovative transitions throughout the book from the work done on the narratives of the four exemplars to a series of public policy proposals. These proposals, in themselves, are highly innovative in that they deploy language (such as "ancestral soul") not exactly familiar in the corridors of power. I hope Alschuler has done enough to make his diet palatable to administrators and politicians. I have my doubts about this and would just want to interpolate that, before mocking such language and the perspectives it brings with it, today's administrators and politicians should ask themselves whether they have done all that well with all the power and resources at their proposal to create a decent and just world. Their mockery begs our question . . . .

This swipe at contemporary politicians sets the scene for my concluding observation. I want to draw a parallel between Jung's engagement with the East and Alschuler's work on these four individuals. What seems like a study of the Other turns out to be a secret and codified study of the self. Alschuler has unwittingly diagnosed something of the greatest importance about Western polities from his deep connection to Third World and indigenous

issues. For the problem with multicultural postmodern (or late modern) societies is that they lack the energetic authenticity to feed the soul needs of their citizens, even (and, I think, often) those who belong to majority communities. Please note that I am not talking about how the majority benefits from a vibrant array of minority ethnic groups. I am referring to something that extends the insight of Fanon: the soul of the colonialist gets damaged, albeit in different ways, just as the soul of the colonial subject gets damaged. In today's Western-style societies, all the injustices that flourish with respect to the Others in their midst perform a terrible distorting violence on the souls of the powerful majority as well. Alschuler's book is all about this particular tension of opposites. As such, it has a very wide range of healing potentials within it.

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Essex. Author of *The Political Psyche* and
Politics on the Couch: Citizenship and the Internal Life.

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Thanks go to the publishers of earlier versions of three chapters for permission to use them in this book: (chapter 1) *The Cambridge Companion to Jung*, chapter 14, Copyright 1997 by the Cambridge University Press; (chapter 2) the *Journal of Humanistic Psychology* 32, no. 2 (1992), Copyright 1992 by Sage Publications, Inc.; (chapter 3) revised from "Oppression, Liberation, and Narcissism: A Jungian Psychopolitical Analysis of the Ideas of Albert Memmi," originally published in Alternatives: *Social Transformation and Humane Governance* 21, no. 4 (October–December 1996), Copyright 1996 by Lynne Rienner Publishers (used with permission).

To the Faculty of Social Sciences at the University of Ottawa, Canada, I am thankful for supporting the research for this book by approving my many sabbatical research leaves and study leaves to attend the C. G. Jung Institute of Zurich, Switzerland. I am grateful to the C. G. Jung Institute of Zurich, where I studied during the 1980s.

Finally, I thank my wife, Freda, for her loving patience and support throughout.

Introduction

What Questions Are Addressed to Oppression and Liberation?

After studying the political economy of the Third World for many years in order to understand development and revolution, two groups of questions persisted and became the instigation for this book.[1]

1. *On Oppression: Why Is Oppression so Stable? Why Do the Oppressed Not Revolt More Often?*   In answer to these questions, political studies of revolution identify certain causes, such as the domination of elites over the masses, the ineffectiveness of revolutionary leadership, the influence of transnational actors, and the lack of appealing ideologies of change.[2] These explanations, in emphasizing objective sociopolitical conditions, tend to neglect the depth-psychological conditions of the oppressed. My research probes the psychological conditions and provides answers in terms of "oppressed consciousness."[3]

2. *On Liberation: Why Do Some Oppressed People, Rather than Others, Succeed in Liberating Themselves? Why Do Some Oppressed People Become Leaders of Liberation Struggles?*   Political studies of revolution often search for answers in the biographies of revolutionary leaders and the ideologies they espouse. Once more, the usual explanations tend to neglect the depth-psychological conditions of the oppressed, something that my research emphasizes and analyzes in terms of "liberated consciousness."

In attempting to answer these questions on oppression and liberation, psychopolitical analysis may benefit *political scientists* studying the dilemmas of ethnic conflict, *Jungians* searching for an application of depth psychology to social issues, *politicians* seeking a basis for policies to promote social justice, and *activists* committed to advancing human rights.

What Is Psychopolitical Analysis?

In a special number of the *International Political Science Review* on psychopolitics, Marvick introduces psychopolitical analysis as an approach in political science that applies depth-psychological insights to understand how political actors interact with each other in specific institutional contexts to make political decisions.[4] This approach relies on personality theories in the study of political leaders. I also use the term, psychopolitical analysis, to mean the application of depth-psychological insights, but to persons in popular political culture, who may or may not be leaders. Furthermore, I seek to understand political consciousness, rather than political decisions.

What Is the Psychopolitics of Liberation?

The psychopolitics of liberation applies depth-psychological insights in order to understand the political consciousness of the oppressed and the conditions, which either promote or inhibit its development, whether in advanced or emerging nations. Oppression refers to unjust relationships between people in a society: exploitation, discrimination, repression, and denial of human rights. Liberation, in contrast, refers to just relationships: self-reliance, nondiscrimination, self-government, and respect for human rights.

A comparison of the "psychopolitics of liberation" with the theology and psychology of liberation further refines its meaning. Liberation and oppression have a meaning common to all three.

The Theology of Liberation

The theology of liberation refers to the theory and practice of theology, under conditions of oppression, and for the benefit of the poor. In the 1960s, a new movement within the clergy of the Latin American Catholic Church reformulated its theology in solidarity with the oppressed. Its "preferential option for the poor" contrasted with the traditional role of the Church, as legitimator and ally of dominant social classes.

As Practice. The practice of liberation theology in Christian Base Communities aims to raise the religious and political consciousness of the poor. This is where "grass-roots groups of working class or peasant Catholics who, armed with bibles, both reinterpreted Christian faith to link it with progressive politics and embraced an ethic of social action."[5] Biblical stories are discussed as lessons for the liberation struggles of the oppressed.

As Theory. The theology of liberation understands the root causes of oppression in terms of the theory of dependence. This theory explains underdevelopment and oppression in Latin America as by-products of the capitalist development of the advanced countries. The religious content of liberation theology redefines "sin" as the ultimate cause of oppression (exploitation, discrimination, repression, and denial of human rights). It is a sin not to love God and thy neighbor. Equally important is the redefinition of "salvation" as violence by the oppressed in order to regain their self-reliance and create a socialist society where Christian love and brotherhood are possible.[6]

The Psychology of Liberation

The psychology of liberation is the practice of psychology under the conditions of state repression.[7] Martín-Baró was among the first to propose an appropriate role for psychologists to play during the civil wars in Central America.[8] Hollander extends the ideas of Martín-Baró to examine the practice of psychology under conditions of state repression in the Southern Cone countries of Latin America during the 1970s and 1980s.[9] Hollander's views below refine the meaning of liberation psychology.[10]

As Practice. Psychotherapy in the context of state repression, in the "culture of fear," cannot be politically neutral. Rather, the psychology of liberation is psychotherapy that engages mental health professionals politically
1. to be "at the service of those engaged in the radical transformation of society," and
2. to free patients, who are victims of state repression, from "the terrors of dictatorship and social violence."[11]

As Theory. Theorizing about state repression is committed to the well-being of the victims.[12] Liberation psychology studies the psychology of political repression
1. to understand the psychological tools used by authoritarian states to gain domination over their citizens,
2. to understand the psychological defenses of citizens as they adapt to the rules of repression,
3. to understand the "psychological factors that contribute to the human capacity to struggle against political oppression and to sustain hope in the possibility of fighting on behalf of peace and social justice,"[13] and
4. to answer key questions: What is the human capacity to inflict and endure violence? Can victims of violence rebuild loving relationships? Why have revolutionary movements against oppressive regimes so often failed? Why have past revolutionary leadership and strategies been problematic?[14]

The Psychopolitics of Liberation

I coined this term to mean psychopolitical analysis at the service of the oppressed.

As Practice. This analysis may take the form of designing
1. programs to raise the political consciousness of the oppressed,[15]
2. public policies that create the social conditions favorable to healing the psychic wounds of oppression, and
3. direct action strategies to confront oppression.

As Theory. The theory explains the transformation of oppressed consciousness, according to the perspective of psychopolitics.

Though no particular theories or thinkers are necessarily linked to the psychopolitics of liberation, my approach relies on the ideas of Jungian psychology, Albert Memmi, and Paulo Freire.

The theory also guides the study of the struggle for control over the political consciousness of the oppressed:

1. The political consciousness of the oppressors and the means by which they dominate the political consciousness of the oppressed.
2. The political consciousness of the oppressed and the means by which they assure the authenticity of their political consciousness.
3. The psychopolitical analysis of oppression and liberation. My chief questions on *oppression* are: Why is oppression so stable? Why do the oppressed not revolt more often? On *liberation:* Why do some oppressed people, rather than others, succeed in liberating themselves? Why do some oppressed people become leaders of liberation struggles? On *political consciousness:* What promotes or inhibits the development of political consciousness? What promotes the healing of the psychic wounds of oppression?

Who are Memmi, Freire, and Jung?

The psychopolitical analysis in this book draws on the ideas of three humanists: Albert Memmi and Paulo Freire on political consciousness, and C. G. Jung on depth psychology. A summary of their best-known contributions serves to introduce them.

Albert Memmi (born 1920) is a Tunisian sociologist and novelist, teaching at the University of Paris. Being both Jewish and Berber, he drew upon his

own bicultural experience under colonial rule to discern the psychology of the oppressed. His analysis, found in *The Colonizer and the Colonized* (1957), correctly predicted the end of colonialism.

Paulo Freire (1921–1997) was a Brazilian educator teaching worldwide during fifteen years of political exile before returning home. Growing up in the northeast of Brazil and sensitive to its poverty, he devised educational programs to promote the literacy and political consciousness of the oppressed. His best-known book, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, was published in 1969.

C. G. Jung (1875–1961) was a Swiss psychiatrist and the founder of analytical psychology. His clinical practice and analysis of his own unconscious enabled him to create pioneering theories of the psyche and methods of psychotherapy. His work, linking religion, mythology, anthropology, dreams, art, and politics, is introduced to the general public in a book he edited, *Man and His Symbols* (1964).

What Is Special About This Book?

The Interdisciplinary Training of the Author

As a political scientist, I have specialized on the political economy and the political thought of the Third World, the latter including the works of Fanon, Gandhi, Freire, and Memmi. In midcareer my fascination with Jungian psychology led me to spend four years in the program to train analysts at the C. G. Jung Institute of Zurich. My new knowledge of depth psychology came to fruition as I discovered linkages to politics that I have been exploring during the last sixteen years.

The Psychopolitical Analysis of Oppression and Liberation

This book presents a new application of psychopolitical analysis, namely to the study of oppression and liberation, rather than elite decision-making.

The Application of Jungian Psychology to the Study of Political Consciousness

This is the first book to integrate the ideas of Jungian psychology with those of Freire and Memmi, and to apply them to the study of political consciousness in oppressive societies.[16]

The Comparative Analysis of the Political Consciousness of the Oppressed in Ethnically Divided Societies

This study innovates by making a comparative analysis of the personal testimonies of four Native people, in Canada and Guatemala. The comparisons lead to general conclusions about the development of political consciousness, psychopolitical healing, and the relationship of their intrapsychic conflict to interethnic conflict, in these two societies.

How Is the Book Organized?

The book was written in the same order as the chapters are numbered, except that chapter 1 came after chapter 2, and the Introduction was written last. The book chronicles a series of discoveries. In part I, each chapter introduces a newly discovered linkage between an aspect of political consciousness and a concept of Jungian psychology, as the chapter titles suggest. After completing chapters 1–3, I began the first case study, expecting to find evidence of "oppressed consciousness." Failing in this, I had to describe what I had found, by devising a new concept, "liberated consciousness," which became the topic of a new chapter 4. Only then could I pursue the case studies.

In part I, "Theories of Political Consciousness," each chapter links an aspect of political consciousness to a concept in Jungian psychology. The linkages between the paired concepts elaborate the depth-psychological significance of political consciousness. Chapters 1–4 offer alternative formulations of the relationship between the political and psychological development of the person.

Chapter 1, "Conscientization and Individuation," initiates the reader to Jungian psychopolitical analysis by comparing the political and psychological development of the person, represented, respectively, by Freire's stages of conscientization and the Jungian stages of individuation.

Chapter 2, "Humanization and Complexes," describes the transition from dehumanization to humanization, according to Freire, that entails the confrontation of inferiority and dependence complexes in the oppressed.

Chapter 3, "Decolonization and Narcissism," explains the transition from colonized to revolutionary consciousness, according to Memmi, that springs from the impasse in the precarious relationship between the narcissistic grandiosity of the colonizer and narcissistic depression of the colonized.

Chapter 4, "Liberated Consciousness and the Tension of Opposites," reveals how oppressed consciousness mirrors oppression in society, and how they are interrelated. Next, it explains how liberated consciousness emerges among those who endure the tension of opposites, where the opposites are

contrary self-images (of inferiority and superiority, dependence and paternalism) conveyed by ethnic groups in conflict. This chapter integrates the ideas of Memmi, Freire, and Jungian psychology, presented in the previous chapters, and serves as the basis for the case studies in part II.

Part II, "Cases of Liberated Consciousness," applies the theories of political consciousness from part I to the analysis of personal testimonies of four oppressed persons.

Chapter 5, "The Study of Political Consciousness in Ethnically Divided Societies," introduces the case studies of four Native people, living under conditions of oppression, in Guatemala and British Columbia, Canada. The twin aims of the case studies are to learn, from their personal testimonies, about both their liberated consciousness and psychopolitical healing. This chapter presents the rationale for the use of personal testimonies as data, for the selection and comparison of cases, and for the generalization of findings.

Chapter 6, "Atanasio," analyzes the personal testimony of a Quiché Maya man in Guatemala. Source: Catherine Vigor, ed. *Atanasio: Parole d'Indien du Guatemala*. Paris: L'Harmattan, 1993.

Chapter 7, "James Sewid," examines the personal testimony of a Kwakiutl man in Canada. Source: James P. Spradley, ed. *Guests Never Leave Hungry: The Autobiography of James Sewid, a Kwakiutl Indian*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1969.

Chapter 8, "Lee Maracle," analyzes the personal testimony of a Coastal Salish and Métis woman in Canada. Sources: Lee Maracle, *Bobbi Lee, Indian Rebel*. Toronto: Women's Press, 1990; Lee Maracle, *I Am Woman: A Native Perspective on Sociology and Feminism*. Vancouver: Press Gang Publishers, 1996.

Chapter 9, "Rigoberta Menchú," studies the personal testimony of a Quiché Maya woman in Guatemala. Sources: Elisabeth Burgos-Debray, ed. *I, Rigoberta Menchú: An Indian Woman in Guatemala*. London: Verso, 1984; Rigoberta Menchú, *Crossing Borders*. London: Verso, 1998.

Chapter 10, "Psychopolitical Healing," synthesizes the findings, from the four case studies, on the attainment of liberated consciousness and the healing of the psychological wounds of oppression, both within the context of the individuation process. After proposing several public policies to promote the psychopolitical healing of Native people, the chapter offers some concluding thoughts on the psychopolitics of liberation.

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PART I

Theories of Political Consciousness

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CHAPTER 1

Conscientization and Individuation

J ung sometimes refers to the relationship between the ego and the unconscious as a *power struggle*.[1] In this struggle, when an unconscious complex *takes over* the ego, there is "possession."[2] When the ego *takes over* from the unconscious certain attributes that belong to the Self, there is "inflation."[3] Jung compared the progressive transformation of this power struggle in the individuation process to a sequence of political regimes. He calls the initial unconscious unity of the psyche a "tyranny of the unconscious." He compares the situation in which the ego is predominant to "a tyrannical one-party system." And he explains that when the ego and the unconscious "negotiate" on the basis of "equal rights," the relationship resembles a "parliamentary democracy."[4]

This apt political metaphor for the individuation process points to a larger issue, the contribution of Jungian psychology to the study of politics. This chapter explores two topics, first, the relationship between "the political development and the psychological development of the person,"[5] and second, the prospects for Jungian psychopolitical analysis. The writings on the first topic fall into two categories. The first revolves around Jung's own political thought, including several of Jung's writings that deal directly with politics: *Essays on Contemporary Events, The Undiscovered Self*. Among the outstanding analyses of Jung's *political thought* are those by Odajnyk, D'Lugin, and Samuels.[6] The second category of scholarship applies Jung's *psychological theories* to the study of politics. Applications include those by Jungian analysts: Mindell, Gambini, Samuels, Singer and Kimbles, Stevens, Bernstein, and Stewart;[7] and by political scientists: Steiner and Alschuler.[8]

The present chapter belongs to the second category and focuses on the relationship between the psychological and the political development of the person. Relying on theories of the psyche by Jung and the post-Jungians, the chapter first describes the individuation process: the *psychological* development of the person. Following is a comparison of this process to what the Brazilian educator, Paulo Freire, defined as the process of "conscientization," an excellent formulation of the *political* development of the person. To anticipate the conclusion from this comparison, there are solid grounds for believing that individuation supports, though does not determine, conscientization.

A Critique of Jung's Political Thought

This chapter belongs to the second category of scholarship rather than the first because, as a political scientist, I am troubled by Jung's political thought. Here, in brief, are three reasons for my discomfort, based on Jung's last major writing on politics, *The Undiscovered Self.*

The Overstatement of the Psychological Causes of Political Phenomena[9]

According to Jung, political problems have mainly psychological causes and solutions.[10] Referring to the cold war, Jung states that the splitting of opposites in the psyche caused the division of the world into the opposing mass movements of the East and the West.[11] As for the solution to these same problems, Jung states that the individual's spontaneous religious experience will keep the individual "from dissolving into the crowd."[12] Healing the split in the human psyche comes from the withdrawal of shadow projections.[13] In recognizing our shadow we become immune to "moral and mental infection" that account for mass movements and the world political division.[14]

The Overemphasis on the Reality of the Psyche (Inner) and the Deemphasis on the Reality of Politics (Outer)

Jung views political conflicts as mainly the outer manifestation of psychic conflicts.[15] He states that the only carrier of life is the individual personality and that society and the state are ideas that can claim reality only as conglomerations of individuals.[16]

Pathologizing Politics

Jung considers political mass movements to result from the pathological split between the conscious and the unconscious. He asserts that when human

beings lose contact with their instinctual nature, consciousness and the unconscious must come into conflict. This split becomes pathological when consciousness is unable to suppress the instinctual side. He explains: "The accumulation of individuals who have got into this critical state starts off a mass movement purporting to be the champion of the suppressed."[17]

What I find troubling about these three points is that throughout his political analyses Jung focuses on the role of the individual, either the individual in mass movements or the individual political leader. He seems unable to grasp the ways in which the political system operates both in generating and managing social conflicts. Further, it is troubling to find Jung categorizing mass political movements as pathological when these also include the American, French, and Russian revolutions, not to mention those movements that ended the Soviet empire. There is a one-sidedness in Jung's political thought, emphasizing the pathological more than the normal, and stressing on the individual more than the systemic political behavior. A more holistic application of Jungian psychology to the study of politics would transcend these opposites.

The Psychological Development of the Person: Individuation

The aim in this section is to describe individuation, according to Jungian psychology, in order to discern the parallels with the political development of the person (in the following section). To begin, individuation includes the expansion of ego consciousness, almost in the quantitative sense of "increments of consciousness." In asking "consciousness of what?" we encounter qualitative differences between three stages of individuation. Self-awareness marks the second stage while awareness of powers in the psyche greater than oneself marks the third.

My description of individuation adopts a usual Jungian view that there are three stages.[18] The first is "the emergence of ego consciousness" from the unconscious unity of the psyche, followed by the stage of "the alienation of the ego." The third, "the relativization of the ego," moves toward conscious wholeness.[19] Many potentially useful analogies and images can elucidate these stages. Jung, himself, often likens individuation to the stages in the alchemical transformation of base metals into the "uncommon gold." Jacobi compares individuation to a recurring "night sea journey" of the soul.[20] Whitmont refers to the image of a "labyrinthine spiral" with the Self at the center and the ego revolving around it, ascending through recurring phases in the direction of wholeness.[21]

A particular image, very suitable for our purposes, incorporates many elements in the analogies used by others. This is the image of a diamond

(figure. 1.1) in which individuation proceeds from left to right, from the initial point of "unconscious unity" through "ego alienation" in the middle, toward the point, "conscious wholeness." The upper line traces the path of consciousness while the lower line traces the path of the unconscious. The varying vertical distance between the lines represents the relationship between consciousness and the unconscious, the ego-Self axis.

It is as if Neumann had this diamond image in mind when he described individuation:

> We speak of an ego-self axis because the processes occurring between the systems of consciousness and the unconscious and their corresponding centers seem to show that the two systems and their centers, the ego and the self, move toward and away from each other. The filiation of the ego means the establishment of the ego-self axis and a "distancing" of the ego from the self that reaches its high point in the first half of life, when the systems divide and the ego is apparently autonomous. In the individuation of the second part of life the movement is reversed and the ego comes closer to the self again. But aside from this reversal due to age, the ego-self axis is normally in flux; every change in consciousness is at the same time a change in the ego-self axis.[22]

In the diamond image two vertical dotted lines separate the individuation process into three stages. Certain events that mark the qualitative differences between stages can be located with reference to the diamond image. The pattern for the first half of life may not be universal since a number of women Jungians consider this to be more typical of male psychological development.

Two key concepts already mentioned require clarification. The Self may be understood *both* as the archetypal urge to integrate the conscious and unconscious parts of the psyche *and* the archetypal image of the integrated
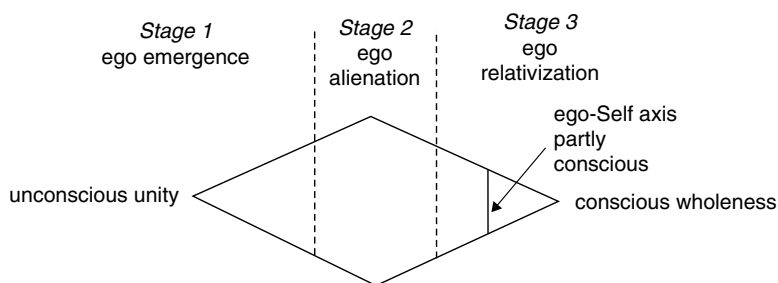

Figure 1.1   The Diamond: stages of individuation.

personality. The ego-Self axis is Neumann's term for describing the two-way communication between the ego and the Self that is essential for personality integration. A succession of one's prayers alternating with one's dreams exemplifies this two-way communication.

Stage One: The Emergence of Ego Consciousness

The ego begins to emerge from the matrix of the unconscious during infancy. An urge to individuation establishes an initial tension of opposites: between the primary unity (identity) of ego with the Self, and the separation of ego from the Self. An infant's sense of omnipotence (primary inflation) stems from this ego-Self identity. The lack of differentiation, between inner and outer, results in a magical rapport with persons and objects, a "knowing" what they feel and think. Jung likens this latter experience to *participation mystique*, what most psychoanalysts now call projective identification.[23] The gradual dissolution of the original ego-Self identity produces increments of consciousness.[24] The ego complex begins to form, involving a sense of "continuity of body and mind in relation to space, time and causality" and a sense of unity by means of memory and rationality.[25] As the ego emerges from the unconscious it becomes the center of personal identity and personal choices.

The emergence of ego consciousness necessarily involves a polarization of opposites as the ego makes choices between what is good and bad in reference to the value system of society, as mediated by the parents. Edinger summarizes this:

> Duality, dissociation and repression have been born in the human psyche simultaneously with the birth of consciousness . . . The innate and necessary stages of psychic development require a polarization of the opposites, conscious vs. unconscious, spirit vs. nature.[26]

In more clinical terms, dissociation is a normal unconscious process of splitting the psyche into complexes, each personified and carrying an image and an emotion. Splitting occurs because the image and emotion are incompatible with habitual attitudes of consciousness. Jung believes that feeling-toned complexes are "living units of the unconscious psyche" that give the psyche its structure.[27] The ego shapes its identity by aligning itself with what is compatible with habitual attitudes, and by splitting off and repressing that which is incompatible.[28]

Sandner and Beebe also describe the role of complexes within the overall process of individuation. The nucleus of every complex is connected to the Self, the center of the collective unconscious. The Self produces complexes,

splits them off, and reintegrates them in a new way. In doing so the Self guides individuation away from an original state of unconscious unity toward a state of conscious wholeness.[29]

Stage Two: The Alienation of the Ego

The task in the first half of life is to consolidate one's ego identity and to construct a persona as an adaptation to the external standards of society, the workplace, and the family. According to Whitmont, innate dispositions that do not correspond to society's standards split off from the ego's image of itself and form the shadow. In this way, ego, persona, and shadow develop in step with each other under the influence of societal and parental values.[30] This splitting and formation of unconscious complexes, as noted earlier, are necessary aspects of individuation. In the second stage of individuation this splitting reaches its limit, as shown in the "diamond" image, where the vertical distance separating ego consciousness from the unconscious is greatest. One-sidedness of the personality, so often mentioned by Jung, refers to this extreme separation and takes its toll in the midlife crisis that may be experienced as meaninglessness, despair, emptiness, and a lack of purpose. This stems from the ego's alienation (disconnection) from the Self (the unconscious). As Edinger tells us, the connection between the ego and the Self is essential for psychic health, giving the ego foundation, security, energy, meaning, and purpose.[31] For Edinger, problems of alienation between ego and parental figures, between ego and shadow, and between ego and animus (or anima) are forms of alienation between ego and Self.[32]

The ego generally endures its alienation in cycles of inflation and depression, producing increments of consciousness. In the inflated phase, the ego experiences power, responsibility, high self-esteem, and superiority, all of which enable the maturing ego to carry out the tasks of the first half of life. In the depressive phase, the ego experiences guilt, low self-esteem, and inferiority, all of which counterbalance inflation and prepare the ego for a greater awareness of the Self.[33]

Stage Three: The Relativization of the Ego

The qualitative change marking the third stage of individuation is a partial consciousness of the ego-Self axis. This change has been prepared in the stage of ego alienation where inflation and depression alternate in cycles.[34] The diamond diagram shows the reconnection of the ego to the Self in the reduced distance between the top and bottom lines. The solid vertical line represents the partially conscious ego-Self axis.

In this stage of individuation the ego integrates many unconscious complexes and acquires a "religious attitude." These experiences will be described in turn. The emerging ego in the first stage begins its awareness of the opposites and makes its choices in accordance with social values in order to form an acceptable self-image. Unacceptable aspects of the personality are repressed, falling into the unconscious and forming the complexes. In the stage of alienation the ego separates even further from the unconscious through dissociation, resulting in the continued growth of complexes and the ego's one-sidedness. Activated complexes are met through projection and, of course, in dreams.[35] While the first two stages involve the formation of complexes and the multiplication of projections, in the third stage the ego's main task is the withdrawal of projections through the integration of complexes.[36] In Perry's words:

> Only when one's self-image has developed to a sufficient degree can one be in a position to perceive other people's selves as they actually are. If one is not in this happier state, one is inclined to experience people through the veil of one's own imagery, in positive and negative emotional projections.[37]

The growth of consciousness, through the withdrawal of projections, removes this "veil" and permits genuine human relationships.[38]

The second qualitative change characterizing this stage of individuation is the development of a "religious attitude," so called because of a realization that there is an autonomous inner directive power superior to the ego, namely, the Self.[39] The ego experiences itself as the center of consciousness, but no longer as the center of the entire personality (conscious and unconscious). The ego's new awareness of its subordination to the Self constitutes its "relativization." The ego-Self axis, which was unconscious before, sometimes even disconnected, now is reconnected and partially conscious. When this occurs suddenly as a breakthrough following a period of depression, it may feel like a religious experience.[40] To conclude, individuation is the movement of the psyche from the initial condition of unconscious unity toward the goal of conscious wholeness.

The Political Development of the Person: Conscientization

This section presents an example of the "political development of the person," a concept offered by Samuels,[41] and compares it to the "psychological development of person," just described as the individuation process.[42] One should keep in mind the question: does the psychological development of the person contribute to the political development of the person?

An excellent formulation of "the political development of the person," in my view, is Paulo Freire's concept of "conscientization."[43] This Brazilian educator formulated his theories out of the adult literacy programs he directed in South America, North America, and Africa since the 1960s. Through these programs Freire sought to further the humanization of oppressed peoples by raising their political consciousness.[44] The goal of humanization is in many ways compatible with that of wholeness in the individuation process. Now we should ask, "raising political consciousness of what?" Given the poverty, violent repression, economic exploitation, and social injustice of oppressed peoples, the task is to raise their consciousness of the problems of oppression. Conscientization progresses through three stages, each characterized by the way in which a person (1) *names* the problems, (2) *reflects* on the causes of the problems, and (3) *acts* to resolve the problems of oppression.[45]

Stage One: Magical Consciousness

Freire calls this stage "magical" because people feel powerless before an awful reality and an awe-inspiring powerful, irresistible force that changes or maintains things according to its will. A person with magical consciousness will *name* problems in terms of physical survival, including poor health and poverty, or will simply deny that these conditions constitute "problems" since they are seen as normal facts of existence. When one *reflects* on the causes of these problems, one attributes responsibility to factors beyond one's control: supernatural powers such as fate, God, or political authority . . . or simplistically, to natural conditions (e.g., one is poor because the land is poor). Since the causes are uncontrollable, one considers it futile to *act* on such problems, hence one's resignation to "fate" while waiting for "luck" to change.

Comparison. When comparing "magical consciousness" to the "stage of ego emergence," we should remember that conscientization is an adult process. In adults, nevertheless, there are vestiges from earlier stages of individuation. The residual ego-Self identity[46] blurs the distinction between inner and outer, between willing and causation. The ego-Self identity also produces archetypal projections onto people and events, endowing them with a numinous quality. The autonomous and emotional nature of these projections evokes fear and fatalism,[47] for spontaneously they overwhelm the ego independently of its will. Authority figures, including political and religious leaders, as carriers of these projections will have an aura of supernatural power.

Stage Two: Naive Consciousness

In contrast with the conforming nature of magical consciousness, naive consciousness is reforming. At this stage people readily *name* problems, but only in terms of "problem" individuals. Individual oppressors are named because they deviate from the social norms and rules to which they are expected to adhere. A lawyer may cheat a client or a boss may fail to provide medical assistance for sick employees, for example. Alternatively, the "problem" individuals named may be the oppressed themselves, who fail to live up to the oppressor's expectations. They may believe that they do not work as hard as the norm requires or that they are not smart enough to perform well. At this stage one has at best a fragmented understanding of the causes. One is unable to understand the actions of individual oppressors and the problems of oppressed persons as consequences of the *normal* functioning of an oppressive and unjust social system. Thus, when one *reflects* on the causes of problems, one tends to blame oneself in accordance with the oppressor's ideology that one has internalized as one's own. Or, if one names as a problem an individual oppressor's violation of a norm, one will understand the oppressor's evil or selfish intentions as the causes. *Acting* at this stage corresponds to the manner of naming. Those who blame themselves for not living up to the oppressor's expectations will reform themselves and attempt to become more like the oppressor (e.g., imitate the oppressor's manner of dress, speech, and work). Having internalized the ideology of those who oppress, containing beliefs in one's own inferiority and the benevolence of the oppressors, one may view one's own peers pejoratively as inferiors, leading to "horizontal aggression" against them. Or, if one has identified individual oppressors as the problem, one will seek to restrain or remove them and to restore the rules to their normal functioning.

Comparison. In the individuation process, at the "stage of ego alienation," no power appears greater than one's willpower. Those who identify with this willpower experience psychological inflation, enabling them to undertake the tasks of the first half of life. At the "naive stage" of conscientization problems appear to derive from the will of individuals, since one is unable to understand the "system" of oppression. When oppressed people blame an oppressor's ill will for a problem, they assert their own willpower to oppose the oppressor. The oppressed construct a persona that corresponds to the value standards in the ideology of those who oppress. This ideology deems as "good" all that resembles the oppressor and as "bad" all the inherent traits of the oppressed people. Also at the naive stage are the oppressed people who, in accordance with the oppressors' ideology that they have internalized, view themselves as inferior and hold themselves responsible

for their problems. This corresponds to the depressive phase of the cycle, alternating with inflation, at the stage of ego alienation. Individual willpower is essential, yet unavailable to the depressive who experiences guilt and inferiority.

Stage Three: Critical Consciousness

At this stage individuals understand the workings of the sociopolitical system, enabling them to see instances of oppression as the *normal* functioning of an unjust and oppressive system. Individuals *name* as problems the failure of their self-affirmation (collective), sometimes expressed in terms of their ethnic or gender identity. They tend to view these as community problems rather than as personal problems. In addition, individuals may *name* the sociopolitical system as the problem. "They see specific rules, events, relationships, and procedures as merely examples of systemic institutionalized injustice."[48] When *reflecting* on the causes, oppressed people understand how they collude to make the unjust system work (by believing the oppressors' ideology and by aggressing other oppressed people, for example). Becoming demystified, they reject the oppressors' ideology and develop a more realistic view of themselves, their peers, and the oppressors. While recognizing weaknesses in themselves and their peers, they abandon self-pity in favor of empathy, solidarity, and collective (ethnic) self-esteem. All the while recognizing evil in individual oppressors, they understand that the problem involves a history of vested interests and political power.[49]

At the critical stage, *acting* takes two forms: self-actualization and transformation of the system. Collaboration, cooperation, and collective self-reliance replace aggression against one's peers (other oppressed people). Personal and collective (ethnic) identity fill the void left by the oppressors' ideology that has been rejected. Collective actions to transform the sociopolitical system replace isolated actions against individual oppressors. These actions aim at creating a society where truly human relationships are possible. In summary, conscientization describes the movement of political consciousness from dehumanization to humanization while the objective conditions of oppression, derived from the sociopolitical system, are gradually eliminated; a goal never fully attained.

Comparison. The "relativization of the ego" in the third stage of individuation, as we have seen, means that the ego becomes aware of its subordination to the Self, the center of the entire psyche, while retaining its place as the center of consciousness. This change of attitude is so basic that it is often

compared to a religious conversion. Similarly, at the critical stage of conscientization, the oppressed become aware of the roles they play within a sociopolitical system that serves the interests of those who oppress. This sudden political awakening comes for some oppressed people as "revolutionary consciousness." The Self and the political system occupy analogous places in two processes of personal development: psychological and political. In these processes both the ego and the oppressed person are able to exert some influence on this superior power. At the critical stage, however, this influence is far more extensive, capable of making the system less oppressive, guided by rules and institutions that reduce injustice and exploitation.

In both processes, the major transformations just described depend on a prior "demystification" of the ego. The alienated ego lives in a one-sided world largely experienced through the veil of one's emotional projections.[50] The initial task in the third stage of individuation is the withdrawal of projections, especially the integration of the shadow. Similarly, in the stage of critical consciousness, oppressed people become aware of the oppressors' ideology through which the oppressed have internalized their own inferiority (low self-worth and powerlessness) and the superiority (prestige and power) of the oppressors. As long as this ideological mystification prevails, critical consciousness cannot emerge, for the oppressed person will lack the self-esteem and trust necessary for collective political action. And, as long as the ego remains one-sided and mystified, it will not acquire the ego-strength required to "negotiate" with the Self on the basis of "equal rights."[51]

From this extended comparison I conclude that individuation supports conscientization in a movement toward their respective goals, wholeness and humanization. Despite the striking parallels, neither process can be reduced to the other. Although both processes involve empowerment in the intrapsychic and the interpersonal worlds, they differ in emphasis. Conscientization stresses the empowerment of the oppressed in relation to society in the interpersonal world, with support from the intrapsychic world. Individuation, in contrast, emphasizes the empowerment of the ego in relation to the Self in the intrapsychic world, with consequences for the interpersonal world. More precisely, Samuels summarizes Jung:

> The self is supreme, but it is the function and fate of ego-consciousness perpetually to challenge that supremacy. And what is more the self needs the ego to make that challenge. The ego must try to dominate the psyche and the self must try to make the ego give up that attempt.[52]

The Prospects for Jungian Psychopolitical Analysis

This chapter compares individuation to conscientization as it explores the relationship between the psychological and political development of the person. Chapters 2 and 3 offer alternative formulations of this relationship, culminating in a synthesis in chapter 4. Jung was a pioneer in the field of psychopolitical analysis, the interaction of the inner world of the psyche, including the unconscious, and the outer world of politics. My analysis shows ways in which Jungian (not only Jung's) *psychological* theories may be applied fruitfully to the study of politics. While writing this conclusion, I reflected further on the reasons why I have been uneasy with Jung's *political* thought and asked myself at what stage of conscientization would Jung be located. Then the reasons for my uneasiness became apparent: Jung's political thought would locate him at the stage of "naive consciousness." In all his political essays Jung focuses on the role of the individual, either the individual in mass movements or the individual political leader. This is characteristic of "naive consciousness." Jung *names* as political problems charismatic leaders who impose dictatorships, *reflects* on the causes as their psychological disturbances, and *acts* in verbal opposition to these leaders. When Jung turns to individuals, he *names* the problem as their vulnerability to psychic infection and their submersion in a mass movement. Jung *reflects* on the causes as one-sidedness and the loss of individualism, and *acts* by promoting a religious attitude in individuals as a protection against psychic infection. In other words, as is typical of the stage of naive consciousness, Jung emphasizes the individual, either the oppressor or the oppressed.

Jung insists that patients in psychoanalysis can progress no further than analysts have in their psychological development.[53] Applying this same idea to political analysis, I contend that students of politics will progress no further than political analysts have in their political development. Considering Jung as a *political* analyst, he reached only the stage of "naive consciousness." In view of Jung's limitations, in my Jungian psychopolitical analysis I have turned away from Jung's own political thought and toward the rich resources of Jungian psychological theory. In each of the next three chapters I shall apply a different psychological theory to the study of political consciousness, as announced by the chapter titles.

CHAPTER 2

Humanization and Complexes

The momentous changes in Eastern Europe, as well as the fall of long-standing dictatorships in the Third World, draw our attention to the processes of oppression and liberation. Do we fully understand how oppression is sustained? Does the relief from dictatorship signify a genuine end to oppression—that is, liberation? The Berlin Wall came down, as did the dictators, transforming objective political conditions. But did the subjective political conditions, oppressed consciousness, change automatically? Is oppression as much a matter of outer political constraints as inner psychological constraints? Are there "inner Berlin Walls" and "inner dictators" that have not yet fallen? How can one understand what is taking place in these countries and anticipate the obstacles to their liberation that lie ahead? A world authority on the problems of oppression and liberation, Paulo Freire, has, in a prophetic way, addressed the issue of oppression in postrevolutionary society. In reference to what I have called the "inner dictator," Freire states:

> Even the revolutions that replace one concrete situation of oppression by a situation in which liberation begins must face the expression of oppressed consciousness. Many oppressed persons who have taken part directly or indirectly in the revolution and are influenced by old myths of the former society, seek to make a private triumph of the revolution. Within them remains, in a manner of speaking, the shadow of the former oppressor who serves as their model of "humanity."[1]

The "inner Berlin Wall" corresponds to a division in oppressed consciousness. Freire, who calls this phenomenon the "duality of the oppressed . . . considered as double beings, contradictory, and divided," notes that it is found in ". . . the oppressed who 'house' the oppressor in the form of a shadow that

they 'project' in two parts: they are both themselves and the other."[2] Much of Freire's "pedagogy of the oppressed" is oriented toward expelling the internalized oppressor and reuniting the divisions within oppressed consciousness in order to produce the "new man."

The task of this chapter is not to describe that pedagogy, an "education for critical consciousness"; rather, it is to understand oppression and liberation as psychopolitical processes.[3] Just as in the approach of Memmi, Freire also acknowledges that forms of violence, injustice, and exploitation sustain the (outer) "situation of oppression." Following in Memmi's footsteps, Freire concentrates his analysis on the (inner) psychodynamics of oppression in terms of attitudes, ideologies, myths, mind-sets, and consciousness. He examines how oppressed consciousness is created, maintained, and, ultimately, how it may be transformed through his pedagogy of the oppressed into critical consciousness. This transformation signals the genuine inner liberation that must accompany outer liberation: the fall of dictators and oppressive regimes.

A unifying theme that I detected in Freire's work on oppression and liberation is "paternalism and dependence." This is a pair of complementary opposites, each an attitude that mutually reinforces the other.[4] Much of what Freire has to say about oppressor and oppressed consciousness can be subsumed under the paternalistic attitude of the oppressor and the dependent attitude of the oppressed. The transformation of consciousness is hindered by the multitude of subtle ways in which these two complementary attitudes reinforce each other. Jungian psychology provides fertile ground for the growth of Freire's insights. The seminal idea is the correspondence between the pair of attitudes—paternalism and dependence—and a pair of unconscious complexes. Political processes are not being reduced to psychological ones here, for Freire has already identified certain psychological aspects of oppression and liberation. Rather, it is hoped that an elaboration of Freire's ideas from a Jungian perspective will enhance our understanding of those aspects. The scope of this chapter will be limited to salient ideas found in Freire's most important book, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, and to the Jungian theory of complexes. The chapter focuses on what it means for the oppressed to be caught in, and freed from the paternalism and dependence complexes.

Oppression

Duality and Dissociation

The fundamental dilemma of the oppressed is the duality of their existence. Freire writes:

> Suffering from a duality that is implanted "inside" of their being, they discover that, not being free, they cannot become authentic beings—what

they want to be but at the same time fear being. They are themselves and at the same time they are the other, projected upon them as oppressed consciousness. Their struggle becomes a dilemma between being themselves or being divided.[5]

The consciousness of the oppressed can be described with reference to its structure and its contents. Its *structure* is dual, divided, and contradictory. Its *contents* consist of two parts: their "authentic being" (as they really are, or their potential) and the oppressor who "inhabits" them. As long as this inner oppressor predominates and remains undetected, oppressed people are unable to develop their "own consciousness," that is, their authentic being.[6]

The inner oppressor conveys three images: that of respectively the oppressed, the oppressor, and the oppressive society. The image of the oppressed is negative as Freire indicates: "Self-depreciation is another characteristic of the oppressed. This results from their introjecting the oppressor's judgment of them." The image of the oppressor is positive and serves the oppressed as their "model of humanity." The image of the oppressive society is "just" and "good."[7]

Freire repeatedly refers to the oppressed as "inauthentic beings," because the inner oppressor conveys false images of the oppressed, the oppressor, and the oppressive society. These false images, "myths" as termed by Freire, "nourish" oppressed consciousness and generate several "attitudes." It is apparent in Freire's thought that the most important of these attitudes may be subsumed under the general attitude of "dependence." In complementary fashion, the "myths" in the dual consciousness of the oppressor may be first grouped into attitudes that, in turn, may be subsumed under the general attitude of "paternalism."[8] The dependence of the oppressed interacts with the paternalism of the oppressor in a mutually reinforcing way. Because this complementarity is fundamental to our understanding of oppression, we will examine these myths and attitudes more closely.

The myths about the oppressive society are more or less shared by both oppressors and oppressed. Freire lists the principal myths about Latin America's oppressive societies. Each is

a free society in which human rights are respected . . . ; a liberal society in which anyone can become the head of a corporation with effort . . . ; an egalitarian society where everyone has access to education and everyone is some kind of entrepreneur . . . ; a society where private property is the foundation of personal human development.[9]

The myths about the oppressed and about the oppressor for the most part form complementary pairs of opposites. That is, a particular myth about the

oppressed implies the opposite about the oppressor and vice versa. Next, these pairs of myths are presented and grouped under the attitudes that they "nourish." One such attitude has to do with the oppressed's inferiority versus the oppressor's superiority: "the myth of the oppressed's ontological inferiority . . . ; the myth of the oppressor's superiority."[10]

> And, since nothing exists without its opposite, to the extent that the invaded [oppressed] consider themselves to be "inferior," they necessarily admit to the "superiority" of the invaders [oppressors]. The values of the invaders become the rules of the invaded. The greater the invasion, alienating both the culture and the people, the more the people want to resemble the invaders: adopt their ways, dress like them, and speak like them.[11]

The linkage between the one's inferiority and the other's superiority stands out in these remarks by Freire. For the oppressor, "To be, for them, is to have and to be part of a class that owns." For the oppressed, "To be is to resemble the oppressor."[12]

It is natural for the oppressed to wish to imitate the oppressor who represents their "model of humanity."[13] The oppressed, according to the various myths, is the negation of this model. "The oppressor is generous. . . . The oppressed lacks gratitude. . . . The oppressor is hard working and the oppressed is lazy. . . . The oppressor is knowledgeable and the oppressed is ignorant."[14]

A second such attitude has to do with the oppressed's "fear of freedom" versus the oppressor's courageous civilizing mission. The oppressed fear taking the responsibility for their own lives. They "are afraid to be," as cited in the opening statement by Freire in this section.[15] Their freedom from the oppressor, their autonomy, signifies making their own decisions. Although the oppressed lack self-confidence and confidence in their peers, they show confidence in the oppressor. They yield their power of decision to the oppressor and follow his dictates.[16] Their lack of self-confidence translates into an admiration for the "invulnerability" of the oppressor.[17] Whereas the oppressed's attitude of inferiority (illustrated above) leads toward *imitating the oppressor* as the model of superiority, the oppressed's fear of freedom leads toward *seeking the oppressor's protection*.

> If, in his desire to own, *to be* for the oppressor is *to have* at any cost, usually to the detriment of those who have nothing, on the contrary, in accordance with the experience of the oppressed, *to be* is no longer *to resemble* the oppressor, but to live *under* him.[18] . . . The oppressor protects the masses. The oppressed seek protection.[19]

The fear of freedom is linked in the extreme to fatalism or, at the least, to mere passivity.[20] Thus Freire describes the oppressed as "spectators" and the oppressors as "actors."[21] The fatalism of the oppressed is part of a myth about God. According to this "deformed" view of God, the oppressed "find in their suffering—a consequence of exploitation—the expression of God's will, as if he were the artisan of this 'organized disorder.' "[22] The oppressors are able to foster the related myth that any revolt against society would be to disobey the will of God. This myth naturally ties in with the one that sees the oppressor's class as the heroic "guardians of the order that incarnates 'Christian Western civilization.' "[23] Hence, the sacred and political orders are closely associated in these myths, with the oppressor class as "guardians" of the sacred order on a mission to "save" the oppressed.

The two attitude pairs and the myths that they subsume may be summarized as the paternalism of the oppressor and the dependence of the oppressed. Although Freire does not use these as summary concepts, they occupy an important place in his description of oppressor and oppressed consciousness.[24] Paternalism and dependence, as a complementary pair of attitudes, include the two attitude components already described: superiority versus inferiority and courageous civilizing mission versus fear of freedom. The superiors establish the norms and create the model of what is good, and the inferiors adapt to those norms and imitate the model. From the point of view of the oppressed, the first attitude component *devalues* them, and the second *subordinates* them. The courageous civilizers protect, decide, take responsibility, and help. Those fearful of freedom are protected, follow orders, yield responsibility, and are helped. Paternalism and dependence are complementary opposites, not logical opposites. The logical opposite of dependence is autonomy, and the logical opposite of paternalism is probably "true authority," based on liberty.[25]

Paternalism-dependence as the predominant pair of attitudes in oppressed consciousness may be understood within the Jungian theory of complexes. This pair of attitudes is the expression of a bipolar pair of complexes within one person's psyche. And complexes, according to this theory, are autonomous partial personalities separate from the ego. Because complexes are unconscious and autonomous, they may irrupt at times and take over the control of the ego. In saying that "we are not really masters in our house,"[26] Jung is referring to the behavior of complexes. This remark echoes the pioneering discovery of the unconscious by Freud and Jung, which enabled them to distinguish between the ego and the nonego within. The duality of the oppressed, according to Freire, consists of an authentic part and an inauthentic part, the inner oppressor. Now, in the light of Jungian psychology, we can reexamine the duality of the oppressed with respect to the ego (the

authentic part) and a bipolar pair of complexes (the inauthentic part), paternalism-dependence.

The presence of complexes in the psyche is popularly believed to be pathological, but Jung, the originator of the idea of complexes, believes otherwise. He thinks that complexes structure the normal psyche as its "nodal points" without which there would be no psychic life at all.[27] Complexes are continually forming, growing in energy, being integrated by ego consciousness, and declining in energy, according to Jung. When the ego is unable to integrate a complex, the complex splits off from ego consciousness, grows in energy, and becomes an autonomous partial personality no longer subject to the ego's will. These splits (called *dissociations*) are part of the normal activity of the psyche[28] but may become pathological when such splits are deeply entrenched (neurotic and schizophrenic splits).[29] Thus the duality of the oppressed, understood as the dissociation of a bipolar pair of complexes, is not a pathological condition. Rather, it is a normal and stable condition in an oppressive society, with dire consequences for the oppressed, for it impedes their humanization, understood as the wholeness of their being.

Although it is beyond the scope of this chapter to present the theory of the origins of complexes, two aspects of dissociation particularly relevant to oppression will be mentioned. In Jung's view, dissociation has two distinct causes:

> In the one case, there is an originally conscious content that became subliminal because it was repressed on account of its incompatible nature: in the other case, the secondary subject consists essentially in a process that never entered into consciousness at all because no possibilities exist there of apperceiving it. . . . In the majority of cases they are not repressed contents, but simply contents that are *not yet conscious* and have not been subjectively realized, like the demons and gods of the primitives or the "isms" so fanatically believed in by modern man. This state is neither pathological nor in any way particular; it is on the contrary the original norm, whereas the psychic wholeness comprehended in the unity of consciousness is an ideal goal that has never yet been reached.[30]

The predominant attitude of the ego is responsible for both repressing incompatible contents into the unconscious and failing to integrate contents originating in the unconscious. All these contents are potentially parts of the wholeness of the personality but fail through dissociation to be integrated into consciousness. In the unconscious, these contents associate with complexes whose strength and energetic charge grow. The duality that characterizes oppressed consciousness represents a splitting or dissociation in the psyche.

Adherence, Self-Depreciation, and Split Bipolarity

It is practically an axiom of Jungian psychology that whatever is unconscious is projected, including the complexes, as partial personalities in the unconscious. Freire, too, often uses the concept of projection to describe the "mythicized" world of illusions inhabited by the oppressed, whose dilemma is to find their authentic being. Instead they "adhere" to the oppressor and to the oppressor's model of what is worthy of emulation. In reference to this same model, the oppressed depreciate themselves and consider their peers as unworthy. The Jungian theory of complexes sheds further light on these two mythicized views as part of the process of projection.

John Perry extends Jung's model of the psyche, with respect to the structure of complexes, in a manner that accommodates Freire's ideas on projection. Jung defines the complex as a group of images in the unconscious held together by a common feeling tone.[31] To account adequately for the experience of emotion, Perry modifies Jung's model:

> I therefore see the entire psyche as structured not only in complexes, but in their bipolar systems or arrangements: the occurrence of an emotion requires the interplay of two complexes, and habitual emotions belong to habitual pairs.[32]

In a bipolar pair of complexes, such as the father-son complex, a person's ego tends to align itself with one complex and to project the second on a suitable other person (a carrier or hook). Perry gives the example of a young man's father complex colored with an authority problem. *An older* male asserting "positive mastery" may constellate the young man's "rebellious son complex" in this bipolar pair.

> It is apparent at such a moment that two things are happening simultaneously: the projection of his father complex onto the older man, and his own slipping into the stance of the rebellious son. Two complexes have become activated at the same time, and the ego aligns itself with one *vis-à-vis* the other, with the son *vis-à-vis* the father.[33] . . . The emotional event is thus not on the part of a clearly conscious ego in relation to an equally clearly real object, but arises on the part of the complex that the ego aligns itself with, in relation to another complex that is projected upon the object. One is, in fact, relating not so much to the actual object itself as to the image it carries.[34]

In this way the pair of complexes creates an emotional experience "seen through the veil of an illusion."[35] This compares with the "mythification" of

the oppressed when they "adhere" to the oppressor and, as a result, experience self-depreciation. Such an illusion stems from the duality of the oppressed by which the inauthentic part, the paternalism-dependence complexes, has taken over from the authentic part. The paternalism complex in this bipolar pair is projected onto the oppressor, while the dependence complex is aligned with, and invests, the ego of the oppressed.

Nowhere, perhaps, is the duality of the oppressed more evident than in the context of education. As a Brazilian educator, Freire has naturally focused his studies of oppression on Third World education, where the societal contradiction between oppressors and oppressed finds its reflection in the relationship between teachers and students.[36] Schooling forms or reinforces the duality of the oppressed as split bipolarity *within the psyche of the oppressed*, between the "knowledgeable" teacher and the "ignorant" student. Freire states:

> In the banking concept of education, knowledge is a gift bestowed by those who consider themselves knowledgeable upon those whom they consider to know nothing. Projecting an absolute ignorance onto others, a characteristic of the ideology of oppression, negates education and knowledge as processes of inquiry. The teacher presents himself to his students as their necessary opposite; by considering their ignorance absolute, he justifies his own existence. The students, alienated like the slave in the Hegelian dialectic, accept their ignorance as justifying the teacher's existence—but, unlike the slave, they never discover that they educate the teacher.[37]

That this outer educational interaction engenders an inner split bipolarity becomes clear in the statement by the Jungian analyst, Guggenbühl-Craig:

> The teacher-student encounter runs parallel to an inner tension between the states of being a knowledgeable adult and an unknowing child. In every adult there is a child who constantly leads us on to new things.[38] . . . One often meets teachers who seem to have lost every trace of childishness, who have even fewer childish traits than the average healthy adult. Such teachers have become "only-teachers," who confront unknowing children almost as their enemy. . . . For this kind of teacher children are the Other, which he himself wishes never to be.[39] . . . The teacher's childishness is repressed and then projected on the pupils. When this happens, learning progress is blocked. The children remain children and the knowing adult is no longer constellated in them.[40]

Professional educators, originating from either the oppressed or the oppressor class, are "deformed" by the climate of oppression that permeates

teacher-training institutions. Because of this professional deformation, teachers, even those with the best of intentions, become dual beings. In contrast with the situation of the student described earlier, the teachers consider themselves "completely knowledgeable" and project "absolute ignorance" onto the students in the classroom. Such teachers are at first the "effect" of an oppressive society and then "become also its causes."[41] The ideology of oppression depends greatly on the principle of "absolute ignorance that becomes what we call the projection of ignorance, always found in the other person."[42] Split bipolarity, in the extreme, has the effect of making the split-off complex (found in projection onto a carrier) appear to be *Other* and foreign. The ego-aligned complex, as a result, invests the ego's identity in an inauthentic way.

Dehumanization and Projection

Perry's description of bipolarity elucidates Freire's concept of dehumanization. When a bipolar pair of complexes is activated, the subject

> is not the ego in its usual identity, but the complex that the ego has allowed itself to yield to. By the same token, the object the emotion is directed at is not the actual one as it is in itself, but the image that has been projected onto it.[43]

Both the ego and the Other are "seen through the veil of an illusion."[44] Jung spoke of this situation in the context of therapy: "Now if the patient is unable to distinguish the personality of the doctor from these projections, all hope of an understanding is finally lost and a human relationship becomes impossible."[45]

Freire understands a human relationship to be possible between two persons, both of whom are "subjects" and neither is an "object." For Freire, *object* is synonymous with *thing*, essentially inanimate, serving as an instrument for the satisfaction of another's needs. A subject-object relationship is dehumanizing by this very definition. The relationship between oppressor and oppressed is dehumanizing due to the mutually reinforcing projections. The bipolar pair of complexes, paternalism-dependence, is split in both the oppressor and the oppressed. The paternalism complex invests the ego of the oppressor, and the dependence complex is projected onto the oppressed. The reverse occurs in the oppressed whose ego is invested with the dependence complex, and the paternalism complex is projected onto the oppressor. Each then relates not to the Other as the person he or she actually is, but rather to the projection of his or her own split-off complex. Each is at best a subject relating to an object, in

the sense of a thing. But in the situation of the oppressed, the ego-aligned complex (dependence) is so negative and so well reinforced by the oppressor's ego-projected complex that the oppressed essentially identifies with being a thing. Because of the split bipolarity, the relationship is not between two subjects: for the oppressed and for the oppressor, it is dehumanizing.

It is noteworthy that both Freire and Jacoby, a Jungian analyst, refer to Martin Buber's *I and Thou* in precisely this context. Freire footnotes Buber in the following:

> The anti-dialogical, dominating *I* transforms the dominated, conquered *you* into a simple "it." The dialogical *I*, on the contrary, knows that the "it" consists precisely of the *you*. He (the dialogical *I*) also knows that this *you*, this *not-I*, consists of another *I* which finds in himself a *you*. In these dialectical relations, the *I* and the you thus become two *you's* which are transformed into two *I's*.[46]

To become a subject, in dialogue, one must treat the Other as a subject. This is the meaning of the "dialogical *I*" described by Freire in Buber's terms. The "antidialogical *I*" cannot enter into a human relationship with another. The Other becomes an it or object and, by the same token, the antidialogical *I* is not a true subject. This reference to Buber helps to elucidate Freire's fundamental idea that oppression dehumanizes both the oppressors and the oppressed.[47]

In describing the analytic encounter, Jacoby refers extensively to Buber's ideas on the I-It and I-Thou attitudes:

> The I-It attitude would mean that the world and one's fellow men are seen only as objects. This can of course take place on many different levels. People can be objects of my reflections and my criticisms, but I can also turn them into objects of my own needs or my own fears, which means that other people get *used* for one's own conscious and very often unconscious purposes. . . . The I-Thou attitude would involve a relation to the genuine *otherness* of the other person. It would mean that I in my own totality am relating to Thou in his or her own totality.[48]

In an I-It attitude, the oppressed's own "totality," mentioned by Jacoby, is replaced by his "duality" in the sense intended by Freire. Human relationship then is not possible.

Horizontal Violence and Projective Identification

An aspect of oppressed consciousness that seems particularly sinister because it sustains the system of oppression is called "horizontal violence." Violence is

misdirected, ironically making other oppressed persons the victims, whereas violence would more appropriately be directed against either the oppressors or aspects of the system of oppression. Horizontal violence victimizes one's children, one's spouse, and one's companions. Because consciousness is "immersed," one cannot discern the inner oppressor. Freire offers his psychological insights as follows:

> It is possible that by acting in this way the oppressed express once more their duality. By attacking their unfortunate companions they attack "through them" indirectly the oppressor "inhabiting" themselves and the others. And by attacking the oppressor in the oppressed, they become oppressors themselves.[49]

Such Jungian analysts as Gordon and Schwartz-Salant describe projective identification, a psychological process that elucidates the meaning of horizontal violence. A clear definition of projective identification, using familiar terms, comes from Ogden, a non-Jungian:

> Projective identification is a concept that addresses the way in which feeling-states corresponding to the unconscious fantasies of one person (the projector) are engendered in and processed by another person (the recipient), that is, the way in which one person makes use of another person to experience and contain an aspect of himself. . . . The projected part of the self is felt to be partially lost and to be inhabiting the other person. In association with this unconscious projective fantasy there is an interpersonal interaction by means of which the recipient is pressured to think, feel, and behave in a manner congruent with the ejected feelings and the self- and object-representations embodied in the projective fantasy. In other words, the recipient is pressured to engage in identification with a specific, disowned aspect of the projector.[50]

An important distinction between projection and projective identification is that the latter requires direct interpersonal interaction, whereas projection does not. Both, however, entail the projection of unconscious complexes on persons who act as recipients. Projective identification describes "the dynamic interplay of the two, the intra-psychic and the inter-personal."[51]

In an attempt to understand the psychological aspects of horizontal violence, once again we refer to the bipolar pair of complexes, dependence and paternalism. The paternalism complex behaves like an authoritative voice that accuses the oppressed of being lazy, weak, irresponsible, cowardly, childish, and so on. To be aligned with the dependence complex is to identify with

these negative evaluations, and to experience what Freire describes as "self-depreciation." The pair of complexes constitutes a *threat* to the "authentic" part of the oppressed. *Projective identification* occurs under just such circumstances, in the sense that Melanie Klein first coined the term.[52] Ogden summarizes Klein's views as follows: " 'Bad' parts of the self are split off and projected into another person in an effort to rid the self of one's 'bad objects,' which threaten to destroy the self from within."[53] The "bad" part of oppressed consciousness, the most threatening, is the paternalism complex because it conveys so many negative judgments. Even one's wife or child seem to echo the accusatory voice of the oppressor in the paternalism complex simply by asking, "why can't you afford to buy us new clothes?" In such a situation, one finds a suitable recipient in another oppressed, one's wife or child, with whom there is "interpersonal interaction." The recipient is pressured to enact the role of the oppressor in what is essentially an inner drama.[54]

> In the second phase, the projector exerts pressure on the recipient to experience himself and behave in a way congruent with the unconscious projective fantasy. This is not an imaginary pressure, but rather, real pressure exerted by means of a multitude of interactions between the projector and the recipient. *Projective identification does not exist where there is no interaction between projector and recipient.*[55]

The recipient of the projective identification, another oppressed, is not immune from its effects since his or her paternalism complex will be activated through this manipulative pressure. The Other will act out the paternalism complex in "projective counter-identification" on the companion (or husband or parent) who becomes the carrier of the Other's dependence complex.[56] In this interpersonal interaction, threat, attack, and reprisal dramatize horizontal violence.

Liberation

As suggested in the introduction to this chapter, Freire's analysis of oppressed consciousness is structured in terms of pairs of complementary opposites, especially the paternalism-dependence pair of attitudes. A careful study of Freire's vocabulary reveals that nearly all key concepts are expressed as pairs of opposites: oppressor and oppressed, dehumanization and humanization, dialogue and antidialogue, mythify and demythify, educator and student, subject and object, spectator and actor, true and false generosity, and many more. Liberation may be described in reference to these pairs of opposites. When a pair represents opposite processes, liberation results from a *reversal* of the

processes of oppression: demythification instead of mythification, for example. In a pair representing opposite roles, liberation derives from a *synthesis* of one-sided roles that underlie duality: educator-student, for example. When representing opposed unfavorable and favorable human qualities, it is the *development* of the favorable human qualities that achieves liberation: courage over cowardice, responsibility over irresponsibility, and perseverance over passivity.

An oppressive society creates obstacles to liberation by the reversal, synthesis, and development, just mentioned. Freire's pedagogy of the oppressed aims at the discovery of the societal contradictions underlying the obstacles, enabling the oppressed to initiate the process of their liberation. It is fundamental to Freire's thinking that liberation results from *transcending* the contradictions of oppressive society. Jung holds an analogous view about psychological change that results from transcending the opposites in the psyche. The conflict of psychic opposites could be called contradictions, to borrow Freire's term. The *transcendent function*, according to Jung, is a new synthesis that emerges when a person avoids a one-sided adherence to either of the opposites in conflict.[57] The opposites may be two incompatible attitudes, for example, such as paternalism and dependence in the psyche of the oppressed.

A pair of opposed metaphors often appears in Freire's description of consciousness: immersion and emergence.[58] An immersed consciousness cannot discover societal contradictions. Emergence expands consciousness of those contradictions, a first step in their transcendence. A very similar metaphor, borrowed from Pierre Janet, frequently appears in Jung's writings about complexes: "*abaissement du niveau mental*" or a lowering of the threshold of consciousness, something that, according to Jung, results in dissociation and promotes the formation of autonomous complexes.[59] In other words, Freire and Jung's metaphors converge in describing oppressed consciousness in which the duality of the oppressed results from the formation and dissociation of the paternalism-dependence complexes. In the following pages the metaphor of emergence guides our understanding of liberation.

Objectification and Withdrawal of Projections

Liberation results from transcending the principal contradictions of oppressive society, but in a state of immersion, oppressed consciousness is unable to discern those contradictions. Freire reminds us that efforts toward liberation necessarily go astray:

> We do not mean that the oppressed are unable to understand that they are oppressed. Their recognition of themselves as oppressed, however, remains

paralyzed due to their "immersion" in oppressive reality. To "recognize" themselves, at this level, as different from the others does not yet signify struggling to transcend the contradiction. An aberration results: one of the poles of the contradiction, rather than seeking liberation, seeks identification with the opposite pole.[60]

This "reversal of the terms of contradiction," an aberration, stems from the inability of the oppressed to distinguish their inner oppressor, to whom they adhere as their only model of humanity.[61] Transcendence of the contradiction will be possible through "objectification."

The oppressed *I* must break this kind of "adherence" to the oppressor *you*, by becoming distant from him, in order to objectify him. This "distancing" will not be possible until he sees himself in contradiction with him, through critical perception.[62]

Objectification through critical perception, mentioned by Freire, corresponds to the psychological process of withdrawing projections. In a bipolar pair of complexes, as long as they remain unconscious, one complex invests the ego and the other is experienced through projection. The withdrawal of projections necessarily expands consciousness: The ego recognizes itself as distinct from the ego-aligned complex, and the ego recognizes its ego-projected complex as distinct from the person who has carried it.[63] In the specific condition of the oppressed, whose duality consists of an authentic ego and a bipolar pair of complexes, dependence-paternalism, habitually the ego is invested by the dependence complex, while the paternalism complex is projected onto an oppressor. Although neither the oppressed (ego) nor the oppressor (carrier) truly corresponds to the projections on them, the oppressed's state of immersion makes this seem to be so.

Perry recognizes the problematic nature of bipolar pairs of complexes as well as their potential for psychological growth. As long as the complexes remain unconscious and autonomous, they are met through projection. Ego-projected complexes are a constant problem hampering one's relationships with those on whom one projects. Yet, unconscious complexes contain the potential for one's psychological growth if they become assimilated into ego consciousness.[64] In oppressed consciousness, both poles of the pair of complexes, paternalism and dependence, contain the oppressed's potential for "recovering their despoiled humanity."[65] Within the contents of the paternalism complex are positive traits such as the capacity for making decisions, courage, generosity, responsibility, and so on, which belong to the oppressed but are unconscious and met through projection onto the oppressor. The

dependence complex encompasses positive traits such as childlike curiosity, ethnic self-esteem, a sense of community, and so on. These are met in a negative form as projected onto the ego. One could say that this pair of complexes contains the "inner child" and the "inner adult" of the oppressed, enveloped by the many myths promulgated in an oppressive society. These inner figures represent the growth potential within the split bipolarity of the dependence and paternalism complexes. Perry expresses the potential for psychological growth achieved from the withdrawal of projections:

> This means that when we grow and develop our horizons of awareness by assimilating contents from the unconscious—from the emotional psyche—we are actually retrieving the greater part of them from the outer world of our emotional involvements. We indeed do reap what we sow: the psyche in its wisdom distributes our components of development out into our world of involvements, each in its due season, and we go about gleaning our harvest from this emotional field to nourish our consciousness.[66]

This quote from Perry signals the reversal of the process of oppression described by Freire. Whereas for Freire, the myths of oppressive society nourish oppressed consciousness[67] and are met through projection, for Perry the withdrawal of projections nourishes ego consciousness and promotes personality development.

Humanization and the Integration of Complexes

The dual nature of oppressed consciousness means that the authentic part of the personality is divided from (dissociated) and dominated by an inauthentic part (complexes). The latter consists of a pair of attitudes: dependence and paternalism. Treated as a bipolar pair of complexes, these express themselves as adherence to the oppressor and self-depreciation of the oppressed. Objectification of this inauthentic part (withdrawal of projections) is fundamental to emergence in the process of liberation. Freire recognizes that emergence allows for the reunification of the inner division of the oppressed, and the possibility of human relationship:

> But when he is able to break the "adherence," by objectifying reality, by emerging, he finds the unity of his *ego*, as a subject encountering an object. Indeed, at this moment, likewise he breaks the false unity of his divided being and genuinely becomes a person.[68]

Humanization, that is, becoming a person by overcoming inner divisions, resembles the psychic process recognized by Jungians as the "striving for wholeness."[69] Freire almost equates humanization with wholeness:

> [This] vocation is negated by the injustice, exploitation, oppression, and violence of the oppressors. But it is affirmed by the thirst for freedom, for justice, and by the struggle of the oppressed to recover their despoiled humanity.[70]

Within the theory of complexes, the vocation of humanization may be understood as the tendency toward the integration of unconscious complexes. In reference to complexes, Sandner and Beebe state that "they are caused by conflict, and they are injuries to psychic wholeness. Yet, once formed, they tend to press for recognition and integration by the ego."[71]

Complexes, as described earlier in this chapter, contain both repressed qualities and potential qualities, originating in the unconscious, that have not yet been part of the conscious personality. The ego's integration of these qualities (good and bad) in complexes begins with the recognition and withdrawal of projections. "Owning" one's projections means no less than recognizing that what one has projected onto another person belongs to oneself. But complexes are characterized by distortions,[72] such as the oppressor's myths that sustain the attitudes, dependence and paternalism. Through objectification, the oppressed learns to distinguish the myths from his or her authentic being, both potential and repressed qualities in the complexes. The ego-aligned (dependence) complex and the ego-projected (paternalism) complex, once stripped of distorting myths, may be integrated into ego consciousness, allowing the oppressed to overcome his or her duality and become a person.

Humanization concerns interpersonal relations for the Jungians and for Freire. Once again, Martin Buber's terms provide a bridge between the Jungians and Freire's views. The I-It attitude impedes human relationship because it is based on projection.[73] One does not relate to the "genuine otherness" of the other person, but rather to one's own split-off unconscious parts, the ego-projected complex. Through objectification, oppressed people recognize the oppressor that "inhabits" them, dispel myths, integrate their authentic qualities, and become whole persons, capable of human relationships. Gordon observes a similarity in psychotherapy:

> The patient may get to know the personages that inhabit him and experiencing these internal personages in and through the analyst may help him to differentiate himself from them. This will then increase his capacity to relate to the new and to the real persons he meets in his world now.[74]

Only a whole person may enter into a human relationship, one characterized by the I-You attitude. Buber says: "The basic word I-You can only be spoken with one's whole being. The basic word I-It can never be spoken with one's whole being."[75] The progression from an I-It attitude to an I-You attitude summarizes an essential aspect of the psychopolitics of liberation: oppressed people recover their despoiled humanity, their wholeness, enabling them to participate in human relationships.

Conclusion

This chapter began with a number of questions about "inner Berlin Walls" and "inner dictators" that sustain oppressive regimes, yet may persist as oppressed consciousness even in postrevolutionary society. Several answers to these questions, found in this chapter, come alive in a Bolivian film, from the 1970s, *Blood of the Condor*.[76] The film captures in miniature the drama of oppression, oppressor and oppressed consciousness, and revolt. The setting is a village in the Bolivian Andes, where the Peace Corps has set up a medical clinic for sterilizing peasant women. In this drama of oppression, the Peace Corps doctor plays the role of the oppressor's agent; the peasant woman and her husband play the role of the oppressed.

The Peace Corps doctor's ego is aligned with the paternalism complex. He views himself on a Christian civilizing mission to save the peasants from poverty and atheistic Marxism. He will do for them what they cannot do for themselves. According to his myth, their poverty is caused by overpopulation, which in turn derives from their childlike inability to control their sexual drives. The doctor's own dependence complex is thus split off and projected onto the peasants. Also according to this myth, poverty is a source of unrest on which atheistic Marxism feeds. The doctor believes that his sterilization program generously contributes to the solution of twin problems: In a single operation he reduces poverty and nips future Marxist guerrillas in the bud.

The peasant woman unquestioningly submits to the surgery in accordance with her ego-aligned dependence complex. Believing herself to be weak, she seeks the doctor's protection; believing herself to be ignorant, she fails to question the exact nature of the doctor's treatment. Projecting her own split-off paternalism complex onto the doctor, the peasant woman trusts him to be generous, knowledgeable, and responsible.

In a scene some months after the surgery, the woman's husband is seen beating her for not bearing children. She suffers this horizontal violence passively in accordance with her dependence complex. The husband has apparently projected onto her his paternalism complex, which threatens his authentic self by tacitly "accusing" him of sexual impotence. The husband's

horizontal violence against his wife silences that accusatory "voice" while blaming her supposed infertility. In a later scene, several peasants spy through the window of the Peace Corps clinic during a sterilization operation and realize why their wives bear no children. This awareness destroys the myths of the benevolent doctor, the inadequate wife, and the impotent husband. By withdrawing the split-off complexes of paternalism, projected onto the doctor, and dependence, aligned with their own egos, several myths are dispelled at once. As often happens after a sudden surge in political consciousness, the pair of complexes reverses its polarity. Now the peasants' egos are aligned with goodness (aspects of paternalism and superiority), while they project evil (aspects of dependence and inferiority) onto the doctor. The peasants remain unaware of their "inner oppressor" that is now, more conveniently, projected onto the doctor. The villagers burn down the Peace Corps clinic in an act of revolt, a consequence of their greater political consciousness, now in the form of a new one-sidedness.[77]

Just as political analysis differs from public policy prescription, psychopolitical analysis differs from psychopolitical "therapy." This chapter has been confined to the analysis of oppressed consciousness and its transformation. The literature of Jungian psychology abounds in therapies, applied within the analytic encounter, to facilitate healing and individuation. Similarly, Freire's writings present programs that could be called "therapies" for the conscientization of the oppressed. These two approaches to therapy converge in Chapter 10, on psychopolitical healing and public policy recommendations.

CHAPTER 3

Decolonization and Narcissism

Albert Memmi, celebrated in 1988 as the "prophet of decolonization," made a contribution to the study of oppression and liberation that remains relevant today. The occasion for the celebration was the thirtieth anniversary of the publication of Memmi's 1957 classic, *The Colonizer and the Colonized (Portrait du colonisé précédé du portrait du colonisateur)*. Neither his book nor its theme, oppression, has faded into oblivion. Memmi himself has devoted a lifetime to the elaboration of ideas he first presented in 1957.[1] In this chapter, I further examine his ideas from a Jungian perspective.

Three explorers in the psychology of the oppressed are Albert Memmi, Frantz Fanon, and Paulo Freire. Of the three, Memmi stands out as the originator and inspiration for many scholars who followed.[2] *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, preceding yet accurately predicting the end of colonialism, remains a classic in the sociological analysis of oppression. I hasten to add that it is sociological in analyzing the context within which the psychology of the colonizer and the colonized develop, interact dialectically and, finally, result in decolonization. Memmi's insights derive from living the colonial relation in Tunisia, his native land.

Even to his own surprise, mentioned in the preface to later editions, Memmi's insights were corroborated by other colonized intellectuals, rebels, and observers. Memmi's sensitive political self-analysis enabled him to translate his own experiences into the more general processes of oppression and liberation. This work has a universal appeal because it transcends the colonial epoch (time) and the national-colonial borders (place); it speaks to the invariant psychological conditions of human oppression, which know no specific limits as to time and place.

Given the continuing importance of Memmi's sociology and psychology of oppression, it is no wonder that his ideas should be part of this book. What first drew my attention to him was my recognition of his influence on Freire. Having succeeded in applying Jungian psychology to Freire's ideas (in chapter 2), I anticipated fruitful results from a study of Memmi.

My approach to Memmi took the form of many readings of his *Colonizer and the Colonized* and all his sociological essays. Little by little, certain of Memmi's ideas struck me as remarkably similar to the theory of narcissism, first developed by Freudians, and recently elaborated by Jungians. This theory seemed to me even more appropriate after reading a book by Berger, a psychiatrist, who uses the same theory to analyze French political leaders.[3] Memmi concentrates on certain elements of political consciousness: political myths and ideologies, self-images, as well as attitudes of oppressors and oppressed. His work lends itself readily to a Jungian psychopolitical analysis because Memmi deals so much with emotions, something that Jungians consider to be rooted in the unconscious.

The psychoanalytic literature on narcissism relies on a specialized vocabulary. The key terms necessary to understand the arguments of this chapter are: narcissism, narcissistic disturbance, true self, false self, depression, and grandiosity. The reader who is unfamiliar either with these terms or the theory may consult the Appendix at the end of this chapter.

Narcissism in the Duo of Colonizer and Colonized

Memmi repeatedly insists that colonialism creates the colonizer as it creates the colonized, and that both of these roles in the colonial drama dehumanize their incumbents. In fact, neither role can be understood fully without reference to the other, for they interact and define their behavior with reference to each other. In his study of Memmi, Dugas refers to this pair as the "duo."[4] Other duos also appear in Memmi's analysis of oppression: oppressor-oppressed, provider-dependent, dominant class-subordinate class, men-women, White-Black, master-servant, and gentile-Jew. It is the character of such roles and their interactions in the duo, the way in which they shape each other, that strongly suggests the relevance of the theory of narcissism.

Psychologists well understand many interactions between the narcissist and "others." In theorizing about the origin of narcissistic disturbances, the Other is the caretaker, usually the mother and father, who inflicts a narcissistic wound in the child. In describing the problems in the narcissist's human relations, the Other is one's child, one's spouse, one's superiors and subordinates at work. In the psychotherapy of the narcissist, the Other is the analyst, he or she who is the "object" of the narcissistic transference. The literature on

narcissism, especially about these interactions, sheds light on the colonial duo, in which each role serves in turn as the narcissist and as the Other.

This chapter on Memmi's work innovates within the theory of narcissism, inasmuch as it considers the colonial duo to be composed of two different *types* of narcissists: the grandiose and the depressive.[5] Writings on narcissism usually treat these two types as *phases* that fluctuate within the psyche of one person.[6] In the detailed discussion to follow, I associate the colonizer with narcissistic *grandiosity* and the colonized with *depression*.

Two notes of caution are relevant here. First, I do not expect the theory of narcissism to fully explain all the varied aspects of the duo that Memmi gives us, but at least to reveal some of their unconscious psychodynamics. Secondly, by using the theory of narcissism, I am not suggesting that both members of the colonial duo are pathological. Even though Memmi states "colonialism is an illness of the European,"[7] the theory will clarify the narcissistic tendencies in normal persons living under colonialism. The psychological literature sometimes fails to distinguish between the following conditions: healthy narcissism, secondary narcissism, narcissistic personality, narcissistic libido, narcissistic disturbances, narcissistic disorders, and pathological narcissism. Narcissistic disturbances, the most general term, encompasses a range of conditions varying in severity from dissociative tendencies among normal persons to psychoses in abnormal persons. My use of the term *narcissism*, unless otherwise noted, will refer to those tendencies among normal persons.

The Colonizer and Narcissistic Grandiosity

The colonizers in Memmi's analysis necessarily live the privileges of their role in the colonial drama at the expense of the colonized. The idea of the neutral colonial, living in harmony with all in the colony at no one's expense and without special privileges, does not exist.[8] It is not possible to live in the colony as a member of the metropolitan culture without such privileges being bestowed. Among the types of colonizers, then, our attention is drawn to those who accept their role with its privileges. These are the "usurpers." Two other types warrant a brief description because these, too, will suffer to some extent from the same *malaise* (uneasiness) as the usurpers. The "benevolent" colonizers are the humanitarians whose ideology of social justice compels them to ally themselves with the colonized in order to liberate them. And, too, the "small" colonizers, at the base of the social pyramid in terms of wealth and occupation, often of a European background other than the metropolis, nonetheless benefit in small ways from being allied with the colonizers.

All types of colonizers, especially the "usurpers," share a knowledge that their privilege depends on the exploitation and misery of the colonized. As Memmi indicates, it is the "mediocre" usurpers who are the real counterpart to the colonized in the colonial drama. Mediocrity characterizes the majority of the colonizers and creates the most typical colonial relations of privilege and exploitation.[9] My analysis focuses on the typical.

Memmi's diagnosis of the colonizers (hereinafter referring to the usurpers), starts from three statements of fact: (1) the colonial relation imposes on the colonizers certain privileges at the expense of the colonized; (2) neither colonizers nor colonized can escape this situation of advantage and disadvantage as long as colonialism continues; (3) it is not possible for the colonizers to be unaware of the fact of their privilege. On these facts Memmi founds his diagnosis of the personality of the colonizers. The colonizers suffer from *guilt*: the colonizers "plead guilty" to the misery they cause the colonized.[10] They suffer from *self-doubt*: the colonizers doubt their self-worth and wonder whether they truly deserve the privileges they enjoy. They suffer from *uneasiness*: the colonizers lack a firm sense of personal identity. The colonizers contend with these disturbing feelings primarily by creating an ideology of self-justification. The only alternative manner for dealing with these feelings would be to reduce the fact of their privilege. This is rejected precisely because, without such economic privilege, colonialism would come to an end.

The ideology of self-justification constitutes what Memmi calls the "portrait of the colonizer." This is what I view as the overt manifestation of the ego's conscious efforts to create a positive self-image. Memmi is abundantly clear in his description of these efforts at self-justification. Memmi's psychological analysis of consciousness, I believe, runs parallel to another psychological analysis of the unconscious: unconscious psychodynamics reflect the tendencies of a narcissistic disturbance. This is my diagnosis. In order to demonstrate these parallels and interrelationships between conscious and unconscious aspects of the colonizers, Memmi's analysis will be juxtaposed with my own in terms of the theory of narcissism.

In this discussion of the parallels it will be necessary at times to refer to the *benevolent colonizers* and their traits. This reference is based on Memmi's observation that benevolent colonizers may escape from an untenable situation by transforming themselves into usurpers. This transformation suggests that we are dealing here with the same personality in two different phases. In a thumbnail sketch, the two types appear as light and dark reflections of each other. The benevolent colonizers live the light side identified with the role of the "humanitarian" and deny the privilege they enjoy, repressing it into the shadow.[11] The usurpers live the dark side of privilege, repressing their sense of

injustice into the shadow. Both types have a sense of justice (moral responsibility and moral indignation), but only the usurper's repression of it leads to a constant need for self-justification. The "rigid morality" of the benevolent colonizers must be repressed for them to become into usurpers.[12] The affinity of the two types brings to mind the shadow side of those in the helping professions: ministers, missionaries, social workers, teachers, and psychotherapists.[13] Even the benevolent colonizer's sense of equality with the colonized remains suspect. Could there be a repressed sense of superiority—a sense that is unrepressed in the usurper? The benevolent colonizers are reluctant to imagine their place in the future society of the former colonized; they do not wish to accept the customs, religion, or nationalism of the colonized. Does this not smack of a sense of superiority—even of racism?[14] Thus I reaffirm the idea that it is appropriate to view the two types of colonizers as one personality in two phases, one transformed into the other. "The natural vocation of the colonizer is to become the usurper-colonialist."[15]

The usurper-colonialists, as described by Memmi, live a situation of privilege at the expense of the colonized. Their attitude differs fundamentally from that of the benevolent colonizers in that the former accept their privilege whereas the latter reject it. The elaborate ideology that the usurpers create, according to Memmi, serves as self-justification. Memmi mentions on numerous occasions that this ideology interprets positively the objective facts of privilege-exploitation in the colonial relationship in order to soothe nagging feelings of doubt and guilt.[16] Memmi furnishes an additional sociological observation, suggesting that these feelings of doubt and guilt originate in the mediocrity of the colonizers. Colonizers born in the colony, having ambition and talent tend to emigrate to the metropolis (mother country). Those from the metropolis tend to compete unfavorably there and seek an easier path to success in the colony. In other words, those colonizers who remain in the colony are mediocre in comparison with their counterparts in the metropolis. The pay scales and privileges of the colonizers surpass those of their counterparts in the metropolis. This sense of mediocrity combines with the fact of the colonial relationship of privilege-exploitation to generate feelings of doubt and guilt. The doubt refers to whether the colonizers deserve their privileges. The guilt refers to the colonizers' responsibility for the misery of the colonized brought about through exploitation.

Having reformulated Memmi's own ideas in terms of the colonizers' need for self-justification, what can now be said about the colonizers' ideology and attitudes in terms of the theory of narcissism? The grandiosity of the narcissist serves as a defense against experiencing the underlying depression, a feeling of low self-esteem or low self-worth. The grandiose defense against this feeling consists in maintaining an exaggeratedly positive

self-image—a grandiose façade (grandiose persona). Self-doubt is one expression of low self-esteem, a doubt as to the validity of one's grandiose self-image. Guilt also is an expression of low self-esteem: being responsible for the suffering of others (the colonized) is a negative self-image.[17]

The grandiose self-image of the colonizer depends on continual support and reinforcement; otherwise this defense may fail, allowing the colonizer-narcissist to experience the underlying depression (low self-esteem). In fact, Memmi tells us that the colonizer suffers from *mépris de soi* (self-contempt). The colonizer's daily life of privilege at the expense of the colonized depends on the unjust economic relations enforced by the colonial police. Some sense of guilt is inescapable for the colonizer who hears "his own inner voice" condemning him. Despite his best efforts at self-justification, "deep down inside himself, the colonizer pleads guilty."[18] Faced with nagging self-contempt, the narcissist-colonizers seek to maintain their grandiose façade through three "survival strategies"[19]: (1) identifying with the "superior" metropolitan culture, becoming its local incarnation and its agents in the colony; (2) confirming their superiority (self-esteem) through the colonized's open admiration for and fear of the colonizers; (3) creating two mythical portraits, one of themselves as superior and one of the colonized as inferior.

The Colonizers' Three Survival Strategies

Now let us examine each of these three strategies in turn, citing Memmi (in paragraphs marked A) and then psychologists on narcissism (in paragraphs marked B).

1. Identification with the Metropolis

A. Memmi. The colonizers' efforts at self-justification turn to sources outside their self-portrait, "too magnificent" to be believed even by themselves. The source of their "grandeur" is their belonging to the superior metropolitan culture. No occasion is missed for the colonizers to demonstrate their patriotism and that belonging.[20] Military parades, for example, evoke prestige (self-esteem) for the colonizers. "It serves as much to impress the colonized as to reassure the colonizer himself."[21] The sense of belonging to the metropolitan culture restores to the colonizers the grandeur they lack through the merits they borrow. For this strategy to be effective, the virtues of the metropolis must be exaggerated beyond all proportion. That is to say, the metropolis must be idealized, "like a collective super-ego."[22]

B. Psychologists. On the narcissist's idealization of the Other and sense of belonging to or under the Other. Narcissists, according to Asper, are self-alienated and

try to protect themselves from experiencing the pain associated with the narcissistic wound; namely not having been loved by the parental caretakers.[23] To ward off that pain the narcissist adopts "survival strategies," especially the development of a "protective façade or 'persona.' "[24] The grandiose persona is such a façade. The narcissist requires a stable identification with this façade and some confirmation of it from others (see 3B). "This is the reason why one often finds narcissistic people around people they can admire and whose glamor they can share."[25] The narcissistic need for self-esteem translates into "a demand for the mirroring of their grandiosity, and the need to love and feel that they 'belong to' someone else expresses itself in insistent *idealization*."[26] For the colonizers, the idealized Other is the metropolitan culture to which the colonizers belong and with which they identify. The glory of this "magnificent" culture then shines on the colonizers, who are its incarnation in the colony. This survival strategy appears slightly differently in the "paradise transferences" of psychotherapy. "In them the narcissistically disturbed analysand expects the analyst to fulfill her longings (to be loved) by giving her unconditional admiration and being an ideal figure that the analysand can admire and want to 'belong to.' "[27] Here, the analyst is the equivalent of the metropolis in the grandiose fantasies of the colonizers. To conclude this parallel with the theory of narcissism, the following description of the grandiose self is pertinent:

> In order to balance the defect in his self, the child strengthens his compensatory structures: the grandiose self and the idealized self-object. While the grandiose self is accompanied by the point of view that "I am perfect," the idealization of the self-object signifies "You are perfect, but I am part of you."[28]

2. Admiration by the Colonized

A. Memmi. The mythical portrait of the colonized, created by the colonizer, through a process of "mystification," is believed and accepted by the colonized. This is to say that the colonized come to believe in their own inferiority while they both admire and fear the colonizers.[29] For the colonizers, that admiration is confirmation of their own superiority. The colonized unmistakably demonstrate their admiration for the colonizers through their desire to assimilate.

> The primary ambition of the colonized is to become equal to this prestigious model [mine: of the colonizers], to resemble it to the point of disappearing in it. From this ambition, which indeed supposes the admiration of the colonizer, one has concluded that colonization is approved.[30]

B. Psychologists. On longing for admiration and unconditional love. We have associated the colonizers' feeling of superiority with a grandiose façade that serves as a defense against depression and suffering associated with a narcissistic wound. The colonizers experience self-doubts about their superiority and a sense of guilt over the misery their privilege causes in the colonized. To efface these feelings, to be affirmed as moral and just, depends in part on the admiration for them expressed by the colonized. The narcissist typically behaves in this same manner, as Jacoby points out:

> Put in terms of the theories of narcissism, Jung is talking about the fact that a grandiose self really craves for "narcissistic gratification," that is, for admiration. Followers are needed in order to prove the value and the trustworthiness of convictions. Yet the ego is identified with these convictions to such an extent that transpersonal "truths" are experienced as being part of one's personal worth. At the same time, the individual's craving for affirmation of his own greatness serves as a defense, as a protection against "gnawing doubts"—as Jung puts it.[31]

The colonizers as narcissists fortify their grandiose façade through the admiration they force out of others, as Schwartz-Salant tells us:

> The central feature of the narcissistic fusion structure, the grandiose-exhibitionistic (or defensive-uroboric) self, is its capacity to exert control over others. Kohut has aptly called this phenomenon the *mirror transference*, for through it the need for mirroring emerges, but in a controlling manner, in which the other persons are used, *forced* to be mirrors.[32]

Memmi nearly employs the language of narcissism to describe the way the colonizer makes use of the colonized. The colonized "should not exist except as a function of the needs of the colonizer."[33]

3. Creation of Two Mythical Portraits

A. Memmi. The idealization of the metropolis and the colonizer's belonging to it constitute one strategy for maintaining the narcissist's self-esteem. However, as Memmi states, "[s]uch is the enormity of colonial oppression, that the overvaluation of the metropolis is never enough to justify the fact of colonialism."[34] The colonizer embarks on another strategy: "Almost always, the colonizer engages in the systematic devaluation of the colonized."[35] The colonizers attempt to sustain their own exaggerated self-esteem (grandiosity) by asserting their superiority in comparison to the inferiority of the colonized. In Memmi's words, "to justify himself, to increase the distance that

separates the colonizer from the colonized, to place the two figures in the sharpest opposition, his own so glorious and that of the colonized so contemptible."[36] The colonizer paints the two contrasting portraits as opposites, familiar territory for Jungian psychology. In brief, here are those opposites[37]: the colonizer is industrious and the colonized is lazy; the colonizer is strong and protective and the colonized is weak; the colonizer is responsible and the colonized is irresponsible; the colonizer is law-abiding and the colonized is criminal; the colonizer is generous and the colonized is ungrateful; the colonizer is human and the colonized is animal-like.

The search for self-justification through contrasting the colonizer's superiority with the colonized's inferiority reaches its limit in colonial racism. Memmi considers racism to be a fundamental structure of the colonizer's personality. Differences between colonizer and colonized become absolute in order to explain and justify colonialism and the colonizer's place within it. Briefly, Memmi defines colonial racism as follows: (1) to demonstrate the differences between colonizer and colonized; (2) to evaluate these differences in favor of the colonizer; (3) to indicate that these differences are absolute and unchangeable.[38]

B. Psychologists. On the narcissist's inflation and contempt for inferiors. Miller, a Freudian, describes in her work on narcissism "the vicious circle of contempt."[39] It is the powerful who doubt their power, who suspect their own weakness, who have contempt for the weak.

> Contempt for those who are smaller and weaker thus is the best defense against a breakthrough of one's own feelings of helplessness: it is an expression of this split-off weakness. The strong person who knows that he, too, carries this weakness within himself, because he has experienced it, does not need to demonstrate his strength through such contempt.[40]

The colonizers do doubt their power and their right to privilege, at least enough to drive them to search for self-justification. Part of that self-justification depends on confirming their own merits and the demerits of the colonized, their own power and the weakness of the colonized. The distancing, as Memmi calls it, of the superior colonizer from the inferior colonized, is a tactic of the narcissist. "So long as one despises the other person and overvalues one's own achievements ('he can't do what I can do'), one does not have to mourn the fact that love is not forthcoming without achievement."[41] Miller elaborates on the grandiosity we have associated with the colonizer as follows:

> The contempt that Kernberg describes as ubiquitous in grandiose, successful people always includes contempt for their own true selves. For

their scorn implies: without these qualities, which I have, a person is completely worthless. That means further: without these achievements, these gifts, I could never be loved, would never have been loved.[42]

The colonizers' contempt for the colonized ultimately is expressed as racism, as their absolute superiority. Miller makes the same point:

Contempt is the weapon of the weak and a defense against one's own despised and unwanted feelings. And the fountainhead of all contempt, all discrimination, is more or less conscious, uncontrolled and secret exercise of power over the child by the adult, which is tolerated by society (except in the case of murder or serious bodily harm).[43]

For the colonizers, racism serves as their self-justification. Under the banner of the natural law of domination and servitude, the superiority of colonizers and the inferiority of the colonized justify colonialism as eternal and the colonial mission as a necessity. The grandiosity of the colonizers then expresses itself in an attitude of paternalism, of the powerful and superior with regard to the weak and inferior. For the colonizers, it is a "charitable racism" to be voluntarily generous to the colonized, given the latter's inherent inferiority and inequality.[44] Comparing these "partners" of the colonial duo with marriage partners, we observe that the grandiose partner often behaves paternalistically toward the other partner, as Miller notes:

However, he [mine: the grandiose] quite often chooses a marriage partner who either already has strong depressive traits or at least, within their marriage, unconsciously takes over and enacts the depressive components of the grandiose partner. This means that the depression is outside. The grandiose one can look after his "poor" partner, protect him like a child, feel himself to be strong and indispensable, and thus gain another supporting pillar for the building of his own personality.[45]

The benevolent self-image of the colonizers, their paternalism, leads to their absolution[46] and confirms their grandiose self, thereby assuaging their self-doubt and guilt as usurpers.

The Colonized and Narcissistic Depression

Memmi's duo represents the cornerstone of colonial oppression, because neither the colonizer nor the colonized may be understood completely without the other. Both are creations of colonization in the sense that neither of these

two artificial roles corresponds to the "true self" of those who play them in the colonial drama. According to the previous discussion of the colonizers, maintaining their grandiosity depends largely on their narcissistic relationship to the colonized. The narcissistic tendencies of the colonized, too, depend on their relationship to the colonizers. These tendencies, to be described below, correspond to narcissistic depression.

Why the Colonized's Grandiosity Fails

If the colonized's narcissistic condition is depressive, this is because they have failed to live out their fantasies of grandiosity. The grandiose façade, which serves to protect the narcissist from experiencing depression, must be maintained in two ways: first, through a steady record of achievement and success; second, through a sense of belonging to a person or culture that is highly esteemed. The colonial system, as we will see, effectively erodes these ways of maintaining a grandiose façade for the colonized.

Grandiosity Depends on Achievement
The narcissist indeed fantasizes and longs for grandiosity.[47] Miller states:

> The person who is "grandiose" is admired everywhere and needs this admiration; indeed, he cannot live without it. He must excel brilliantly in everything he undertakes, which he surely is capable of doing (otherwise he just does not attempt it). He, too, admires himself—for his qualities: his beauty, cleverness, talents; and for his success and achievements.[48]

When the narcissist is unable to achieve, grandiose defense fails and depression follows.[49] Colonialism, as described by Memmi, hinders the colonized's attempts at achievement thus precipitating their tendency to narcissistic depression. Excluded from political authority, the colonized cannot achieve success in public policy-making. Excluded from higher education, the colonized cannot achieve access to the skilled occupations. Because the colonial economy relies on raw-material production, the colonized cannot succeed in earning the higher wages associated with manufacturing.[50]

Grandiosity Depends on Belonging to an Idealized Person or Group
An idealized person to whom one belongs provides a mirror to magnify one's grandiose self-image.[51] The colonized have a strong sense of belonging to their own culture, sometimes personified by cultural heroes. The idealization of this culture, however, is problematic. The colonial educational system devalues the indigenous culture, history, and traditions, if it does not neglect

them entirely. Those colonized children who are able to attend school learn the history, culture, and literature of the colonizers. Schooling also devalues the colonized's culture implicitly through neglect, leading to a "cultural amnesia." Schooling in the language of the colonizers creates a colonial bilingualism in which the indigenous language is the less valued. Access to advancement always depends on mastering the language of the colonizers, resulting in humiliation for the language of the colonized.[52] Education then makes it difficult to idealize the cultural group to which the colonized belong.

The two mythical portraits, as previously described, reinforce the grandiosity of the colonizers by making myths of their own superiority and the inferiority of the colonized. This highly negative portrait of the colonized tends finally to be accepted by the colonized as a veritable self-portrait. Daily contacts with the much-admired colonizers, colonial institutions, and colonial schools contribute to this "mystification" of the colonized.[53] Having internalized the myth of his culture's inferiority, the colonized cannot sustain a grandiose self-image by belonging to an idealized collectivity. The narcissism of the colonized tends, therefore, to be depressive.

The colonized's internalization of a negative self-image has a parallel in the theory of narcissism. Narcissistic parents succeed in having their children introject their parents' valuations, which serve as the basis for the children's future valuations of themselves. Narcissistic children introject their parents' negative views of them and feel self-contempt.[54] According to Memmi, "the crushing of the colonized is included in the colonial values. When the colonized adopts these values he adopts his own condemnation."[55] Just as self-contempt contributes to narcissistic depression in the child,[56] so does devalued cultural identity contribute to the narcissistic depression of the colonized.

Narcissistic Depression and the Colonized's Search for Self-Esteem

The condition of the colonized, given the failure of grandiosity, is a tendency toward narcissistic depression. Just as the narcissist "longs for paradise"[57] and seeks self-esteem, so in the colonized is there a "fundamental demand for change" stemming from the "entire movement of his personality."[58] Later, this becomes a demand for revolutionary change, following the failed attempt to assimilate into the colonizers' society. To assimilate, as Memmi states, means no less than to reject oneself. These two components of the dialectic are inseparable.[59] No matter how much the culture of the colonized is devalued, it nonetheless contains the roots of their "true self." The devalued self-image of the colonized, fostered by the colonizer and believed by the colonized, is the "false self." In the light of this dialectic, the condition of the colonized is diagnosed as narcissistically depressive, a form of self-alienation.

Self-alienation and Narcissistic Depression

Edinger summarizes well the theoretical basis for self-alienation that is encountered in the colonized:

> In the state of alienation, the ego is not only disidentified from the Self, which is desirable, but is also disconnected from it, which is most undesirable. The connection between ego and Self is vitally important to psychic health. It gives foundation, structure and security to the ego and also provides energy, interest, meaning and purpose. When the connection is broken the result is emptiness, despair, meaninglessness and in extreme cases psychosis or suicide.[60]

This description of depression overlaps with that of Miller:

> What is described as depression and experienced as emptiness, futility, fear of impoverishment, and loneliness can often be recognized as the tragedy of the loss of self, or alienation from the self, from which many suffer in our generation and society.[61]

These experiences of depression are manifestations of low self-esteem, so often cited in the writings on narcissism by Asper,[62] Schwartz-Salant, Whitmont, Miller, and Jacoby.

Memmi's description of the colonized during the phase of assimilation corresponds to the low self-esteem underlying narcissistic depression. The colonized experiences "self-rejection," "self-hatred," and "shame." As he attempts assimilation, the colonized "uproots himself," "destroys himself," and "reproaches himself" in order "to become someone else." In other words, the colonized's search for self-esteem leads him to be "out of connection with his self,"[63] that is, to experience self-alienation.

Assimilation and the Search for Self-esteem

"Becoming someone else" is the counterpart of denying oneself, according to Memmi, and represents the search for self-esteem. The colonized find in the colonizers a model of all that is worthy, prestigious, honorable, powerful, and wealthy. The colonized seek the self-esteem they lack by equaling this model to the point of disappearing in it. Assimilation means adopting the colonizers' customs, language, clothing, food, architecture, and even marrying a colonizer.[64]

Assimilation in contexts other than the colony is so commonplace that we need to explain why, in the colonial context, it represents the narcissist's search for self-esteem. The persona serves the narcissist in his search for

self-esteem through the "recognition and mirroring from others that allow him to feel whole, and to a certain extent, loved."[65] Though the persona normally functions as a means of adaptation to society, in the narcissist it takes on excessive importance. When the colonized identifies with the persona of a candidate for assimilation, and tries to resemble the colonizer to the point of "disappearing in the model," this is over adaptation to societal expectations. "Over adaptation" is a behavior typical of narcissistic disturbances.[66]

As a defensive strategy of narcissists, it may provide temporary support for deficient self-esteem but is destined to be counterproductive. This effort will enhance self-esteem artificially but will only further alienate the colonized from their "true self."[67] Narcissistically wounded persons use their persona to fulfill the expectations of others and obtain recognition and approval. Moreover, with their persona they adapt well to collective values, though at the cost of autonomy and their own being.[68]

Identification with this persona means an investment in the "false self," resulting in the eclipse of the "true self," something that reinforces self-alienation and low self-esteem. Ironically, these are the very conditions that lead the colonized to seek relief through assimilation. On the basis of the theory of narcissism, even before considering Memmi's reasoning, assimilation will fail to satisfy the narcissist's need for self-esteem because it fails to resolve the root problems of narcissistic depression.

Revolt and "the Search for the True Self"

Assimilation represents self-destruction for the colonized as well as for the colonizers, according to Memmi. For the colonized, assimilation means self-destruction in two ways: they become extremely alienated and they disappear from the ranks of the colonized. For the colonizers, there is self-destruction in another sense of the word: if assimilation were accomplished on a massive scale, there would be no more inequality between colonizers and colonized, because both would disappear as social categories. The colonizers and the colonized are defined as social categories through the colonial relation of economic exploitation, resulting in advantage for one and disadvantage for the other. Having reminded us of this fact of colonialism, Memmi concludes that assimilation is impossible on a large scale. The primary obstacle to assimilation lies on the side of the colonizers who refuse assimilation precisely because it would end the colonial relationship, the source of their privilege.[69] "Assimilation and colonization are contradictory."[70] The only genuine option remaining for the colonized is liberation.

By his own line of argument, Memmi believes that the contradictions in the colonial situation cannot be avoided, delayed indefinitely, or resolved

within the colonial system.[71] These contradictions finally result in liberation. Rather than tracing Memmi's argument, my interest here is to understand what revolution means for the colonized in terms of the theory of narcissism. In the liberation process, if the stage of revolution brings a *healing* of the colonized's narcissistic wound (their low-self esteem and self-alienation), psychotherapists and political activists alike have something to learn from Memmi.

Within the theory of narcissism, there are contradictions in the relationship of the grandiose to the depressive that parallel those which Memmi identifies between colonizers and colonized. In short, the grandiosity of the colonizers depends precariously upon the admiration expressed by the colonized, while the self-esteem of the colonized depends just as precariously on their progress toward assimilation. Assimilation, as I have argued, at best temporarily supports self-esteem because it increases the self-alienation of the colonized. The failure of assimilation on a massive scale makes manifest a contradiction in the relationship of colonizers to colonized: increasing the self-alienation of the colonized and decreasing their admiration for the colonizers, in turn undermining the grandiosity of the colonizers.

The terms used by Memmi to describe "healing" the colonized coincide with those characterizing the narcissist's healing process: "self-affirmation," "liberation," "an end to self-alienation," and "recovery of the self."[72] Memmi can now teach us how healing the colonized takes place through two stages of liberation. The theory of narcissism deepens our understanding of this healing process.

Stage One: Revolt and Negativity
Revolt, often accompanied by violence, effectively brings an end to the colonial relationship. With this, the objective conditions of exploitation, of advantage and disadvantage, disappear. The subjective condition of self-alienation enters an initial phase of healing characterized by "negativity."[73] What was for so long the admired "model" of the colonizer now becomes its antithesis. The colonized begin by negating all that the colonizers represent: their culture, their history, their literature, their technology, and their traditions—in short, their superiority. Pushed to the absolute, the colonized become xenophobic and racist.[74] The colonizers are labeled collectively as "they," in distinction to "we," the colonized. The aim is to rid the colonized of their negative mythical self-portrait in order to acquire a positive one.

The colonized express their self-affirmation as their own positiveness in all respects. By a kind of reactive logic, the colonized begin to affirm themselves with regard to all that was "inassimilable" in them. These differences from the colonizers in religion, language, traditions, and culture define the essence of

the colonized as a collectivity. The "driving principle of their action" is to "affirm their people and to affirm themselves in solidarity with their people."[75] We have seen this before as a strategy of the narcissist: first, when the colonizers support their grandiosity by identifying with the superior metropolitan culture; second, when the colonized identify with the model of the colonizer in their attempt to assimilate. This typical strategy for increasing the narcissist's self-esteem, according to the theory of narcissism, merely perpetuates the "false self." We can anticipate Memmi's diagnosis of the first stage of revolt as "ambiguous" and "alienating."[76]

Stage Two: Revolution and "the Recovery of the Self in All Its Dimensions"

In the stage of revolt, the attempt to reestablish an enduring basis for self-esteem through a sense of belonging to their own great culture fails for the colonized. This, however, is a necessary prelude to revolution and the recovery of the self. The colonized have succeeded in creating a counter-myth of their own absolute positiveness in contrast to the colonizers' negative myth. But this also is a mystification that eventually produces self-doubts for the colonized in the process of revolt. They realize vaguely that their attitudes are "reactive." Then they begin to doubt themselves, their revival of the past, and their power of persuasion. These self-doubts lead the colonized to become aggressive, indignant, defiant, suspicious of others, and demanding of other colonized to show complete approval.[77] Jung recognizes this same phenomenon as the fanaticism of those who repress their self-doubt.[78] The repressed self-doubt is projected onto others who then must show the conviction (faith, confidence, certainty) that is lacking in the fanatic.[79] These self-doubts are the prelude to the recovery of the self.

In the writings of Memmi, we find three aspects in the healing of the colonized that accord with the theory of narcissism. First, the colonized must mourn the reality of a damaged cultural heritage, rather than cling to the positive countermyth that provoked their self-doubts. Their history is not glorious; their culture is dying; their traditions are frozen; their language is rusty.[80] It is futile to debate how their culture would be if colonization had not taken place.[81] They must simply accept the reality of their damaged cultural heritage and mourn its deplorable state. In the psychotherapy of narcissistic depression, the analysand is led to dispel the myth of a happy childhood and to accept the reality of having been unloved. Mourning and grief are the feeling experiences that lead toward healing.[82]

Second, the colonized must develop a personal sense of identity and self-esteem that does not depend on belonging to an admirable people, culture, ethnicity, or nation.[83] Only then is it possible to view their culture realistically,

as having both positive qualities and imperfections. According to the theory of narcissism, artificial support for a lagging self-esteem comes from this sense of belonging to an admirable person or group. However, this effort increases self-alienation that only ends when there is a reconnection to the self as the source of one's own feelings and emotions. That is, living the "true self" becomes the basis for self-esteem.[84]

Third, the colonized must cease to use the colonizers as their point of reference. Memmi makes clear the subtle ways in which the colonized, while searching for self-affirmation, continually act and react in reference to the colonizers, defining their identity in terms of their differences from the colonizers, and drawing up their own positive myth in opposition to the colonizers' negative myth. The colonized assert their own worth as the antithesis of the model of the colonizers, yet ironically, according to the criteria used by the colonizers, such as their people's history, language, and religion. This is a vestige of the colonized aspect of their being, which must become conscious and disappear.[85] Similarly, in the final stages of therapy for the narcissistically depressed, the analysand must become conscious of an excessive tendency toward social comparisons and then reduce them. Such comparisons result in envy and self-doubt, both expressions of low self-esteem.[86] One's valuing and self-valuing should instead be rooted in the "true self."

Memmi's conclusion about the decolonization of political consciousness has parallels in the theory of narcissism. He states that once these healing processes have been completed, the former colonized will become persons like others, with all their joys and sorrows, and will be free.[87] We can add, "free from narcissistic depression." Miller, a psychoanalyst and authority on narcissism, makes a remarkably similar statement: living the "true self" means living the full range of human emotions—joy, sorrow, and all the others.[88]

Implications of Psychopolitical Analysis

This chapter brings together the theory of narcissism and Jungian psychology to interpret Memmi's ideas on political consciousness. It began by treating the phases of narcissistic depression and grandiosity *in an individual* as types of narcissists *in the colonial duo*, the colonizer and the colonized. The interaction in the duo, between these two types of narcissists, explains Memmi's observation that colonialism creates these two roles in the colonial drama and dehumanizes their incumbents. Both are dehumanized in the sense that their search for self-esteem alienates them from their "true self." This happens to the colonized, for example, when they reject their negative mythical "portrait" in their quest for assimilation. They over adapt to the norms of colonial society, increasing their tendency toward narcissistic depression. The colonizers, on the other

hand, accept their positive mythical portrait. They develop a grandiose façade to defend against any doubt about their superiority and against any guilt over their unwarranted privilege, gained at the expense of the colonized. The interaction of the grandiose colonizer with the depressive colonized may stabilize the colonial situation for many decades, though not indefinitely.

Contradictions in colonial society necessarily bring the two narcissistic tendencies to an impasse. When the colonizers block assimilation on a large scale, the colonized can no longer defend themselves against narcissistic depression. Being unable to recover their self-esteem through assimilation, the colonized abandon the colonizer as a model worthy of emulation. Without the colonized's admiration, the colonizers' grandiose façade crumbles, exposing them to their underlying narcissistic depression. At this moment, when the impasse is reached, the colonized turn toward the only remaining alternative, decolonization.

I consider the collective healing of narcissistic disturbances during the process of decolonization to be a variation of therapies found in the analytic encounter. Oppressed consciousness disappears in what Memmi calls the stage of revolution: by mourning the reality of a damaged cultural heritage; by finding a sense of identity and self-esteem that is independent of belonging to an admired people; and by increasing self-affirmation that avoids comparisons and references to the colonizers. In brief, the psychopolitical analysis in this chapter suggests that the development of political consciousness depends on the dynamics of narcissistic disturbances in the colonizer and the colonized, under the influence of societal contradictions.

Appendix

The Theory of Narcissism: A Summary of the Jungian Perspective

A special vocabulary is used in psychoanalysis to describe the narcissistic disturbance. This Appendix provides definitions and background from the theory of narcissism as a reference for the chapter. The Jungian and Freudian perspectives differ in some ways on the nature of the disturbance, its origins, and its treatment in therapy.[89]

My summary of the Jungian approach to the theory of narcissism takes the form of a glossary. The most axiomatic terms are presented first, followed by derived terms that specify the nature of narcissism. This ordering reflects the development of narcissistic disturbances and their manifestations. These terms and their meanings are taken from the following authors: Asper, Edinger, Jacoby, Jung, Miller (a Freudian), Neumann, Schwartz-Salant, and

Whitmont. For Jungian terms appearing in this glossary that are not defined, the reader may refer to *A Critical Dictionary of Jungian Analysis*.[90] The glossary ends with definitions of narcissistic depression and grandiosity, terms essential to the analysis of Memmi's ideas on political consciousness.

Glossary of Terms

The glossary is made up of fourteen terms. When a term reappears or will appear later, it is printed in **bold**. An asterisk identifies those terms that are Jungian in origin or have a specific meaning in Jungian theory. The description of each term has three parts: synonyms, definition, and context. Most terms are defined using terms that precede them, in order to make the glossary coherent. The context enhances the meaning by offering further linkages with other terms in the theory of narcissism.

Emotional Psyche* Synonyms: archetypal psyche, objective psyche, and collective unconscious. Definition: The stratum of the psyche whose energy forms images, emotions, and drives and whose existence and operation are independent of the ego.[91] Context: The emotional psyche (collective unconscious) has a universal human character in contrast to the personal unconscious, which is the repository of repressions, subliminal impressions, and memories made during the lifetime of an individual. The emotional psyche is the source of archetypes that the ego experiences both as images (meanings, spiritual aspects) and as emotions (somatic sensations, material aspects). Emotions are variously called "affects" and "feelings," which should be distinguished from the "feeling function," the ego's capacity for rational discrimination between what one likes and dislikes. These affects and feelings belong to unconscious complexes that Jung detected in the word-association tests as galvanic skin responses, delayed reactions, memory failure, and so forth.

Ego-Self Axis* Synonym: ego-Self relationship. Definition: The path of communication between the conscious personality and the **emotional psyche**. Context: This axis represents the structural and dynamic affinity between the ego and the Self.[92] The "distancing" of the ego from the Self fluctuates over life from phases of apparent autonomy to unity. Any change in ego consciousness is a change in the ego-Self axis.[93]

Self-alienation* Synonym: self-estrangement. Definition: The disconnection of the ego from the Self, a rupture of the **ego-Self axis**. Context: This disconnection occurs normally and cyclically throughout life, alternating with phases of ego-**inflation**.[94]

Inflation* Synonyms: psychic inflation, positive and negative inflation, hubris, ego-Self identity. Definition: The identification of the ego with

transpersonal qualities. Context: The ego's identification with any aspect of the **emotional psyche** (e.g. the Self, the hero, the devil) "puffs up" the ego beyond its human bounds. The ego's identification with any aspect of collective consciousness, especially with the persona (e.g. one's title, office, or social role) similarly produces inflation.[95] In positive inflation, the ego arrogates certain valued qualities of the Self or of the persona, resulting in a sense of power, conceit, and self-worth. In negative inflation, the ego also senses power beyond human bounds, taking the form of exaggerated responsibility for ill deeds or sufferings. As a consequence, negative inflation produces feelings of guilt and worthlessness. Inflation is the original state of ego-Self identity in infancy from which **individuation** proceeds.

Individuation* Synonym: self-realization. Definition: The progression of ego-Self separation from the original state of ego-Self identity in infancy and the increase in consciousness of the **ego-Self axis**. Context: The process includes recurring cycles of **inflation** alternating with **self-alienation**.[96] In the **inflation** phase, the ego tends to identify or merge with the Self. In the **alienation** phase, the ego tends to disconnect from the Self, even to the point of apparent total autonomy. Each recurring cycle adds increments of consciousness.

Self-esteem Synonym: self-worth. Definition: The sense of identity, vitality, meaningfulness, freedom, and security. Context: Being in the **ego-Self axis**, as the living relationship between the ego and the **emotional psyche**, enables the ego to experience self-esteem.

Narcissism Synonym: healthy narcissism. Definition: self-love. Context: Healthy narcissism is **self-esteem** based on living in the **ego-Self axis**, in communication with the **emotional psyche**. In unhealthy narcissism, **self-esteem** is based on psychic **inflation** as overcompensation for inferiority complexes.[97]

Unempathic Mothering Synonyms: conditional love, inadequate mirroring, and deficient mothering. Definition: Emotional and physical abandonment, lack of mirroring, and conditional love. Context: The mother's (or caretaker's) empathic mirroring of the infant's omnipotence and spontaneous gestures is essential for the formation of the infant's coherent sense of self. Lacking empathy for the infant, the mother cannot provide "good enough mothering" for this sense of self to form. When the mother expresses her love only in response to the infant's "acceptable" behavior, there is conditional love, and inadequate mirroring. Instead of continuity in the mother's unconditional love, there is emotional abandonment.

Narcissistic Wound Synonym: injured ego. Definition: Premature **self-alienation** in infancy as a result of **unempathic mothering**. Context: A premature separation of the infant from the Self as represented by the mother

(or main caretaker), due to an intrusive animus, which fails to mirror the needs of the child (**unempathic mothering**). This leads the child to attend to the needs and expectations of others, especially to the narcissistic needs of the mother (or main caretaker). The initial experience consists of being unloved and not loving oneself.

Narcissistic Disturbance Synonym: narcissism (viewed negatively). Definition: A disturbance in self-love as a result of a **narcissistic wound**. Context: In infancy, a normal frustration of narcissistic needs (primary narcissism) occurs. This normal frustration is necessary for **individuation**. **Unempathic mothering** brings a premature frustration of those needs and creates a **narcissistic wound**. The resulting disturbance in self-love can range in severity from mild dissociation to psychosis. In **individuation**, there is a progression of consciousness through cycles of **inflation** alternating with **self-alienation**. In **narcissistic disturbances**, a **narcissistic wound** blocks this progression in the phase of **self-alienation**.

True Self Synonym: authentic personality. Definition: A personality with a sense of identity, meaning, **self-esteem**, and vitality due to living in relation to one's own needs and to one's own nature. Context: By living with the **ego-Self axis** intact, by being rooted in the **emotional psyche**, one experiences the full range of emotions, both painful and pleasant, providing a sense of vitality, identity, and meaning.

False Self Synonyms: as-if personality, identification with the persona. Definition: A personality lacking a sense of vitality, identity, and meaning due to over conforming to the expectations of society and to the needs of significant others rather than living in relation to one's own nature and needs. Context: The false self is the form of **self-alienation** resulting from a **narcissistic wound**. By living without roots in the **emotional psyche**, one lacks the basis for genuine **self-esteem**. Identification with the persona prevents one from living in accordance with one's own nature.

Depression Synonyms: negative **inflation**, deflation, and narcissistic depression. Definition: The experience of a lack of vitality, meaning, **self-esteem**, and identity due to living only through the **false self**. Context: When **self-alienation** occurs prematurely in infancy and creates a **narcissistic wound**, the ego defends itself against the pain of the wound in two ways: **grandiosity** and **depression**. The ego, which lacks the defense of the grandiose persona, defends itself through depression.

Grandiosity Synonyms: positive **inflation**, ego-Self merger, and narcissistic inflation. Definition: The experience of a form of **self-esteem** that depends on **inflation** and which defends the ego against **depression**. Context: The grandiose persona is a merger of the ego and the Self, a psychic **inflation** that artificially creates a sense of **self-esteem**. The maintenance of the grandiose

persona often requires a continuous record of achievements and a continuous flow of admiration from significant others. As a defense against **depression**, grandiosity defends the ego indirectly from the pain of the **narcissistic wound**, the pain of being unloved and not loving oneself. The **false self**, the as-if personality, defends against the pain of the **narcissistic wound** alternately through **depression** and **grandiosity**. This alternation brings fluctuations in **self-esteem**.

CHAPTER 4

Liberated Consciousness
and the Tension of Opposites

This chapter serves as a bridge between parts I and II. It brings together the ideas of Freire, Memmi, and Jungian psychology, presented in chapters 1–3, preparing the way for the application of these ideas to four cases in part II. Already in part I the central ideas of Freire and Memmi are linked to theories from Jungian psychology, as announced by the chapter titles: conscientization and individuation, humanization and complexes, and decolonization and narcissism.[1] The bridge is a synthesis of the foregoing chapters and the theory of opposites, central to Jungian psychology. Samuels states, "[i]n fact, virtually all of Jung's major ideas are expressed in a manner involving opposites."[2] He goes on to say, "[w]hat really structures Jung's whole conception of the psyche is oppositional antagonism and complementarity."[3] This chapter begins by presenting the theory of opposites, emphasizing their tension within the psyche.[4] Next, this theory encompasses the relationship between the psyche of the oppressed and sociohistorical conditions. Then, the theory of opposites contributes to reformulating the ideas of Freire and Memmi in order to define "liberated consciousness." This synthesis guides the four case studies of Native people in ethnically divided societies.

The Concept of Liberated Consciousness

In the study of oppression and liberation it is enlightening to distinguish objective conditions from subjective conditions. Memmi considers the "colonial relationship," consisting of economic exploitation and military domination, to be the fundamental objective condition of colonialism.[5] The various ideologies

and mythical portraits of the colonizer and the colonized, for Memmi, are the subjective conditions described in chapter 3. Similarly, Freire identifies injustice, exploitation, violence, and discrimination as objective conditions of oppression.[6] For Freire, the subjective conditions of the oppressed include their emotions, feelings, and beliefs about society, the oppressors, and the oppressed.[7] Both Memmi and Freire have commented on the relative independence of subjective and objective conditions as oppressive societies move toward liberation.[8] And both insist that genuine liberation means that the transformation of political consciousness must accompany the dismantling of oppressive political structures.

The Need for the Concept of Liberated Consciousness

Interestingly, neither Freire nor Memmi use the expression, "liberated consciousness."[9] Freire speaks of "oppressed consciousness" and then describes the stages toward "critical consciousness." Memmi describes a stage of decolonization called "revolution" in which the colonized attains a "complete liberation" through a recovery of the self.[10] A comparison of Freire's and Memmi's ideas, set forth in chapters 1 and 3, reveals a striking parallel in their descriptions of the development of political consciousness (table 4.1).

The concept of liberated consciousness will be a synthesis of ideas from Freire, Memmi, and Jungian psychology. At the end of this chapter readers will find the full definition of liberated consciousness to be applied to four case studies in part II.

Table 4.1 Memmi and Freire on the development of political consciousness

Memmi's career of the colonized	Freire's stages of conscientization
The colonized who accepts him/herself as inferior and accepts colonial rule	Magical consciousness
The colonized who rejects him/herself to become like the colonizer (to assimilate)	Naïve consciousness
The colonized who rejects the colonizer and colonial rule to reaffirm him/herself	Critical consciousness

Liberated Versus Oppressed Consciousness as the Focus of Inquiry

One might wonder why this study focuses on liberated consciousness rather than oppressed consciousness. The main reason is that we already know a great deal about oppressed consciousness, thanks to the scholarly writings of Freire, Memmi, Fanon, and many others. In chapters 1–3, the discussion focuses on oppressed consciousness and its transformation. What remains a mystery is liberated consciousness. In fact, my initial reading of the personal testimonies for the case studies revealed very little evidence of oppressed consciousness. I was then faced with the dilemma, how to characterize their advanced political consciousness.

The Theory of Opposites in Jungian Psychology

The theory of opposites, including their conflict and tension, is a cornerstone of Jungian psychology.[11] The individuation process itself is energized by a tension of various opposites: between consciousness and the unconscious, ego and shadow, personal and collective, spirit and nature, and so on. A brief introduction to the theory will provide the background for its application to liberated consciousness. A selection of five concepts illustrates the part played by the tension of opposites in Jungian psychology.

Transcendent Function

In the normal life of the psyche the conscious attitude often opposes the drives or instincts of the unconscious. When a person is caught in the tension between consciousness and the unconscious, according to Jung, by holding onto this tension a symbol may emerge that transcends the conflict.[12] That is, the conflict is not so much resolved as reshaped at another level where opposites become compatible.[13] Failure to hold this tension results in taking sides or one-sidedness. Jung developed the technique of active imagination to facilitate the psyche's production of symbols in the transcendent function.[14]

Conscience

Jung's view of conscience belongs to the theory of opposites, which, in this application, are two incompatible duties that a person faces. Jung states, "[t]here is scarcely any other psychic phenomenon that shows the polarity of the psyche in a clearer light than conscience."[15] The tension arises from two obligations, both consistent with society's moral code that cannot be fulfilled simultaneously. Jung counsels the person in such a "conflict of duty" to resist

the one-sided solution that would result from "suppressing one of the opposites." Instead, Jung recognizes that

> if one is sufficiently conscientious the conflict is endured to the end, and a creative solution emerges which is produced by the constellated archetype and possesses that compelling authority not unjustly characterized as the voice of God.[16]

The "creative solution" is a novel third option that the person recognizes as the appropriate one. The voice of conscience offers a truly individual option, one that may even contravene the moral code of society. The dynamics of conscience exemplifies once more how enduring the tension of opposites promotes the transcendent function. "The nature of the solution is in accord with the deepest foundation of the personality as well as with its wholeness; it embraces conscious and unconscious and therefore transcends the ego."[17]

Neurosis

Jung's theory of opposites accounts for psychic energy. Within the psyche, because of the gradient between the opposites, there is a flow of psychic energy. Jung refers especially to these opposites: ego and shadow, instinct and spirit, persona and individuality. The development of consciousness in the life cycle of the person entails a series of choices between conflicting options, structured in terms of opposites.[18] Choosing one option furthers the differentiation of consciousness, although repressing the other option results in one-sidedness.[19] As a consequence the conflict in ego consciousness seems to disappear. That is, the ego no longer experiences a tension of opposites. But repression fails to resolve the conflict because the ego becomes one-sided and the psychic energy that belonged to the pair of opposites regresses into the unconscious. That energy then activates figures and complexes in the unconscious that manifest as symptoms of the unresolved conflict.[20] The symptoms are said to be neurotic when they disturb the person's functioning in everyday life. The self-regulatory function of the psyche produces symptoms, reduces one-sidedness, and restores a balance between opposites.

Transference and Countertransference

The analytic encounter fosters a healing process, involving analyst and analysand, dealing with the relationship between consciousness and the unconscious, understood as opposites. One explanation of healing in analysis refers to the archetype of the "wounded healer." This archetype is bipolar,

consisting of a patient and a healer, paradoxically, whose own wounds never heal.[21] Referring to the analyst, Jung says, "[i]t is his own hurt that gives him the measure of his power to heal."[22] The challenge to the analyst is to sustain the tension of opposites, between being a healer and being wounded, in order for the archetype to perform its healing tasks by being constellated in the patient as his/her own "inner healer."[23] If the analyst one-sidedly identifies with the healer, in the countertransference the woundedness will be projected onto the patient, provoking in the patient a tendency to identify with the woundedness and to project (in the transference) the healer onto the analyst. One-sidedness, resulting from splitting the bipolar archetype of the wounded healer, interferes with the healing process.[24]

Complexes

My Jungian perspective on the ideas of Freire relies on Jung's theory of complexes as reformulated by Perry and elaborated by Sandner and Beebe.[25] Perry's reformulation, in terms of bipolar pairs of complexes, relates to the tension of opposites. In the process of maturation the ego differentiates itself from the unconscious, often symbolized by a doubling motif in myths and dreams. This motif represents the separation of bipolar pairs of complexes.[26] Consciousness expands, as one complex in a bipolar pair becomes aligned with the ego and the other in the pair remains unconscious, often to be encountered through projection as the "Other." One-sidedness here accompanies the usual emergence and consolidation of the ego.[27]

The tension of opposites reappears in a later phase of individuation. As split-off complexes accumulate psychic energy, the self-regulating function of the psyche supports the ego's reintegration of these "splinter psyches."[28] In this phase the ego contends with the conflict of opposites. While attempting to maintain a positive self-image, the ego will have to deal with its shadow side, usually negative or undeveloped qualities that belong to the whole personality. The ego's defense against awareness of its shadow results in one-sidedness. Resolving the conflict by acknowledging aspects of the shadow, however, moves the psyche from one-sidedness toward wholeness. This requires ego strength sufficient to the task of withstanding the tension of the opposites, understood here as two complexes in a bipolar pair.

Having summarized how Jungian psychology uses the tension of opposites, the focus now shifts to how this concept applies to complexes and narcissism, as described in chapters 2 and 3. The inclusion of "ego identity," will complete the set of concepts in a synthesis of Jungian psychology and the ideas of Freire and Memmi, leading to the definition of liberated consciousness.

Complexes, Identity, and the Tension
of Opposites

As seen in chapter 2, Sandner and Beebe draw on Perry's reformulation of Jung's theory of complexes to link individuation to the tension of opposites:

> In forming an identity, as in every other phase of the ego's development out of the unconscious, the ego must confront a pair of opposites. The ego forges its identity uneasily, by integrating opposite possibilities. Along the way, a wide range of unconscious tensions may be represented in dreams and in life as pairs of opposites.[29]

The key elements in this quotation deserve some elaboration. First, the ego's identity develops out of successive confrontations with pairs of opposite tendencies. The ego, as it were, chooses to align itself with one member of the pair and splits off the other member. The split-off member continues as a repressed content of the unconscious. These opposite tendencies are bipolar pairs of complexes, one of which is ego-aligned and the other split off and encountered through projection. The ego's identity forms around ego-aligned complexes. The pairing of the complexes assures a continuing tension between members of a pair. Symbols and figures in dreams, complementary to the ego's conscious attitude, express the tension. The ego experiences the tensions in outward life chiefly as the result of projections, where the "Other" often appears as hostile, rejected, or envied. The tensions may also be experienced as disturbances of ego consciousness: slips of the tongue, forgetting, and so on.[30]

Individuation, according to Sandner and Beebe, involves the restoration of split-off complexes.[31] The process of psychoanalysis challenges the ego to experience at deeper levels the complexes that surface.

> This surfacing collapses the tension of opposites that normally exists between the ego and the archetypal cores of the complexes, and it releases the potential energy buried in this dynamism.[32]

As complexes first split off and later reintegrate, one's personal identity changes because the ego-aligned complex in a bipolar pair contributes to one's identity.

Narcissism, Identity, and the Tension of Opposites

As shown in chapter 3, Asper tells us that a person suffering from a narcissistic disturbance often experiences fluctuating self-esteem. The fluctuation between grandiosity and depression reveals a personality having a weak sense

of identity. The search for the "true self," to replace the "false self" (either grandiose or depressive), is a search for identity.[33] One can view grandiosity as a positive fantasy and depression as a negative fantasy, each pulling the person in an opposite direction. To accept oneself as having *both* positive and negative sides requires withstanding this tension of opposites.

> Grandiosity and depressiveness are not components of the shadow, but rather states, with corresponding images of the search for who the person is, that relegate his normal everyday existence to the shadow. The attempt at withstanding the conflict of opposites is well suited, however, for taking on these extreme states with their fantasies, though the aim really is to strengthen the ego and help the narcissistically wounded analysand, who has been shaken by the opposites, to accept himself as a normal human being with positive and negative sides, to endure the ambiguities of life.[34]

To summarize, both the theory of complexes and the theory of narcissism involve the tension of opposites and the formation of ego identity. According to the theory of complexes, the ego develops and changes its identity as it aligns itself with one member in a bipolar pair of complexes. A strong ego endures the tension in the pair of opposite complexes and succeeds in integrating both members of the pair. According to the theory of narcissism, a person with a weak ego and a narcissistic disturbance will have a sense of identity that fluctuates between a positive self-image (grandiosity) and a negative self-image (depression). A person with a strong ego successfully ends this fluctuation by enduring the tension between these opposite self-images and by accepting her/himself as having both positive and negative aspects.

Holding the Tension of Opposites

Holding the tension of opposites advances the individuation process, according to both theories, of complexes and narcissism. However, this relationship is paradoxical: holding the tension of opposites requires ego strength *and* ego strength requires holding the tension of opposites. Fortunately, this apparent paradox can be reformulated as a cycle of positive feedback, according to Samuels' summary of Jung's ideas about the transcendent function, the tension of opposites, and ego strength.[35]

> Jung called this process the "transcendent function" to emphasize how opposites that *could* dialogue with each other and engage in mutual influence might actually do so by transcending their old positions in consciousness and unconsciousness and finding a new position, attached to

the ego. The ego is holding the tension of opposites to let a mediatory symbol come through—a facilitation of the processes of the self which permit the unconscious-conscious transcendence. . . . [36] At this stage in the process Jung makes what is, for him, a fundamental point. The strength of the person's ego will help the mediatory product or middle position triumph over the two extremes. But *the very existence of the mediatory product actually strengthens the ego*. A new attitude is available for conscious living and, at the same time, ego-consciousness itself is strengthened.[37]

In the following section, a broader Jungian perspective on the tension of opposites will encompass both psychological and sociohistorical conditions of oppression. This will allow for a reexamination of the political implications of the Jungian concept of individuation, presented in chapter 1: (1) how the weakening of cultural rootedness, as a component of ego identity, promotes the one-sidedness that characterizes oppressed consciousness; (2) how being rooted in one's own culture contributes to ego strength, enabling one to endure the tension of opposites, a characteristic of liberated consciousness.

Oppressed Consciousness: A Jungian Perspective on One-sidedness in Ethnically Divided Societies

The Loss of Ancestral Soul

The summary of the tension of opposites in Jungian psychology reveals the role of this concept in the individuation process *in general*. How can this concept explain the achievement of liberated consciousness in an oppressive society where ethnic groups are in conflict? One of the few studies of Third World societies from a Jungian perspective provides some answers. Roberto Gambini, a Zurich-trained Jungian analyst from Brazil, draws on his sociological insights to understand Brazilian underdevelopment. Gambini recalls Jung's views on "the relationship between individual and society, between psychology and history":

> Jung had two vantage points: He perceived a certain historical configuration correlated with individual complexes; for example, his analysis of the Nazi period ("After the Catastrophe," CW10) and each person's shadow, and he could see in a single individual a particular expression of a larger whole.[38]

From the second vantage point, Gambini finds in the psyche of the individual Brazilian a particular expression of the larger society, a one-sidedness that

he calls the "loss of ancestral soul." From the first vantage point, Brazilian society has become one-sided through the "absorption of a foreign culture" and the retreat of the genuine indigenous culture into the unconscious.[39]

From the sociohistorical vantage point, Brazilians are the offspring of an Indian mother and a Portuguese colonial father. The first offspring were the bastards (outcasts) of colonialism lacking a reputable place in society and having lost touch with their indigenous roots. Their Indian mother was not allowed to pass on her culture (language, customs, religion, identity, etc.) to her offspring because her Indian origin was scorned in colonial society. The Portuguese colonizers and Catholic missionaries projected their own shadow first onto the Indians and later onto the Africans of Brazil, who were seen as inferior and ruled by the devil. The severance of ancestral roots during 500 years resulted in the psychological condition of many Brazilians today: resignation, cynicism, and apathy.[40] This "loss of ancestral soul" (a subjective condition) accompanies in history the economic processes of exploitation (objective conditions), leading to a society divided into "haves and have-nots," not an "undeveloped," but an "underdeveloped" society.[41] Whether belonging to the elite or the masses, many Brazilians suffer from a "loss of soul." Aside from the culture of surviving Native people in the Amazon, vestiges of genuine soul may be found in popular culture on the margin of society composed of intermixed descendents of Indians, Africans, and Whites. Dominant classes denigrate popular culture in favor of the "transplanted, foreign culture." Using an alchemical metaphor, Gambini remarks that in popular culture lies the "gold," a genuine expression of the ancestral soul.[42]

What is a "loss of ancestral soul" and why is it specific to the colonial context?[43] First, let us consider the "colonial context" in the broad sense that includes both a colony as such and also "internal colonialism." The latter terms refers to relationships of domination, usually of one ethnic group by another. If each culture has its own particular variant of collective consciousness and the collective unconscious, what is particular about the colonial context?[44] Gambini answers, saying that the roots of the aboriginal culture reach into the soil of time and place. The centuries of aboriginal cultural differentiation form specific modes of living, social organization, values, and meaning. The advent of colonization effectively severed these roots through the often-violent imposition of foreign cultural forms, including conversion to Catholicism.[45] In the colony successive generations of people, lacking authentic cultural roots, created a particular historical context that becomes the starting point for the analysis and diagnosis of the Brazilian psyche.

"Loss of ancestral soul" refers to a condition of rootlessness that one experiences as a loss of identity, a loss of meaning, and a sense of inferiority

accompanied by fervent attempts to live and imitate an alien persona.[46] Gambini's diagnosis calls to mind several conditions that Freire and Memmi already encountered in oppressed consciousness: resignation, cynicism, and apathy.[47] These are all aspects of depression, according to Gambini,[48] and are characteristic of a personality that has severed its roots with the "emotional psyche," hence a "loss of soul." These enduring conditions of depression correspond to self-alienation and to disconnection of the ego-Self axis that occur periodically during the second stage of the individuation process.[49]

The Soul Wound

In their study of Native American psychology, Eduardo and Bonnie Duran diagnose the "soul wound," that I believe corresponds to "the loss of ancestral soul" described by Gambini.[50] In their clinical experience with Native Americans they found it essential to understand current psychological disorders within a historical and cultural context.[51] The Durans adopted the posttraumatic stress disorder paradigm (PTSD) in order to explain the inter-generational transmission of the "soul wound" since the time of the conquest in America.[52] The initial trauma took place at that time, resulting in the destruction of the cultural and spiritual core of the Native life world. This destruction was "not allowed the time for proper bereavement and grief process, thus adding to the wound in the Native American collective psyche."[53] The next trauma resulted from the U.S. government's policy of extermination, which took on genocidal proportions.[54]

In a study—cited by the Durans—conducted on children of Holocaust survivors, it was found that PTSD was cumulative over generations. When traumas are not resolved during the lifetime of the person suffering them, then the dysfunctional behavior of these persons will become the learning environment for their children. As in the studies of the children of Holocaust survivors, a ". . . similar psychology is in operation with Native American people and their descendents who were subjected to a Holocaust experience."[55] The psychological impacts on victims of genocidal assaults include despair, loss of self-worth, and self-hatred.[56]

The "ongoing trauma" of Native people results from three further historical phases: the forced relocation of the Natives on reservations, their forced acculturation in boarding schools, and their forced relocation from reservations to metropolitan areas.[57] These traumas impact on the indigenous psyche to deepen the "soul wound." In particular, acculturation stress, deriving from the pressure to assimilate, results in anxiety, depression, alienation, and identity confusion.[58] The initial and subsequent traumas just mentioned tend

to remain unresolved and are thus transmitted from one generation to the next.

> The core of Native American awareness was the place where the soul wound occurred. This core essence is the fabric of soul and it is from this essence that mythology, dreams, and culture emerge. Once the core from which soul emerges is wounded, then all of the emerging mythology and dreams of a people reflect the wound. The manifestations of such a wound are then embodied by the tremendous suffering that the people have undergone since the collective soul wound was inflicted half a millennium ago. Some of the diseases and problems that Native American people suffer are a direct result of the soul wound.[59]

The Durans' description of the soul wound corresponds to the one-sidedness that Gambini found in the Brazilian psyche, the loss of ancestral soul.[60] The Spanish conquest brought a "psychic trauma" in the Native American by the imposition of a foreign cosmology over the Native cosmology. The process of colonization split the Native's psyche, resulting in polarity and one-sidedness, according to the Durans:

> The separation in the psyche happened when the colonizing people overwhelmed the psyche of the Native American through the forceful imposition of a mythology that was foreign and differentiated in a totally opposing cosmology. At the point of trauma the psyche may have attempted to regress in order to escape complete annihilation. Since total regression is impossible, the Native American psyche was left with some of the previous consciousness. If we were to look at the previous whole of the Native American psyche, we could see that it has become split.[61]

Collective Shadow Projections[62]

In a pioneering study on the relationship of Jungian psychology to politics, Odajnyk also links the individual and sociohistorical conditions of oppression. He draws ideas from Frantz Fanon on colonial oppression and imbeds them in the theory of opposites.[63] In the context of White and Black racial divisions in American society, Odajnyk describes White racism as collective shadow projections that influence the Blacks' self-image, a part of their oppressed consciousness. "Members of shadow-bearing groups are usually demoralized and depressed."[64] This came to pass in American society in three steps. First, slavery destroyed almost completely Black man's culture, leaving him "no other recourse but to adopt the cultural superego of the Whites."

Second, the White culture denigrates the Black who becomes "an object of contempt . . . and the target of the most vile shadow projections." And third, as a consequence, the Black came "to hate and despise himself and so cooperated in his own deprecation and subjugation."[65] This condition echoes the one-sidedness in oppressed consciousness.

According to Odajnyk, Blacks can resist or overcome the influence of White racism on forming oppressed consciousness among Blacks. "It takes a strong and unbroken cultural tradition or unusual individual self-awareness to withstand the combined onslaught."[66] In other words, resistance to the influence of racism on oppressed consciousness depends on a strong ego identity, itself derived from a rootedness in the ancestral soul. These two conditions enable the oppressed to endure the tension of opposites, to avoid identifying one-sidedly with either White superiority or Black inferiority. Odajnyk states:

> White Americans must learn to see themselves as also Black and identify with the history and cultural values of Blacks in the same way that Blacks see themselves as also White and identify with the history and cultural values of Whites. . . . What all this really means is that in order to come to terms with shadow projections, the individual and the group must learn to be conscious of and to bear the tension of opposites within themselves.[67]

Summary of This Section

In the light of the Jungian concept, the tension of opposites, I have explored the relationship between the inner drama of the individual and the outer drama of society, in the two ways inspired by Jung and mentioned by Gambini. First, Jung "perceived a certain historical configuration correlated with individual complexes." The colonial conquest of indigenous peoples resulted in cultural domination that an individual still experiences today as one-sidedness, a soul wound, and a loss of ancestral soul. Second, Jung "could see in a single individual a particular expression of a larger whole."[68] Conflict between ethnic groups in society reverberates within the individual as a conflict of psychic opposites. Having laid this groundwork, I can now return to Memmi and Freire to integrate their ideas with Jungian psychology and to define liberated consciousness.

Cultural Complexes

After writing this chapter I discovered that a group of Jungian analysts in 2004 had introduced a new concept, the "cultural complex," that overlaps in many ways with my discussion of the soul wound. In attempting to shed light

on conflicts between groups, they extend Jung's concept of the personal complex to the level of culture.[69] Cultural and personal complexes are considered as bipolar, according to Perry's formulation. A cultural complex consists of information and misinformation about society, groups, and classes "filtered through the psyches of generations of ancestors."[70] A traumatic historical event, such as colonial conquest, is a wounding experience that enlarges an existing cultural complex that, in turn, becomes a vehicle for collective memory and emotions, carrying over many generations.[71] When a renewed trauma activates the cultural complex, members of the group experience "intense collective emotions." "The individual ego of a group member becomes identified with one part of the unconscious cultural complex, while the other part is projected out onto the suitable hook of another group or one of its members."[72] Intense emotions may include a sense of discrimination, feelings of oppression and inferiority of their own group, experienced at the hands of another offending group.[73]

Several ideas associated with the cultural complex overlap with mine on the soul wound: a traumatic historical event creates deep wounds in the collective psyche; contents of the cultural complex include ideologies about society and classes; collective memories and emotions are transmitted across generations; complexes have a bipolar structure; activated complexes result in ego identification with one pole and projection of the other pole onto an offending Other. Given these similarities, what distinguishes the cultural complex from my approach to the soul wound? The former appears to be more inclusive, treating the formation and activation of collective psychic wounds in the conflict between cultures. Mine, in contrast, concentrates on the soul wound of the oppressed in relationships where one ethnic group dominates another.

Liberated Consciousness: A Reformulation of the Ideas of Freire and Memmi from a Jungian Perspective

The Polarity in Oppressed Consciousness

Both Freire and Memmi describe oppressed consciousness in terms of pairs of opposites. In chapter 2, a pair of opposites, paternalism and dependence, was treated as a bipolar pair of complexes. In chapter 3, the opposing tendencies toward either narcissistic grandiosity or depression were considered as a pair of opposites. The processes of humanization (Freire) and decolonization (Memmi) culminate in the transcendence of these pairs of opposites. Oppressed consciousness is transformed into "liberated consciousness" as the oppressed transcend the psychic pairs of opposites. This, in brief, is the initial definition of liberated consciousness.[74]

**One-sided Solutions to the Polarity
in Oppressed Consciousness**

Memmi and Freire describe certain transformations of oppressed conscious-
ness that do not result in liberated consciousness, as we have just defined it,
because none of them transcends the pairs of opposites. Rather, each of these
transformations is a pitfall or a phase on the way to liberated consciousness.

**One-sided Identification with the Negative Image of
the Oppressed (Freire's Stage of Magical Consciousness;
Memmi's Colonized Who Accept Themselves as Inferior)**

The oppressed internalize a negative image of themselves as inferior and
dependent—a self-image contained in the mythical portrait of the colonized
(Memmi) or in the myths disseminated through "banking education" (Freire)
in an oppressive society. According to Freire, "self-depreciation is another
characteristic of the oppressed. This results from introjecting the oppressor's
judgment of them."[75] According to Memmi[76] the negative, mythical portrait
of the colonized tends, finally, to be accepted by the colonized as a veritable
self-portrait: "the crushing of the colonized is included in the colonial values.
When the colonized adopts these values he adopts his own condemnation."[77]

**One-sided Identification with the Positive Image of the
Oppressor (Freire's Stage of Naive Consciousness; Memmi's
Colonized Who Seek to Become Like the Colonizer, to Assimilate)**

The oppressed, having internalized the positive image of the oppressor, reject
their own self-image as inferior in order to identify with the other pole, that
of the oppressor. "In their alienation the oppressed want at any price to
resemble the oppressor, to imitate him, to follow him."[78] In a state of immer-
sion, the oppressed cannot distinguish between their inner oppressor, to
whom they adhere as their only "model of humanity," and their own true self.
There is a "reversal of the terms of the contradiction" that results in an aber-
ration: "one of the poles of the contradiction, rather than seeking liberation,
seeks identification with the opposite pole."[79]

   Although the oppressed lack both self-confidence and confidence in their
peers, they show confidence in the oppressor. They yield their power of deci-
sion to the oppressor and follow his dictates.[80] Whereas the oppressed's atti-
tude of inferiority leads toward *imitating the oppressor* as the model of
superiority, the oppressed's fear of freedom leads toward *seeking the oppressor's
protection*, an attitude of dependence.

In the colonial context the one-sided evaluation of the oppressor leads the oppressed to attempt assimilation. However, the polarity remains because one pole, the negative image of the oppressed, is repressed into the unconscious. As Memmi states, "to become someone else," means to reject oneself; the colonized find in the colonizers a model of all that is worthy, prestigious, honorable, powerful, and wealthy.[81] The colonized seek the self-esteem they lack by resembling this model to the point of disappearing in it. Assimilation means imitating the model with respect to customs, language, clothing, food, architecture, and even mixed marriage with a colonizer.[82]

One-sided Identification with the Positive Image of the Oppressed (Freire's Stage of Fanaticized Consciousness; Memmi's Stage of Revolt)[83]

Memmi describes a later stage in decolonization when the colonized reverse their evaluation of the two poles, colonizer and colonized. In this stage of "revolt" the negative traits of the colonized in their mythical portrait become their virtues whereas the positive traits of the colonizers in the mythical portrait become vices. Self-alienation enters an initial phase of healing characterized by "negativity." The colonized negate all that the colonizers represent: their culture, their history, their literature, their technology, and their traditions—in short, their supposed superiority. The colonized succeed in creating a countermyth of their own absolute positiveness in contrast to the colonizers' negative myth.[84]

Though the stage of "revolt" is an improvement over the previous solution, the polarity has neither disappeared nor been transcended. The colonized continue to establish their identity with reference to the opposite pole, that of the colonizer. Memmi makes clear the subtle ways in which the colonized, while searching for self-affirmation, continually act and react in reference to the colonizers. They define their identity in terms of their differences from the colonizers. Their own positive myth refutes the colonizers' negative myth. They assert their own worth as the antithesis of the model of the colonizers, yet according to the criteria used by the colonizers, such as their people's history, language, and religion.[85]

Transcending the Polarity in Oppressed Consciousness

The stage of decolonization that Memmi calls "revolution" encompasses liberated consciousness. At this stage, individuals identify neither with the oppressor nor with the oppressed pole, having transcended this polarity and found their true nature. For Memmi, liberation means ceasing to value oneself

with reference to the "colonizing categories" of East versus West and modern versus traditional.[86] In effect, these are some of the very criteria that sustain the polarity in oppressed consciousness. Also according to Memmi, once the healing process is completed, the former colonized becomes a person like others, with all the joys and sorrows that others experience, and is free.[87]

It is also fundamental to Freire's thinking that liberation results from transcending the contradictions of oppressive society.[88] An aim of Freire's "liberating education" is the emergence from oppressed consciousness through the discovery of those contradictions.[89] In oppressed consciousness the attitudes of paternalism and dependence contain the oppressed's potential for "recovering their despoiled humanity."[90] These attitudes express themselves as adherence to the oppressor and self-depreciation of the oppressed.

> But when he is able to break the "adherence," by objectifying reality, by emerging, he finds the unity of his *ego*, as a subject encountering an object. Indeed, at this moment, likewise he breaks the false unity of his divided being and genuinely becomes a person.[91]

Synthesis of Freire, Memmi, and Jungian Psychology

Freire and Memmi consider the transcendence of the polarity in oppressed consciousness to be essential to the process of liberation, viewed as either humanization or decolonization.[92] Both suggest a natural movement in the psyche of the oppressed toward what I term "liberated consciousness." For Memmi, "in every colonized there is a fundamental demand for change" supported by "the entire movement of his oppressed personality."[93] For Freire, man's vocation is humanization. The oppressed are drawn into a permanent quest for freedom, justice, and "for the recuperation of their despoiled humanity."[94]

Having reformulated the nature of oppressed consciousness in Jungian terms as one-sidedness, we may deepen our understanding of the transcendence that characterizes liberated consciousness, once again with reference to Jungian psychology. The following seven points synthesize these ideas.

1. Polarity in oppressed consciousness is a particular instance of the more general condition of psychic opposites.
2. One-sidedness results from the person's inability to endure the tension of psychic opposites.
3. One-sidedness characterizes oppressed consciousness.

This agrees with the descriptions of Freire and Memmi, based on chapters 1–3. In oppressed consciousness, the ego aligns with one complex in

a pair, with dependence, and splits off the other complex of paternalism, projecting it onto the oppressor. Similarly, the ego of the oppressed fails to create a positive identity in narcissistic grandiosity, leaving it in depression.

4. There are sociohistorical correlates of one-sidedness.

In an analysis of Brazilian underdevelopment, Gambini correlates the sociohistorical conditions of the colonial conquest with present-day one-sidedness in the Brazilian psyche, what he calls the "loss of ancestral soul." The Durans call this same condition the "soul wound" of Native Americans, also the result of their conquest and the centuries of attempts by White Americans first to exterminate, then to assimilate them. In their "postcolonial psychology," the Durans correlate sociohistorical conditions with the conditions of the individual psyche, as do Odajnyk, Gambini, and Jung (in his own way). The individual's adherence to one pole (one-sidedness) in oppressed consciousness, results from centuries of domination by Whites, *Ladinos*, and Westerners.[95] The soul wound, the loss of ancestral soul, and the lack of rootedness, all describe the one-sidedness of oppressed consciousness.

5. The particular self-images and identities conveyed by the pairs of complexes (the psychological correlate) are reflections of the conflicting ethnic groups in society (the sociohistorical correlate).
6. Liberated consciousness means that one-sidedness has been overcome, that the polarity of oppressed consciousness has been transcended.

The ego of the oppressed person has become sufficiently strong to endure the tension in the bipolar pairs of complexes without splitting. The more unconscious (split-off and projected) complex in the bipolar pairs has returned to consciousness, reestablishing a psychic tension of opposites. Two Jungians, Odajnyk and Young-Eisendrath, equate ethnic tolerance with a person's ability to endure the tension of psychic opposites (psychological correlate) in ethnically divided societies (sociohistorical correlate).

7. Liberated consciousness accompanies a healing of the soul wound, a recovery of the ancestral soul, and a reconnection to one's cultural roots.

Expanded Definition of Liberated Consciousness

Having placed the tension of psychic opposites in the context of oppression and liberation in ethnically divided societies, it is now possible to complete

the definition of liberated consciousness. The image of the oppressor (the mythical portrait) in one of the paired complexes corresponds to the dominant ethnic group. At the same time, the image of the oppressed (the mythical portrait) in the second of the paired complexes corresponds to the dominated ethnic group. In an ethnically divided society, the societal-historical correlate and the psychological correlate are analogous. *Liberated consciousness means holding the tension of psychic opposites, where the opposites are images of ethnic groups in conflict.*[96]

PART II

Cases of Liberated Consciousness

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The Study of Political Consciousness in Ethnically Divided Societies

Chapters 6–9 present case studies of four Native people who attained liberated consciousness while living under conditions of oppression in ethnically divided societies. This chapter describes the aims and methods of the case studies.

The Aims of the Case Studies

The first aim of the case studies is to understand the transition from oppressed to liberated consciousness. This transition is a subjective condition that accompanies an increasingly active engagement to eliminate the objective conditions of oppression: exploitation, discrimination, repression, and the denial of human rights. The second aim is to understand the psychopolitical healing of oppressed persons, conveyed in detail in chapter 10. Healing the psychic wounds of oppression includes reintegrating split-off parts of the psyche, reconnecting the ego-Self axis, eliminating alienation, restoring self-esteem, finding meaning, one's social identity, and one's true self. The political aspect of psychopolitical healing corresponds to the political aspect of wounding. Oppressive political leaders, interest groups, and regimes *inflict* the psychic wounds.

The Methods of the Case Studies

The psychopolitical analysis of cases resembles the psychoanalytic encounter with clients. The "clients on my couch" are the published personal testimonies

of four oppressed persons. As they "speak" to me about their life stories, I gather insights informed by my psychopolitical perspective, namely the ideas of Memmi, Freire, and Jungian psychology synthesized in chapter 4.[1] These cases are indeed "clients," not "patients," for I consider the psychic wounds of oppression to be normal, not pathological.

Case Selection

In today's world, ethnic divisions often underlie oppression and conflict. One need only consider the examples of the former Yugoslavia, Iraq, Rwanda, Guatemala, and Mexico.[2] In the views of Freire and Memmi, ethnic identity often distinguishes oppressor from oppressed. Given my long-standing interest in the well-being of Native peoples of Latin America, the first criterion for case selection is that the person be Native or *indigenous*.

The selection of cases meets a second criterion, in accordance with my intention to generalize the conclusions beyond the cases themselves. That is, would conclusions based on cases from the Third World be applicable elsewhere? To answer this question the *geographic context* of oppression in my research includes both the Third World and the "Fourth World."[3] The latter term is defined as "minority indigenous peoples" who most often occupy the lowest rung of the social-economic ladder.[4] Two cases are selected from Guatemala to represent the Third World context and two from Canada to represent the Fourth World.[5]

A third criterion was *gender*. Native women often are doubly oppressed, due to ethnic discrimination and sexism. How do Native women differ from Native men in their political consciousness, due to double discrimination? Is their psychopolitical healing similar? The cases of two women and two men are chosen to help answer these questions.

The fourth criterion for the selection of cases is their relevance to the issues of oppression and liberation. A cursory reading of a personal testimony allowed me to determine whether there was sufficient discussion of oppression and politics to do the psychopolitical analysis.

Applying these criteria to a number of "candidates" led to the selection of four cases: Atanasio, a Quiché Maya in Guatemala; James Sewid, a Kwakiutl in British Columbia, Canada; Lee Maracle, a Coastal Salish and Métis, in British Columbia, Canada; Rigoberta Menchú, a Quiché Maya, in Guatemala.[6]

Drawing General Conclusions from Four Case Studies

Research in both political science and depth psychology abounds in case studies, often raising the question of how to generalize the findings from a

single case. The research in part II answers this question, in part, by making the cases *comparable* yet *varied*. The cases are comparable because the same theories and set of concepts are applied to all (see chapter 4 and the template in this chapter). The cases are varied due to the criteria for their selection. The two cases of Native persons within each national context vary according to three conditions: *gender, occupation*, and *urban-rural setting*. In Guatemala: Atanasio is male, a factory worker, living in a city; Menchú is female, then a catechist and labor organizer, living in a village. In Canada: Sewid is male, a fisherman, living in a small town; Maracle is female, then a rebellious youth, living in a city.

Any conclusions applicable to all four cases might be generalized to indigenous people of both the Third and Fourth Worlds, both genders, both urban and rural settings, and several occupations. I say, "might be generalized," because there are only four cases, until other scholars carry out future research along the lines of this study and reconfirm my conclusions.[7]

What are the conclusions from the case studies that might be generalized? First, all four cases follow the same sequence of phases in the development of political consciousness, those postulated in chapter 4 and summarized in the template at the end of this chapter. Some cases skip certain phases, though their order remains the same. Second, in all four cases, ego strength gained in a maturation crisis and rootedness in the ancestral soul are preconditions for liberated consciousness (see chapters 6–9). Third, the four cases share the same pattern of psychopolitical healing (see chapter 10).

Psychological Case Studies Based on Published Documents

The use of case studies to illustrate or support theories has a long history in the writings by Jungian analysts. With the permission of their analysands, they often use dialogues and dreams from analytic encounters as evidence of some principle or concept. My case studies, however, are based on data from published personal testimonies. This means that my depth-psychological analysis of "clients on the couch" differs from the analytic encounter because I could not incorporate the clients' reactions to my interpretations nor could I communicate with the clients. Since they were not present, I had to rely solely on the published personal testimonies. In doing the case studies, I searched for evidence of certain complexes (dependence and inferiority) and narcissistic disturbances (grandiosity and depression). Clearly, the analysis of written texts, as I have done, is less reliable than face-to-face communication.

The way has been paved for this kind of case study by Jungians before me. Examples from the writings of Jung, von Franz, and several present-day analysts show the appropriateness of using published documents as case data.

Jung's pivotal publication, *Symbols of Transformation*, dates back to 1912. In this book, Jung analyzed the fantasies of an American woman whose pseudonym was Frank Miller. Jung sought the meaning of images from the collective unconscious, found in the fantasies of a single person. The source of the material was Frank Miller, a woman unknown to Jung, whose fantasies were first published by Théodore Flournoy. In 1918 an American colleague, who was treating Miss Miller for a schizophrenic disturbance, wrote to Jung to say, "even personal acquaintance with the patient had not taught him 'one iota more' about her mentality."[8]

Marie-Louise von Franz, a Jungian analyst and contemporary of Jung, wrote *A Psychological Interpretation of The Golden Ass of Apuleius*. A thorough study of this Latin classic from the second century AD enabled her to analyze the personality of its author, Apuleius. Von Franz described his personality dynamics in terms of his psychic dissociation, mother complex, anima, *puer aeternus* traits, and shadow.[9]

For the purpose of illustrating three different schools of Jungian analysis, three prominent analysts, representative of the classical, archetypal, and developmental schools, were invited to propose a course of treatment for "Joan," a pseudonym for an actual person. Each analyst worked exclusively from the same printed case materials, without any direct contact with the patient.[10]

Personal Testimonies as Data for the Case Studies

Empirical research, such as this, that examines the validity of theoretical ideas, relies on quality data. Part II applies the theories of political consciousness found in part I, using data from the personal testimonies of four oppressed persons. The quality of these data depends both on the reliability of the data collection procedure and the validity of the data.[11]

A *reliable* data collection procedure allows the narrator's personal testimony to take a final written form with a minimum of distortion. The chief sources of distortion would be the narrator's self-censorship and the editor's subjectivity in processing the narrative.[12] Data collection begins with a series of interviews during which the narrator tells his or her life story and the editor records it. The editor then transcribes and edits the narrative. Finally, the edited narrative is translated, if necessary, into the language of publication. The greater the reliability of the data collection procedure, the less distortion there is at each step.

Valid testimonial data are representative of the whole life of the narrator, revealing his or her complexity within a sociocultural context. In contrast, data that are specific to a time, place, or event (such as a protest or crisis) may

only reduce the person to a stereotype. In other words, data are valid in the sense that they are a representative sample of the person's whole life, including experiences from childhood to adulthood.[13] Validity depends as well on factual accuracy. A narrator may distort a personal testimony, however representative, a strong possibility in the case of Rigoberta Menchú.

Working with available information on the data collection procedures and the representativeness of the data, an assessment of the quality of the data for each case follows.

Atanasio's Testimony

Reliability. Catherine Vigor conducted her interviews with Atanasio in Guatemala in 1991. The politically sensitive nature of the narrative led the editor to use "Atanasio" as a pseudonym. Under the protection of anonymity, data distortion through self-censorship is unlikely. Vigor provides no information on the questions she asked or the extent to which the interviews were structured. Trained as a sociologist in France, Vigor would be expected to use standard interviewing techniques. The interviews were tape-recorded in Spanish. The editing of the transcribed interviews is not described, though Vigor and Atanasio, who is literate in Spanish, may have accomplished the division into chapters ordered by themes jointly. Vigor, also a language teacher, translated the interviews from Spanish to French for publication.[14]

Validity. The chapter titles in Atanasio's testimony show a diversity of themes that range from personal experiences to historical and cultural conditions of Guatemala. His life story includes experiences from childhood to adulthood. Considering Atanasio's testimony as a sample, it appears to be representative of his whole life.

James Sewid's Testimony

Reliability. James Spradley, a professional anthropologist, conducted the interviews of James Sewid in English.[15] Over a two-year period, Spradley tape-recorded the unstructured interviews on the basis of which he conducted a second round of structured interviews.[16] Editing ordered the testimony chronologically and provided grammatical consistency. Sewid had the final draft read back to him and made very few changes.

Even though Sewid speaks about politically sensitive issues, there is no reason to suspect data distortion due to self-censorship. His political views were already public, given his long tenure as council chief. Sewid's silence on his immediate family is noticeable, though unlikely to distort the narrative on his experiences of oppression. Thus, the data collection procedure for Sewid's testimony seems reliable.

Validity. The validity of Sewid's testimonial data derives from the way they are representative of his whole life, from childhood to mature adulthood. His narrative extends from the life of his community to both the Native and White cultures of the Province of British Columbia.

Lee Maracle's Testimony

Reliability. Lee Maracle wrote her own testimony in two publications. The first, *Bobbi Lee, Indian Rebel*, was spoken and recorded, then transcribed and edited by Maracle.[17] The subjectivity of an editor can distort a narrator's testimony, but here this source of distortion was absent because Maracle, herself, played this role. The transcribed testimony was restructured in chronological order. The second volume, *I Am Woman*, was written, not spoken, by Maracle. Again, the reliability of the procedure is not a problem. And, there is no reason to suspect distortions due to self-censorship because the narrative is extremely outspoken on racism, sexism, and oppression within Canadian society.

Validity. The validity of the data for this case study is high on two accounts. First, the testimony spans a lifetime from early childhood to adulthood. Second, Maracle's personal experiences are imbedded in the context of ethnic conflict in Canadian society between Natives and Whites. As such, the testimony appears representative of Maracle's whole life.

Rigoberta Menchú's Testimony

The publication of *I, Rigoberta Menchú*, stirred outrage in the press and criticism among academics over its alleged inauthenticity.[18] Certain criticisms are pertinent to the reliability and validity of this testimony.

Reliability. In 1982 Elisabeth Burgos-Debray, an anthropologist, tape-recorded and transcribed Menchú's testimony, then edited the resulting text. The editor guided the interviews at first, using a schematic outline of topics in chronological order. As the recording progressed, the interviews departed from the editor's outline and questions. The editor states that she did not alter or delete any words in the transcription of the tapes. Her editing consisted of dividing the text into chapters organized around themes that were already identified, inserting passages to link the chapters.[19]

In 1997 Menchú objected to the editing by Burgos-Debray, stating that she had not had the right to say if the text met her approval or if it was consistent with the facts of her life.[20] Despite Menchú's displeasure over the editing process, she does not question the factual content of the published text. As to language, neither Menchú's command of Spanish nor the English translation seems to have distorted her testimony. Distortion through self-censorship

appears unlikely because the interviews were conducted in Paris where Menchú was in exile, hence free from retributions by the Guatemalan regime. She only omitted the names of certain people whose life would be endangered.

The second testimony, entitled *Crossing Borders*, is a book authored by Menchú. Having by then a firm command of Spanish and no need for taped interviews, Menchú wrote a testimony of which the reliability does not pose a problem.

Validity. Returning to her first book, *I, Rigoberta Menchú*, the validity of the data has been scrutinized publicly. The anthropologist, Stoll, did extensive field research in Guatemala in order to ascertain the factual basis for events cited in the testimony. A sufficient number of discrepancies led Stoll to conclude, "her 1982 testimony is not a literal account of her life."[21] Menchú disputed Stoll's conclusions briefly.[22] What relevance does this alleged factual discrepancy have on my psychopolitical analysis of this case? The data most essential to my analysis are Menchú's perceptions, attitudes, beliefs, and emotions. Stoll's research does not question the validity of these data.[23]

The testimony in her first book meets the criterion of representativeness. Considering the diversity of life situations from her childhood to young adulthood and considering the cultural and national context surrounding her life experiences, her testimony seems to be a sample that is representative of her whole life to that time. Menchú's second book, *Crossing Borders*, raises few questions about validity. Drawing on experiences since her exile to the time of her second book, this testimony is representative of her adulthood.

Theoretical Innovations and the Case of Atanasio

The case studies began with the personal testimony of Atanasio, guided by the theories of political consciousness presented in chapters 1–3. Chapter 4 was not yet written. I expected to find evidence of oppressed consciousness, located somewhere on the path to humanization and decolonization. However, after a thorough reading of Atanasio's testimony, I was surprised to find no evidence of oppressed consciousness. At that moment I faced a dilemma: if my theoretical chapters were inadequate for this case, what form of political consciousness had I encountered? Returning to the writings of Freire and Memmi, I searched for their description of the form of political consciousness toward which oppressed consciousness evolves. Freire called it "critical consciousness," while Memmi called it the stage of "revolution."

Since neither of these fits completely what I had found in the case of Atanasio, it became necessary to coin the term, "liberated consciousness." These steps and the ones that follow belong to the method of analytic induction.[24]

My notes on the case of Atanasio revealed that his "liberated consciousness" functioned as a "tension of opposites," a concept central to Jungian theories of the psyche. The challenge then was to formulate in detail the concept of liberated consciousness, in a new chapter (chapter 4), integrating the ideas of Freire and Memmi, from previous chapters, with the "tension of opposites," from Jungian psychology.

In order to determine the adequacy of the theoretical innovations in chapter 4, I renewed my psychopolitical analysis of Atanasio's testimony. This time the analysis was satisfactory, allowing me to explain Atanasio's evolution toward liberated consciousness. Since I had developed this concept from the evidence of this case and then applied it to the reanalysis of the same case, the fit of the case to the concept could not be taken as "confirmation." From the case study of Atanasio, based on chapter 4, I created a template for the three remaining case studies. Only the fit of these three cases could confirm the adequacy of the concept of liberated consciousness. The template that guided my case analyses now guides the case presentations in chapters 6–9.

The Template as Theoretical Framework to Guide the Case Studies

The *template* for the case studies combines the ideas of Memmi, Freire, and Jungian psychology on political consciousness. It enables the reader to see how the ideas of chapter 4 apply to all four cases and structures each case study in the same way in order to facilitate comparisons, found mainly in chapter 10. The template contains five elements. A case may not include all three phases of oppressed consciousness.

1. A short biographical profile.
2. The person's critical consciousness:
   a. how the person "names, reflects, and acts" at this stage of conscientization,
   b. how the person lives under conditions of oppression and acts politically to confront oppression.
3. Phases of oppressed consciousness: one-sided identification with the
   a. negative image of the oppressed,
   b. positive image of the oppressor,
   c. positive image of the oppressed.
4. Preconditions for liberated consciousness:
   a. ego-strength, due to the successful resolution of a maturation crisis,
   b. rootedness in the ancestral soul, established or reestablished.

5. Enduring the tension of opposites (not one-sidedness) and attaining liberated consciousness:
   a. how conditions of ego strength and rootedness in the ancestral soul contribute to a person's ability to hold the tension of opposites,
   b. evidence of an unsplit bipolar pair of complexes, paternalism-dependence,
   c. evidence of healthy self-esteem in place of narcissistic grandiosity and depression.

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Atanasio

Biographical Profile

In 1991 at the age of thirty-nine, Atanasio told his life story to Catherine Vigor, a French sociologist. From childhood in a mountain highlands village of El Quiché province to adulthood as a garment worker in Guatemala City, a single theme predominates: conflict between the *Ladino* (a Latin American subculture that does not identify itself as Indian) minority and his Mayan people.[1] As the eldest son with eight siblings, he took on heavy responsibilities for his family. At the age of eight he began to accompany his father to Guatemala City to help sell their weavings. At home he tended neighbors' sheep and his family's fields, limiting his attendance at school. At eighteen years of age, when his father died, he moved to the city to work in a garment factory in order to provide for his mother and siblings. He became self-educated in world literature that he found in Spanish translation. Having settled in the city, he later married a Mayan woman, also of Quiché ethnicity. In the garment industry, Atanasio encourages fellow Indian workers to follow his example, to stand up for their rights as prescribed under federal labor laws.

The Development of Liberated Consciousness

As a highly literate person, Atanasio recounts his life story after years of careful reflection. In his reflections a general perspective orients his specific ideas on the conflict between Indians and *Ladinos* in Guatemala. Although the conflict took on genocidal proportions during the 1980s, Atanasio's thought extends well beyond the most recent tragedy to its historical and psychological origins.[2] From his general perspective, the continuing ethnic conflict derives from the clash of

modernism (Spanish, European, and American) with traditionalism (Mayan, ancestral).[3] How the Indians and the *Ladinos* reconcile these influences within their respective psyches, according to Atanasio, largely circumscribes the possibilities for ethnic conflict resolution. Phrased in terms introduced in chapter 4, the conflict of cultural opposites (modernism and traditionalism) in Guatemalan society underlies the ethnic conflict between *Ladino* and Indian. The images of these ethnic groups in conflict form polar opposites in the psyches of both Indians and *Ladinos*. The oppressed manage the psychic opposites, either by one-sidedness or by sustaining a tension of opposites called, respectively, "oppressed consciousness" and "liberated consciousness." Of course, only after living years of oppression did Atanasio form this general perspective, consistent with liberated consciousness, with regard to the opposites at all three levels: (cultural) modernism versus traditionalism, (ethnic) *Ladino* versus Indian, and (psychic) polarity in the political consciousness of the oppressed.

One-sided Identification with the Positive Image of the Oppressed

In his own words, Atanasio "woke up to reality" at age eight when he first began accompanying his father to Guatemala City in order to sell their weavings.[4] In contrast to his native village of San Ignacio whose population was 98 percent Indian, the city was a place of *Ladinos*, so he discovered. While selling their weavings one day, a *Ladina* housemistress saw they were Indians and said she would only deal with Indians in the street, not inside her house. Her words and the distance she kept shocked Atanasio and made him feel rejected.[5] Throughout his life, he has experienced humiliation at the hands of *Ladinos*.

> It is true that one sees immediately that I am Indian by the color of my skin, by the thickness of my hair and by my way of speaking. One senses, one hears right away that I am Indian. This rejection, this humiliation, I often felt before and so many Indians still feel every day.[6]

At this early age, Atanasio's reaction was not to feel inferior, but rather to reject all *Ladinos* whom he began to view negatively. About this time, for example, he learned of his grandfather's unjust imprisonment, at the hands of a *Ladino* magistrate, that had taken place years before. Atanasio states bluntly, "the mayors of villages were in charge of collecting taxes and, as all *Ladinos*, poisoned the life of Indians."[7] The absolute negativity of this comment demonstrates his one-sidedness: a complete rejection of the *Ladino* pole in the pair of opposites. More typical of oppressed consciousness is either a one-sided identification with the negative image of the oppressed (a sense of

inferiority) or with the positive image of the oppressor (a desire to assimilate) (see chapter 4). Atanasio's one-sidedness, also characteristic of oppressed consciousness, is less typical and corresponds to Memmi's stage of "revolt." To recall my summary from chapter 4,

> They define their identity in terms of their differences from the colonizers. Their own positive myth is in opposition to the colonizers' negative myth. Their own worth is defined in the categories of the colonizers, such as their people's history, language, and religion.

Rootedness in the Ancestral Soul

Atanasio's early, positive identification with the Indian pole appears to derive from the lessons of his grandfather, a Mayan priest, and the village elders whom Atanasio's father taught him to respect.[8] Over the years their teachings fostered in Atanasio a positive Indian identity. "The elders make us see who we are, just as we are, and send back an image of ourselves as if they were mirrors."[9] At the age of twenty, Atanasio assists the elders in an act of healing, leading him to conclude that "this role helps me to know myself, to know who I am, why I exist and how I ought to lead my life."[10]

Atanasio's description of his Indian identity accompanies a sense of pride.

> The Indians who have overcome their sense of inferiority and feel free are few in number. I am one of those. I dare to speak Spanish, though I am not ashamed of my language, my name, or the clothing that my mother and sisters wear. On the contrary, I am proud of this.[11]

He describes with pride the many aspects of his Indian heritage: communion with nature and the land,[12] sense of community,[13] spirituality,[14] language and literature,[15] medicine,[16] clothing,[17] and music.[18]

The strong positive sense of Indian identity expresses a rootedness in the "ancestral soul," to use Gambini's term.[19] In this phase, however, his rootedness sustains Atanasio's one-sided rejection of the *Ladino* pole, not yet a tension of opposites between *Ladino* and Indian. Atanasio's analysis of the oppressive conditions under which he and Indians live reveals his absolute negativity (one-sidedness) at this phase of his political consciousness. His analysis of oppression is divided into four groups, each about interethnic conflict under *Ladino* domination.

Economic Exploitation

From his own experience in different garment factories, Atanasio concludes that they are all similar: the majority of the workers are Indians and the

Ladino bosses are all "scornful and aggressive towards us and always try to act superior."[20] This translates into denying Indians adequate wages,[21] humane work hours and workplace conditions, health benefits, job promotion,[22] and job security.[23] Due to the absence of labor contracts, a worker may be fired arbitrarily for missing work or for voicing a demand for conditions provided under the federal labor code.[24]

Social Discrimination

The unfair treatment of Indian laborers in garment factories, as just described, extends to Indians throughout Guatemalan society. "But *Ladinos* and Indians are not equal before the law." Legal authorities are almost always *Ladino* and conduct trials only in Spanish. "The *Ladino* wins over the Indian, even when he is in the wrong."[25] In more absolute terms yet, Atanasio sums up the discrimination against Indians:

> The Indian lives in submission. We are at the end of the twentieth century and the Indian continues to hunch under enormous loads, head lowered under the *mecapal* as if he were a beast of burden. Because he never could express himself nor defend himself, he has always been subjected to injustice.[26]

Military Domination

Atanasio attributes militarism in Guatemala entirely to *Ladinos*, whose Spanish ancestors began the violence against Indians at the time of the colonial conquest.[27] He explains why there is still violence against Indians:

> The Guatemalan army recruits by force simply to defend the interests of the large landholders. It is *their* sovereignty that is being protected as well as that of the government people who also possess immense *fincas* [plantations] guarded by the military day and night. The army protects the highest social strata, the richest of the country.[28]

The threat of communist subversion by guerrillas in the countryside serves as a pretext to eliminate Indians and take their land. Indians are accused of supplying and supporting the guerrillas. "We are the scapegoats who justify the operations and presence of the military in Indian zones."[29]

Atanasio describes the *Ladinos'* military domination of Indians in regard to repression and forced recruitment of Indian soldiers. "Nothing has changed in five hundred years, the forced recruitment, the infernal life in the army, the mental and moral destruction of the Indian soldier."[30] Even though Atanasio avoided forced recruitment by being away at school, both his grandfather

and father "were chased like animals" by army recruiters.[31] Once captured, *Ladino* officers turn the Indian recruits into "savages" and train them to kill other Indians.[32]

Cultural invasion

Atanasio speaks of a cultural invasion, beginning at the time of the conquest that accompanied the Spanish military invasion. "The Indian has not been evangelized, he was forced to change religion. He saw the destruction of his beliefs and his rites. Through threat and punishment he was forced to profess a new faith from one day to the next."[33] Both Catholic priests and Protestant pastors have in common their insistence on the existence of Hell. "I have the impression that the majority of Indian Christians practice more from fear than from understanding the foundation of their religion."[34] Some Christian sects harm the Indians by preaching the acceptance of divine healing when the person needs a pharmacist or a doctor. The multitude of competing sects further weakens the Indians' efforts to maintain their unity. "Certain people infiltrate also to create disunity and there is undoubtedly the will to divide us on the part of the United States from which these churches come."[35]

The cultural invasion also takes the form of schooling based on foreign and *Ladino* cultural values. In colonial times the few schools for Indians taught literacy in Spanish but nothing of Indian languages, history, religion, science, or culture.[36] Atanasio asserts:

> [t]he educational system ought to value children and enable them to feel in harmony with their origin, their language and their cultural context. Rather, the reverse occurs, programs of study are imposed that are copied from those of other countries such as Spain, Costa Rica or the United States.[37]

The mass media today also contribute to the cultural invasion of the Indian. Publicity for foreign consumer products "reach even to the mountains and it is very difficult to resist this invasion and this false culture."[38] Television is a catastrophe that ruins the Indian mentality. "Indians lose their communion with nature which is their foundation, next they lose their identity, and once they have lost that they are nothing at all."[39] Televised entertainment is violent and news reporting lacks objectivity. Radio and cinema carry nothing to promote Indian culture either.[40]

To repeat, Atanasio's one-sidedness in this phase of oppressed consciousness is both negative and absolute: He completely rejects domination by *Ladinos* and their culture; at the same time he identifies unconditionally with Indian culture, history, and spirituality. One can hear the tone of his

one-sidedness in the following:

> We, Indians, have been reduced to being a country within another country. We are like spirits, we have names, but we do not exist. Since we are nothing to *Ladinos*, they are completely indifferent to the way we live: alone, isolated, sick, illiterate, without the opportunity to progress. They want to immobilize us, to annihilate us.[41]

Maturation Crisis

When Atanasio's absoluteness and negativity soften, he moves from one-sidedness toward enduring the tension of opposites. In order for this to happen he must begin to differentiate both poles: to see some *Ladinos* as good and some Indians as bad. In his youth, Atanasio traversed a maturation crisis. How he managed this crisis provides an explanation for his transition to liberated consciousness.

Atanasio's crisis, at the age of eighteen, arose from a blockage in a direction his life was taking. He was very familiar with Guatemala City, having accompanied his father on many trips there since the age of eight. Exposure to the city offered opportunities that were lacking in his village of San Ignacio. Already enamored with Western literature and able to read in Spanish, Atanasio at the age of seventeen developed a taste for classical music and bought a radio to listen to Bach, Beethoven, Wagner, and Brahms.[42] These literary and musical experiences instilled in him "a great interior well-being."[43] Having finished night school in San Ignacio, his heart was set on a program of studies at a *lycée* (secondary school) in Guatemala City, making it possible at a later date for him to pursue university studies. "Indeed, I always had the idea of specializing in work that would be helpful for Indian people."[44] His enthusiasm for learning and hopes for a nontraditional career set the stage for the crisis that followed.

After completing more than a year at the *lycée*, studying at night and working during the day (making jackets that he sold), word came to Atanasio that his father was very ill in San Ignacio. Hours after Atanasio's arrival home, his father died. "These were terrible days for me and they are still."[45] Atanasio's crisis was not due to his grief, but rather to changes in his family's circumstances that posed an obstacle to the direction of Atanasio's life. "At his burial I immediately felt an enormous burden on my shoulders . . . my brothers and sisters to feed, my mother of such fragile health."[46] Being the eldest of nine siblings, none of whom was of working age, Atanasio recalls:

> I had to sacrifice my studies. . . . At my father's death, my dreams, my aspirations, my desires, disappeared like a bubble carried off by the wind . . . I was destroyed.[47]

Atanasio's "destruction" took the form of alcoholism that lasted two years.[48] He lived in the city with an uncle, drinking by night and working by day to make jackets that he sold to support his family. At first he resolved the conflict between his personal aspirations and his family obligations in favor of the latter. How he managed to restore a balance is his story of self-healing.

Self-healing began by finding a way to reconcile two facts: his family's poverty that dashed his educational aspirations (because of his obligation to help), and his father's alcoholism that had contributed to the family's poverty. While acknowledging that his father's drinking had contributed to the suffering and poverty of the family,[49] Atanasio refused to compromise the idealization of his father. He remembered well that his father, more than his mother, was the one who raised him. His father taught Atanasio the "value of being a man," to love and cultivate the land and to value schooling. "My father . . . was not the same man when he was sober," a hard-working man who loved work.[50]

> My father, I never judged him, I think that I always understood him. . . . In my childhood I couldn't understand that he wasted the family money on alcohol. But by the age of fourteen or fifteen years, I was certain that he drank because, as all Indians, he suffered many deep frustrations and humiliations and that a great anguish inhabited him.[51]

In recognizing that his father drank because he suffered frustrations and humiliations "as all Indians," Atanasio relativizes his father's responsibility. Although it remains true that his father's drinking contributed to the family's poverty, above and beyond both facts stands a more fundamental cause: the oppression of Indians in Guatemalan society. I surmise that this uncompromising idealization of his father led Atanasio to reconfirm his aspirations to educate himself "for work that would be helpful for Indian people."[52]

Self-healing then turned toward a resolution of Atanasio's vocational dilemma: how to sustain his aspirations for education while providing for his family. During this two-year crisis, Atanasio found a balanced resolution of his dilemma. In place of the higher education that he had to sacrifice, he educated himself *and* worked to provide for his family.[53] Atanasio immersed himself in reading. He read the great books from philosophy to psychology to religion, consulting dictionaries to find his way.[54] He read different versions of the Bible, the Koran, and Taoist texts.

> It is in the books that I forgot my frustrations. I advanced next to the author or his personages, was completely taken, and ceased to exist for several hours. . . . If I am living today it is because I remained in constant

contact with good books that nourished my spirit. Otherwise perhaps I would be spiritually dead or completely lost. The books were my refuge, and it is thanks to them that I stopped drinking and that today I no longer feel anger or resentment.[55]

Books were the instruments in the balanced resolution of his crisis. It would be a mistake to pay too close attention to the content of these books (which authors, which books, which philosophies, which religions) in searching for their healing effects. They all "nourished his spirit" at a time when his deceased father's guidance was lacking and formal schooling foreclosed. The "frustration, anger, and resentment" he mentions were dissolved in reading. I interpret this to mean that Atanasio dissolved the *frustration* of having to give up his academic aspirations, the *resentment* against his father whose drinking had kept the family in poverty, and the *anger* towards *Ladinos* whom he had held responsible for his father's drinking and for his family's poverty.

Why is it so important to examine Atanasio's maturation crisis when what we are trying to understand is the development of his liberated consciousness? The successful resolution of this crisis by age twenty strengthened his ego and expanded his psychic horizons, allowing him to see both sides of issues, thus reducing the ego's one-sidedness. In the theory of opposites, ego strength contributes to one's ability to avoid one-sidedness and to endure the tension of psychic opposites, where the opposites are images of ethnic groups in conflict.

Distinguishing between Oppressors, and Distinguishing between Oppressed

Both his strong sense of Indian identity and his strong ego enable Atanasio to reduce the absoluteness of the psychic opposites, *Ladino* and Indian. His increasing maturity and knowledge, through self-education and experience, further lead him to make distinctions between the "good" and "bad" in both *Ladinos* and Indians. He discovers that not all *Ladinos* are "bad" and that some are no better off than Indians. For example, poor *Ladinos* of rural origin who work in the garment factories of Guatemala City are treated the same as their Indian coworkers.[56] The poor, especially Indians, and also some *Ladinos*, suffered from military repression.[57] *Ladinos* as well as Indians suffer from the faults of the educational system.[58] As for *Ladino* institutions, the evangelical churches practice social work, while the Catholic Church defends the poor and enters into the dialogue between the government and the guerrillas.[59] During Atanasio's crisis period he came to admire a Guatemalan *Ladino* revolutionary, Silverio Gomez, whose writings expressed courage and political convictions.[60]

Turning to the opposite pole, Atanasio learns that not all Indians are "good." In the garment factory, for example, an Indian foreman could be as oppressive as a *Ladino*.[61] The army recruiting agents in the villages are Indians, contributing to the misery and precariousness of Indian life.[62] Once inducted by force and indoctrinated, Indian soldiers kill other Indians.[63] Indians in the city at times turn to delinquency and prostitution.[64] Elected Indian politicians, whether Congressional deputies or mayors, generally are too incompetent to advance the cause of Indians.[65]

The distinctions that Atanasio makes in the images of *Ladinos* and Indians as psychic opposites prepare the way for the final phase in the development of liberated consciousness.

Enduring the Tension of Opposites

Atanasio's self-education contributes to his ability to endure the psychic tension of opposites, representing the conflict between *Ladinos* and Indians. His education deepens and broadens his understanding of the ethnic conflict that colors his daily life since childhood. First, his psychological insights deepen his understanding of the conditions of Indians and *Ladinos.* Second, he understands this ethnic conflict more broadly as part of the cultural clash of modernism with Indian traditionalism.

Atanasio also knows that both *Ladinos* and Indians suffer psychologically from ethnic conflict, though in contrasting ways. He describes the obvious ways in which the Indian suffers in silence, due to the language barrier, the neglect of their culture, and the fear instilled by repression.[66] Less obvious are the psychological issues of the "uprooted Indians" such as migrants to the cities who imitate the worst examples of *Ladino* society, resulting in a "loss of soul."[67] The Indian's "feelings of inferiority," due to centuries of ingrained experience at the hands of *Ladinos*, push the Indian toward assimilation.[68] Indian youth in the cities have identity problems, being unsure if they are Indians or *Ladinos*. They suffer from an "internal conflict" since they seek to assimilate to the *Ladino* world, knowing full well that this is not their world.[69] Schooling only contributes to this identity problem, making them ashamed of their Indian ways yet finding themselves shamed by *Ladinos*.[70]

Atanasio's psychological insights extend as well to the *Ladino's* experience of intrapsychic conflict. Despite being partly of Indian descent, Atanasio's *Ladino* bosses seem not to know who they are: neither Indian nor Spanish. Their identity problem explains the *Ladino's* attempt to appear superior to the Indian, to be aggressive toward and scornful of Indians, who react by imitating the *Ladino's* ways.[71] The *Ladino's* identity problem has grave consequences for the country as a whole.

Since it is the *Ladinos* who govern, their existential insecurity has repercussions for the country. This is at the origin of the state of violence, injustice and vengeance that has always existed. These *Ladinos*, manipulated by the military, are not in control of their psychological and emotional states and, therefore, insure their authority by exercising terrorism and repression.[72]

Atanasio broadened his understanding of ethnic conflict by placing it within the context of a cultural clash between modernism and traditionalism. Modernism has penetrated Guatemalan culture, whether through churches, media, schools, factories, or consumer goods, largely to the detriment of indigenous culture. Nevertheless, Atanasio values selectively certain aspects of modernism such as its literature, music, employment in factories, Christianity, literacy in Spanish, and Western medicine, to mention only a few. He sees the potential in radio, television, and public education for promoting Indian culture and fostering Indian solidarity, although he deplores their current usage.[73]

Atanasio mourns the losses in traditional Indian culture brought about through modernism, dating back to the Spanish conquest.

It was a considerable loss, not only in human lives, but also in material, intellectual, and spiritual wealth. Entire archives of humanity have been destroyed and lost forever.[74]

Memmi notes that a pitfall on the way to revolutionary consciousness consists in glorifying, rather than mourning, an indigenous culture that has been lost or destroyed. "The invasion stopped the progress of our civilization in its tracks. It interrupted the cultural development of our people. What we were becoming was stopped definitively."[75] Atanasio's efforts turn instead toward safeguarding the elements of Indian culture that have survived.[76] Having praised modernism selectively and mourned the losses of Indian traditionalism, Atanasio emphasizes the positive contribution of the latter:

Without our Indian presence in this territory, that the authorities with their mercantile mentality have sold out, this country would have lost its name, and it would no longer be called Guatemala since it would be occupied by foreign merchants. Or this land would be a desert . . . what it is rapidly becoming. Indeed, without any consideration for the future, without thinking what our children will eat tomorrow, the insensitive *Ladinos* are destroying our natural resources.[77]

Traditional Indian values are needed to encourage a respect for nature and to place priority on nourishing the Guatemalan people rather than exporting

food abroad.[78] Given the crucial role of indigenous culture in benefiting the Guatemalan people, both Indian and *Ladino*, Atanasio's declaration cannot be understood as one-sided:

> As for myself, I will struggle all my life to preserve our heritage, our languages in particular, our freedom and our right to exist according to our own values.[79]

Atanasio is rooted in Indian culture and takes pride in his Indian identity. The ego strength resulting from his maturation crisis enabled him to make distinctions in the poles of the psychic opposites, finding "good" and "bad" in both the Indian and *Ladino*. His self-education furthered his understanding of ethnic conflict in psychological and cultural terms. He recognizes the strengths and weaknesses of both Indian and *Ladino* psyches, acknowledges the harm as well as the potential benefits of modernism, mourns the losses in Indian culture, yet reaffirms its potential benefit for all Guatemalans. In this sense, Atanasio endures the tension of opposites and attains liberated consciousness.

The Critical Consciousness of Atanasio

Freire emphasizes "critical consciousness" as a way of being, not just thinking, with regard to problems of oppression. The manner of *naming* problems, *reflecting* on their causes, and *acting* to resolve them, characterize each level of political consciousness. Atanasio's "critical" level depends on his own particular manner. As for naming the problems, he is abundantly clear on the historical nature of oppression and the way that Indians experience it in their daily lives. The poverty he has lived since childhood is amply described along with many forms of injustice.[80] He is also aware of the systemic nature of oppression through: government by *Ladinos*, land ownership, military conscription of Indians, repression of dissidents, and exploitation of Indian labor on plantations.[81] His "naming" of oppression is intermingled with "reflecting" on their causes: motivations of the *Ladino* government, psychological insecurity of *Ladino* identity, and connivance of the United States in supporting *Ladino* power holders. He is also aware of the reasons why Indians often live in silence, while enduring oppression, thus making the oppressive system work effectively.[82] Atanasio's "acting" in situations of oppression also corresponds to critical consciousness. As an urban wage laborer in the garment industry, he experiences wage exploitation combined with ethnic discrimination.[83] He knows well the Guatemalan Labor Code, his rights as a laborer, and his own worth both as a worker and an Indian. When confronted

with wage discrimination or a lack of respect by the *Ladino* bosses, Atanasio acts. If they fail to recognize his rights (to pay, holidays, medical benefits, for example) or to show respect for his human dignity (especially as an Indian), he gives notice and quits, thereby denying employers his labor power. In addition, he takes it upon himself to educate Indian coworkers about their legal rights.

> I am aware that I have won my freedom and today dare to express what I think. I can say that I live freely and act freely. Thus, when someone in my workplace insults or scorns me because I am Indian, I defend myself. It is a matter of my deepest being and I am capable of resigning from my job. That is freedom. I prefer to suffer from hunger in the street in total freedom, than to have something to eat, but on my knees and bereft of freedom. There is no reason for me to feel inferior to anyone.[84]

In this very context, Atanasio reveals to us a connection between the "political development of the person," conscientization, and the "psychological development of the person," individuation.[85] He dialogues with God, a Being who Atanasio is convinced wants him to be free. The ego-Self axis functions as a channel of communication in which Atanasio is aware of being subordinate to a spiritual force greater than himself. He seeks self-realization within these bounds.[86] Atanasio has found his unique purpose that he pursues faithfully.

> We Indians think that each person comes to earth to fulfill a specific role that one must discover. Mine is clear: to give value to Indian identity, wherever I am, by what I am, by what I believe, and to help my brothers to find within themselves their Indian being, their Indian dignity, and in so doing to become free.[87]

CHAPTER 7

James Sewid

Biographical Profile

James Sewid (1913–1988) was a Kwakiutl Indian living in Alert Bay, British Columbia, Canada. He spent his childhood in poverty, with only a few years of schooling, on a remote rural reserve, dependent on fishing. In adolescence he rose to high social rank by inheriting his family "names." With wife and children he moved from the Village Island Reserve to the Alert Bay Industrial Reserve in order to modernize the Indian community with the help of "progressive" Indians of all bands. He served many years as elected chief of the Reserve in Alert Bay, being reelected many times. Sewid was the first elected chief in Canada. As a successful entrepreneur, he owned a store, a sawmill, a seafood freezing plant, and a seine boat each at a different time in his life. Sewid spent his lifetime on the sea as commercial fisherman and ship owner.

The Critical Consciousness of James Sewid

Toward the end of Sewid's narrative, he devotes considerable attention to problems of the oppression of Indians in White society. These problems differ from two other groups of problems that do not involve oppression as such: problems of modernization (e.g. construction of a sawmill and a school, starting up small businesses) and local problems on the reserve (e.g., waste disposal, street lighting, and road improvement). In accordance with Freire's stages of conscientization, we can understand Sewid's critical consciousness by the way he *names, reflects*, and *acts* on problems of oppression.[1]

   During much of Sewid's adult life he struggled to solve problems of oppression that took the form of discrimination against Indians by White

society. Here, discrimination means unequal rights for Indians in comparison to Whites. Sewid confronted four problems of rights: for Indian cultural practices, land ownership, voting, and integrated public education. With the help of others, he improved conditions on the Alert Bay Reserve for all four of these Indian rights. In fairness to Sewid, we ought to recognize that these matters belong to provincial and federal jurisdiction, not to local municipal. In all four, changes in Indian rights resulted from the efforts of provincewide or nationwide Native rights organizations. A brief description of discrimination on the Alert Bay Reserve precedes conclusions about Sewid's achievement of critical consciousness.

Cultural Rights

"The main reason that our customs, dances, and art were dying out was that they had been forbidden by the law against our will. In fact, many of our people had been put in prison for refusing to give up their way of life."[2] It was during Sewid's childhood that the government forbade potlatches and dances.[3] He remembers that, in 1922, violators were told that they would be prosecuted unless they turned over their regalia, ceremonial masks, and coppers.[4] Until the 1950s, Sewid attended potlatches done in secret, since the Mounties were still enforcing the law.[5] In 1951, while serving on the Alert Bay hospital committee as the only Indian, Sewid proposed the idea of raising money for St. George's hospital by reviving the potlatch and dancing. This time, people would buy tickets to attend, generating a fund to support the hospital. Since the exchange of gifts and money was not part of a traditional potlatch, it became a "test case" for the reintroduction of this Indian custom, prohibited by law at that time.[6] Kwakiutl dancers from all over the region took part, paving the way for the repeal of the discriminatory laws in 1951.[7]

Political Rights

Sewid recalls, "One of the biggest problems for the Indians was that they weren't equal to other citizens of Canada. . . ."[8] They were denied voting rights in provincial elections until 1949 and in federal elections until 1960, yet started being taxed during the Second World War. The White community of the Alert Bay municipality had their provincial tax money returned to them for local improvements, while the Indian community of the Alert Bay Reserve, in contrast, had to find their own resources.[9] Within the scope of the Indian Act, Sewid found an opportunity to democratize the governing of the Alert Bay Reserve. In 1950, Sewid mobilized support for applying "a new section of the Indian Act which allowed a tribe to have an elected council instead

of an hereditary chief. . . . The main reason I was for the elected council was that it would give the people a chance to elect who they thought could do the most work for the people."[10] The Alert Bay Reserve then became the first Kwakiutl village to have an elected council. Sewid remarks that at least the tax resources raised on the reserve could then be used "for the good of the people," thanks to this local democratic process.[11]

Land Rights

At the conclusion of Sewid's personal testimony, recorded in 1966, he speaks of Indian land rights:

> I think the biggest problem to be solved and the most important is the land question. We are non-treaty Indians on the coast and I think we should be compensated for our land. When the Europeans came here and settled, they just took all our mineral and timber and salmon and everything that we rightfully owned and they have never settled it with us.[12]

In the early 1950s, while Sewid was serving as chief of the council, he first learned of a local land dispute over the foreshore, belonging to the Nimpkish village, located between a road built by the province (in 1932) and the sea. Until that time, the Alert Bay shipyards had been paying the Indians for the lease of the foreshore. When the provincial government took over the lease, instructing the shipyards to cease paying the Nimpkish Indians, Sewid asked for a renegotiation of the foreshore, involving the Indian agent, the Native Brotherhood, and the provincial Deputy Minister in charge of land issues.[13] In this and subsequent meetings, Sewid insisted that Indian rights to the foreshore had been lost through an improper procedure. Neither the Indian agent nor the hereditary chief at the time were authorized to cede land rights since these matters had to be decided by a majority vote of the Indian inhabitants. After further talks in Victoria in 1966, the minister responsible admitted the mistake of a previous government and restored the foreshore rights to the Indians, opening the way for similar resolutions all over British Columbia.[14]

Educational Rights

In 1954, Sewid was elected vice president of the Kwakiutl Agency and took on many of the grievances of the tribes within the Kwakiutl nation, especially those concerning education.[15] He and the Native Brotherhood leaders confronted the provincial Department of Education with the situation in Alert Bay, where Indians had no secondary school and the primary school was

segregated. "Not only that, but all the Indian children had to go to an Indian day school in Alert Bay that was separate from the school for the White children in the other end of the village. The teachers there were often unqualified to teach."[16] Sewid asked the Department of Education and the Indian Department to end the day school system and transport the Indian children to the White school, where teachers were better qualified.[17] That same year, integrated schooling began at a new high school, built in part with funds from the Indian Department. In 1966, however, Indian children were still attending a segregated primary school.[18] This was nonetheless a major accomplishment, given that Alert Bay ". . . was the most difficult village there was on the coast because it was half-White and half-Indian."[19]

To summarize, Sewid's "critical consciousness" shines through four issues of Indian rights. In each instance, Sewid's political action involves institutional changes: in cultural ceremonies, voting, legal procedures, and schooling. Rather than attacking individual oppressors (such as an Indian agent, a White municipal council member, a White Mountie) or agents of oppressive White society, Sewid challenges the systemic nature of a problem. Rather than acting alone, Sewid works in solidarity with Indian organizations such as the Native Brotherhood or the Band Council. Sewid *names* problems in terms of discrimination within the sociopolitical system, and *reflects* on how the system functions to sustain discrimination locally. And, Sewid *acts* in solidarity with Native groups to reform the laws and practices of institutions that are held responsible. In short, Sewid's manner of confronting oppression places him at the "critical" stage of conscientization.[20]

The Development of Liberated Consciousness

Rootedness in the Ancestral Soul

As a person who has successfully adapted to modern, Western, White culture while conserving his Indian traditions, Sewid is "bicultural." Being both a successful entrepreneur and an elected chief, his personal testimony teaches us how political consciousness accommodates cultural orientations in conflict. Bicultural does not necessarily mean being based equally in both cultures. Spradley, the editor of the testimony, suggests this: "It became apparent that, although essentially Kwakiutl, James Sewid has lived with one foot in each culture."[21] His biculturalism lies between the two extremes, alienation and traditionalism, while avoiding the third extreme, complete acculturation to White society. All three are variations of one-sidedness, in contrast to biculturalism that is a tension of opposites.[22]

In Sewid's narrative there are many references to Indians, alienated from both Indian and White cultures, who turn to drinking and juvenile delinquency.[23]

Agents of White culture, such as the Anglican Church, schools, officers of the Indian Department, and White neighbors, often disseminate a pejorative image of Indians that can act either as a source of alienation or a pressure to acculturate.[24]

Sewid was able to resist acculturation, thanks to being "socially anchored" within Kwakiutl society, Spradley's expression that is equivalent to "rooted-ness in the ancestral soul."[25] How did Sewid become so well anchored in the Kwakiutl culture—a rare accomplishment for many of his peers? Sewid grew up on Village Island where the elders defended traditional Indian culture against the intrusion of modern White culture and also fostered a positive Indian identity.[26]

Sewid's sense of identity as a Kwakiutl Indian, usually precarious in situations of cultural conflict and acculturation, originated in early childhood and lasted a lifetime: "I used to love to sit around the fire and listen to the old people telling about the ways of the Indians."[27] He was well instructed in the history, legends, songs, and dances of his people. All this carried over to his later years when Sewid had a fondness for recounting Kwakiutl legends, learned from the elders in his childhood.[28] Sewid's initiation into the *hamatsa* society (secret religious society of the "Cannibal") at age sixteen confirmed his Indian identity that was strengthened even further by his family's rank and his rank within the family. Being the eldest son and marrying a woman of high rank, he inherited many family names signifying respect, high position, and even a future role as a leader of his people.[29]

Throughout his personal testimony, Sewid uses a particular figure of speech, "the Indian way," in contrast to the "White way."[30] The Indian schoolteacher, George Luther, took a special liking to James and helped him appreciate the Indian ways: "Everything that had been done in the old way of the Indians was always better."[31] Even after many years of experience with the ways of the White culture, Sewid retains as much Indian self-esteem as ever.

> I have never wished that I was a White man because I believe in God and try to be a Christian person and it was my Maker Who made me like I am. I didn't choose to be an Indian and I wouldn't say that He made a mistake in making me an Indian. It wasn't my choice to choose my mother and father. I have to take it because the Maker made me like I am, an Indian, and I'm glad I am an Indian.[32]

In later years, Sewid continues to value the Indian ways that he fully recognized as dying out. "I didn't feel it was right to try to hold anybody back from going along with the progress of the world. At the same time I thought there were many things from the early days that should be preserved."[33] He

mentions preserving the Indian language, ways of preparing food, arts and crafts, while respecting others, especially the elders and those in authority.[34]

These examples drawn from Sewid's life show that he was rooted in the Indian ways, the ancestral soul, an essential condition for holding the tension of opposites within himself: his positive identity as an Indian and his negative identity as a member of an "inferior" race, in the eyes of White society. Another essential condition is ego strength, to be seen in the next section.

Maturation Crisis

Sewid's ego strengthened through resolving a crisis at the time of his marriage at the early age of thirteen.[35] In telling his life story, it is significant that the news of an arranged marriage comes just after the description of his "youthful folly."[36] As a teenager, he was already running an engine on a seine boat alone where he "worked like a man" and enjoyed the adventure like a kid. He would go with friends to Vancouver and drink some. Back in Alert Bay he was enjoying the adolescent adventures of some drinking and dancing till three in the morning. "And that's when the big day came."[37] His family told Sewid that they had arranged his marriage to Flora Alfred, a sixteen-year old from a family of high social rank.

Even if Sewid had little choice in the matter, it was nonetheless his crisis. How would he resolve it, by adopting an attitude of *mature compliance* or *adolescent reluctance?* Although Sewid's calm style of telling the story hardly reveals the emotional content of his psychic conflict, a Jungian technique, can do so. The association experiment, developed by Jung, begins by having the analyst read a list of stimulus words to which the analysand responds with whatever word comes to mind.[38] The analyst notes the reaction time. On a second reading of the list, the analysand is asked to recall the response word given on the first reading. The analyst records respiratory reactions, stuttering, failures of memory, and stereotyped responses given to the various stimulus words. These reactions are indicators of unconscious complexes, interfering with the ego's conscious intentions. One such indicator is a series of stereotyped responses, meaning that a stimulus word evokes the same response word repeatedly.[39] When "marriage" is the stimulus word, what word associations are triggered by it? In these pages of Sewid's testimony, he recalls saying repeatedly, "I am too young," no less than five times, by my count.[40] Another stereotyped response to the "marriage" stimulus word is "doing the right thing," mentioned three times in these pages.[41]

These responses to the word "marriage" point to an unconscious conflict between two desires: to remain in childhood or to move into adulthood. Samuels, summarizing Jung's ideas, notes that internal conflicts in childhood contribute to the feeling-tone of a complex and affect memory in a way that

may be registered by the indicators in the association experiment.[42] By probing Sewid's associations to "being too young" and "doing the right thing," the nature of the psychic conflict becomes clear.[43]

As if his adolescent self needed allies, Sewid recalls that some Indian families were opposed to his marriage to Flora Alfred. These were the families of other suitors of Flora who said, that "I was too young." A further ally on this side of his psychic conflict was the Indian agent who said, "You are only fifteen years old, not even fifteen years old. You can't get married."[44] These "allies" seemed to be speaking through Sewid when he confronted his stepfather, mother, and grandmother. As each one told him he was going to be married, he replied that he was too young. Again, in the description of the marriage events, Sewid mentions being too young.[45]

His adult self also found allies, those who taught Sewid to "do the right thing." Having developed respect for the community elders, they were strong allies of his adult self: "I didn't want to get married but of course I had no business to my own personal opinion. I had no business to try to argue or anything like that because I knew that the older people knew what was right for me; that's what I figured."[46] His uncles, of high social rank, were also allies, saying that "it was the right thing for me to get married to Flora Alfred." To round out the allies of his adult self, Sewid says, "When I thought it was all right with my grandparents and my mother and my aunt then it was going to be all right with me."[47]

Out of this maturation crisis, Sewid develops ego strength by resolving the psychic conflict in favor of his adult self, who wants to do the right thing: adult compliance rather than adolescent reluctance. His ego strength crystallizes in this crisis: "If I knew I was doing the right thing I was going to push it. It had always been my policy since I was a little boy that if I made up my mind then I was going to do it and I was not going to turn back."[48]

But what does he mean by "doing the right thing" in this instance? Sewid understood that he was the rightful inheritor of his grandfather's name and all the accompanying honors and regalia. Marriage to Flora Alfred, from a family of high rank, would not only be appropriate but also add to his wealth and high social position.[49] The resolution of his maturation crisis strengthens his ego and his conviction in the rightness of the "Indian ways" as well. The next section shows how his ego strength and rootedness in the ancestral soul of the Kwakiutl contribute to Sewid's liberated consciousness.

Enduring the Tension of Opposites

Indian and Western cultures are in a power struggle, both at the societal and personal levels. At the societal level, agents of White-Western culture seek to further their interests through the control of land, and domestication of the

Indians by assimilation or legal subjugation. Indians, on the other hand, seek cultural survival (protection of their customs, including the potlatch and education in their language), material subsistence (recognition of their title to the land, fishing rights), and local autonomy in decision-making.[50] Accompanying the power struggle at the societal level is another one at the personal level, over the Indians' political consciousness. Whose image will prevail: the Whites' image of their own superiority as well as Indian inferiority, or the Indians' of high self-esteem? Either of these images, in the extreme, perpetuates the one-sidedness that characterizes oppressed consciousness.

Sewid succeeds in avoiding three forms of one-sidedness: internalizing the White culture's judgment of Indian inferiority, believing in the superiority of White culture, and proclaiming the superiority of Indian culture. His success can be attributed to his biculturalism, that is, his ability to hold the tension of opposites, where the opposites are images of ethnic groups in conflict. Sewid's rootedness in the ancestral Kwakiutl soul, and his ego strength, as described above, enable him to endure the tension and avoid the three kinds of one-sidedness.

Though firmly rooted in his Kwakiutl social identity, Sewid avoids a one-sided belief in the superiority of Indian ways.

> In my lifetime I have seen many changes in our way of life. Nearly all the respectable old chiefs had died and many of the ways of my people were dying out also. While I had learned many of the ways of my people when I was a little boy, my own children didn't learn as much. Some of them used to ask me about the old ways and I would tell them that there were some good and some bad in our old ways.[51]

Memmi teaches us that the colonizers' myth of their superior culture reinforces the mythical portrait of the inferiority of the colonized. We also learned from Freire that the oppressed often internalize the oppressors' negative evaluation of them. In this regard, Sewid successfully avoids a one-sided acceptance of Western-White ways, despite adopting many of them. At an early age he became fascinated with machinery and learned to repair as well as run boat engines, hauling and saw mill machines. He is credited with installing the first electric power generator on Village Island, where he lived just after his marriage. Thanks especially to the influence of his grandmother, Sewid became a devoted member of the Anglican Church. In Alert Bay he rose from being an ordinary member to Rector's Warden, then to lay reader, allowing him to conduct services in his Native language (a mark of his biculturalism).[52]

Although, for many Indians, the adoption of some Western-modern ways might engender feelings of inferiority, this did not happen to Sewid. Sewid is

well aware of the Whites' pejorative view of Indians. For example, when the White principal of the residential school gladly cosigned Sewid's bank loan, he remarked, "It was a big favor to me as an Indian because other people didn't trust the Indians."[53] Later, when Sewid was hiring men for his seine boat he talked with a friend and skipper of another boat, a Yugoslavian, who said, "Jimmy, your people are not very reliable. Why don't you get some of our people? There are lots of Yugoslavians in Vancouver."[54] James Sewid did hire one, a decision suggesting that he had a realistic view of Indian workers who were sometimes unreliable.

Sewid is again realistic, not merely internalizing the Whites' pejorative evaluation of Indians, when he refers to the drinking problem of the Indians.

> I think that liquor is the root of all the trouble and the weakness of the Indian. As far as I see it there is no such thing as a criminal Indian. If it wasn't for their drinking the Indian people would be wealthy people. They are a praying people. I wouldn't say they are better than anyone else, but they take everything easy and they don't care whether they are going to have anything tomorrow as long as they get by. That is the thinking of an Indian.[55]

Even here Sewid is convinced that, for the Indian, it is a matter of learning how to drink rather than some inherent trait of Indian inferiority.[56] Later Sewid states, "The White man is better at managing money and things like that because the Indian doesn't know how to budget his money, and I think it is because they have never learned that."[57] Once again, he declares some sense of Indian inferiority, although he views it as a matter of education, not racial inferiority. Indian self-esteem shines through these critical remarks because, for Sewid, the Indian is entirely capable of learning: to manage money and drink properly.

In a final example of avoiding one-sidedness, Sewid compares his Indian way of raising children with the White way. He tells his kids not to get into fights at school and to walk away from anyone who starts a fight. "I know that the White man doesn't like that. They don't want to be called a coward."[58] While being well aware of the Whites' negative evaluation of his behavior, Sewid maintains his Indian standard of self-evaluation. This exemplifies his ability to hold the tension of opposites, understood here as two competing evaluations of his behavior. He keeps them conscious, without repression or splitting, yet adopts the Indian view, thanks to his rootedness and ego strength.

Another dimension of oppressed consciousness, according to the analysis of Freire's ideas, is paternalism-dependence. The ego of a person with oppressed

consciousness aligns itself with dependence while projecting paternalism onto the oppressors. This arrangement of complexes in the psyche corresponds well with the roles played by the colonizer and the colonized in the colonial drama, described by Memmi. In applying the theory of narcissism, I attribute narcissistic grandiosity to the paternalistic-colonizer role, and narcissistic depression to the dependent-colonized role.[59]

Sewid's sense of self-reliance as an Indian, in contrast to dependence on Whites, would signal the attainment of liberated consciousness. Though many examples could be cited to show his feeling of self-reliance as a person, what about his self-reliance *as an Indian?*[60] Evidence of the latter abounds. On the Village Island reserve self-reliance took many forms: starting up logging operations, building their own light and power plant, a fishing wharf, and a clam freezing plant.[61] Sewid and his family moved to the Alert Bay Industrial Reserve, especially to promote progress and self-reliance of the Indian people.

> I knew that I was going to do it without the help of the Indian Department. I knew that if a man stood on his own feet it could be done and if I could train my people like that and everybody stood on his own feet we could be much better off than the other villages.[62]

Sewid's self-help projects for Indians were carried out over the years to start some industries, build a sawmill for boat and housing materials, and operate a cooperative store.[63] Holding Indian dances open to the public and charging a fee financed local improvements, such as the construction of a hospital.

Perhaps the most dramatic example of self-reliance, under Sewid's leadership, was the building of the community house in the traditional Kwakiutl style "to preserve the art of my people."[64] Ceremonial performances there for tourists would also finance the construction and provide employment for Indians. Sewid, at the end of his story, states that self-help was the aim of the community house:

> Instead of going to the Indian Department for help my people can go in there and carve and make a little money to get by. I think that the best thing for the Indian people is for them to help themselves. I think the worst thing that ever happened to us was when they took our pride away.[65]

CHAPTER 8

Lee Maracle

Biographical Profile

Born in 1950 and spending her childhood in poverty, Lee Maracle grew up on the North Shore mud flats of Vancouver, British Columbia. The mud flats are inhabited mostly by Indians living as squatters in shacks and houseboats, many on welfare. The eldest among eight children, Lee Maracle is the daughter of a *Métis* (a person of mixed blood, Native and European) mother, of Cree and French parents, and a Coastal Salish father.[1] Her intermittent schooling ended before completing high school. Stays in California and Toronto expanded her experience of racism, violence, romance, Red politics, and drug addiction. Early motherhood at age nineteen and a "drying out" period back home moved Lee toward a more constructive life centered on writing and mothering. Success on both accounts is witnessed by her numerous books, essays and poetry, speaking engagements, and a happy household with her second husband. Since 2001 she has been teaching Canadian Culture at Western Washington University.

The Critical Consciousness of Lee Maracle

The many incidents of political activism in Maracle's youth do not, for the most part, exemplify critical consciousness. Her participation in protest demonstrations for Native rights, while valuable, sometimes was "just for kicks," according to Maracle.[2] In her late thirties, by the time of the publication of *I Am Woman*, Maracle reveals the nature of her critical consciousness. She has written extensively on two political problems: the oppression of Native women and the cooptation of urban Native leadership.

Acting in both examples consists in Maracle's political writing. She addresses an audience of Native people in order to educate them politically, "decolonize" their minds, and "empower."[3] To speak out openly and courageously as well as to foster solidarity among the oppressed are traits of critical consciousness.[4]

Naming as a problem the cooptation of the Native urban political leadership is startling, since many regard the modern Native middle class as evidence of progress. In *reflecting*, Maracle finds cooptation to be a problem mainly because it divides Natives into haves and have-nots, distorts Native culture, and disempowers the leadership.[5]

> This elite was created by the Canadian government funding. . . . This elite owes both its existence and its loyalty to the piper that paid it to play the tune. . . . Without our poverty they cannot justify the demand that Canada grant them more crumbs.[6]

"Traditionalism has become the newest coat to cloak their hidden agenda" by which Indians are seen as lacking a legal tradition and therefore requiring the European one.[7] As the "Red bureaucracy" became dependent on government funding and learned to follow proper "guidelines," "the opposition from the leaders was polite—they were disempowered."[8]

When *naming* the oppression of Native women as a problem, Maracle cites both racism and patriarchy.[9]

> The denial of Native womanhood is the reduction of the whole people to a sub-human level. Animals beget animals. The dictates of patriarchy demand that beneath the Native male comes the Native female. The dictates of racism are that Native men are beneath White women and Native females are not fit to be referred to as women.[10]

Critical consciousness, as shown here, recognizes the systemic and cultural nature of oppression.

Reflecting on the causes of this oppression, Maracle notes women's complicity. "We are slaves with our own consent. As women, we do not support each other. . . . Women kid themselves that traditionally we were this way or that way. In the name of tradition we consent to all kinds of oppressive behavior from our men."[11]

Acting to eliminate the oppression of Native women, according to Maracle, goes beyond the claims for equality with Native men, sharing the work of the family, better jobs and education, and equal legal rights. Acting ought to begin with a new awareness of the "absurdities of belief and disbelief we have internalized . . ."[12] derived from racism, patriarchy, and traditionalism.

The Development of Liberated Consciousness

Lee Maracle's personal testimony contrasts sharply with the other cases, where liberated consciousness grew from a rootedness in the ancestral soul.[13] Her "loss of ancestral soul" helps to explain the one-sidedness of her "misspent youth."[14] She endured White racism in silence, leading to a low sense of self-esteem as an Indian, yet hating all Whites. Only later, in her twenties, did Maracle find the inner resources to endure the tension of opposites, allowing her to love herself and stop hating Whites. Just how she found these inner resources, "the little girl that lived inside me," as she calls it,[15] is the story of her psychopolitical self-healing. As a woman who has suffered from racism and sexism, she has much to teach us about the development of liberated consciousness.

One-sided Identification with the Negative Image of the Oppressed

A starting point is her passive-negative identity, meaning a self-concept of what one is not, especially as defined by others. When first starting school, Lee realized that she was Indian and that "White people didn't like me because of the color of my skin."[16] Soon she became aware of being both poor and treated badly by White people "But I was still far too young and inexperienced to understand the social and class nature of our oppression."[17] The indelible nature of her negative Indian identity was reinforced with each experience of social exclusion and fistfights she had with White kids who called her names. By the age of fifteen, having refused to be a scapegoat or to accept White "racist crap," Lee had gotten into more fights than any kid she knew.[18]

Since her Indian identity was defined *negatively*, in terms of what she was not, and *passively*, by others, Lee's identity during her youth did not grow from a rootedness in Indian culture, hence her loss of ancestral soul. Her sense of dignity as an Indian stems instead from her accomplishments by White standards. Not only could she fight as well as they, she could get straight "A's" in their schools, and could be a champion athlete in their province.[19] There is little in Lee's description of her youth to indicate a *positive* sense of Indian identity defined *actively*, from a rootedness in Indian culture. Missing are ties with the elders, a knowledge of Indian language, customs, history, and legends.[20] Only much later, as an adult, does she ascribe importance to her limited roots in Indian culture.

Maracle's transition from a loss of ancestral soul to its recovery can explain her development of liberated consciousness, first, by emphasizing

the consequences of her one-sidedness, and then, those life experiences that brought about self-healing.

One-sided Identification with the Positive Image of the Oppressor

A particular phase of one-sidedness in the oppressed is demonstrated by their desire to assimilate, having internalized a self-image of inferiority and dependence. Maracle eloquently speaks of this as "the imprisonment of the Native mind in the ideology of the oppressor."[21] Then, in order to become "better," the oppressed seek to conform to the image of the "superior" oppressors, that is, to assimilate. Maracle, reflecting back on her youth, describes her own attempts to assimilate to White culture:

> As a ragged, battle-worn teenager—the only "injun" in my class—I did try to deny my own heritage. I donned the sacred mantle of self-centered individualism, the heart and spirit of Canadian achievement, and stumbled through my studies. I dressed in blue serge skirts and painted my face with Mabeline and I even cut my hair.[22]

As an adult she referred to assimilation as becoming "invisible . . . , to disappear . . . , to be like you. . . . The result of being colonized is the internalization of the need to remain invisible."[23] Here, one-sidedness means splitting off the dark side, making it invisible, and identifying with the light.

The assimilation phase in Maracle's life comes to an end in eleventh grade, just before she turned sixteen. At a crucial moment her Indian roots prevailed and her "true self" became visible and audible. She was asked to read a text in her history class about a hero of the Métis, her mother's people.

> "Louis Riel was a madman who was hanged. . . ." I could not buy that any more than I could the cannibalism fairytale of fifth grade. I could not forsake my ancestors for all your students to see.[24]

This act precipitated a long series of events. Reacting to the school atmosphere, Lee played hooky, which angered her mom who finally kicked her out of the house.[25] After a few weeks of living with others and working in Vancouver, she left for California to live with friends for four months. Her return to a household full of tension did not last long before she left for Toronto, at her mother's request, ostensibly in search of her brother, Ed.[26] Her ten months in Toronto were turbulent. She shared an apartment with friends, engaged in activities ranging from taking heroin,[27] drinking,[28] playing chess, to living a relationship with a Black political activist,[29] coming into

contact with politics,[30] police drug searches,[31] urban racism,[32] prostitutes,[33] violence, and death.[34]

Lee's mental state during this period was one of *emotional depression* and *ideological confusion*, by her own admission.

> At first I thought it was all kicks; I was still just seventeen and it seemed like a lot of fun and excitement. . . . The newness and most of the kicks wore out after a month or so.[35] By this time I was really passive—sort of subdued. I didn't object to anything and rarely got upset.[36] Like never thought much about any particular situation I was in, just about the use-lessness of my existence.[37] . . . I just couldn't see any reason for working, for just putting in time.[38]

Referring to her romantic relationship with Doug, Lee says, "I was an appendage—kind of a parasite—but at the same time I was detached and unconcerned."[39] Recalling the expulsion of a friend from their circle, she says:

> I really didn't care. And what was worse—what I hated the most—was that I had kind of lost all sense of emotion. But then in Toronto I started to lose control of my existence and that's what really demoralized me.[40]

In reference to doing drugs, she says "I think that unconsciously I wanted to overdose; I really hated my existence. . . . I started feeling completely dehumanized, like a vegetable . . . the people bored me; everything bored me."[41]

Lee's *ideological confusion* at this time bothered her more than before and was intertwined with her emotional depression.

> This kind of deadening of emotion in me began when I was about thirteen and really started hating school. I had some confidence in my ability to think, but the longer I stayed in school, wrote their stupid essays, listened to their stupid crap and so on, the less I was able to figure out what was going on around me—especially at home where the emotional climate was really awful.[42]

Her initiation in the politics of racial discrimination in Toronto compounded her ideological confusion.

> Fortunately I never completely lost hope that there was some way to change all this shit around, to somehow be able to get on top of things, see the whole picture, then say, "This is the way it is; this is what I should be

doing!" and then do it. I knew there was something wrong about the whole bloody system, but there were huge gaps in my knowledge.[43]

Maturation Crisis

At age eighteen, Lee experienced a turning point leading from the depths of depression to a new "involvement with life."[44] Her departure from Toronto was also from drugs and the emptiness of depression.[45] Several telling signs of this new direction were: reading of books and newspapers, caring for her friend's children, and enjoying work.[46] "I was off dope, dried out, thinking and reading more and about to enter a new kind of life."[47]

Puncturing this hopefulness came the shocking message that Lee's mother had cancer.[48] Much of Lee's moving from place to place had been marked with her refusal to accept adult responsibilities: to finish school, face a difficult home life, have a steady job, marry, and have a family.

> She might die. And this really scared me. I'd have to raise my two younger brothers and Al, this fourteen-year-old kid whom mom adopted when he was ten. I'd have to take care of the three of them till they were eighteen, and this thought really changed me—made me think more seriously about getting a job and becoming more stable.[49]

Perhaps because her mother survived, Lee made few comments on this crisis that, nonetheless, scared her into facing responsibilities as an adult. Over the next year the concern over becoming a "responsible" person arose repeatedly in her political and family life.[50]

Deriving from this maturation crisis, a sense of adult responsibility helped Maracle emerge from *emotional depression* and *ideological confusion*. In 1968, despite participating in Native rights protests and reading Mao, Malcolm X, and Fanon, Maracle insisted on her "political ignorance."[51] A turning point appeared, however, when Maracle related political ideology to her own experience, and *reacted emotionally*.

> At the same time, I didn't agree with Ray that the Canadian working class was going to lead the struggle—especially the Indian struggle. And it really got me emotionally when he said North American workers weren't racist, or that working class solidarity against capitalism somehow prevented White workers from being affected by racism. This ran counter to all my experience and I got pretty wrought up.[52]

Apparently, Maracle's previous emotional depression had hindered both her involvement in life and her political understanding. A year later, after

some "sliding backwards—drinking, wasting time and becoming politically irresponsible,"[53] Lee again succeeded in reducing her ideological confusion by relying on her own experience.

> I still tried to relate everything to my own personal experience, and if it didn't relate to me, or make sense in terms of my own experience, then I found it hard to grasp and rejected it.[54]

Rootedness in the Ancestral Soul

At age twenty-five, Lee began in earnest to rediscover her ancestral roots that she had rejected for years, all the while identifying herself as an "urban Métis."[55] Before, she had found little value in speaking a Native language or returning to traditional ways. She had been cynical about Reserve life and its chiefs.[56] Her words eloquently describe the rediscovery of what is called the split bipolarity in a pair of complexes. "The inside of me was indigenous, but the outside was covered with a foreign code of conduct, its sensibility and its cold behavior."[57] Her ancestral roots were the *little girl inside*: "to get back to the little girl and the woman that lived inside me but who was paralyzed by huge amounts of garbage collected for some twenty-five years."[58] Her ancestral roots also were *buried memories*:

> At twenty-five, I knew I was becoming ill, but had buried whatever memories I had of the old Indians that helped bring me up, teach me, under a ton of junk mail. . . . [59] Memories of old stories, old laws and our ancient sense of humanity have come back.[60]

For Native people living in a divided society such as Canada, culture conflict leaves two alternatives: "Those [Natives] who held fast to the essential principles of their culture went in the direction of sovereignty; those who became alienated from their communities trod in the direction of sub-normal integration."[61] After breaking her marriage and abusing her own child, in 1975 Lee Maracle, no longer "Bobbi Lee," found the way to reconnect with her ancestral roots and heal the psychic wounds of an Indian living in a racist society.[62] That "way" was writing.

> I began writing stories about this time to save my sanity. Poetry and the comfort of my diaries—my books of madness I called them—where truth rolled out of my inner self, began to re-shape me. I could not make Ray understand that I did not really want to write, I needed to. In my diary, I faced my womanhood, indigenous womanhood. I faced my inner hate,

my anger and the desertion of myself from our way of being. I reclaimed that little innocent child. It took twenty-five years to twist me and only ten to unravel the twist. I still wrote for the demonstrations Native people held, but I began putting my need to write poetry and stories ahead of the political words that our people needed written. I became a woman through my words.[63]

How does writing contribute to the development of Lee Maracle's liberated consciousness? In 1988, at the age of thirty-eight, she looks back on this question.

I wanted to be a writer when I was still a "wharf rat" from the mud flats. . . . The result of being colonized is the internalization of the need to remain invisible. The colonizers erase you, not easily, but with shame and brutality. Eventually you want to stay that way. Being a writer is getting up there and writing yourself onto everyone's blackboard.[64]

Becoming invisible means assimilating into White society and denying the value of her Indian roots.

The psychic wounds of oppression inflicted Maracle with emotional depression and ideological confusion. A reconnection with her ancestral soul, especially through writing, slowly and painfully dispelled her depression, enabling her to love her children, her husband, and her people. Her keen intelligence, confounded by drug-taking, emotional depression, and limited schooling, had kept her probing for a clear ideological understanding of oppression. Many experiences, apparently unconnected, marked her life and called for clarification: experiences of racism, of violence among Indians, and a weak sense of identity.

Racism. She experienced racism in her own family, even from her father who did not want the kids to date Indian boys and called his wife a "dirty squaw." She experienced racism in school from teachers and students, putting down the Indians as inferior, as "debauched slaves," and as "savages" whose ancestors were "cannibals."[65] In California she witnessed racism among Whites and Mexican-Americans, as well as Indians and Blacks. In Toronto and Vancouver she experienced Canadian-style urban racial discrimination. She noted well the contrasts but sought continually a broader systemic understanding.

Violence. Maracle experienced or witnessed so many incidents of violence that they can hardly be numbered, cited throughout her testimony. Is the violence of racist White men against Indian men in towns of British Columbia

and Alberta, where Maracle lived, somehow connected to legal forms of racial discrimination? Why did White men rape Indian women, as happened to her sisters? What about the violence among Indians? She witnessed drunken Indians fighting each other. Indian husbands beat their wives. Her father beat his children. Maracle found herself beating her own children.[66] Why was family violence common among Indians? A friend, herself a victim of her husband's brutality and her father's sexual abuse, killed herself. Why did Indians commit suicide?

Identity. At times Maracle interrupts her story to say that she wanted to find out "who she really was." What does it mean to be Indian? In what ways was she Indian? She was not from a Reserve[67] and was unable to speak an Indian language. As already noted, her emotional depression surely impeded the search for her identity.

Maracle's ideological clarity derives, essentially, from three key ideas: *colonialism, internalized racism*, and *lateral violence*. For years Maracle sought a way to understand the systemic nature of the racism, the violence, and the lost identity of Indians. These key ideas provided the systemic understanding she sought. At that time, she stated, "knowing why, I can know what to do." Here are the ideas on which she developed her understanding.

Colonialism. Maracle considers Natives in Canada to be a colonized people. To maintain their domination in the face of resistance, "the aims of the colonizer are to break up communities and families, and to destroy the sense of nationhood and the spirit of co-operation among the colonized."[68] Maracle links colonialism to racism. "The culture of the conqueror is justified by the notion that some sort of 'godly' or inherent right to conquer belongs solely to him. Colonialism has racism as its ideological rationale."[69]

Internalized Racism. This refers to becoming educated in the racist ideology of the oppressor, the essence of which is that the inequalities in the life conditions between Whites and Natives are due to the inferiority of Natives, who have only themselves to blame.[70] "Internalized racism is the natural response to the unnatural condition of racism."[71]

Lateral Violence. Referring to the Native people, Maracle says:

> We fight each other with a fierceness we have not shown since our forefathers' early resistance. The anger inside has accumulated generation by generation, and because it was left to decay, it has become hatred. By its very nature, racism only permits the victimized race to engage that hatred among its own. Lateral violence among Native people is about our anti-colonial rage working itself out in an expression of hate for one another.[72]

She renewed her sense of Indian identity once she succeeded in dispelling the internalized racist ideology of the oppressor, and revaluing the Indian culture that the White oppressors had tried to destroy or depreciate.

Enduring the Tension of Opposites

According to the theory presented in chapter 4, ethnic conflict has its counterpart in the conflict between complexes of identity in the psychology of the oppressed. Maracle succeeded in overcoming the one-sidedness that characterized her "misguided youth," and in establishing a stable sense of ethnic self-esteem.

An essential part of liberated consciousness is the integration of certain unconscious complexes that are "housed" in the mind of the oppressed: the paired complexes of superiority-inferiority and paternalism-dependence. In her own powerful literary style, Maracle recognizes the challenge these complexes present to Native people:

> *I Am Woman* was intended to release me from the chains with which I bound myself, chains which were welded to me by a history neither I nor my ancestors created. . . . When the chains are bound to you by internal attitudes and beliefs created by external world conditions, removing them is both painful and humbling. . . . We are an internally colonized people.[73]

Paternalism-Dependence. Paternalism, often exhibited by the oppressor, corresponds to an unconscious complex in the oppressed who project it onto an authority whose approval they seek. Maracle realized this while remembering her reading, in adolescence, of Marx and Lenin.[74] In their analysis of capitalism and colonialism "we found the validation of our own thoughts. Our dilemma was that we still needed some European author to validate our thoughts." She has similar reflections on a European's validation of indigenous healing practices.[75] Maracle became aware of the more general sense in which a colonized mind is dependent on the authority of the oppressor. "Each time I confronted White colonial society I had to convince them of my validity as a human being. It was the attempt to convince them that made me realize that I was still a slave."[76]

When the complex of dependence is transformed into an attitude of *self-reliance*, the voice of authority becomes one's own. Holding the tension between the opposites, paternalism (authority) and dependence, heals the split in the bipolar pair of complexes. Even back in her youth, Lee recognized her need as an Indian for self-reliance and independence from the thinking abilities of Whites. "We just have to learn to do things on our own."[77] Self-reliance

takes on both a material and psychological meaning in Maracle's liberated consciousness. "We need to be economically, politically and socially self-reliant so that we can re-affirm who we are and come to the Canadian people whole, but this process should not require we starve our young."[78] In reference to the struggle to reconnect with Native communities, Maracle notes some small absurdities:

> However, it was important as the first step toward relying on our own people. The sense of drama and the spirit of power that this gave rise to altered the course of political development for us. It freed our minds. Independent thinking was possible. To be critical of all and doubt everything is the first step to the creation of new thought. We were forced to look inside ourselves for the answers and not assume that if you are White you are right. In the long run, it enabled us to be objective about ourselves.[79]

Superiority-Inferiority. In an ethnically divided society, such as Canada, an Indian's internalized feeling of inferiority to Whites, whether evoking a need for assimilation or not, is a hallmark of oppressed consciousness. There are moments in the process of liberation, according to Memmi, when the oppressed reverse their self-evaluation and consider themselves superior to the oppressors. Memmi calls this reversal the "negativistic" aspect of "revolt," not yet "revolution."[80] In Jungian terms, this reversal means that the ego changes its alignment from an inferiority to a superiority complex. In the stage of revolution, which belongs to liberated consciousness, the oppressed are able to transcend these opposites, avoiding a one-sided alignment with either complex.

Lee Maracle, at various times since her own rejection of assimilation at the age of sixteen, experienced this reversal before being able to endure the tension of opposites. While reconnecting with her ancestral roots, it was only natural that rediscovered Indian ways, history, customs, teachings, and Indian culture generally, would be overvalued, and that White culture would be undervalued in comparison. She valued negatively their parenting,[81] legal code,[82] philosophy, education,[83] relation to nature,[84] racism,[85] capitalism,[86] and sexism.[87]

In the final part of her testimony, Maracle's dedication to creating a "new society" that will benefit both Whites and Indians, neither one being inferior or superior, reveals her ability to hold the tension of opposites.

> We need a country free of racism. . . . White people have this need as well. . . . Racism has de-humanized us all. . . . If they don't struggle with

racism they will never be able to chart their own path to freedom. Their humanity will always be tainted, imprisoned by the horrific lie that at least my life is not as tragic as those "others."[88]

A similar even-handedness characterizes her treatment of White and Native histories.

In the process of trying to free ourselves, we will learn. Change must be the basis for education and cultural development. . . . Learning begins with objectifying our condition and the condition of our homeland. To learn "how we are to live among them" does not mean that we should segregate ourselves from or subordinate ourselves to them. It means that we must build a new society based on the positive histories of both. A critical examination of the history of settler society is in order. Likewise, a critical examination of our society is in order.[89]

Rigoberta Menchú

Biographical Profile

In 1959 Rigoberta Menchú was born in Chimel, a village founded by her father, in the mountain highlands of El Quiché province of Guatemala.[1] The sixth of nine children, she grew up entirely within the traditional Mayan culture speaking only a Mayan language, without access to Spanish-language schooling. At the age of twelve she began working as a catechist and later as a labor organizer for a newly formed peasant union in defense of Indian rights. In the 1970s, she worked to organize the defense of Indian villages facing military repression during the civil war. Her parents and a brother were killed by the military, leaving her alone to carry on the struggle for Indian rights. Persecuted by the military, she went into exile in 1981. She told her life story to a French anthropologist who edited it and had it published. This book led to her being awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1992. While exiled in Mexico, she worked for the return to Guatemala of Mayan refugees who had fled from military repression. During her years of exile in Geneva, she lobbied for the rights of indigenous peoples. Since returning to Guatemala she heads a foundation that supports Indian rights.

The Development of Liberated Consciousness

Rootedness in the Ancestral Soul

In her earliest recollections of childhood, while telling of her parents' life before her birth, Rigoberta refers to *Ladinos* (a Latin American subculture that does not identify itself as Indian)[2] as the "rich," the ones who evicted her

parents from their town dwelling, employed her grandmother as a kind of mistress, and refused to allow her father, as a youth, to enter their house or learn Spanish while he worked for them.[3] From the earliest years, Rigoberta's life was immersed in the *Ladino*-Indian conflict, as a family issue rather than a political issue. This sets the tone for Rigoberta's testimony.

Since childhood, poverty is a fact of life, not yet understood as a problem of oppression. Rigoberta remembers well how her infant brother died of famine.[4] The need for a cash income forces her family to work seasonally on the coffee and cotton *fincas* (plantations) along the coast with thousands of other Indians migrating from the *altiplano* (highlands). The family's wish to live as Indians with an independent source of subsistence leads them to colonize land in the *altiplano* and found the village of Chimel.

Rigoberta has a strong sense of Indian tradition, expressed in her description of how the child grows up as part of the community. This ingrained Indian identity has a corollary in a thorough rejection of *Ladino*-modern ways, such as giving birth in a hospital and family planning that are "insults to our culture."[5] Rigoberta helps to keep the Indian secrets from the *Ladinos*, whom the Maya have grown to distrust whether they be priests, landowners, or merchants who "can't understand our world."[6] The birth of a child, as described by Rigoberta, is accompanied by ceremonies that preserve the secrets and traditions of her people, threatened by the *Ladino* world. By the age of ten, children learn never to abuse their dignity or to be "dishonored as were their ancestors by the White Man during colonization."[7]

These descriptions of Indian customs signal Rigoberta's rootedness in her own culture, one that provides her with a basis from which to judge and evaluate *Ladino* intrusions. For example, she relates that priests of Catholic Action tried to challenge local customs but were rejected on the grounds that they didn't understand local culture.[8]

Rigoberta's earliest extensive memories of exploitation along ethnic lines concern life on the *fincas*. She describes the role of the *caporales* (foremen), who recruit Indians in the *altiplano* villages and transport them in trucks to the *fincas*.[9] The *caporales*, often of Indian origin, become the overseers of their group of workers on the plantations, working as intermediaries for the landowners. They enforce work standards, discipline, and manage to earn a very good living for themselves while the Indian laborers often fall into debt and drinking.[10] Only later in her narrative does Rigoberta refer to *caporales* as Spanish speaking, often *Ladinos*. She refers to some as "*ladinized* Indians," who steal from the people.[11]

Rigoberta recounts these early childhood experiences as deplorable facts of life that she suffered as grief and hunger. Only later on does Rigoberta recognize her own "confusion" over the meaning of these experiences and begin to

resolve this confusion through her understanding of "exploitation," "discrimination," and "oppression."

Already rooted in her Indian identity, at age seven she traveled to Guatemala City with her father to discover "the world of the *Ladinos*." She felt "we were different." Seeing the houses and cars of the *Ladinos* led her to realize that those were "the rich people" and that Indians were "the poor people."[12] Rigoberta succeeded in distinguishing between key pairs of opposites early in life while identifying clearly with one pole of each pair. She was Indian not *Ladino*; she was poor not rich. She began to sense that somehow the two pairs were related, but still understood little about why or how.

One-sided Identification with the Positive Image of the Oppressed

At the age of eight, while working on a *finca* with her mother, Rigoberta suffered a traumatic experience that propelled her into a new phase of political consciousness. She became aware of how her family situation was not merely theirs, but part of a collective situation of Indians in Guatemalan society. Her little brother was ill, dying from malnutrition, as Rigoberta and her mother worked on the *finca*. Lacking money for medicine, they both felt helpless while the child was dying and afterwards when it was time for the burial.[13] The impact of this experience on Rigoberta's consciousness was the formation of a psychological complex.

An instrument developed by Jungian analysts to identify a psychological complex is the association experiment.[14] A cluster of memories or experiences, all with a similar emotional tone, constitutes a psychological complex with a life of its own. A complex is capable of emerging unpredictably and autonomously into consciousness and interrupting normal, conscious thought processes. One indicator for detecting the presence of a complex is the repetition of a word or phrase, when some image or word "touches" it. Even at the age of twenty-three, years after the experience of her little brother's death when she was only eight, the recollection provokes the repetition of the phrase, "[w]e didn't know what to do," eight times in three pages of her testimony.[15]

This phrase conveys two aspects of her sense of helplessness, to which Rigoberta refers: lacking the knowledge of what to do and the means (money and ability to speak Spanish) for doing. Rigoberta states that "from that moment I was both angry with life and afraid of it" and "that hatred has stayed with me until this day."[16] She turned these emotions of helplessness and hatred into engines for her personal growth, first, by becoming more economically independent, learning Spanish (so as to communicate effectively with Indians of other language groups and to cope with the *Ladino* world),

and second, by understanding why society treats Indians as inferior. Soon after, at age twelve, she became a catechist and later learned Spanish.[17]

This confession of hatred moved Rigoberta from a distinction of opposites (Indian-*Ladino*, poor-rich) to a one-sided identification and self-evaluation. For her, being Indian, even a poor Indian, meant being all good and superior to a *Ladino*. As in the cases of Atanasio and Maracle, this resembles the one-sided identification of the colonized in the stage of revolt, reversing the previous evaluations.[18] Certain of Rigoberta's commentaries confirm the one-sidedness of her political consciousness. She knows that *Ladino* "society rejects us."[19] In return she completely rejects *Ladino* society, elevating Indian culture in her mind to a plane of natural wholesomeness.[20] She holds the attitude that Indians must protect themselves from learning the ways of the White Man and prevent them from learning Indian ways. She contrasts the Indians' respect for life with the *Ladinos'* willingness to kill.[21] Her respect for Indian ancestors is mitigated neither by their defeat during the Spanish Conquest nor by the apparent advantages of modern ways.[22] Indian ways, both wholesome and natural, must not be mixed with the modern ways of the White Men, even in the preparation of food.[23]

Only in the realm of religious belief does Rigoberta seem less one-sided. By accepting Catholicism, she says, they did not abandon their own culture. "We feel very Catholic because we believe in the Catholic religion but, at the same time, we feel very Indian, proud of our ancestors."[24] This appears to express a "living the tension of opposites," though it is somewhat hollow, considering Rigoberta's comment: "At first, I really didn't understand what this whole 'Catholic' thing was, but I was ready to open myself to it all the same."[25] Only later, as an experienced catechist, would she genuinely accommodate these religious opposites.

Maturation Crisis

At age thirteen, Rigoberta reaches a turning point in her life, while recovering from what she calls a depression,[26] one that accompanies a change in her political consciousness. An indication of one-sidedness, according to Jungian psychology, is depression. Neurosis is a condition of extreme one-sidedness in which experiences, ideas, or feelings that are incompatible with one's self-image or society's standards are repressed. Repression may be intentional or result from the psyche's function in protecting the integrity of the ego.[27] Only a partial truth remains conscious, one that is compatible with one's self-image. One-sidedness manifests itself in depression when so much has been repressed into the unconscious that considerable amounts of psychic energy are required to maintain the boundary, to prevent the repressed ideas, feelings,

and images from intruding into consciousness. Some of the energy, usually available for the functioning of the ego, is redeployed to safeguard the ego. This depletes the energy then available for the ordinary functioning of the ego, resulting in a depression.[28]

Rigoberta's political consciousness, until the time of her depression, evolved from a differentiation of opposites (Indian-*Ladino*, rich-poor) to a one-sidedness characterized by an unqualified depreciation of *Ladino* society in favor of Indian ways. While it would be inappropriate to diagnose her condition as "neurotic," the deployment of psychic energy to maintain such one-sidedness would leave her vulnerable to depression.

The event in Rigoberta's life at age thirteen that triggers her depression is the death of Maria, a close friend from the same community.[29] Maria died in the *finca* from the poison sprayed on the cotton plants by agents of the landowner. Maria was also a catechist, loved by all in the community. This event was evidence that the forces of evil dominated the forces of good, in accordance with Rigoberta's one-sided identification with Indian ways. "From then on, I was very depressed about life because I thought, what would life be like when I grew up?"[30] Many emotions surfaced: *grief* over the death of Maria and the earlier death of her little brother under similar circumstances, *anger* over being exploited on the finca, *anxiety* over being unable to avoid living a future full of suffering, *hatred* for those responsible for Maria's death, and *despair*, not wanting to live.[31] Maria's death triggered the release of emotions belonging to Rigoberta's past, a turning point.

In the individuation process, a depression is "creative," when it allows the ego to accommodate repressed opposites.[32] Along with the flood of emotions came new ideas, ones that previously had been incompatible with Rigoberta's self-image. "My ideas changed completely; so many ideas came to me."[33] Some of the new ideas brought Rigoberta into direct conflict with her father, a staunch defender of the Indian ways. She decided to learn Spanish, something her father opposed, saying, "You'll forget about our common heritage. If you leave, it will be for good."[34] Her father also opposed her decision to attend school because he was suspicious of schools and how they made one feel different.

Given the strong tradition of marriage in her community, Rigoberta's decision not to marry also represents a departure from her previous one-sided identification with Indian ways. Maria had been influential in this matter, saying, "she would never get married because marriage meant children and if she had a child she couldn't bear to see him die of starvation or pain or illness. . . . This made me think a lot, I drove myself mad thinking about it."[35] Though Rigoberta's decisions bring her into conflict with her father and her Indian ways, they enable her to overcome her one-sidedness. The end of the

depression announces her self-healing, preparing the way for growth in her political consciousness.

While Rigoberta begins to revalue positively certain aspects of *Ladino* culture, such as its language and schools, she does not yet appreciate the *Ladinos* themselves. From the age of fourteen to eighteen, during a series of conflicts between her family and the landowners, she totally rejects the *Ladinos*. The Governor, Mayor, Military Commissioner, and local landowners (the Garcias, the Brols, and the Martinez) are all *Ladinos*, against whom Rigoberta's father fought for his land rights for twenty-two years.[36] *Ladino* lawyers, hired by the peasants, betrayed the trust placed in them as well. Only later did Rigoberta understand that "going to the Government authorities was the same as going to the landowners."[37] After violent confrontations over the land, Rigoberta summed up her total rejection of the *Ladinos:* "I saw why we said *Ladinos* were thieves, criminals and liars."[38] After the imprisonment, kidnapping, and beating of her father because of the land dispute, Rigoberta reaffirmed her rejection of *Ladinos* as a group: "[w]e hated all those people. We weren't only angry with the landowners, but with all the *Ladinos*. To us, all *Ladinos* in that region were evil."[39]

The focus of Rigoberta's political consciousness until then had been the people of her community, their land, and work on the *fincas*. Her father returned from prison in 1977 with a new understanding that he shared with Rigoberta. "Our enemies weren't the landowners but the whole system."[40] Judging from her commentaries, though she did not yet understand fully the nature of the "system," her political consciousness went beyond the focus on community:

> We began thinking, with the help of other friends, other *compañeros*, that our enemies were not only the landowners who live near us, and above all not just the landowners who forced us to work and paid us little. It was not only now we were being killed; they had been killing us since we were children, through malnutrition, hunger, poverty. We started thinking about the roots of the problem and came to the conclusion that everything stemmed from the ownership of the land."[41]

Distinguishing between the Oppressors

While Rigoberta's political consciousness increased from her community to the land problem, so did her confusion. "I still didn't have a clear idea of who exactly our enemies were."[42] The polar opposites in her understanding proved to be inadequate and overlapping: landowner-peasant, *Ladino*-Indian, rich-poor, and government-people. "It was about then I began

learning about politics. I tried to talk to people who could help me sort my ideas out."[43]

Two transitions in her political consciousness occur nearly simultaneously: from "naive" to "critical" consciousness, and from one-sidedness to a tension of opposites, because she was able to make distinctions in each pole of the paired opposites, "we" and the "enemy."[44] A key experience supporting these transitions was Rigoberta's discovery "that not all *Ladinos* are bad." In her travels to other regions of Guatemala she found that "The rich are bad, but not all *Ladinos* are bad."[45] She learned that the rich also exploited the poor *Ladinos*, as well as the Indians, on their own land and in the *fincas*. By a kind of deductive logic, it became clear to Rigoberta that the problem was exploitation, not the *Ladinos*.[46] It is characteristic of "naive consciousness" to name individual oppressors or groups of oppressors as the enemy. In "critical consciousness," one understands problems as the consequence of the effective functioning of an oppressive system, its agents, institutions, norms or laws, and processes. Rigoberta is eloquent in identifying three processes that explain the situation of her people: economic exploitation, ethnic discrimination, and cultural oppression:

> We began to understand that the root of all our problems was exploitation. That there were rich and poor and that the rich exploited the poor— our sweat, our labor. That's how they got richer and richer. The fact that we were always waiting in offices, always bowing to the authorities, was part of the discrimination we Indians suffered. So was the cultural oppression which tries to divide us by taking away our traditions and prevents unity among our people.[47]

For her, *exploitation* is the inequitable economic relationship between rich and poor; *discrimination* means the unequal juridical relationship between the rights of *Ladinos* and Indians; and *cultural oppression* refers to the linguistic and educational practices that weaken the unity of the people. She amplifies the notion of cultural oppression by noting that even poor *Ladinos* are schooled to believe that Indians are inferior.[48]

Rigoberta suffered in a state of confusion, wondering whether the Catholic Church was also an enemy.[49] She had experiences with "good" priests and nuns who helped her learn Spanish and improved her community, yet she knew that they had been "bad" in some of their teachings.

> [B]ut they also taught us to accept many things, to be passive, to be a dormant people. Their religion told us it was a sin to kill while we were being killed. They told us that God is up there and that God has a kingdom for

the poor. . . . Catholic Action too submitted us to tremendous oppression. It kept the people dormant while others took advantage of our passivity. I finally began to see all this clearly.[50]

Rigoberta wondered how the Church could be an enemy if she, as a catechist, believed in the Bible. This question led her to make further distinctions where her blanket generalizations had prevailed. Rather than insisting on good versus bad priests, typical of "naive consciousness," Rigoberta distinguished between the "Church of the rich" and the "Church of the poor," as institutions, a reflection consistent with "critical consciousness." The "Church of the rich," allied with or manipulated by the government, preaches to the poor a message of resignation to their fate.[51] "But I think that unless a religion springs from within the people themselves, it is a weapon of the system."[52] The "Church of the poor," generally recognized as "Liberation Theology," uses the Bible as a weapon in defense of the poor and the Indians.[53] Rigoberta finds that the life of Christ and the story of Exodus, for example, resemble the poor's experiences of oppression and, consequently, offer lessons about resistance.[54]

> We believe that, when we started using the Bible, when we began studying it in terms of our own reality, it was because we found in it a document to guide us. . . . To learn about self-defense, as I was saying, we studied the Bible.[55]

Rigoberta's Christian faith harmonizes with her activist role in organizing self-defense in Indian communities. She succeeds in distinguishing between the two churches, one of the rich and the other of the poor, and their messages, one of complicity with the system and the other of resistance to the system. At age eighteen she emerges from her "confusion" about the Church and finds renewed energy to work as an organizer and catechist.[56]

Enduring the Tension of Opposites

Rigoberta's rootedness in the way of her ancestors enables her to deny Indian inferiority in a nation dominated by *Ladinos*, who view Indians as inferior. She moderates her once absolute adherence to Indian ways, by learning Spanish, attending school, and postponing marriage, all against the will of her father. Rigoberta also begins to make distinctions among the "others," especially the *Ladinos*, who are "not all evil . . . for there are poor *Ladino* peasants who also are exploited." The Catholic Church, a *Ladino* institution too, is no longer accepted uncritically. There are good and bad priests, good and

bad interpretations of the scriptures, a church of the poor and a church of the rich that supports the "system" of oppression.[57] Despite Rigoberta's progression toward "critical consciousness," she has not yet attained "liberated consciousness," by enduring the tension of opposites.[58]

In 1979, at the age of twenty, while organizing peasants in the *fincas*, Rigoberta crossed a threshold in her progress toward liberated consciousness. She learned to love *Ladinos*.[59] She clarified her feelings about *Ladinos* in general, thanks to her relationship with a *Ladino* who taught her Spanish.

> That *compañero* taught me many things, one of which was to love *Ladinos* a lot. He taught me to think more clearly about some of my ideas which were wrong, like saying all *Ladinos* are bad. He didn't teach me through ideas, he showed me by his actions, by the way he behaved towards me.[60]

This change in attitude, in valuing both Indians and *Ladinos*, had important consequences for Rigoberta's political actions. "It was when we began supporting the struggle of peasants in general, and carrying out coordinated actions. For instance, if we call a strike, it's for all workers."[61] The ability to endure the tension of opposites, to love the *Ladino* and the Indian, increased her awareness of the system of oppression.

> Anyway, the example of my *compañero Ladino* made me really understand the barrier which has been put up between the Indian and the *Ladino*, and that because of this same system which tries to divide us, we haven't understood that *Ladinos* also live in terrible conditions, the same as we do.[62]

The tension of opposites is even more evident when Rigoberta admits criticizing the *compañero* (companion), but accepting his criticism as well.[63] She distinguishes between dimensions of oppression, knowing that both Indians and poor *Ladinos* are exploited but that "being an Indian was an extra dimension because I suffered discrimination as well as suffering exploitation."[64]

Rigoberta's psychological insights about ethnic discrimination coincide with the Jungian theory of complexes. She describes the "*ladinized*" Indians, those who don't wear Indian clothes and have forgotten Indian languages[65] and the middle-class Indians also have abandoned their traditions. Though all have descended from Indians and Spaniards, they do not consider themselves to be Indians. In Jungian terms, *Ladinos* split off and repress the Indian pole of their Indian-*Ladino* complex and align the *Ladino* pole with their ego identity.[66] Rigoberta then describes the feelings resulting from the

ego's identification with the *Ladino* pole:

> However, this *Ladino* minority thinks its blood is superior, a higher quality, and they think of Indians as a sort of animal. That's the mark of discrimination. The *Ladinos* try to tear off this shell which imprisons them—being the children of Indians and Spaniards. They want to be something different, they don't want to be a mixture. They never mention this mixed blood now.[67]

Ladinos project the repressed, partly unconscious pole of their Indian-*Ladino* complex onto the Indians. *Ladinos* feel superior (the ego-aligned pole of the complex) and consider the Indians to be inferior (the split-off pole of the complex, repressed and projected onto Indians). Acts of discrimination by *Ladinos*, such as cheating and exploiting Indians, are a consequence of their attempt to "tear off this shell."[68]

Rigoberta, in contrast, declares herself to be an "Indianist, . . . and I defend everything to do with my ancestors."[69] Yet she learns not to reject all *Ladinos* or all of their *Ladino*-modern culture. Instead, Rigoberta declares "we can select what is truly relevant for our people."[70] She and her people have learned to safeguard their secrets, ceremonies, and the ways of their ancestors, and to resist intrusions by the government, landowners, and the Church.[71] "They have tried to take our things away and impose others on us, be it through religion, through dividing up the land, through schools, through books, through radio, through all things modern."[72] To select from the modern *Ladino* culture and retain many of the ways of the ancestors is to endure the tension of opposites. This signals liberated consciousness, though not the end to oppression.

A mystery remains as to what psychological truth in Rigoberta's experience best explains how she came to endure the tension of opposites. In her book, *Crossing Borders*, she confides to the reader the contrasting religious views of her parents: her father was a "fervent Catholic" and a catechist, while her mother was a traditional believer in the Mayan religion.[73] An answer to the "mystery" may be the balance she found in her parents' teachings:

> As children, there was never an imbalance in what we chose to believe from Mama or Papa. . . . They taught us that either way of praying is deep and sincere, and that the Creator will know in which way to receive them. Mama learned a lot from Papa's faith, and he learnt from her and from us, his children.[74]

Rigoberta's parents provided a model for enduring the tension of religious opposites. She says, "They never quarreled about it. It was as though they

were showing humility towards something greater than themselves."[75] In a sense, Rigoberta's parents represent a pair of polar opposites in herself: her father as the modern, Catholic catechist and her mother as the traditional, "Indianist."

In the tone of a benediction, the words of Rigoberta resound with her liberated consciousness:

> We have to blend our two cultures, the ancient and the modern. We should not be trying to eradicate anything or anybody because we think one is better. We should be trying to find a way of living together, combining the ancient culture of our peoples with the culture of the colonizers. That is the strength of our American identity, the privilege of having roots that go back for thousands of years.[76]

The Critical Consciousness of Rigoberta Menchú

The three other cases share with Rigoberta Menchú both "liberated consciousness" and conscientization at the "critical" stage. Despite general similarities, each case has a particular character. Rigoberta's conscientization developed under the most extreme conditions of all, an internal war in which Indians struggle for survival against a governmental policy of genocide, executed by the military. Rigoberta's participation in the general strike of 1980, at the age of twenty-one, shows her particular manner of naming, reflecting, and acting at the critical level. After the death of her father, mother, and brother at the hands of the army, her struggle against oppression intensified.

Naming Problems of Oppression. Rigoberta had experienced firsthand the exploitation of Indians on cotton and sugar *fincas* of the coast during her childhood.[77] She was aware of how entire Indian families worked there for cash to meet their needs in the *altiplano* during the rest of the year. Despite deplorable housing, low wages, bad food, chronic debt, and ill health (sometimes due to crop spraying), Indians seldom protested. Organizing protests was difficult because of the language barrier: the many Mayan languages were mutually incomprehensible and few Indians knew much Spanish. The lack of solidarity between poor *Ladino* peasants and Indian peasants presented a further obstacle. Though they all suffered the same exploitation on the fincas, the *Ladinos* distanced themselves from the Indians.

Reflecting on the Causes of Oppression. The extremely low wages on the *fincas* were further eroded by a variety of practices: cheating by the landowners, withholding pay on various pretexts, paying debts to the *finca* for medicine, fines, or drinking "to drown out one's misery."[78] Since cash earnings

were needed to pay for consumer goods during the rest of the year in the villages, peasants could not do without them. Wages in many cases would pay lawyers' fees and administrative expenses in support of land claims. For decades, Rigoberta's family sought to settle their claims to the land they had colonized in the *altiplano* in order to subsist without having to work on the *fincas*.[79] Rigoberta understood that the slowly turning wheels of government agencies to settle land disputes had a double objective: to safeguard the property of landowners, and force Indians to work on *fincas* at low wages. She realized that the lack of schools in Indian villages was a deliberate policy of the government to "divide and conquer."[80] *Ladino* peasants, in their schools, learn attitudes of racial superiority that distance them from Indian peasants, who share a similar fate on the *fincas*.[81]

Acting to Resolve Problems of Oppression. Isolated protests by individual Indians on the *fincas* usually led to their being fired, no matter how justified their demands. Rigoberta, as a leader of the Committee of Peasant Unity (CUC), worked to organize the peasants to bring collective solutions through solidary acts, such as the general strike in 1980.[82] In organizing the Indians, first on the *fincas* and later in the *altiplano* villages, Rigoberta taught them: Spanish, in order to overcome the language barriers; methods of protest against landowners; and unity in resisting military repression since "there were just too many peasants for them to massacre."[83] Rigoberta's efforts extended as well to the poor *Ladino* peasants, in order to oppose the oppressors' tactic of divide and conquer.[84]

In February 1980, she served as a CUC leader in the general strike of agricultural workers that lasted for fifteen days. Participation increased from 8,000 peasants to over 80,000. Heartening results came after managing to "paralyze the economy." The landowners signed an agreement to raise the minimum wage, improve working conditions, and provide better food on the *fincas*. In the *altiplano*, Rigoberta succeeded in increasing peasants' political awareness and organizing their resistance during the strike. Afterwards, peasants throughout the country were asking to be organized.[85]

Rigoberta's "critical consciousness" is evident, first, by "naming" problems in terms of systemic exploitation. Second, it is found in her "reflecting" on how exploitation is stabilized by the practices of institutions and groups: land reform agencies, the military, landowners, and *Ladinos* discriminating against Indians, who remain divided both among themselves and from poor *Ladinos*. And finally, her critical consciousness is witnessed in "acting" to eradicate the many injustices, by organizing, educating, and unifying oppressed peasants.

CHAPTER 10

Psychopolitical Healing

During the colonial era, one spoke of oppressed consciousness in terms of the "colonized mentality." The idea that psychopolitical "therapy" could eliminate that mentality belongs to certain Third World ideologies of liberation. That is, they advocated anticolonial revolution to free a nation from colonial rule *and* to free a people from oppressed consciousness. The anticolonial ideologies of Frantz Fanon and M. K. Gandhi are precursors to my ideas on psychopolitical healing presented in this chapter.[1] Their contrasting psychopolitical "therapies" deserve attention here.

Fanon promised the disappearance of the colonized mentality with the end of colonialism, but only if liberation were attained through violence. By this he meant that oppressed consciousness would be eradicated through the therapeutic effect of the colonized's acts of violence against the colonizers during the war for independence.[2] Fanon held that anticolonial violence would cleanse them of their inferiority complex, despair, and inaction, while restoring their courage and self-respect.[3] As a psychotherapist working for Algerian independence, Fanon was in a position to "prescribe" this psychopolitical "therapy" for the colonized. The "dose" of anticolonial violence that was necessary for the success of this "therapy" would be proportional to the violence inflicted by the colonial regime.[4]

In sharp contrast to Fanon, Gandhi, a leader of the independence movement in India, advocated nonviolent resistance. For his psychopolitical "therapy" to be successful, the necessary amount of nonviolence by the colonized would be proportional to the repression by colonial authorities.[5] Voluntary self-suffering of nonviolent militants at the hands of their colonial oppressors would both liberate India and also cleanse the militants of their oppressed consciousness. Only nonviolent resistance promised to restore the colonized

people's courage, self-confidence, and self-reliance, as well as to eliminate the internalized myths of their inferiority.[6]

Anticolonial revolution, according to both Fanon and Gandhi, accompanies a transformation of oppressed consciousness. Direct participation in revolutionary violence or nonviolence is their psychopolitical "therapy" to heal the psychic wounds of oppression. I contend, however, that only nonviolence is compatible with "liberated consciousness." Holding the tension of opposites between images of ethnic groups in conflict means that the oppressed see the humanity in the oppressors. This capacity is also essential for nonviolent militants, whom Gandhi encouraged to love their oppressors so as to persuade them to acknowledge the untruth of colonial rule. In the absence of a tension of opposites, a one-sidedness of the oppressed underlies their use of violence. Fanon's ideology sustained the projection of inhumanity onto the oppressors, an image of extreme otherness and evil, "justifying" the use of violence against them. Even after the decline of colonialism, these two ideologies continued to be persuasive in the United States. During the civil rights movement, Fanon's ideas inspired the Black Panthers while Gandhi's inspired Martin Luther King. I acknowledge these *ideologies* as precursors to my *theory* of psychopolitical healing.

The case studies in the four previous chapters reveal how each Native person developed or sustained liberated consciousness. Two general patterns emerge. First, all four cases follow the same sequence of phases in the development of political consciousness, those postulated in chapter 4 and summarized in the template at the end of chapter 5. Some cases skip certain phases, though their order remains the same. Second, in all four cases, the preconditions for liberated consciousness are ego strength gained in a maturation crisis and rootedness in the ancestral soul. Drawing on the psychic resources of the ancestral soul, a strong ego can endure the tension of opposites. The opposites consist of two ethnic self-images, of a dominant ethnic group (White, *Ladino*) and of a subordinate indigenous group to which these four persons belong. The next section shows that the four cases also share the same pattern of psychopolitical healing.

The present chapter offers an explanation of psychopolitical healing, the process by which these four persons healed their psychic wounds of oppression. The explanation has three phases: *first*, to demonstrate that psychopolitical healing is a specific instance of psychological healing in general, from a Jungian perspective; *second*, to show that the loss and recovery of the ancestral soul are specific instances of psychopolitical wounding and healing in the context of colonial conquest in ethnically divided societies; *third*, to learn from the four cases about their own healing process. Relying on their lessons,

the chapter then proposes public policies to promote liberated consciousness and psychopolitical healing among Native people. Finally, I share some concluding thoughts on the psychopolitics of liberation.

Individuation and Psychopolitical Healing

The explanation begins with a review of the individuation process, because, as will be evident, healing the wounds of oppression belongs to this very process. The principal stages of individuation, seen in chapter 1, can be reviewed now, emphasizing the healing process. In short, wounding predominates in the first two stages, while healing predominates in the third stage.

Stages 1 and 2

The diamond image, first presented in chapter 1, represents the stages of individuation, proceeding from unconscious unity toward conscious wholeness, from left to right in this image (figure 10.1). Stage 1, the emergence of ego consciousness, necessitates a *wounding* of the psyche. The ego becomes conscious in Stage 1 by separating from the Self and by separating the opposites that were joined in the original unconscious unity. Dissociation and repression are normal and necessary in the emergence of ego consciousness.[7] The ego shapes its identity by aligning itself with the what is compatible with the habitual attitude of consciousness, and by splitting off and repressing that which is incompatible.[8] The ego experiences that which is split off through projection. The emerging ego becomes the center of personal identity and personal choices. The Self produces complexes, splits them off, and reintegrates them in a new way at a later stage. In doing so, the Self guides the
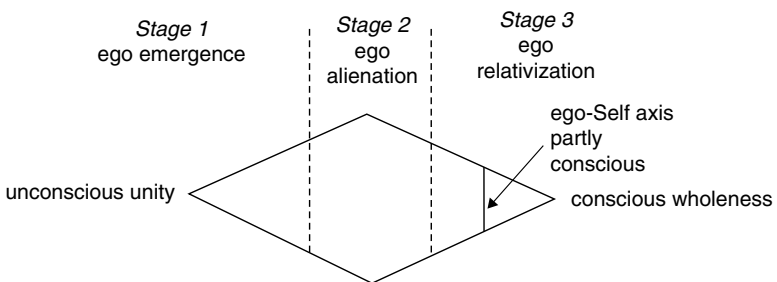
Figure 10.1 The Diamond: stages of individuation, psychic wounding and healing.

process of individuation away from the original state of unconscious unity toward a state of conscious wholeness.[9]

The necessary *wounding* of the psyche deepens in Stage 2, the alienation of the ego. In this stage, ego consciousness grows as the ego separates further from the unconscious, from both the collective unconscious (including the Self, the archetypes, the anima/animus) as well as from the personal unconscious (the shadow). The task in the first half of life, according to Jung, is to consolidate one's ego identity and to construct a persona as an adaptation to the external standards of society, the workplace, and the family. According to Whitmont, those innate dispositions that do not correspond to society's standards are split off from the ego's image of itself and form the shadow. In this way, ego, persona, and shadow develop in step with each other under the influence of societal and parental values.[10] The resulting one-sidedness of the personality, when extreme, may be experienced as meaninglessness, despair, emptiness, and a lack of purpose. The disconnection of ego consciousness from the unconscious, encountered especially in the midlife crisis, epitomizes the stage of ego-Self alienation. According to Edinger, problems of alienation between ego and parental figures, between ego and shadow, and between ego and animus (or anima) are forms of alienation between ego and Self,[11] also called a disconnection of the ego-Self axis.

Psychopolitical wounding encompasses what Freire calls dehumanization and what Memmi calls colonization. Both processes result in oppressed consciousness. Chapter 2 introduced a reformulation of Freire's ideas on dehumanization in terms of the dissociation of a bipolar pair of complexes. Wounding the psyche of the oppressed occurs as the authentic part, the ego, is split off from the inauthentic part, the paternalism-dependence pair of complexes. This wounding creates a one-sidedness in the psyche of the oppressed. The paternalism complex is projected onto the oppressor and the dependence complex is aligned with and invests the oppressed's ego. Human relationship, a defining trait of humanization, becomes impossible under this condition. Chapter 3 gave a reformulation of Memmi's ideas on colonization in terms of the narcissistic depression of the colonized. Their narcissistic wound is activated as they come to believe in their devalued self-image, fostered by the colonizers. This self-image is the "false self," in contrast to their "true self" whose roots reach into the colonized's culture. In order to limit the pain of their narcissistic wound and to enhance their self-esteem, the colonized seek assimilation to the colonizers' "superior" culture. Living an alien persona ("false self") only perpetuates their self-alienation, eclipsing their "true self." As in Freire's analysis, the colonized become one-sided by overvaluing the colonizers and repressing their own negative self-image.

Stage 3

Healing is foremost in Stage 3, the relativization of the ego. Progress toward conscious wholeness, the goal of individuation, necessarily entails "healing." Wholeness results from a reintegration of opposites that were split apart during the two prior stages of individuation (1. emergence of ego consciousness, 2. alienation of the ego). While the first two stages saw the formation of complexes and the multiplication of projections, in the third stage the ego's main task is the withdrawal of projections through the integration of complexes. At this stage one may acquire a "religious attitude" by realizing that there is an autonomous inner directive power superior to the ego, namely, the Self.[12] The ego's new awareness of its subordination to the Self constitutes its "relativization."

Healing also is a reconnection of the ego-Self axis. When this occurs suddenly as a breakthrough following a period of depression, it may feel like a religious experience.[13] By enduring the tension of opposites the ego's relationship to the Self becomes partially conscious.[14] Interpreting one's dreams, listening to one's fantasies, and doing active imagination, a specific Jungian technique,[15] revitalizes the communication between the ego and the Self.

Psychopolitical healing occurs mainly in Stage 3 of the individuation process. *Humanization*, as described in chapter 2, accompanies the withdrawal of projections: of the dependence complex on the ego, and the paternalism complex on the oppressor. Both poles of the pair of complexes, paternalism and dependence, contain the potential of the oppressed for "recovering their despoiled humanity."[16] The paternalism complex contains positive traits such as the capacity for making decisions, courage, generosity, and responsibility, all of which belong to the oppressed but have been unconscious and met through projection onto the oppressor. The dependency complex contains positive traits such as childlike curiosity, ethnic self-esteem, and a sense of community. These had been met in a negative form as projected onto (or aligned with) the ego. The withdrawal of these projections enables the ego to assimilate these "inferior" aspects of its self-image, that is, to heal the psychic wounds of oppression.

Decolonization as described in chapter 3, is a psychopolitical healing process that allows the colonized to live their "true self," to live the full range of human emotions, and to accept their own positive and negative attributes. In the phase of revolt, healing entails abandoning their "false self" that embodies both the negative self-image (mythical self-portrait) and the "superior" image of the colonial culture into which the colonized sought to assimilate. In the phase of revolution, healing requires mourning their damaged cultural heritage as well as restoring a sense of self-esteem that is independent

of belonging to a highly valued ethnicity or people. Such self-esteem derives from a reconnection to the Self as the source of their feelings and emotions.

Wounding and Healing in the Context of Colonial Conquest

The Loss of Ancestral Soul and Ego-Self Alienation (Wounding)

As summarized in chapter 4, the "loss of ancestral soul" means:

> a condition of rootlessness in which one experiences a loss of identity, loss of meaning, and sense of inferiority accompanied by fervent attempts to live and imitate an alien persona. Gambini's diagnosis signals several conditions that Freire and Memmi already encountered in oppressed consciousness: resignation, cynicism, and apathy. These are all aspects of depression, according to Gambini.[17] Such depression is characteristic of a personality that has severed its roots with the "emotional psyche," hence a "loss of soul." These enduring conditions of depression correspond to self-alienation and to disconnection of the ego-Self axis that occur periodically during the second stage of the individuation process.[18]

I would like to consider in greater detail the final sentence cited above, namely that the disconnection of the ego-Self axis, a condition within a person's psyche, corresponds to the loss of ancestral soul, a condition of the collective unconscious of a society. Gambini believes that in the collective unconscious of Brazilian society there is an Indian mythology, habitually ignored and best represented by his idea that each Brazilian "carries an Indian inside."[19] In a recent book Gambini explores Guarani and Tupi culture and mythology.[20] In a review of this book, Feldman summarizes Gambini's ideas as follows:

> A profound disconnection with the Indian past occurred as baptized Indian women lost their tribal link and were unable to fulfill their mission to transmit the indigenous language, religion and mythical narratives to their children. It was precisely in this way that a critical link was broken through which the soul of Brazil was transmitted from one generation to the next. The Indians were deprived of soul, memory, history and identity. Brazil was founded by denying and disregarding its psychical and cultural roots, its greatest treasure. It lost its connections to its origins, and a deep feeling of *saudade* emerged within the Brazilian psyche.[21]

From the perspective of depth psychology, the ego of the modern Brazilian is disconnected from the Self, especially from the deepest layer of the collective unconscious containing the "Indian inside."

Gambini and the Durans[22] share the idea that historical events such as colonial conquest impact on the collective unconscious of individuals, and that the effect endures across generations. The "loss of ancestral soul" refers to the impact of this historical event on the collective unconscious of members of an entire society.[23] This is a specific instance, in the colonial context, of the general psychological condition called the "disconnection of the ego-Self axis" in the psyche of individuals.[24]

Recovery of the Ancestral Soul and Reconnection of the Ego-Self Axis (Healing)

The above review of the diamond image amplifies the individuation process with respect to the Jungian theory of complexes in chapter 2 and the post-Jungian theory of narcissism in chapter 3. Now one can understand the development of liberated consciousness as being part of psychic healing within the individuation process. The ancestral soul represents an archetypal image of one's collective ethnic identity, a version of the Self. Rootedness in the ancestral soul signifies a connection of the ego-Self axis, a vital communication between the ego and its collective and superior identity. The ego is relativized, subordinate to the Self, and in communication with the Self.

In effect, being rooted in the ancestral soul, the ego is able to endure the tension of opposites: elements associated with ego consciousness are held at the same time as their opposites, which formerly were in the unconscious, repressed and split-off or never allowed to become conscious. The splitting is replaced by holding. The unsplit opposites may be held indefinitely or until a third, referred to as the transcendent function, emerges.[25] The transcendence of opposites by a third element constitutes a further aspect of healing. Rootedness in the ancestral soul is the linkage between consciousness and the unconscious, fostering healing in the transcendent function. In the diamond image, the transcendent function takes place in Stage 3 as the two tracks, the upper track of ego consciousness and the lower track of the Self, converge in the direction of conscious wholeness. In Stage 3 one is likely to experience emotionally the numinous effects of symbols and synchronistic events.[26] These events, meaningful coincidences between an outer event and an inner state of mind, often accompany the connection of the ego-Self axis. The transcendent function is often a symbol, representing a third element that includes and yet stands above the conflict of opposites. These emotional experiences convey to the ego a sense of being subordinate to a power in the psyche that commands and directs, but which is beyond the comprehension of the ego. This relativization of the ego may feel like a "religious experience."

In this context, one's life takes on what the Jungians speak of as "meaning." Instead of the ego alienation experienced during Stage 2, one finds a direction in one's life while serving the Self.

Psychopolitical healing takes place mainly in Stage 3. The ego of the oppressed recovers its "true self" and integrates the split-off (ego-projected) member of the pair of complexes, representing ethnic groups in opposition. Rootedness in the ancestral soul (a connected ego-Self axis) facilitates this healing process in the oppressed. Holding the tension between opposite images of ethnic groups in conflict, as discussed in chapter 4, is the achievement of *liberated consciousness*, a healing of the psychic wounds of oppression.

Psychopolitical Healing and Confronting Oppression

Liberated consciousness and psychopolitical healing do not in themselves mean an end to the objective conditions of oppression. Overcoming the discrimination, repression, denial of human rights, and exploitation that characterize oppression will result from confrontation. What style of confrontation should we expect from those oppressed who attain liberated consciousness?[27] The process of psychopolitical healing, just described, consists largely in the withdrawal of projections onto both the ego of the oppressed and onto the oppressors. Once freed from the illusions embodied in these projections, the oppressed develop realistic perceptions of themselves and of their oppressors. That is to say, they recognize the strengths and weaknesses both of their own and of the oppressors' ethnic community. As a result of psychopolitical healing, the oppressed develop a particular style of confronting oppression, one that takes into account the weaknesses of the oppressors and the sociohistorical context of oppression. The following citations from our four cases exemplify this style of confrontation.

Atanasio, Guatemala

> The lies tried to hide and fill the void that always existed between the two opposed nations living on a single territory. Who knows if these two nations are reconcilable? On the one side are the Indian people, pushed off their own land and on the other side is the *Ladino* population who, desperately searching for its own identity, creates nothing, is unsure of itself and does not progress. But, as it is the *Ladinos* who govern, their existential insecurity has repercussions throughout the country. This is at the origin of the state of violence, injustice and vengeance that has always existed.[28]

James Sewid, Canada

> One of the biggest problems for the Indians was that they weren't equal to the other citizens of Canada, and that is still true today. . . . The thing I didn't like personally at that time was that we weren't recognized as citizens of the country of Canada and the province of British Columbia. We weren't allowed to vote for the federal or the provincial government. After the war was over they just kept on taxing us which we didn't agree with because we had no representation in the government. What I wanted most was to be given the vote so we would have someone to represent the Indian people in the government.[29]

Lee Maracle, Canada

> We need to be economically, politically and socially self-reliant so that we can re-affirm who we are and come to the Canadian people whole, but this process should not require we starve our young. . . . We need a country free of racism, but we do not need to struggle with White people on our backs to eradicate it. White people have this need as well. They need to stop our continued robbery, to rectify colonialism in order to decolonize their lives and feel at home in this land. Racism has de-humanized us all.[30]

Rigoberta Menchú, Guatemala

> When the Spaniards arrived five hundred years ago, they raped our ancestors, our grandmothers, our mothers, to breed a race of *mestizos*. The result is the violence and cruelty that we are still living with today. The Spaniards used a vile method to create a mixed race, a race of children who doubted their own identity, with their heads on one side of the ocean and their feet on the other. That is what happened to our culture. . . . We have to blend our two cultures, the ancient and the modern. We should not be trying to eradicate anything or anybody because we think one is better. We should be trying to find a way of living together, combining the ancient culture of our peoples with the culture of the colonizers.[31]

Learning about Psychopolitical Healing from the
Four Cases of Liberated Consciousness

The four indigenous persons analyzed in chapters 6–9 live under conditions of oppression yet have attained liberated consciousness. As asserted in chapter 4,

rootedness in the ancestral soul underlies the attainment of liberated consciousness. Going a step further in the present chapter, we found that "rootedness in the ancestral soul" for society corresponds to "connection of the ego-Self axis" for the individual. And finally, an oppressed individual's connection or reconnection of the ego-Self axis constitutes psychopolitical healing. Now, returning to the cases, what can they teach us about sustaining or regaining rootedness in the ancestral soul?

Atanasio: Quiché Maya, a Factory Worker in Guatemala

Atanasio concludes his testimony with these words: "I will struggle my entire life to safeguard our heritage, our languages in particular, our freedom and our right to live according to our own values."[32] This commitment to indigenous culture reveals his rootedness in the ancestral Mayan soul. The commitment grew from childhood experiences and continues without interruption. From his grandfather, a Mayan priest, he learned the secrets of Mayan spirituality.[33] His mother taught him about spiritual communion with nature. The traditional Indian music played by his family of musicians helped him to develop emotional ties with his culture.[34] The village elders passed on to him the traditional ways of addressing social problems in his community, while his experience with healers made him appreciate the uses and limitations of traditional medicine.[35] Throughout his life he praises the literary power of his native Quiché language and the wisdom of the *Pop Vuh*.[36]

Toward the end of his narrative, Atanasio declares his beliefs and leaves no doubt as to his rootedness in the ancestral soul. ". . . The Indian has not been evangelized, though he was forced to change religions. . . . Rather he only gave the appearance of accepting the doctrine of the invader. . . . Indeed at no time during the last five centuries did we lose our ancient beliefs."[37] Despite a certain amalgam of Catholicism and the Mayan religion, "The Indian never fails to believe in the messages given by the moon, the eclipses, the wind, the lightning and the earthquakes. He believes in a single and invisible God, but reinforces his faith at the same time by beliefs in a world both natural and visible."[38] Atanasio reveals his version of the Catholic-Mayan amalgam as follows: "I believe in God, an Occidental God, but with my own Indian conception. . . . I was never Catholic in the true sense of the word."[39] These beliefs confirm Atanasio's rootedness in the ancestral Mayan soul—a rootedness that is synonymous with a connected ego-Self axis, a two-way communication between the ego and the Self, with the latter most often experienced as a God-image. Atanasio shares with us his own experience of a connected ego-Self axis: "Constantly I speak to Him, it's a family custom. . . . God listens and replies, I believe this profoundly. I was often hungry and I knew poverty, but the fact of being alive is clearly a response from God."[40]

Atanasio goes on to tell us how his rootedness in the ancestral soul strengthens his political resolve:

> When I quit my job recently because I felt hurt, I spoke to God: "Lord, I cannot endure these insults." If God is the One who gave me freedom and if we are all equal, why would I be a slave to someone else? I simply leave and if I die of hunger, this is how it is meant to be. But, however painful the stages of my life were, God did not let me die of hunger! And I am here, always grateful. When I notice the way my life evolves, I see in it the counsel of God and the direction that He gives me. It is within this faith that I develop and realize myself.[41]

James Sewid: Kwakiutl, a Fisherman in British Columbia, Canada

James Sewid and Atanasio in many ways are comparable. Both men successfully endure the tension of living in a society fraught with ethnic conflict. Both are bilingual, both endorse selective modernization, and both accept Christianity. Both are also committed to the betterment of Native people's well-being and to the guarantee of equal rights. However, in regard to their rootedness in the ancestral soul there are subtle contrasts between Atanasio and Sewid. While both seem never to have experienced a loss of ancestral soul, a soul wound, their rootedness has differing qualities. Atanasio's rootedness is enriched by his knowledge of sacred texts, Mayan history and traditions. More importantly, his rootedness is founded on emotional experiences with Mayan poetry, language, music, and spiritual communion with nature.

In contrast, Sewid's rootedness is founded primarily on his sense of social identity as a Kwakiutl. From early childhood, his family and community prepared Sewid for the many "names" he was to inherit and the social status conferred by each name according to the social ranking of clans.[42] As the eldest son in a family from a line of chiefs, his future high status was assured. Due to his high rank, he shares the elders' high expectations of his future leadership in the community. Sewid's social identity as a Kwakiutl of high social rank sets him apart from others even to the point of making him a sort of nonconformist. He refrains from fighting at school and from social drinking in order not to compromise the burden of social responsibility he feels.[43] Sensing his leadership role, attributed to a person of high rank, he opposes some elders who resist his own attempts to modernize the community on Village Island and in Alert Bay.

Sewid's rootedness is incontestable and resides mainly in his inherited social position. His ritual initiation as a member of the *hamatsa* society at age sixteen confirmed his rootedness in a formal way acknowledged by the whole

community. Sewid shows a fondness for the history of his people, for legends, for songs and dances he learned to perform, and generally for the "Indian ways."[44] Yet, in all this fondness it is difficult to detect the emotional attachment that Atanasio expresses repeatedly. This could be attributed to Sewid's more prosaic style of telling his life story.

The rootedness in the ancestral soul, essential to liberated consciousness, is unbroken in Sewid's life experience. Instead of searching for the healing of a soul wound, here our attention turns to the maintenance of this rootedness. If such continuity depends on some unique attribute of Sewid, it would be his early socialization into the high social rank he inherited.

Earlier in this chapter, we considered society's rootedness in the ancestral soul to be the counterpart of a person's connected ego-Self axis. This applies well to Atanasio, whose spiritual-religious beliefs have a strong Mayan content, though mixed with Christian images. In the case of Sewid, by contrast, his rootedness in the ancestral soul appears distinct from his personal religious faith. The same year that Sewid was initiated into the *hamatsa* society he was confirmed in the Anglican Church.[45] His grandmother Lucy, a firm believer, wished that one day Sewid would preach the gospel in his Indian language. She had her wish when Sewid became Rector's Warden and led prayer meetings in *Kwakwala* (local Native language) over many years.[46] Sewid led a religious life dedicated to the same church that later in Alert Bay set aside land for "progressive Indians" who were Anglicans.[47] Sewid was to become chief of the Industrial Reserve on this land many times. His declarations of faith were always in the Anglican tradition rather than in the Kwakiutl spiritual tradition. Sewid reveals an ego-Self axis fully intact when he declares:

> So I always said my prayers while I was doing my work and I have always felt that somebody was helping me. I really believed that whether I was fishing or logging or whatever I was doing somebody was helping me. I guess that is what you call faith and I have great faith in prayer. I often pray to God in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ because I believe He was actually God according to the teaching of my religion.[48]

Sewid's liberated consciousness stands firmly on two pillars: an unbroken tie to his ancestral Kwakiutl soul and an ego-Self axis expressed in his Anglican faith. When Sewid was forty-eight years old another Kwakiutl chief made a special gift to him of a "talking stick," carved with the crests representing both sides of his family. It is a sign of Sewid's rootedness in the soul of two cultures that a photograph of a procession of Church leaders and Indian members shows him wearing a Rector's Warden gown and carrying his talking stick.[49]

**Lee Maracle: Coastal Salish and Métis, a Writer
in British Columbia, Canada**

Lee Maracle's soul wound and psychopolitical healing contrast with those of Atanasio and Sewid, who experience continuous rootedness in their ancestral soul. Maracle suffers a loss of ancestral soul in childhood, yet succeeds in reconnecting to her roots as a young adult at the time she is developing liberated consciousness. Maracle often speaks of the teachings of her "grandmothers," who personify her ancestral soul.[50]

> We have a saying among our people "If you live right the grandmothers will take care of you," conversely, "if you don't live right they will forsake you and you will sicken and die." At twenty-five, I knew I was becoming ill, but had buried whatever memories I had of the old Indians that helped bring me up, teach me, under a ton of junkmail.[51]

Her later diatribe against White teachers suggests that they had schooled the ancestral soul out of her by disparaging Indian ways and by promoting assimilation.[52] As a child victim of racism, she both hated Whites and turned away from Indian ways. "At age ten I stood at the edge of my granny's grave, surrounded by Europeans, and witnessed the burial of our ancient ways."[53] By the age of nineteen, Maracle was already disenchanted with the urban Indian "Red Power" movement and had passed through a period of drug addiction and depression.

When Maracle was nineteen, the birth of her first child set her in search of her lost ancestral soul.[54] She tried to emerge from her ideological confusion concerning racism, capitalist exploitation, and Red Power politics. Slowly the memories came back, of the teachings of her grandmothers, of Native stories told by her mother, conveying their courage, humanism, and philosophy.[55] She rediscovered the indigenous meaning of such values as democracy, community well-being, sense of self within the community, respectful relationship to the land and nature, and leadership.[56] She even recalled the power of Indian healing ceremonies that she had witnessed as a child.[57] Nostalgically she recalled: "Gone were the days of old people, children and adults all getting together to sing, dance or just listen to music and stories."[58]

> It was good to hear our own music rolling out from the throats of youth. It reminded me of being a child and hearing only the old people sing. No children, just old people. I used to cry inside myself every time I heard our songs. I guess I felt all the beautiful things of the past were dead and gone.[59]

In the midst of this emotional upheaval, Maracle recovered her lost soul: "Memories of old stories, old laws and our ancient sense of humanity have come back."[60] The "beautiful things of the past" were no longer dead and gone.

> The essence of Native culture still lives in the hearts, minds and spirits of our folk. Some of us have forsaken our culture in the interest of becoming integrated. That is not the same thing as losing something. The expropriation of the accumulated knowledge of Native peoples is one legacy of colonization. Decolonization will require the repatriation and the rematriation of that knowledge by Native peoples themselves.[61]

While reconnecting with her ancestral soul, Maracle also rediscovered a sense of Native spirituality.[62] Her beliefs about spirituality reveal her connected ego-Self axis. Though she was brought up as a Catholic,[63] only her Native spirituality holds meaning for her.

> To acknowledge the existence of spirit, to say that it is spirit that defines a living thing, to say that spirit is the motive force governing every living thing is not equal to a belief in a Great Spirit, Supreme Being or God.[64]

Maracle believes that everyone has a spirit that can be obstructed or harnessed, for example, by spiritual healing in Native medicine.[65] Her ego-Self axis as a two-way communication is clear: "when I speak with my grandmothers before me, they answer. I do not believe in a Great Creator."[66] Referring to her daughters, Maracle says, "Re-connecting with their grandmothers will provide them with the ancient strength to peel off the shades of gray encumbering the audacious, loving spirit. Spirituality is re-connecting with the self and our ancestry."[67]

The first three cases show an ego-Self axis intact. Maracle's spirituality is Native, while Sewid's is Anglican and Atanasio's is a Mayan and Christian synthesis.

Rigoberta Menchú: Quiché Maya, a Human Rights Activist in Guatemala

As noted repeatedly, an inner resource necessary for enduring the tension of opposites and for promoting liberated consciousness is a rootedness in the ancestral soul. Like Atanasio and Sewid, Menchú experienced continuity in her rootedness in the ancestral soul since childhood. The elders of the village transmit Mayan traditions from the ancestors to the current generation including Menchú.[68] "Our elders are science and wisdom; they are our history

books."[69] She considers herself "a granddaughter of the Mayans," committed to preserving the culture.[70] Many of the core Mayan beliefs are described by Menchú: the protective spirit that follows one through life, prayer,[71] the harmony of earth and man in the ecosystem,[72] marriage,[73] music, natural healing,[74] and village self-defense.[75] Her commitment is absolute: "I'm an Indianist, not just an Indian. I'm an Indianist to my fingertips and I defend everything to do with my ancestors."[76]

Also like Atanasio, Menchú's rootedness in the Mayan ancestral soul blends with her Catholic faith. In her family upbringing there was a balance between her father's Catholic faith and her mother's Mayan faith.[77] "They taught us that either way of praying is deep and sincere, and that the Creator will know in which way to receive them."[78] Referring to the Mayan people, she says, "By accepting the Catholic religion, we didn't accept a condition, or abandon our culture. It was more like another way of expressing ourselves."[79] Menchú explains that the Mayan ancestors correspond to the forefathers mentioned in the Bible. "We accept these Biblical forefathers as if they were our own ancestors, while still keeping within our own culture and our own customs."[80]

A further inner resource for enduring the tension of opposites is an ego-Self axis intact. This inner dialog may begin with one's prayers followed by responses from the Self in the form of dreams. From an early age Menchú prayed, as a catechist in the Catholic faith as well as in her Mayan faith.[81] Menchú says that "ever since I was a little girl I have always remembered what I dream, and I reflect on it. . . . Dreams have been very important to me throughout my life; they have often made me reflect, worry and hope."[82]

This inner dialogue is interrupted by a temporary loss of faith in 1980 after Menchú's parents die in the government's repression and when she believes she is the lone survivor of her family.[83] "I was depressed and terribly sad. I felt totally lost." While staying in a convent the nuns asked her to pray with them, "but deep down I didn't believe and I didn't want to believe." In the convent she has what she calls a daydream about her father that "brought me back to life."[84] In this daydream she and her dead father converse. When he asks her what she is doing, she answers that he is dead, only to have him insist that he is not dead. He is saddened to see her behaving unlike the daughter he knows. After the conversation Rigoberta reflects on her father's courage, humility, and zest for life. I believe that this daydream is an active imagination, a dialogue between the waking ego and the unconscious, as described by Jung.[85] The figure of the unconscious, Rigoberta's dead father, responds in a compensatory way to her conscious attitude of depression. When she welcomes the positive qualities of this father figure within her psyche, her conscious attitude changes. The impact of this dialogue was enormous: "It was a turning point in my life."[86] Just before leaving the

convent because the army was searching for her, Menchú dreamed that she was pregnant.[87] In the dream she is crying, she recalls, because she is still a girl, alone, and desperate. The dream image of pregnancy at this moment compensates her conscious attitude of despair. This image hints at a future development in her personality, the birth of a new potential and wholeness.[88] With the benefit of hindsight, I believe that this dream foretells the new life as a human rights activist that was growing inside her.

Implications for Public Policies to Promote Liberated Consciousness and Psychopolitical Healing among Native People

It should be clear from the four cases of psychopolitical healing that people with liberated consciousness will confront oppression openly and with tolerance for their oppressors. Enduring the tension of opposites between images of the dominant ethnic group (the oppressors) and subordinate ethnic group (the oppressed) overcomes the one-sidedness associated with violent confrontation. In all four cases, psychopolitical healing depends on a rootedness in the ancestral soul and connectedness of the ego-Self axis. Their personal testimonies reveal certain underlying conditions.

1. Ties to the land of the ancestors; being born there and living at least their childhood there. This holds true for all but Lee Maracle.
2. Exposure to the teachings of the elders, Native customs, music, history, dances, and legends. This is common to all four cases.
3. Learning Native spirituality. True for all, though less for Lee Maracle.
4. Speaking a Native language. Again, all but Lee Maracle.
5. Limited education in non-Native schools. James Sewid completed but few years; Lee Maracle interrupted her schooling; Atanasio completed primary school; Rigoberta Menchú had no schooling at all.[89]

These shared conditions underlying psychopolitical healing imply certain public policies in ethnically divided societies.[90] Despite the many differences between the Guatemalan and the Canadian contexts, my general policy prescriptions to promote liberated consciousness and psychopolitical healing are common to both. On any given issue, public policy options vary between two poles or extremes on a continuum. For example, minority rights policy options lie on a continuum between a legal charter of rights for named minorities at one pole and the absence of legal rights for any minorities at the other pole. The matter of policy implementation is too complex for discussion here. Suffice it to say that implementation requires the enactment of

laws and regulations as well as government funding for the administrative agencies and programs. Based on the overview of the four cases just given, what are the public policy implications for the following issues: Native land, Native cultural practices, Native spirituality, Native languages, and Native schooling?

1. *Native land.* Policy choices range from Native land rights to expulsion from the land. Proposed land policies would include the right to live on ancestral land or to return to this land.

2. *Native cultural practices.* Policy choices range from the freedom to practice Native customs to banning certain practices. Proposed policies would provide for the freedom to practice Native customs, rites, dances, and ceremonies.

3. *Native spirituality.* Policy choices vary from the promotion of Native spirituality to its prohibition or neglect. Proposed policies would promote Native spirituality, and the teaching and practice of Native healing.

4. *Native languages.* Policy choices vary from their protection to their abandonment. Proposed policies would promote Native languages through general education and publication in these languages, as well as training Native teachers for general education.

5. *Native schooling.* Policy choices vary from complete education in Native schools to complete education in non-Native schools. Proposed policies would promote Native education through primary school with the option of Native education in secondary school.

Concluding Thoughts on the Psychopolitics of Liberation

Depth psychology, the psychology of the unconscious, makes a significant contribution to our understanding of the *politics* of liberation. Without it, this topic would focus mainly on actions by mass movements and their leaders, animated by ideologies for change. Jungian psychology in particular provides concepts that elucidate the transition from oppressed to liberated consciousness. The guiding Jungian concepts in my study are individuation, complexes, narcissism, the tension of opposites, and psychic wounding and healing. The politics of liberation, as I have argued, concentrates on the conscious actions and ideologies of leaders and rebels. By examining the role of the unconscious, depth psychology enlarges our understanding of the *psycho*politics of liberation.

The unconscious plays fundamental roles in the transition from oppressed to liberated consciousness. Several of these roles have been analyzed in terms of key Jungian ideas: (1) The archetype of the Self guides the *individuation* process in healing the psychic wounds of oppression; (2) The integration of

the pair of complexes, paternalism-dependence, promotes humanization; (3) The recovery of the "true self" in *narcissistic* depression promotes decolonization, where the "false self" is the internalized negative image of the colonized that derives from the myths of the colonizer; (4) The image of the ancestral soul, a symbol of the Self, enables the oppressed to hold the *tension of opposites*. Considering these processes together, through an understanding of the role of the unconscious in political consciousness, I can explain more fully the stability as well as the change of oppressive political regimes.[91]

In focusing on the transformation of oppressed consciousness, I have paid less attention to oppressor consciousness. Now I wish to emphasize that these reinforce each other. Freire and Memmi insist that oppressor consciousness and oppressed consciousness nourish each other in a perverse partnership that sustains the system of oppression. Freire tells how the oppressors propagate myths of their own superiority and the inferiority of the oppressed. The oppressed, in turn, internalize the myths, disparaging themselves and praising their oppressors. The *vicious circle* is complete when the oppressors take that praise as confirmation of their own superiority. Oppressors then have a "mandate" to behave as oppressors. A deeper understanding of this phenomenon comes from the Jungian theory of complexes. The splitting of the bipolar pair of complexes, paternalism-dependence, takes place both in the oppressed and the oppressors. While the oppressed identify with dependence, they project paternalism onto the oppressors. Just the reverse takes place for the oppressors, such that the projections of both are mutually reinforcing.

Memmi tells us, further, that the myths of the colonizers and colonized are insidiously reciprocal. According to the Jungian theory of narcissism, the colonized are narcissistically depressed and, therefore, need to admire the colonizers and feel protected by them. The colonizers are narcissistically grandiose and, in turn, need that admiration in order to confirm their worthiness and protect themselves from a nagging sense of guilt about their privileges at the expense of the colonized. Again, a vicious circle.

Many readers of this book belong to the privileged and powerful, though they are not necessarily oppressors. Let us recall what Memmi said: the neutral colonial, living in harmony with all in the colony at no one's expense and without special privileges, does not exist.[92] Privileged readers may, however, be "infected" with oppressor consciousness that can lead them to collude with oppression. Collusion is often subtle, sometimes involuntary, because one is unaware of it. Maracle tells us how easy it is to be "infected" by a racist ideology, one that justifies inequalities in the life condition of Whites and Natives as being due to the inferiority of the latter, who have only themselves to blame.[93] Another "infection," paternalism, is the attitude of people on a "civilizing mission" to protect, be responsible for, and help those who are

inferior, according to Freire.[94] And what about the support of the privileged for the "church of the rich" that Menchú says, "kept the people dormant while others took advantage of our passivity?"[95]

The readers of this book, whether privileged or not, may be moved by the need to reduce the oppression of Native people, and ask what they can do. First, through introspection they may become aware of their collusion, if any, with oppression. Acting to reduce collusion means, in the sense of Gandhi, to practice noncooperation with oppression. Second, readers can reduce oppression by supporting public policies that promote equality of opportunity in education, housing, employment, and the justice system. Finally, they can support public policies that promote psychopolitical healing, such as those proposed in this chapter. The theories and cases in this book have shown how the oppressed can emerge from oppressed consciousness.[96] But the oppressors and those who collude with them must also emerge from their oppressor consciousness, if the vicious circle is to be broken.

The following conclusion brings together, from various sources, ideas already discussed in this book. Oppression is dehumanizing both for the oppressor and the oppressed (Maracle, Freire, and Memmi). When oppression declines, it becomes easier to attain liberated consciousness, a companion of wholeness (Jungian psychology).[97] Then, human relationships flourish, something only possible between whole persons (Buber, Perry, Freire, and Jacoby).

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Notes

Introduction

1. See Lawrence Alschuler, *Predicting Development, Dependency, and Conflict in Latin America: A Social Field Theory* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1978) and Lawrence Alschuler, *Multinationals and Maldevelopment: Alternative Development Strategies in Argentina, the Ivory Coast and Korea*, 2nd ed. (London: Macmillan Press, 1998).

2. Theda Skocpol, "France, Russia, China: A Structural Analysis of Social Revolutions," in *Revolutions: Theoretical, Comparative, and Historical Studies*, ed. J. A. Goldstone (San Diego, CA: Harcourt, Brace, and Jovanovich, 1986), 68–88; Lawrence Alschuler, "The Chiapas Rebellion: An Analysis According to the Structural Theory of Revolution," *Estudios interdisciplinarios de América Latina y el Caribe* 10, no. 2 (1999): 131–149.

3. Long ago in 1552, Étienne de la Boétie asked these same questions in *The Politics of Obedience: The Discourse of Voluntary Servitude* (Montréal: Black Rose Books, 1997). He explains why the oppressed submit voluntarily to tyranny, even in the absence of state repression. His astute observations constitute what I would call "a psychology of political obedience." De la Boétie's explanations in terms of collusion and mystification, for example, converge with aspects of the "magical" and "naïve" stages of conscientization that I describe in chapter 1 of this volume. In these stages the obedience of the oppressed results from colluding with political authority and being mystified by the oppressor's ideologies. I am grateful to Ulrich Hausmann, journalist and friend, who brought de la Boétie to my attention after reading a draft of this book.

4. Elizabeth Marvick, introduction to "Case Studies in Psychopolitics," *International Political Science Review* 10, no. 1 (1989): 5.

5. Nancy C. Hollander, *Love in a Time of Hate: Liberation Psychology in Latin America* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1997), 16.

6. Lawrence Alschuler, "Les acteurs transnationaux dans le développement latino-américain," *Études internationales* 17, no. 2 (1986): 322–323.

7. Frantz Fanon was a precursor to the current movement. See his *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York: Grove Press, 1968), especially the chapter on mental disorders in time of colonial war.

8. Ignacio Martín-Baró, *Writings for a Liberation Psychology*, ed. and trans. Adrianne Aron and Shawn Corne (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1994).

9. Hollander, *Love in a Time of Hate*.

10. For other views on the psychology of liberation, drawing on Jungian ideas, see Mary Watkins, "Seeding Liberation: A Dialogue Between Depth Psychology and Liberation Psychology," in *Depth Psychology: Meditations in the Field*, ed. Dennis P. Slattery and Lionel Corbett (Einseideln, Switzerland: Daimon Verlag, 2000), 204–224; Helene S. Lorenz and Mary Watkins, "Silenced Knowings, Forgotten Springs: Paths to Healing in the Wake of Colonialism," *Radical Psychology: A Journal of Psychology, Politics, and Radicalism* (2001) <http://www.radpsynet.org/journal1vol2–2/Lorenz-watkins.html> (accessed March 2006); Helene S. Lorenz and Mary Watkins, "Depth Psychology and Colonialism: Individuation, Seeing-Through, and Liberation," *Quadrant* 33, no. 1 (2003): 11–32.

11. Hollander, *Love in a Time of Hate*, 16–17.

12. The psychotherapists studied by Hollander rely on the theories of Freud and Marx. See Hollander, *Love in a Time of Hate*, 13, 17, and chapter 2.

13. Hollander, *Love in a Time of Hate*, 2, 18.

14. Ibid., 1, 17.

15. Mindell, a Jungian analyst, writes of the "awareness revolution" in his book on oppression and abuse. He insists that changing oppressive social structures does not necessarily change individuals and consciousness. See Arnold Mindell, *Sitting in the Fire: Large Group Transformation Using Conflict and Diversity* (Portland, OR: Lao Tse Press, 1995), 226. His book offers programs to resolve conflicts and increase awareness in large groups of oppressed persons.

16. Jungian analysts have written books on other aspects of politics and oppression. See Andrew Samuels, *The Political Psyche* (London: Routledge, 1993); Andrew Samuels, *Politics on the Couch: Citizenship and the Internal Life* (London: Profile Books, 2001); V. Walter Odajnyk, *Jung and Politics: The Political and Social Ideas of C. G. Jung* (New York: New York University Press, 1976); Louis H. Stewart, *The Changemakers: A Depth Psychological Study of the Individual, Family and Society* (London: Routledge, 1992); Mindell, *Sitting in the Fire*; Arthur D. Colman, *Up from Scapegoating: Awakening Consciousness in Groups* (Wilmette, IL: Chiron, 1995).

Chapter 1   Conscientization and Individuation

1. C. G. Jung, "Conscious, Unconscious, and Individuation," in *The Archetypes of the Collective Unconscious*, vol. 9, part I of *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung*, ed. Herbert Read, Michael Fordham, Gerhard Adler, William McGuire (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), paras. 522–533; C. G. Jung, *Two Essays on Analytical Psychology*, vol. 7 of *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung*, ed. Herbert Read,

Michael Fordham, Gerhard Adler, William McGuire (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), paras. 342, 381.

2. See Donald Sandner and John Beebe, "Psychopathology and Analysis," in *Jungian Analysis*, ed. Murray Stein (Boulder: Shambhala, 1984), 310; Jung, *Two Essays*, 224.

3. Jung, *Two Essays*, 228–229.

4. C. G Jung, Foreword to *Depth Psychology and a New Ethic*, by Erich Neumann (New York: Harper Torchbook, 1973), 17–18.

5. Samuels, *Political Psyche*, 4, 14.

6. Odajnyk, *Jung and Politics*; Victor D'Lugin, "C.G. Jung and Political Theory: An Examination of the Ideas of Carl Gustav Jung showing their Relationship to Political Theory," Ph.D. diss., 1981, available in *University Microfilms*; Samuels, *Political Psyche*, chapters 12 and 13.

7. Mindell, *Sitting in the Fire*; Roberto Gambini, "The Soul of Underdevelopment: The Case of Brazil," in *Zurich 95: Open Questions in Analytical Psychology*, ed. Mary Ann Matoon (Einseideln: Daimon Verlag, 1997), 139–148; Roberto Gambini, *Indian Mirror: The Making of the Brazilian Soul* (Sao Paulo: Axis Mundi Editora, 2000); Samuels, *Politics on the Couch*; Thomas Singer and Samuel L. Kimbles, eds. *The Cultural Complex: Contemporary Jungian Perspectives on Psyche and Society* (New York: Brunner-Routledge, 2004); Anthony Stevens, *The Roots of War: A Jungian Perspective* (New York: Paragon House, 1989); Jerome Bernstein, *Power and Politics: The Psychology of Soviet-American Partnership* (Boston: Shambhala, 1989); Stewart, *Changemakers*.

8. Miriam Steiner, "The Search for Order in a Disorderly World: Worldviews and Prescriptive Decision Paradigms," *International Organization* 37, no. 3 (1983): 373–414; Lawrence Alschuler, "Oppression and Liberation: A Psycho-Political Analysis According to Freire and Jung," *Journal of Humanistic Psychology* 32, no. 2 (1992): 8–31; Lawrence Alschuler, "Oppression, Liberation, and Narcissism: A Jungian Psychopolitical Analysis of the Ideas of Albert Memmi," *Alternatives* 21, no. 4 (1996): 497–523.

9. C. G. Jung, *The Undiscovered Self*, in *Civilization in Transition*, vol. 10 of *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung*, ed. Herbert Read, Michael Fordham, Gerhard Adler, William McGuire (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 60–61.

10. Jung, *Undiscovered*, 45.

11. Ibid., 53, 55, 124–125.

12. Ibid., 48.

13. Ibid., 55–56.

14. Ibid., 125.

15. Marie-Louise von Franz, Preface to *Jung and Politics*, by V. Walter Odajnyk (New York: New York University Press, 1976), x.

16. Jung, *Undiscovered*, 42.

17. Ibid., 45.

18. Edward C. Whitmont, *The Symbolic Quest: Basic Concepts of Analytical Psychology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), 266; Edward F. Edinger,

Ego and Archetype: Individuation and the Religious Function of the Psyche (New York: Penguin, 1973), 186.

19. Sandner and Beebe, "Psychopathology and Analysis," 298.
20. Jolande Jacobi, *The Way of Individuation* (New York: Meridian, 1967), 68–70.
21. Whitmont, *Symbolic Quest*, 93, 309.
22. Erich Neumann, "Narcissism, Normal Self-Formation, and the Primary Relation to the Mother," *Spring* (1966): 85.
23. Andrew Samuels, *Jung and the Post-Jungians* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1985), 152.
24. Edinger, *Ego and Archetype*, 21, 23.
25. Whitmont, *Symbolic Quest*, 232.
26. Edinger, *Ego and Archetype*, 20.
27. C. G. Jung, "A Review of the Complex Theory," in *The Structure and Dynamics of the Psyche*, vol. 8 of *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung*, ed. Herbert Read, Michael Fordham, Gerhard Adler, William McGuire (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), 96, 101, 104.
28. Sandner and Beebe, "Psychopathology and Analysis," 299.
29. Ibid., 298; see also Lawrence Alschuler, "Re-psychling: the Archetypal Image of Asklepios, the Wounded Healer," *International Journal of Comparative Religion and Philosophy* 1, no. 2 (1995).
30. Whitmont, *Symbolic Quest*, 247.
31. Edinger, *Ego and Archetype*, 43.
32. Ibid., 39.
33. Ibid., 15, 36, 40, 42, 48, 50, 52, 56.
34. Ibid., 103.
35. Jung, "Review," 97.
36. In fact, the cycle of complex formation and integration extends as well to the third stage.
37. John W. Perry, "Emotions and Object Relations," *Journal of Analytical Psychology* 15, no. 1 (1970): 6.
38. Ibid., 7.
39. Edinger, *Ego and Archetype*, 97.
40. Ibid., 69, 48–52.
41. Samuels, *Political Psyche*, 53.
42. See chapter 2 of this volume.
43. Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1972); Paulo Freire, *Pédagogie des opprimés* (Paris: Maspero, 1974). In chapter 4 of this volume I present a new formulation of the political development of the person, integrating the ideas of Freire and Memmi with the Jungian concept, the tension of opposites.
44. Freire, *Pedagogy*, 28.
45. William A. Smith, *The Meaning of Conscientizacao: The Goal of Paulo Freire's Pedagogy* (Amherst, MA: Center for International Education, University of Massachusetts, 1976), 42.
46. Edinger, *Ego and Archetype*, 6.

47. Whitmont, *Symbolic Quest*, 273.
48. Smith, *The Meaning of Conscientizacao*, 63.
49. Ibid.
50. Perry, "Emotions and Object Relations," 6.
51. Jung, Foreword, 18; Jung, "Conscious," 288.
52. Samuels, *Jung and the Post-Jungians*, 58.
53. C. G. Jung, "Fundamental Questions of Psychotherapy," in *The Practice of Psychotherapy*, vol. 16 of *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung*, ed. Herbert Read, Michael Fordham, Gerhard Adler, William McGuire (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966), paras. 179, 545.

Chapter 2   Humanization and Complexes

1. Freire, *Pédagogie*, 24. In this chapter, unless indicated otherwise, all references to and quotations of Freire are from the 1974 French edition of *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. This edition is based on the latest version of the Portuguese original. The translation into English is mine.
2. Freire, *Pédagogie*, 33, 40.
3. For another approach linking Freire's views on liberation to Jung's concept of individuation, see Lorenz and Watkins, "Depth."
4. For a similar approach toward the opposites in personality theory, see Timothy Leary, *Interpersonal Diagnosis of Personality* (New York: Ronald Press, 1957).
5. Freire, *Pédagogie*, 26.
6. Ibid., 33, 40.
7. Ibid., 42, 23–24, 53.
8. This organization of myths and attitudes is consistent with the work of Milton Rokeach, *Beliefs, Attitudes, and Values* (San Francisco: Jossey Bass, 1969).
9. Freire, *Pédagogie*, 132.
10. Ibid., 133, 146, 149.
11. Ibid., 146.
12. Ibid., 22, 37.
13. Ibid., 23–24.
14. Ibid., 38, 51, 132–133.
15. Ibid., 26.
16. Ibid., 25, 42, 154.
17. Ibid., 43.
18. Ibid., 43–44.
19. Ibid., 43–44, 132.
20. Ibid., 53, 57, 80.
21. Ibid., 26, 145, 175–176.
22. Ibid., 41.
23. Ibid., 132, 157.
24. Ibid., paternalism: 27, 53, 75, 130, 144, 147, 148, 169; dependence: 27, 44–46, 137, 154, 170.
25. Ibid., 154, 173–174.

26. C. G. Jung, *Analytical Psychology: Its Theory and Practice* (New York: Vintage Books, 1970), 81.

27. C. G. Jung, *Psychological Types*, vol. 3 of *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung*, ed. Herbert Read, Michael Fordham, Gerhard Adler, William McGuire (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), 528–529.

28. Jung, "Review," 104.

29. Sandner and Beebe, "Psychopathology and Analysis," 297–298.

30. C. G. Jung, *On the Nature of the Psyche*, in *The Structure and Dynamics of the Psyche*, vol. 8 of *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung*, ed. Herbert Read, Michael Fordham, Gerhard Adler, William McGuire (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), 84–85.

31. Jung "Review," 96.

32. Perry, "Emotions and Object Relations," 9.

33. Ibid., 4.

34. Ibid., 3.

35. Ibid., 4.

36. Freire, *Pédagogie*, 52.

37. Freire, *Pedagogy*, 58–59.

38. Adolf Guggenbühl-Craig, *Power in the Helping Professions* (Dallas: Spring Publications, 1971), 104.

39. Ibid., 105.

40. Ibid., 106.

41. Freire, *Pédagogie*, 147, 149, 151.

42. Ibid., 51.

43. Perry, "Emotions and Object Relations," 4.

44. Ibid.

45. Jung, *Two Essays*, 70.

46. Freire, *Pédagogie,* 161.

47. Ibid., 25.

48. Mario Jacoby, *The Analytic Encounter: Transference and Human Relationship* (Toronto: Inner City Books, 1984), 61–63.

49. Freire, *Pédagogie*, 41.

50. Thomas H. Ogden, *Projective Identification and Psychotherapeutic Technique* (New York: Jason Aronson, 1982), 1–2.

51. Ibid., 3.

52. Rosemary Gordon, "The Concept of Projective Identification," *Journal of Analytical Psychology* 10, no. 2 (1965): 137.

53. Ogden, *Projective Identification*, 25.

54. Gordon, "Concept of Projective Identification," 143.

55. Ogden, *Projective Identification*, 14.

56. Ibid., 32–33.

57. Andrew Samuels, Bani Shorter, and Fred Plaut, *A Critical Dictionary of Jungian Analysis* (London: Routledge, 1986), 150.

58. Freire, *Pédagogie*, 23, 25, 41, 97, 168.

59. C. G. Jung, *The Psychology of Dementia Praecox*, in *The Psychogenesis of Mental Disease*, vol. 3 of *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung*, ed. Herbert Read, Michael Fordham, Gerhard Adler, William McGuire (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974), 28.

60. Freire, *Pédagogie*, 23.

61. Ibid., 23, 35.

62. Ibid., 146.

63. C. G. Jung, *The Psychology of the Transference* (London: Ark Paperbacks, 1983), 56–57, 101.

64. Perry, "Emotions and Object Relations," 5.

65. Freire, *Pédagogie*, 20.

66. Perry, "Emotions and Object Relations," 7–8.

67. Freire, *Pédagogie*, 28, 158.

68. Ibid., 168.

69. Barbara Hannah, *Striving Toward Wholeness* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1971).

70. Freire, *Pédagogie*, 20.

71. Sandner and Beebe, "Psychopathology and Analysis," 298.

72. Rosemary Gordon, "Transference as a Fulcrum of Analysis," *Journal of Analytical Psychology* 13, no. 2 (1968): 111, 115.

73. Gordon, "Transference," 114.

74. Ibid., 112.

75. Martin Buber, *I and Thou* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1970), 54.

76. Jorge Sanjinés directed the film in 1969.

77. The stage of political consciousness Memmi calls, "revolt and negativity," that often accompanies violence, represents a reversal of polarity in a pair of complexes and a continuing one-sidedness (see chapter 3 of this book). At the most advanced stage, "liberated consciousness," the many forms of one-sidedness in oppressed consciousness are overcome (see chapter 4 of this book).

Chapter 3   Decolonization and Narcissism

1. See Guy de Bosschère, "Incidence du *Portrait du colonisé* sur la décolonisation du Tiers Monde," in *Albert Memmi: Prophète de la décolonisation*, ed. Edmond Jouve (Paris: SEPEG International, 1993), 81.

2. Freire acknowledges Memmi, and Fanon when he was "putting on the final touches on Pedagogy." See *his Pedagogy of Hope: Reliving Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (New York: Continuum, 2004), 122.

3. Maurice Berger, *La folie cachée des hommes de pouvoir* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1993). For a more recent application of the concept of narcissism to the study of political leadership, see Jerold M. Post, "Narcissism and the Charismatic Leader-Follower Relationship," in *Leaders and their Followers in a Dangerous World: The Psychology of their Behavior* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004), 187–199.

4. Guy Dugas, *Albert Memmi: Écrivain de la déchirure* (Sherbrooke, QC: Éditions Naaman, 1984), 31.

5. Since writing this chapter, I came across a study of "the manipulator," that draws on the theory of narcissism. The author affirms that the manipulator is a grandiose narcissist and that the most vulnerable victim is a depressive narcissist, who may become even more depressive and lose self-esteem at the hands of the manipulator. See Isabelle Nazarre-Aga, *Les Manipulateurs sont parmis nous* (Montréal: Les Éditions de L'Homme, 2000), 41, 64, 174–175, 227.

6. Kathrin Asper, *The Abandoned Child Within: On Losing and Regaining Self-Worth* (New York: Fromm International, 1993), 186–193; Alice Miller, *The Drama of the Gifted Child and the Search for the True Self* (London: Faber and Faber, 1983), 56, 69.

7. Albert Memmi, *Portrait du Colonisé précédé du Portrait du Colonisateur* (Paris: Payot, 1973), 171.

8. Ibid., 40.

9. Ibid., 80–81.

10. Ibid., 87.

11. Ibid., 50–51.

12. Ibid., 57.

13. Guggenbühl-Craig, *Power*.

14. Memmi, *Portrait*, 53, 56, 67, 70.

15. Ibid., 75.

16. Ibid., 86–87.

17. Ibid., 81, 83.

18. Ibid., 86, 87.

19. Asper, *Abandoned Child Within*, 61.

20. Memmi, *Portrait*, 87, 88, 97.

21. Ibid., 89.

22. Ibid., 89, 90.

23. Asper, *Abandoned Child Within*, 9.

24. Ibid., 61.

25. Ibid., 181.

26. Ibid., 182.

27. Ibid., 268.

28. Ibid., 91.

29. Memmi, *Portrait*, 117–118.

30. Ibid., 149.

31. Mario Jacoby, *Individuation and Narcissism: The Psychology of the Self in Jung and Kohut* (London: Routledge, 1990), 86.

32. Nathan Schwartz-Salant, *Narcissism and Character Transformation* (Toronto: Inner City Books, 1982), 48.

33. Memmi, *Portrait*, 116.

34. Ibid., 96.

35. Ibid.

36. Ibid., 84. See also 82.

37. Ibid., part II, chapter 1.
38. Ibid., 100.
39. Miller, *Drama*, chapter 3.
40. Ibid., 89.
41. Ibid., 129.
42. Ibid., 130.
43. Ibid., 90.
44. Memmi, *Portrait*, 104, 105.
45. Miller, *Drama*, 63.
46. Memmi, *Portrait*, 104.
47. Asper, *Abandoned Child Within*, 62.
48. Miller, *Drama*, 56.
49. Ibid., 56.
50. Memmi, *Portrait*, 124–125, 142, 144.
51. Asper, *Abandoned Child Within*, 91, 182, 185.
52. Memmi, *Portrait*, 131, 133, 136.
53. Ibid., 117, 120.
54. Miller, *Drama*, 108–109, 118–121.
55. Memmi, *Portrait*, 150.
56. Miller, *Drama*, 64.
57. Jacoby, *Individuation*, 45–46.
58. Memmi, *Portrait*, 147–148.
59. Ibid., 149.
60. Edinger, *Ego and Archetype*, 42–43.
61. Miller, *Drama*, 47.
62. Asper states, "Depression in itself is thus a disturbance in a person's narcissistic libido and a manifestation of low self-esteem. What then is particularly characteristic of narcissistic depression? Freud's well-known position is that melancholy has its roots in a loss that has become unconscious. For the narcissistically wounded person, this concept involves damage to his self-esteem resulting from his lack of motherly feeling having become unconscious." See Asper, *Abandoned Child Within*, 171.
63. Memmi, *Portrait*, 149–150, 168.
64. Ibid., 149.
65. Asper, *Abandoned Child Within*, 179.
66. Ibid., 162; Miller, *Drama*, 79–80.
67. Asper, *Abandoned Child Within*, 163.
68. Ibid., 292.
69. Memmi, *Portrait*, 150, 153.
70. Ibid., 155.
71. Ibid., 156.
72. Ibid., 156, 160, 168, 175.
73. Ibid., 166.
74. Ibid., 157.
75. Ibid., 157, 160, 161.

76. Memmi, *Portrait*, 164, 168.
77. Ibid., 160, 166, 167.
78. Jung, *Two Essays*, 142.
79. Marie-Louise von Franz, *Psychotherapy* (Boston: Shambhala, 1993), 188; Jacoby, *Individuation*, 86.
80. Memmi, *Portrait*, 165.
81. Ibid., 140–141.
82. Asper, *Abandoned Child Within*, 309–312, Miller, *Drama*, 62, 77.
83. Memmi, *Portrait*, 176.
84. Asper, *Abandoned Child Within*, 271.
85. Memmi, *Portrait*, 164, 166, 168, 176.
86. Asper, *Abandoned Child Within*, 312.
87. Memmi, *Portrait*, 177.
88. Miller, *Drama*, 77.
89. Jacoby, *Individuation*; Asper, *Abandoned Child Within*.
90. Samuels, Shorter, and Plaut, *Critical Dictionary*.
91. Whitmont, *Symbolic Quest*, 41–42.
92. Edinger, *Ego and Archetype*, 38.
93. Neumann, "Narcissism," 85.
94. Edinger, *Ego and Archetype*, 5, 7, 48.
95. Jung, *Two Essays*, 70–71, 143, 145.
96. Edinger, *Ego and Archetype*, 6, 7.
97. Partly from Jacoby, *Individuation*, 83.

Chapter 4   Liberated Consciousness
and the Tension of Opposites

1. Chapters 1–3 can be viewed as alternative formulations of the relationship of the political and psychological development of the person, concepts offered by Samuels, *Political Psyche*, 4.
2. Samuels, *Jung*, 92.
3. Ibid., 114.
4. For a highly readable presentation of the "tension of opposites," see Robert A. Johnson, *Owning Your Own Shadow* (San Francisco: Harper, 1991), chapter 2.
5. Memmi, *Portrait*, 14–15.
6. Freire, *Pédagogie*, 23, 26, 35.
7. See Isaac Prilleltensky and Lev Gonick, "Polities Change, Oppression Remains: On the Psychology and Politics of Oppression," *Political Psychology* 17, no. 1 (1996): 130, who distinguish between political and psychological oppression. Their distinction is consistent with the one between objective and subjective conditions of oppression.
8. In *The Wretched of the Earth*, 152–156, 175–180, Fanon is eloquent on how neocolonialism would result from formal independence (objective condition), if the native bourgeoisie retained a "middle man" mentality (subjective condition).

I have illustrated the relative independence of the objective and subjective conditions at the start of chapter 2, with reference to the "inner and outer Berlin Walls." As a further example, a new law to reduce ethnic discrimination may not reduce one's feelings of ethnic inferiority. Nor will overcoming feelings of ethnic inferiority necessarily result in a new law to limit ethnic discrimination.

9. While using this term, I thought that I was borrowing it from Freire. When I searched Freire's writings for the term, "liberated consciousness," it was not to be found.

10. Memmi, *Portrait*, 175.

11. For a critique of this "dogma," see Samuels, *Political Psyche*, 329.

12. See C. G. Jung, "The Transcendent Function," in *The Structure and Dynamics of the Psyche*, vol. 8 of *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung*, ed. Herbert Read, Michael Fordham, Gerhard Adler, William McGuire (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), 90, para. 189.

13. See Samuels, Shorter, and Plaut, *Critical Dictionary*, 150.

14. See Jung, "Transcendent" and chapter 10 of this volume.

15. C. G. Jung, "A Psychological View of Conscience," in *Jung on Evil*, ed. Murray Stein (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 112, para. 844.

16. Ibid., 117, para. 856.

17. Ibid., 117, paras. 855, 856.

18. Liliane Frey-Rohn, *From Freud to Jung: A Comparative Study of the Psychology of the Unconscious* (New York: Delta, 1974), 58.

19. Jung, "Transcendent," 70–71, 79, paras. 136–138, 159.

20. Jung, *Two Essays*," 215, para. 345.

21. See David Sedgwick, *The Wounded Healer: Countertransference from a Jungian Perspective* (London: Routledge, 1994), 24–26; C. J. Groesbeck, "The Archetypal Image of the Wounded Healer," *Journal of Analytical Psychology* 20 (1975): 132–133.

22. Jung, cited in Sedgwick, *The Wounded Healer*, 15.

23. Guggenbühl-Craig, *Power*, 90, 100.

24. See ibid., 91–92, 97, 99–100.

25. See chapter 2.

26. See Erich Neumann, *The Origins and History of Consciousness* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970).

27. See chapter 1, fig. 1.1, the diamond image of individuation, stage 2.

28. Jung, "Review," 97, para. 202. See also stage 3 in chapter 1 of this volume.

29. Sandner and Beebe, "Psychopathology and Analysis," 299.

30. Jung identified many complex indicators in the association experiments that provide further evidence of disturbances in consciousness. See Jung, *Analytical*, 53–55.

31. Sandner and Beebe, "Psychopathology and Analysis," 301.

32. Ibid., 321.

33. Asper, *Abandoned Child Within*, 187, 191, 193.

34. Ibid., 193.

35. For Jung's own thoughts on holding the tension of opposites as a cause and consequence of ego strength, see Jung, *Nature*, 129, 134, paras. 425, 430.

36. Samuels, *Jung*, 59.
37. Ibid.
38. Gambini, "Soul," 139.
39. Ibid., 143–145.
40. Ibid., 142, 145, 147.
41. Ibid., 141. I understand underdevelopment and development as opposite poles of a single dimension, used to describe *societal conditions*. In contrast, oppression and liberation are opposite poles of a dimension, used to describe *relationships between people in a society*. Oppressive relationships of exploitation, discrimination, repression, and the denial of human rights contribute to underdevelopment: poverty, injustice, lack of civil liberties, and inequality. Liberation, including relationships of self-reliance, nondiscrimination, self-government, and respect for human rights, contributes to development: wealth, justice, civil liberties, and equality. Both pairs of concepts are necessary if one is to comprehend Third World ideologies that call for liberation and development.
42. Gambini, "Soul," 145.
43. C. G. Jung, *Psychological Types*, vol. 3 of *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung*, ed. Herbert Read, Michael Fordham, Gerhard Adler, William McGuire (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), 195, views the loss of soul and the part it plays in the individuation process as follows:

    . . . Human consciousness has not yet attained a reasonable degree of continuity. It is still dissociable and vulnerable, in a way fortunately so, since the dissociability of the psyche is also an advantage in that it enables us to concentrate on one point by dismissing everything else that might claim attention. It makes a great difference, however, whether your consciousness purposely splits off and suppresses a part of the psyche temporarily, or whether the same thing *happens* to you, so that the psyche splits spontaneously without your consent and knowledge, or perhaps even against your will. The first is a civilized achievement, the second a primitive and archaic condition or a pathological event and the cause of a neurosis. It is the 'loss of soul,' the symptom of a still existing mental primitivity.

44. The ideas of Gambini and Memmi about the "colonial context" can be applied to the context of "internal colonialism," where two peoples of distinct ethnic identities within a single society are bound together through relations of domination. Freire's studies of Latin American societies and the Durans' studies of Native Americans describe internal colonialism.
45. Gambini, "Soul," 143–145.
46. Ibid., 145–147.
47. In their two approaches to understanding oppressed consciousness, the authors posit an inauthentic personality of the oppressed. Freire's diagnosis corresponds to the Jungian notion of "living the complexes" and Memmi's diagnosis corresponds to "living the false self."
48. Gambini, "Soul," 147–148.

49. See chapter 1. Von Franz, a Jungian analyst, shares a number of Gambini's insights about the loss of ancestral soul as the expression of societal conditions in the individual psyche. Detecting a one-sidedness in a Mexican analysand, she refers to his "loss of roots" and "historico-spiritual roots." See Marie-Louise von Franz "Highlights of the Historical Dimension of Analysis," in *Archetypal Dimensions of the Psyche*, ed. Marie-Louise von Franz (Boston: Shambhala, 1997), 7. He had apparently severed his "connection to his ancestral spirits and to his cultural and religious roots." Once "he found his spiritual roots" his neurosis was cured. He found his roots first by opening the wound, and then experiencing the resentment and sadness over the Spanish conquest of Mexico under Cortes, according to von Franz, "Highlights," 5–6. As in Gambini's study, here it is evident that the individual psyche is an expression of the societal whole. Von Franz, "Highlights," 11, finds a correspondence between "neurosis in individuals" and "a spiritual crisis" in cultures. Again reminiscent of Gambini, she believes that among North American Indian tribes, the loss of historical-religious mythology results in the loss of a meaningful whole and a disorientation of a culture. See von Franz, "Highlights," 19.

Further insights from depth psychology about the relationship between individual and society under conditions of oppression are found in Martín-Baró, 27, and Mary Watkins, "Depth Psychology and the Liberation of Being," in *Pathways into the Jungian World*, ed. Roger Brooke (London: Routledge, 2000), 218.

50. Eduardo Duran and Bonnie Duran, *Native American Postcolonial Psychology* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995), 32.

51. The Durans, both clinical psychologists, draw freely from Jungian psychology. One finds extensive references in their writings to archetypal theory, complexes, sandtray therapy, typology, and the transcendent function. It is also noteworthy that they cite ideas from Frantz Fanon and Paulo Freire.

52. Duran and Duran, *Postcolonial Psychology*, 30.

53. Ibid., 32.

54. Ibid., 33.

55. Ibid., 31.

56. Ibid., 29.

57. Ibid., 32–34.

58. Ibid., 32.

59. Ibid., 45.

60. At this juncture I may speculate about the *origin* of narcissism in the oppressed. A person's narcissist disturbance, as presented in the appendix to chapter 3, originates as a psychic wounding brought about by an unempathic caretaker, usually one's mother or father. Now that Gambini and the Durans have given substance to the notion of a soul wound or loss of ancestral soul, I am wondering about the nature of this psychic wound. If it were a *narcissistic* wound, it could be the origin of the narcissistic tendencies found in the oppressed, as described in chapter 3. At the time of the conquest, perhaps the soul wounding was experienced collectively

as abandonment to the conquerors by an unempathic mothering figure, spirit, or deity. Zoja, a Jungian analyst, says that the Aztecs may have experienced the conquest of Mexico traumatically as abuse by their gods. ". . . This wound stays open throughout the following centuries, to the point of being considered the basis of national identity." See Luigi Zoja, "Trauma and Abuse: A Psychological Approach to a Chapter of Latin American History," *Journal of Jungian Theory and Practice* 3 (Spring 2001): 40.

61. Duran and Duran, *Postcolonial Psychology*, 143.

62. For a treatment of the issues of political violence, ethnic conflict, and ideological influence from a Jungian perspective on the shadow, see R. Kevin Hennelly, "The Psychological Roots of Political and Ideological Violence: A Jungian Perspective," *Alternatives* 13, no. 2 (1988): 219–252.

63. Young-Eisendrath, a Jungian analyst, applies the theory of opposites to the analysis of racism. She considers racism to be "a psychological complex organized around the archetype of Opposites, the splitting of experience into Good and Bad, White and Black, Self and Other." See Polly Young-Eisendrath, "The Absence of Black Americans as Jungian Analysts," *Quadrant* 20, no. 2 (1987): 41. She describes the formation of identity, defensive racism, defensive splitting, all within the framework of object relations theory and Jungian archetypal theory. See Young-Eisendrath, "Absence of Black Americans," 42–52. Her discussion contains much of what I have examined within the dynamics of oppressed and oppressor consciousness. Our starting points differ, however, in that she views the psychological condition of defensive splitting (racial stereotyping) as an understandable, if deplorable, occurrence in a racially diverse society. My starting point, like that of Memmi, is different: the oppression (discrimination, exploitation) of certain racial groups (non-Whites) by others (Whites) is the social context for which racist ideologies of superiority-inferiority develop as justifications. These ideologies, in turn, shape the personal identity and self-image of the oppressor and the oppressed as superior or inferior, grandiose or depressive, dominant or submissive, paternalist or dependent, through the splitting of these bipolar pairs of complexes.

64. Odajnyk, *Jung and Politics*, 82–83.

65. Ibid., 83.

66. Ibid.

67. Ibid., 84. Odajnyk's description corresponds well to the image of the yin in the Yang and the yang in the Yin. See Lawrence Alschuler, "Yin, Yang, and Jung," *International Journal of Comparative Religion and Philosophy* 2, no. 2 (1996).

68. Gambini, "Soul," 139.

69. Thomas Singer and Samuel L. Kimbles, Introduction to *The Cultural Complex*, ed. Thomas Singer and S. L. Kimbles (New York: Routledge-Brunner, 2004), 1–2.

70. Singer and Kimbles, "Introduction," 5.

71. Thomas Singer, "The Cultural Complex and Archetypal Defenses of the Group Spirit: Baby Zeus, Elian Gonzales, Constantine's Sword, and other Holy Wars (with Special Attention to 'the Axis of Evil')," in *The Cultural Complex*, eds.

Thomas Singer and Samuel L. Kimbles (New York: Brunner-Routledge, 2004), 19, 32.

72. Singer and Kimbles, "Introduction," 6.

73. Ibid., 6, 7.

74. Freire, *Pédagogie*, 36–40, describes oppressor consciousness as the oppressors' view of themselves, the oppressed, and society. See chapter 2 of this volume. They view themselves as superior, as agents of a superior culture (a Christian civilizing mission), as empowered to help those less fortunate (false generosity, paternalism). Memmi, in reference to the colonial context, describes a mythical portrait of the colonizer (oppressor) that resembles Freire's description of oppressor consciousness. The oppressors view the oppressed as inferior, weak, and in need of assistance (dependent). See chapter 2 of this volume. Similarly, the colonizers' views of the colonized, Memmi terms a mythical portrait of the colonized. The oppressors consider their society, glowingly, as a modern capitalist one where equality of opportunity promises achievement to all who are willing to work hard.

During the decades or even centuries of "cultural invasion" by the oppressors, the oppressed come to believe both mythical portraits and the myths about society. They internalize the views contained in oppressor consciousness: the positive views of the oppressor and society; and the negative views of themselves. The resulting "oppressed consciousness" contains polar pairs of complexes, describing the oppressor pole and the oppressed pole.

75. Freire, *Pedagogy*, 42.

76. Memmi, *Portrait*, 117.

77. Ibid., 150.

78. Freire, *Pédagogie*, 41.

79. Ibid., 23–24.

80. Ibid., 42, 154.

81. Memmi, *Portrait*, 148–149.

82. Ibid., 149.

83. In *Education for Critical Consciousness* (New York: Seabury Press, 1973), 18–20, Freire describes a stage of "fanaticized consciousness," an aberration in the transition from naive to critical consciousness that resembles Memmi's stage of revolt. Smith, *The Meaning of Conscientizacao*, 68–72, summarizes Freire's description: "For the fanatic, the most crucial problem is the oppressor, the incarnation of evil, the *enemy* to be destroyed. Nothing good can be said about the oppressor. They are seen not as individuals equally victimized by the system, but as rather the demonic cause of oppression. Opposing the evil oppressor is the all-good "super-ethnic."

84. Memmi, *Portrait*, 166.

85. Ibid., 166, 168, 176.

86. Ibid., 176–177.

87. Ibid., 177.

88. "The transcendence of the contradiction gives birth in the world to the new man liberated from the oppressor." Freire, *Pédagogie*, 26.

89. Freire, *Pédagogie*, 23.

90. Ibid., 20.
91. Ibid., 168.
92. Fanon describes a similar development of political consciousness during decolonization. In the first stage, called the Manicheism of the settler, the colonial world is divided into compartments, that of the settlers and that of the natives who are the "quintessence of evil." Fanon, *Wretched of the Earth*, 37, 41. The natives' inferiority complex reveals their one-sided identification with evil. As decolonization advances, the "Manicheism of the native" replies to the "Manicheism of the settler," asserting the "absolute evil of the settler." See Fanon, 93. This stage corresponds to a reversed one-sided evaluation, negativity. At a later stage, the Manicheistic compartments are transcended and one-sidedness is reduced. Natives realize "that you get Blacks who are whiter than the Whites," Fanon, 144. Also natives realize that certain settlers, even certain colonial soldiers, refuse to oppose the natives' liberation. See Fanon, 145–146.
93. Memmi, *Portrait*, 147–148.
94. Freire, *Pédagogie*, 20.
95. Long ago Freire spoke of polarities in the psychology of oppressed persons at about the same time that modernization theorists spoke of polarities within underdeveloped countries. Polarized societies have a modern and a traditional sector. Modernization theorists view the relation between these sectors as benign, as the diffusion of culture and capital from the modern to the traditional sector. Dependency theorists consider the relation to be an exploitative one, by which wealth is extracted from the traditional sector to benefit the modern sector. See Lawrence Alschuler, "Satellization and Stagnation in Latin America," *International Studies Quarterly* 21, no. 1 (1976): 39–82. My concern here is to consider as polarities two cultures in conflict: the modern-Western-*Ladino* culture (a mixture of indigenous and Spanish values) versus the traditional-non-Western-Indian culture. The conflict of values and identities is associated with the traditional and the modern. Values and identities subsume such psychological issues as self-image, collective consciousness, and collective persona.
96. It is appropriate to speak of *attaining* liberated consciousness when thinking of it as a final stage of political consciousness. Of course, holding the tension of opposites faces continuing challenges including some that may result in a relapse into one-sidedness. Jungians generally view individuation differently, namely as the endpoint of a process that is never achieved, only approached.

Chapter 5   The Study of Political Consciousness in Ethnically Divided Societies

1. Andrew Samuels (personal communication) suggested that I look for further insights about the cases by examining my countertransference to each case, as evidenced by my dreams and emotional responses.
2. The rebellion of the Mayan people in the State of Chiapas, Mexico began in 1994. The prodemocracy rebels oppose ethnic discrimination and globalization. See Alschuler, "Chiapas."

3. Prilleltensky and Gonick, "Polities Change," 144, in their study of political consciousness, suggest that future research be conducted as case studies of oppressed persons set in both postindustrial and emerging societies.

4. Noel Dyck, ed. *Indigenous Peoples and the Nation-State: 'Fourth World' Politics in Canada, Australia, and Norway* (St. John's, NL: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1985), 236–237.

5. The choice of these two countries reflects my concern for the Native people of Guatemala and Canada's Northwest Coast.

6. An element of chance or intuition brought the many "candidates" to my attention.

7. Generalization from cases often raises the issue of statistical inference. My case-oriented study, however, is not statistical. The search here for patterns of association between causes and effects follows in the tradition of J. S. Mill. See Charles Ragin, *The Comparative Method: Moving Beyond Qualitative and Quantitative Strategies* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 39–40, 51–52. The causes include "the successful resolution of a maturation crisis" and "rootedness in the ancestral soul." The effects are in the progression through the phases of oppressed consciousness to the attainment of liberated consciousness. According to Mill's approach, I am required either to account for any anomalies (wrong predictions) or reject my theory of political consciousness.

8. C. G. Jung, *Symbols of Transformation*, vol. 5 of *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung*, ed. Herbert Read, Michael Fordham, Gerhard Adler, William McGuire (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956), xxviii.

9. Marie-Louise von Franz, *A Psychological Interpretation of the Golden Ass of Apuleius* (Irving, TX: Spring Publications, 1980), 8, 19, 76, passim.

10. John Beebe, Deldon McNeely, and Rosemary Gordon, "The Case of Joan: Classical, Archetypal, and Developmental Approaches," in *The Cambridge Companion to Jung*, ed. Polly Young-Eisendrath and Terrence Dawson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 185–219.

11. For a general discussion of the quality of personal testimonies, see Kathleen Logan, "Personal Testimony: Latin American Women Telling Their Lives," *Latin American Research Review* 32, no. 1 (1997): 199–211.

12. In other words, if another editor followed the same procedures, the results would be similar. This similarity would rule out the contention that the testimony was distorted due to the subjectivity of a particular editor.

13. Also the comparability of the four cases will be compromised if the data of any case(s) are invalid.

14. Catherine Vigor, ed. and trans., *Atanasio: Parole d'Indien du Guatemala*. Paris: L'Harmattan, 1993.

15. James P. Spradley ed., *Guests Never Leave Hungry: The Autobiography of James Sewid, a Kwakiutl Indian* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1972), 3–5.

16. Psychological tests, participant observation, and interviews conducted by others completed the collection of data used in Spradley's own chapters.

17. Lee Maracle, *Bobbi Lee, Indian Rebel* (Toronto: Women's Press, 1990), 15.

18. For examples, see Stephen Schwartz, "A Nobel Prize for Lying," *Wall Street Journal*, December 28, 1998, 6; and David Stoll, *Rigoberta Menchú and the Story of All Poor Guatemalans* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1999).

19. Elisabeth Burgos-Debray, ed., *I, Rigoberta Menchú: An Indian Woman in Guatemala* (London: Verso, 1984), xv, xix–xx.

20. Quote found in Stoll, *Rigoberta Menchú*, 178.

21. Stoll, *Rigoberta Menchú*, 273.

22. Rigoberta Menchú, "Those Who Attack me Humiliate the Victims," Interview with Juan Jesus Azuarez, correspondent for *El País*, Mexico City. <http://ouworld.compuserve.com/homepages/rmtpaz/Mensajes/e990124.html> (1999).

23. Rather, Stoll, *Rigoberta Menchú*, chapter 14, attributes some of her factual discrepancies to her emotional state (anger, enthusiasm, sadness, etc), which he seems to consider as genuine.

24. The method of analytic induction guides the dialogue between theory and data. It is partly inductive and partly deductive. The steps: (1) formulation of an analytic framework of concepts and relationships, (2) formulation of predictions based on the framework, (3) observation of cases, (4) comparison of predictions with observations, (5) identification of unconfirmed cases (anomalies), (6) revision of the analytic framework to reduce the anomalies, (7) retesting the revised framework making predictions for new cases. See Dietrich Rueschemeyer, "Different Methods—Contradictory Results? Research on Development and Democracy," *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* 32, nos. 1 and 2 (1991): 9–38; Charles Ragin, *Constructing Social Research* (Thousand Oaks: Pine Forge Press, 1994).

Chapter 6   Atanasio

1. With reference to the *Ladino* subculture, Stoll remarks, "[T]he distinction is ultimately cultural rather than biological. *Indigenas* can redefine themselves or their children as *Ladinos* by some combination of moving away from home, getting a good education, disclaiming their natal language, marrying into the *Ladino raza*, or acquiring wealth." See Stoll, *Rigoberta Menchú*, 17.

2. Vigor, *Atanasio*, 18, 165–168.

3. Ibid., 170–171.

4. Ibid., 35.

5. Ibid., 141–142.

6. Ibid., 142.

7. Ibid., 23.

8. Ibid., 46.

9. Ibid., 108.

10. Ibid., 110.

11. Ibid., 150.

12. Ibid., 48–49, 171.

13. Ibid., 144–145.
14. Ibid., 51–52, 186–188.
15. Ibid., 50, 150, 161, 166, 196–198.
16. Ibid., 94–104, 111–116.
17. Ibid., 46–47, 170.
18. Ibid., 53–54.
19. See chapter 4 of this volume.
20. Vigor, *Atanasio*, 18.
21. Ibid., 70–71.
22. Ibid., 80, 81–83. 84.
23. Ibid., 73–74, 76, 79.
24. Atanasio's short-lived experience as a seasonal worker on a cotton plantation dur-
    ing his adolescence presents a pattern similar to his factory work. See Vigor,
    Atanasio, 37–38.
25. Vigor, *Atanasio*, 148, 149.
26. Ibid., 143.
27. Ibid., 129, 138.
28. Ibid., 126–127.
29. Ibid., 127.
30. Ibid., 128.
31. Ibid., 31–33, 121.
32. Ibid., 123, 125.
33. Ibid., 181.
34. Ibid., 188.
35. Ibid., 188–189.
36. Ibid., 166–167.
37. Ibid., 158.
38. Ibid., 196.
39. Ibid., 171.
40. Ibid., 54, 160, 173.
41. Ibid., 180.
42. Ibid., 54.
43. Ibid., 55.
44. Ibid., 60.
45. Ibid., 59.
46. Ibid., 60.
47. Ibid.
48. Ibid.
49. Ibid., 26, 36–37.
50. Ibid., 45–46.
51. Ibid., 59.
52. Ibid., 60. Through self-education over a lifetime, Atanasio learned much, includ-
    ing the rights of Indians and laborers that he taught to Indian coworkers.
53. From the early age of eight he discovered poetry and, by thirteen, was reading the
    books in his grandfather's chest of books. See Vigor, *Atanasio*, 61. These were

forbidden treasures that Anatasio "stole," a book at a time. While in secondary school, he was reading about everything he could put his hands on, thanks to local libraries and a schoolteacher's collection. The books, then as later, were most often "classics" of European literature, though at the time he was unaware of just what he was reading, Vigor, *Atanasio*, 63.

54. Vigor, *Atanasio*, 63, 64.
55. Ibid., 65.
56. Ibid., 80.
57. Ibid., 129.
58. Ibid., 172, 186.
59. Ibid., 189–190.
60. Ibid., 62–63.
61. Ibid., 72.
62. Ibid., 122.
63. Ibid., 123.
64. Ibid., 81, 156.
65. Ibid., 147–148.
66. Ibid., 142–144, 147.
67. Ibid., 157.
68. Ibid., 149.
69. Ibid., 157, 158.
70. Ibid., 158–160. Atanasio explains the aggression that an Indian man acts out against his wife and sons as the result of five centuries of humiliation, frustration, and resentment, Vigor, *Atanasio*, 139. He states that this stems from the "collective unconscious," borrowing this term from his reading of Jung's biography, most probably, Vigor, 193.
71. Vigor, *Atanasio*, 18, 19.
72. Ibid., 180.
73. Ibid., 171–173.
74. Ibid., 166.
75. Ibid., 202. Atanasio considers that Indian culture is still alive today, Vigor, *Atanasio*, 139.
76. Vigor, 195–200.
77. Ibid., 202.
78. Ibid.
79. Ibid.
80. Ibid., chapters 1 and 2.
81. Ibid., chapter 9.
82. Ibid., chapter 10.
83. Ibid., chapter 5.
84. Ibid., 140.
85. See chapter 1 of this volume.
86. Vigor, *Atanasio*, 191, 192.
87. Ibid., 193.

Chapter 7   James Sewid

1. On the political and psychological development of the person, see chapter 1 of this volume.
2. Spradley, *Guests Never Leave Hungry*, 240.
3. Ibid., 41.
4. Ibid., 54.
5. Ibid., 146.
6. Ibid., 158, 162.
7. Ibid., 13.
8. Ibid., 198.
9. Ibid., 199, 210.
10. Ibid., 147, 148. See also 175.
11. Ibid., 170.
12. Ibid., 261.
13. Ibid., 248.
14. Ibid., 249–250, 251.
15. Ibid., 191.
16. Ibid.
17. Ibid., 192.
18. Ibid., 260.
19. Ibid., 198.
20. See chapter 1 of this volume.
21. Spradley, *Guests Never Leave Hungry*, 3, 276–277.
22. See chapter 4 of this volume.
23. Spradley, *Guests Never Leave Hungry*, 180, 189, 231, 292.
24. Ibid., 118, 199, 273.
25. Ibid., 278, 280, 293.
26. Ibid., 129, 135, 296–297.
27. Ibid., 31.
28. Ibid., 24–25, 31–44.
29. Ibid., 17–18, 44, 82.
30. Ibid., 35, 43, 69, 112, 113, 260.
31. Ibid., 59–60.
32. Ibid., 199.
33. Ibid., 234.
34. Ibid., 234–236.
35. See Spradley's views, 274.
36. I borrowed this expression from the name of a hexagram in the *I Ching*.
37. Spradley, *Guests Never Leave Hungry*, 64–66.
38. C. A. Meier, *The Unconscious in its Empirical Manifestations*, vol. 1 of *The Psychology of C. G. Jung*, (Boston: Sigo Press, 1984), chapter 4.
39. Meier, *Unconscious*, 75, 78.
40. Spradley, *Guests Never Leave Hungry*, 66, 67, 70, 73.
41. Ibid., 67–68.

42. Samuels, *Jung*, 47–48.
43. This search for associations, in a follow-up conversation between the analysand and analyst about the response words, is also part of the association experiment.
44. Spradley, *Guests Never Leave Hungry*, 67, 68.
45. Ibid., 66, 67, 70.
46. Ibid., 67.
47. Ibid., 68.
48. Ibid.
49. Ibid., 68, 69.
50. See the first section of this chapter, on Sewid's critical consciousness and his struggle for Indian rights.
51. Spradley, *Guests Never Leave Hungry*, 234.
52. Ibid., 212.
53. Ibid., 118.
54. Ibid., 133.
55. Ibid., 180.
56. Ibid., 182.
57. Ibid., 198. See also, 237 on Indian management of money.
58. Ibid., 113.
59. See chapter 3 of this volume.
60. Spradley reports the results of psychological testing on Sewid's personality. A sentence completion test led Spradley to conclude that "Sewid's ability to pursue contradictory goals of different cultures resulted, in part, from his exceptional sense of self-esteem and self-reliance," Spradley, *Guests Never Leave Hungry*, 287. These are two traits of healthy narcissism, as described in chapter 3 of this volume. Generally, personal self-images belong to psychology while ethnic self-images, under conditions of oppression, belong to psychopolitics.
61. Spradley, *Guests Never Leave Hungry*, 108, 121, 123, 126.
62. Ibid., 135.
63. Ibid.
64. Ibid., 240.
65. Ibid., 261.

Chapter 8   Lee Maracle

1. There is some confusion here in her mind. Maracle refers to her father as White and as Squamish. See Maracle, *Bobbi*, 33 and Lee Maracle, *I Am Woman: A Native Perspective on Sociology and Feminism* (Vancouver: Press Gang Publishers, 1996), iii.
2. Maracle, *Bobbi*, 87.
3. Maracle, *Woman*, vii, 10.
4. Ibid., 13, 102.
5. See Maracle, *Bobbi*, 217–219.
6. Maracle, *Woman*, 37–38.
7. Ibid., 39.

8. Ibid., 98.
9. Maracle is clear on the matter of patriarchy as being "borrowed from White men." See Maracle, *Woman*, 139 and also 24.
10. Maracle, *Woman*, 17–18.
11. Ibid., 18, 21.
12. Ibid., xi.
13. Maracle herself contrasts the oppression of Natives in Canada with those of Guatemala: "I have more in common with an African ex-slave than my Mayan cousins of Guatemala," Maracle, *Woman*, 123.
14. Maracle, *Bobbi*, 199.
15. Ibid., 199, 230.
16. Ibid., 30.
17. Ibid., 32.
18. Ibid., 36–37, 50.
19. Ibid., 36, 42–43.
20. Ibid., 112.
21. Maracle, *Woman*, 40.
22. Ibid., 86.
23. Ibid., 8, 85.
24. Ibid., 86.
25. Maracle, *Bobbi*, 51.
26. Ibid., 75.
27. Ibid., 86, 103, 108.
28. Ibid., 102.
29. Ibid., 84, 89–92, 98.
30. Ibid., 89.
31. Ibid., 80.
32. Ibid., 90–93.
33. Ibid., 85, 88.
34. Ibid., 83.
35. Ibid., 87.
36. Ibid., 89.
37. Ibid., 97.
38. Ibid., 98.
39. Ibid.
40. Ibid., 99–100.
41. Ibid., 105.
42. Ibid., 100.
43. Ibid., 107.
44. "Opposites can also constellate one another; light calls forth a strong shadow. This explains the phenomenon in which a polar extreme suddenly reverses and assumes exactly the opposite character," Samuels, *Jung*, 94.
45. Maracle, *Bobbi*, 136.
46. Ibid., 117, 118, 122, 123.
47. Ibid., 125.

48. Maracle, *Bobbi*, 127.
49. Ibid.
50. Ibid., 166, 176.
51. Ibid., 160–161.
52. Ibid., 145.
53. Ibid., 187, 191.
54. Ibid., 197.
55. Ibid., 199.
56. Ibid., 173, 187, 196–197; Maracle, *Woman*, 36.
57. Maracle, *Bobbi*, 200.
58. Ibid., 199.
59. Ibid.
60. Ibid., 237. See also 201–202.
61. Maracle, *Woman*, 37.
62. Maracle, *Bobbi*, 229–230.
63. Ibid., 230.
64. Ibid., 8.
65. Maracle, *Woman*, 39, 79, 86.
66. Maracle, *Bobbi*, 229; Maracle, *Woman*, 127.
67. Maracle, *Bobbi*, 215–216.
68. Maracle, *Woman*, 10–11, 92.
69. Ibid., 89.
70. Ibid., 91.
71. Ibid., 136.
72. Ibid., 11. On self-hate as a cover for systemic rage, see Maracle, *Woman*, 12. See also Freire on horizontal violence in chapter 2 of this volume.
73. Maracle, *Woman*, viii.
74. This is in the Epilogue to *Bobbi Lee: Indian Rebel*, 1990 edition, not in the original 1975 edition.
75. Maracle, *Bobbi*, 204, 210.
76. Maracle, *Woman*, 14.
77. Maracle, *Bobbi*, 193.
78. Ibid., 240.
79. Maracle, *Woman*, 106.
80. See chapters 3 and 4 of this volume.
81. Maracle, *Woman*, 9, 38, 132–133.
82. Ibid., 39–40.
83. Ibid., 87, 90.
84. Maracle, *Bobbi*, 225–226.
85. Maracle, *Woman*, 80.
86. Ibid., 118–119.
87. Ibid., 24 and chapter 17.
88. Maracle, *Bobbi*, 240–241.
89. Maracle, *Woman*, 92.

Chapter 9 Rigoberta Menchú

1. David Stoll has questioned the historical accuracy of Rigoberta Menchú's account in his book entitled, *Rigoberta Menchú and the Story of All Poor Guatemalans*. Stoll, an anthropologist, conducted interviews in Guatemala and researched the events described by Menchú. For many of those events Stoll found one of two things: either they did not correspond closely to the facts he gathered, or the events did not happen to Menchú, who was not even present. I am not in a position to verify Stoll's research independently, which leaves me with a challenge: how do I analyze her life story without compounding possible inaccuracies? Fortunately, my analysis is founded upon Menchú's attitudes toward self and other, religious beliefs, political convictions, self-doubts, self-confidence, fears, and courage. The truth of these psychopolitical orientations does not depend, I believe, on the accuracy of the events told in her life story. In my analysis, as a precaution, I have left out those events and persons that, Stoll concludes, were not part of Menchú's own lived experience, such as in chapter 10, on Petrona Chona. See Stoll, *Rigoberta Menchú*, 55–57. My approach follows a certain logic: emotions, such as fear and hatred, may be unfounded; perceptions of people and events may be distorted; both emotions and perceptions are nonetheless truly experienced. The facts, on which I base my analysis, are Menchú's emotions and perceptions, not the objects of these emotions and perceptions.

   Even if my precautions are adequate, the reader may want to read Menchú's own comments on Stoll's book. She answers direct questions in interviews, explaining the apparent discrepancies and rejecting Stoll's conclusions. See Rigoberta Menchú, "Those Who Attack me."
2. See note 1, chapter 6 of this volume.
3. Burgos-Debray, *I, Rigoberta Menchú*, chapter 1.
4. Ibid., 38.
5. Ibid., 8.
6. Ibid., 9.
7. Ibid., 12–13, 20.
8. Ibid., 9.
9. Ibid., 22.
10. Ibid., 23.
11. Ibid., 24.
12. Ibid., 31, 32.
13. Ibid., 41.
14. Jung, *Analytical*, 53–55.
15. Burgos-Debray, *I, Rigoberta Menchú*, 38–40.
16. Ibid., 41.
17. Ibid., 80, 84.
18. Memmi, *Portrait*, 166.
19. Burgos-Debray, *I, Rigoberta Menchú*, 48.

20. Ibid., 71–72.
21. Ibid., 68.
22. Ibid., 64, 69.
23. Ibid., 71.
24. Ibid., 81.
25. Ibid.
26. Ibid., 88.
27. Jung, *Analytical*, 188.
28. Samuels, Shorter, and Plaut, *Critical Dictionary*, 41, 99; Sandner and Beebe, "Psychopathology and Analysis," 299; Daryl Sharp, *Jungian Analysis Unplugged: My Life as an Elephant* (Toronto: Inner City Books, 1998), 88–89.
29. Burgos-Debray, *I, Rigoberta Menchú*, 87.
30. Ibid., 88.
31. Ibid., 88–89.
32. See Polly Young-Eisendrath, "Gender and Contrasexuality: Jung's Contribution and Beyond," in *The Cambridge Companion to Jung*, ed. Polly Young-Eisendrath and Terence Dawson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 231–233; Sandner and Beebe, "Psychopathology and Analysis," 296–297; Sharp, *Jungian Analysis Unplugged*, 76–80, 88–89; Marie-Louise von Franz, *Alchemy: An Introduction to the Symbolism and the Psychology* (Toronto: Inner City Books, 1980), 102–106.
33. Burgos-Debray, *I, Rigoberta Menchú*, 88.
34. Ibid., 89.
35. Ibid., 88.
36. Ibid., 103.
37. Ibid., 104, 105.
38. Ibid., 106.
39. Ibid., 113.
40. Ibid., 115.
41. Ibid., 116.
42. Ibid., 119, 121.
43. Ibid., 117.
44. See chapter 1 of this volume.
45. Burgos-Debray, *I, Rigoberta Menchú*, 119.
46. Ibid.
47. Ibid., 118.
48. Ibid., 119.
49. Ibid., 121.
50. Ibid., 121–122.
51. Ibid., 133–134; Menchú, *Crossing Borders*, ed. and trans. Ann Wright (London: Verso, 1998), 211, 214.
52. Burgos-Debray, *I, Rigoberta Menchú*, 134.
53. Ibid., 130–131, 134; See Phillip Berryman, *Liberation Theology* (New York: Pantheon, 1987).
54. Burgos-Debray, *I, Rigoberta Menchú*, 131–132.

55. Ibid., 135.
56. Ibid., 122.
57. Ibid., 245.
58. On "critical consciousness," see chapter 1 of this volume.
59. Burgos-Debray, *I, Rigoberta Menchú*, 165.
60. Ibid.
61. Ibid.
62. Ibid.
63. Ibid., 166.
64. Ibid., 166–167.
65. Ibid., 167.
66. See Perry, "Emotions and Object Relations," 3, 11. See also chapter 2 of this volume; Sandner and Beebe, "Psychopathology and Analysis," 298–299.
67. Burgos-Debray, *I, Rigoberta Menchú*, 167.
68. Ibid., 169.
69. Ibid., 166.
70. Ibid., 170.
71. Ibid.
72. Ibid., 170–171.
73. Menchú, *Crossing*, 85–86, 89, 212, 213.
74. Ibid., 213.
75. Ibid., 89.
76. Ibid., 181–182.
77. Burgos-Debray, *I, Rigoberta Menchú*, 22.
78. Ibid., 22–23.
79. Ibid., 109, 116.
80. Ibid., 158.
81. Ibid., 119, 123.
82. For a more detailed description of the strike, see Rigoberta Menchú, *El clamor de la tierra: luchas campesinas en la historia reciente de Guatemala* (Donostia, Spain: Tercera Prensa, 1992), 61–68.
83. Burgos-Debray, *I, Rigoberta Menchú*, 228.
84. Ibid., 160, 165, 223.
85. Ibid., 227, 228, 229.

Chapter 10 Psychopolitical Healing

1. In 1970, I began lecturing on Fanon and Gandhi in my course, "The Politics of Violence and Non-violence."
2. Fanon, *Wretched of the Earth*, 36–37, 245, 310.
3. Ibid., 94, 147.
4. Ibid., 88.
5. M. K. Gandhi, *Non-violent Resistance* (New York: Schocken, 1961), 275.
6. Ibid., 164–165.
7. Edinger, *Ego and Archetype*, 20.

8. Sandner and Beebe, "Psychopathology and Analysis," 299.

9. Ibid., 298. See also Alschuler, "Re-psychling."

10. Whitmont, *Symbolic Quest*, 247.

11. Edinger, *Ego and Archetype*, 39.

12. Ibid., 97.

13. Ibid., 69, 48–52.

14. Whitmont, *Symbolic Quest*, 230.

15. For a clear summary of this technique, see V. Walter Odajnyk, *Gathering the Light: A Psychology of Meditation* (Boston: Shambhala, 1993), 120–132.

16. Freire, *Pédagogie*, 20.

17. Gambini, "Soul," 145–148.

18. See chapter 1.

19. Roberto Gambini, "The Challenge of Backwardness," in *Post-Jungians Today: Key Papers in Contemporary Analytical Psychology*, ed. Ann Casement (London: Routledge, 1998), 153.

20. Gambini, *Indian*.

21. Brian Feldman, "*Saudade*: Longing and Desire in the Brazilian Soul," *The San Francisco Jung Institute Library Journal* 20, no. 2 (2001): 56.

22. See chapter 4 of this volume.

23. "The ancestral soul is the supreme human patrimony to be transmitted through education whenever possible and incorporated at a deeper level as a quality of the collective unconscious," Gambini, "Challenge," 151.

24. Zoja, a Jungian analyst, makes a similar analysis of Mexican society: the collective psyche of the Aztecs was traumatized by the betrayal of their gods at the time of the Spanish Conquest. ". . . This deep wound stays open throughout the following centuries, to the point of being considered the basis of national identity," Zoja, "Trauma and Abuse," 40, 44–45. See also Franz, "Highlights," chapter 2.

25. See chapter 4 of this volume.

26. See Robert H. Hopcke, *There Are No Accidents: Synchronicity and the Stories of Our Lives* (New York: Riverhead Books, 1997).

27. Andrew Samuels once asked what I had to say about healthy narcissism in the context of politics. That is, what might a citizen with healthy narcissism do as a political actor (personal communication, 1994)? By describing the style of confronting oppression in this chapter, I give an answer.

28. Vigor, *Atanasio*, 179–180.

29. Spradley, *Guests Never Leave Hungry*, 198–199.

30. Maracle, *Bobbi*, 240.

31. Menchú, *Crossing*, 181.

32. Vigor, *Atanasio*, 202.

33. Ibid., 47, 48, 51.

34. Ibid., 52, 53–54.

35. Ibid., 89–104, 105–110, 111–118.

36. Ibid., 50, 150, 167, 199.

37. Ibid., 181.

38. Ibid., 185.

39. Ibid., 190.
40. Ibid., 192.
41. Ibid.
42. Spradley, *Guests Never Leave Hungry*, 16–17, 26–27.
43. Ibid., 48, 65, 110, 113.
44. Ibid., chapter 1.
45. Ibid., 76.
46. Ibid., 136–137.
47. Ibid., 128.
48. Ibid., 187. For many similar confessions of faith, see, 59, 94, 113, 149, 262.
49. Ibid., 146, 215.
50. Maracle, *Woman*, 66–69.
51. Ibid., 199.
52. Ibid., 66–67, 86–87, chapter 11.
53. Ibid., 66.
54. Ibid., 213.
55. Maracle, *Bobbi*, 201–202.
56. Maracle, *Woman*, 41, 106.
57. Maracle, *Bobbi*, 204.
58. Ibid., 223. Nowhere does Maracle affirm the importance of an ability to speak an Indian language. She never did have this ability, nor did she gain it, Maracle, 99, 101, 112, 196–197.
59. Maracle, *Bobbi*, 216.
60. Ibid., 237.
61. Maracle, *Woman*, 92.
62. Ibid., 36.
63. Maracle, *Bobbi*, 222–223.
64. Maracle, *Woman*, 113.
65. Ibid., 115.
66. Ibid., 116.
67. Ibid., 134.
68. Menchú, *Crossing*, 171, 212–213.
69. Ibid., 313.
70. Ibid., 87.
71. Burgos-Debray, *I, Rigoberta Menchú*, 15, 18, 53–55, 57, 67.
72. Ibid., 19, 191, chapters 9 and 10; Menchú, *Crossing*, 75, 152–155.
73. Burgos-Debray, *I, Rigoberta Menchú*, chapter 11.
74. Ibid., 85; Menchú, *Crossing*, 77.
75. Burgos-Debray, *I, Rigoberta Menchú*, 123.
76. Ibid., 166.
77. Menchú, *Crossing*, 213.
78. Ibid.
79. Burgos-Debray, *I, Rigoberta Menchú*, 80. See also 81: "We feel very Catholic . . . at the same time we feel very Indian, proud of our ancestors."
80. Burgos-Debray, *I, Rigoberta Menchú*, 80.

81. Ibid., 53–55, 57, 80, 84.
82. Menchú, *Crossing*, 57–58.
83. Ibid., 97.
84. Ibid., 98.
85. The method of active imagination, as developed by Jung, promotes a communication between one's ego and the unconscious, also understood as the ego-Self axis. This method of self-healing is an alternative to the analytic encounter where the analyst mediates between the conscious attitude of the analysand and the unconscious position expressed through a dream. The analyst seeks to interpret the compensatory content of a dream, to which the analysand may or may not assent. As an alternative, active imagination allows the analysand to dialog with a figure of the unconscious found in a dream, without the mediation of an analyst. Active imagination may take many forms other than the one just described. See C. G. Jung, *Jung on Active Imagination*, ed. Joan Chodorow (London: Routledge, 1997).
86. Menchú, *Crossing*, 98.
87. Ibid., 99.
88. Jung says that the child motif in dreams "anticipates the figure that comes from the synthesis of conscious and unconscious elements in the personality. It is therefore a *unifying symbol* which unites the opposites; a mediator, bringer of healing, that is, *one who makes whole*." See C. G. Jung, "The Psychology of the Child Archetype," in *Psyche and Symbol*, ed. Violet S. de Laszlo (New York: Anchor Books, 1958), 127–128.
89. According to Stoll, Menchú completed seven years of primary school in 1979. See Stoll, 159–164.
90. A contrasting set of public policy recommendations for Native people in Canada was made by a political scientist, Thomas Flanagan, *First Nations? Second Thoughts* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000). A Swiss network of non-profit associations, "Traditions for Tomorrow," finances cultural and educational projects in Amerindian communities in Latin America. Its aims and projects correspond closely to the policy recommendations offered in this chapter: to accompany the efforts of indigenous peoples in order to safeguard their cultural identity and to revitalize their confidence, self-esteem, dignity, and life in harmony with the environment. See Daniel Wermus, *Madre Tierra! Pour une Renaissance amérindienne* (Paris: Éditions Albin Michel, 2002), 22, 255.
91. This was one of the questions guiding my whole inquiry. See the Introduction to this volume.
92. Cited in chapter 3 of this volume. Memmi, *Portrait*, 40.
93. Cited in chapter 8 of this volume. Maracle, Woman, 91.
94. Cited in chapter 3 of this volume. Freire, *Pédagogie*, 132, 138, 144, 148.
95. Cited in chapter 9 of this volume. Burgos-Debray, *I, Rigoberta Menchú*, 121–122.
96. Mindell, a Jungian analyst, presents a practical approach to overcoming "internalized oppression," what I call "oppressed consciousness." A carefully crafted series of questions guides the discussion in groups of victims of public abuse.

See Mindell, *Sitting in the Fire*, 93, 107, 125–129. He defines "public abuse" much as I define "oppression": the unfair use of power, supported by government policy, against those unable to defend themselves. Public abuse ranges from slavery and torture to economic and social infringements of human rights, Mindell, *Sitting in the Fire*, 119. For another Jungian approach to healing the psychic wounds of oppression through work in small groups, see Lorenz and Watkins, "Silenced."

97. In this context, wholeness means healthy narcissism (stable and realistic self-esteem, rather than one that fluctuates between grandiosity and depression), and integrated complexes (unsplit bipolar pairs of complexes).

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