Developing Sustainability, Developing the Self
An Integral Approach to International and Community Development

By Gail Hochachka
Cover Image:

This painting, entitled, "Buscame donde el sol se besa con el mar", is by the renowned Salvadoran artist Mauricio Mejía. It illustrates the evolution of the community San Juan del Gazo in Jiquilisco Bay, El Salvador. The group of people on the left represents the community as it is now. The woman draped in white robes on the right represents what the community is becoming, which is yet unknown but slowly emerging. The artist sees "community" and "feminine" to have a similar symbolic meaning, and thus he has depicted the emergent community as a woman. In the middle of the painting, the process of integral community development is symbolized as a small plant that is guided by heart and vision. The emergent community waits patiently on the right, as the process slowly reveals her.
About the Author

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To my Dad

who showed me

a way of thinking beyond discrete disciplines,

always exploring the next highest

horizon.
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Upon completion of this booklet, I turn to look back upon the entire process and results. The view that I have, after eight months of applied research in El Salvador, an equal amount of time engaged in theoretical and analytical inquiry, and a year of workshops and writing on the topic, is one of incredulous surprise and gratitude. For the process and outcomes of this work, I am indebted to the support from many individuals, organizations, and institutions.

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Executive Summary

This booklet explores former and current approaches to development, integrating previous practices to move into new arenas of action and inquiry. It suggests that development involves personal, collective and systemic transformation, and that to engage effectively in this requires a broader and deeper understanding of development — broader in terms of including qualitative and interior needs of humans, and deeper to more adequately understand individual and collective transformation itself.

Features of Developing Sustainability

People all over the world realize that sustainable development is limited in its definition and scope, and many suggest it is better understood and practiced as a dynamic process of developing sustainability involving personal, collective and systemic transformation. Current development practices have various methodologies and tools for fostering systemic and collective shifts toward sustainability, such as community-based natural resource management, the sustainable livelihoods approach, participatory rural appraisals and multi-stakeholder conflict resolution, to name a few.

Fewer tools exist in the area of personal transformation in development. Research in this area explains that human societies come closer to sustainability as people’s worldviews encompass and care for a broader group of others — other people, families, species, communities and ecosystems. Other development practitioners have called this personal empowerment, self-realization and liberation, and it includes shifts in worldviews and ways of thinking about one’s self and others. This component of personal transformation is often a critical success factor in a development intervention. For example, local ownership of a development intervention requires a level of self-esteem and leadership that is arrived via personal empowerment. Thus, the process of developing sustainability also includes developing the self — as community people, development practitioners, government officials, theorists and leaders.

Working with Interiority

Increasingly, development practitioners recognize that people’s interiority (feelings, beliefs, worldviews) influence and inform development interventions. For example, low self-worth from decades of oppression may thwart participatory processes to foster sustainable livelihoods; or, disaster relief efforts remain partial, or even futile, without also addressing the psychological trauma of victims. Yet working with interiority is not an easy or usual endeavor. As interiority is inherently subjective, some critiques suggest that to work with it compromises scientific rigor, and thus it is often excluded from development projects.

How to work with interiority remains a gap in our collective knowledge on development. I suggest that to be effective and ethical in such work requires a better understanding of interiority, more capacity to work with intangible needs, and a way to integrate quantitative and qualitative methodologies for addressing this broad spectrum of human needs.
Yet, this raises further questions: What types of methodologies can span both interior and exterior aspects of development? How can practitioners better understand the processes of personal empowerment and social transformation in relation to systemic change? What would local ownership, participation and capacity development be like if practitioners acknowledged and worked with interiority? These are pertinent questions for the emerging inquiry in development — ones that are taken up in this booklet.

An Integral Approach

An integral approach to international development offers some insight into these questions. The integral approach integrates existing development methodologies with emerging tools for personal, collective and systemic transformation, by including the areas of **Personal** (psychology and worldviews), **Interpersonal** (traditions, customs and social norms), and **Practical** (social, political, economic and ecological systems) in one framework of practice. (see diagram 1). Each area has its own domain of action and inquiry, its own set of methodologies and tools, and perhaps its own set of specialists and experts, all brought together within one approach.

![Diagram 1: An Integral Approach](image)

An integral approach draws upon moral, psychological and cognitive research to better understand and work with human interiority. This is particularly important for working with worldviews. A simplified sketch of self-development processes explains that as an individual's sphere of consideration and care expands to include others beyond oneself, and as that person acts in concert with others who also share this expanded worldview, the closer the community or society comes to sustainability. In this way, worldviews move from being self-focused and **egocentric**, to include others in the social group, or **sociocentric**, to eventually include other humans, species and ecosystems in a **worldcentric** embrace (diagram 2). Therefore, self-care, care for others, and universal care are all contained within a worldcentric perspective.

Since shifts in worldviews take time and are often rare, another important way of working with worldviews is to appropriately translate key messages about development...
into the worldviews or frames of reference that people hold. Translating to local worldviews not only enables development interventions to be "heard" by local people, but also enables community people to infuse their own cultural meaning into development work and to engage in that work in ways that correspond with local traditions and ways of thinking.

Practical Application in El Salvador

The last half of the booklet discusses the practical application of an integral approach to community development, drawing upon a detailed case study from El Salvador. The case study reports how participatory action research embedded in an integral framework helped to foster sustainability in ways that honored the existing worldviews and acknowledged the socioeconomic and psycho-cultural realities in the community. The study is only a snapshot of a larger and more vibrant story of social change in Jiquilisco Bay. Yet it offers a beginning point for further inquiry, dialogue and practice of an integral approach to developing sustainability. Those involved in development — such as, consultants, civil society organizations, donors, research centres, cooperatives, community people, etc. — are invited to join in this inquiry.
Introduction

Again, we have not been able to create viable models of development, models that correspond to what we are. Up to now development has been the opposite of what the word means: to open out that which is rolled up, to unfold, to grow freely and harmoniously. Indeed development has been in a straitjacket. It is a false liberation.

O. Paz[1]

Eradication of hunger and poverty is not merely an intellectual exercise of science, technology or economics, but also involves an inner change. To alter the system, it is necessary to alter the paradigm of development, and to take cognizance of the spiritual, of the inner voice, of the ethics and values that promote sustainable development.

K. Chowdhry[2]

With eyes that shine and a posture that is proud, regardless of the dirt floor of her kitchen, she tells me how her family is disintegrating. My friend and colleague, Maria[3], is a leader in her community, and today she has tears on her cheeks. Her eldest son has fled El Salvador with five other youth to the Guatemalan border, then on to Mexico and the United States. This is a dangerous and clandestine route that many people take, without knowing what awaits them, or even if they will arrive. And when they leave, a gaping hole remains in their families and their communities.

The two-sided coin of their motivation is as much about honour as it is economics. Jobs for the poor can be found in El Salvador, although they hardly cover daily expenses and often require rural people to move to urban centres. The work itself is not often dignified, nor does it provide purpose and meaning for employees. Work is about a paycheck, but it is also about fulfillment, engaging one’s mind in new ways, employing a variety of skills for one’s society, and many other intangibles that make a job satisfying. Maria’s son left to find opportunities for more meaningful, and more adequately paid, work.

Those who leave the country take with them their motivation, creativity, skills and capacities—the very ingredients that are necessary for community development. Having worked with Maria’s community since 2000, I have witnessed several community leaders leave for the north. And, it is particularly heart wrenching to hear that youth are leaving as well. As I sit with my friend in the afternoon sun, I realize that this is not just a “brain drain” as it is sometimes referred to; it is a draining of the very essence of this community and country.

Understanding the Context

Talking with her, my mind analyzes the situation, considering how “development” efforts, however well intentioned, have let these people down. The GDP of El Salvador suggests that the country is doing well—there has been a growth rate of 4-5% a year since 1992, there are more factory jobs in the free trade zones, more foreign investment attracted by dollarization in 2001, and apparently more work available for the poor. Yet, according to UNDP Human Development Report for El Salvador (Rodriguez, 2001; pp 1-3, 10-11), inequality in income distribution remains one of the most pronounced in the world (where 20%
of the wealthiest receive 18 times that of the poorest 20%, minimum wage is lower than what it was in 1996, and civil violence is still rampant, making the country one of the most violent and insecure in the world. Moreover, El Salvador's environment is heavily degraded, due to its small size, high population density and poverty — after Haiti, it is the second most deforested country in the Western Hemisphere.[4] International economists and civil society groups agree that development in El Salvador has been neither equitable nor sustainable, and El Salvador is only one example of many other countries.[5]

The past six decades have been an experiment, an exploration, or a search for a clearer understanding of what development is — economic development, social development, human development, sustainable development, developing sustainability, and onward. What do we need as individuals and groups to not only survive but also to thrive? Various paradigms of "development" have attempted to answer that question, and, taken together, they offer a map that brings into focus the outcomes, successes and failures of each. Every era has seen a slightly different concept and practice of "development", which have morphed into new iterations through continual refinement and improvement.

A Shared Path

When I first became involved in international development work, some people would say to me, "Why don't you just leave southern countries alone to fix their own problems?" I knew they were right... and they were also wrong. Just that one sentence brings to light the complexity and ethics of development; it uncovers the underbelly of development and foreign aid, pointing to the cultural barriers, moral issues and epistemological bias of many "development" practices over the decades. Today, the gap between haves and have-nots remains astoundingly wide, and poverty is now exacerbated by current ecological crises that greatly increase the vulnerability of poor communities. The need for work in sustainable development is apparent more than ever. Development work has not been a perfect journey over the past six decades — it has been a learning process that folds back on itself, inches forward, stumbles into dead ends... and we still have a lot to learn. Is it really so simple to "just leave developing countries alone"?

Turning one's back will not make these issues go away. Whether we turn our back or engage, we are still part of the problems and solutions. Global economic and political
institutions have grown to become systemic barriers to moving beyond poverty and toward sustainability — the root causes are deep and are shared by all. Solutions need to be found in a co-creative way, such that, in the north and south, we all do our part to give rise to equity and sustainability worldwide.

Thus, rather than posing the question whether one should do development work at all, the question might be better phrased as, "how can we, as a global community, address such issues as poverty, equity, health, wellbeing and sustainability better?" That question is now becoming more and more important in the development sector; not seeking to find a "sustainable development", but rather to engage in a process of "developing sustainability". Sustainable development stems from a neoclassical economic system and ethnocentric definition of development — the underlying problems at the core of this model remain unquestioned. Developing sustainability, on the other hand, conveys a renewed theory and practice that fundamentally questions the causes of unsustainability, takes direction from communities, local cultures and livelihoods, and links to the international policies for sustainability. It allows for diverse expression of what sustainability looks like in different places, and with this renewed conception, "development" is understood as a process, an unfolding, towards sustainability. The challenge, today, remains in the implementation. How does this work? How can it work best?

**Innovative Falling Forward**

This booklet is part of this on-going exploration of what works in which contexts and why; an exploration that acknowledges the complexity of interrelated issues involved in developing sustainability. In a workshop at the Canadian International Development Agency in December 2003 entitled *Building Knowledge in Partnership for Policy Influence* was put very well:

> There are no right answers to development — we must always make sure that we are ‘falling forward’, not falling backward. [and] Innovation is critical to ‘falling forward’...

As a global community, we truly are engaged in an innovative “falling forward” when it comes to development. This booklet goes to the edges of this evolving understanding of development. It explores how developing sustainability is more effective when the process is participatory and infused with local meaning; how participation is most effective when it fosters empowerment; and how empowerment quintessentially involves personal, collective and systemic transformation. To engage effectively in this process of transformation requires a broader and deeper understanding of development — broader in terms of including qualitative and interior needs of humans, and deeper to more adequately understand individual and collective transformation itself.

With this booklet, I invite the reader to join in an exploration of how we can refine and build on our work to develop sustainability, specifically relating to community development in a larger context of global issues. There are no right answers... yet. We are building them together.
Explorations in Practice

In 2000-2002, I worked with the community of San Juan del Gozo, El Salvador, using participatory action research to pursue this line of inquiry. I worked in collaboration with an environmental non-governmental organization (ENGO) CESTA (Salvadoran Centre for Appropriate Technology) for 8 months as part of my MA in Environmental Studies at the University of Victoria, BC, Canada (5 months in 2000-2001; 3 months in 2001-2002).

My methodology was embedded in an integral framework. An integral framework makes space for building relationships, cultivating trust between participants, and acknowledging the role of worldviews and value-systems in a community-directed approach to development. These interior domains of development are also combined with work done in socioeconomic systems, natural ecosystems, health, education and behaviours of individuals. This booklet is based on the research in San Juan del Gozo, and discusses an integral approach to community development in El Salvador specifically, with implications for developing sustainability internationally.

Through my work in El Salvador, it became clear that “development” includes not only economic growth and built infrastructure, but also the degree to which individuals in a society are able to access, and act from, an expansive and inter-connected worldview. Development involves creating a space to explore concerns, ideas and goals, and to really hear each other’s situation, values and stories. Community development work needs to include these “interior” needs of individuals and groups, such as personal empowerment, self-esteem and healthy interpersonal dynamics, in addition to addressing economic, social and ecological needs. For a development practitioner, it

Isla de Mendez, El Salvador
requires being able to access deeper modes of awareness (i.e., less egocentric and anthropocentric) and being able to let go of personal and/or professional agendas to take direction from the community in addressing local concerns, while simultaneously holding an encompassing vision for the work at hand.

Thus, the integral approach includes the interiority of communities — namely personal wellbeing and cultural integrity — with the more common objectives of economic security and environmental sustainability, and also works with the transformative processes of personal empowerment and social change.

The framework provides enough breadth and depth to include and appropriately employ a vast number of development objectives, indicators and methodologies, making it unique in the development field.

Emerging Interest

Over the past year, I have presented my preliminary research on an integral approach to international and community development in workshops and presentations with audiences as diverse as students, professors, youth interns, colleagues in both the North and South, activists, consultants, research associates, community development practitioners and international development experts. The response from these groups suggests that the topic is timely, intriguing, and necessary for community development.

Such an approach is timely considering the need to sufficiently meet the economic, social and ecological needs of communities worldwide, which are only increasing in the face of the economic globalization. It is intriguing in that it recognizes how human needs span not only the economic, social and ecological, but also the cultural, psychological and spiritual. And thus seeks ways to integrate current development methodologies with other disciplines, particularly transformative learning, action research, developmental psychology and liberation theology, to provide a more complete understanding of intangibles and interiority in development. The term interiority refers to psychology and epistemologies, ethics and morals, values and worldviews, and religion and spirituality.

Two other IDRC publications have explored the links between development and interiority.[6] Both publications describe an integrated approach to development that recognizes the role that worldviews and beliefs have in development practices, and thus bring divergent disciplines together in a more comprehensive approach to analyzing and working in development. These previous writings have focused on international...
development, drawing upon various spiritual disciplines and psychological frameworks.

Throughout the 1990s, some development agencies, programs and foundations began to attune to the need for such an integrated approach to development. For example, iSchalk Development Associates — consultants for UNICEF, The World Bank, The UK's Department of International Development (DFID), and the European Union — have used an integrally-informed approach since 1995 (Brown, 2004, in press).[7] Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) held a conference on spirituality and sustainable development in 1996 entitled Dialogue on Spirituality in Sustainable Development.[8] It is increasingly common to open conferences or events on topics relating to international and community development with a prayer or blessing, and some academic conferences are explicitly exploring how "spirit matters" in community development, adult education and environmental work.[9] The Kellogg Foundation, a private foundation based in the US with grant-making programs for international development, describes in its values statement for their Latin American program how "the richness and energy of life are determined by the synergy of mind, body, and spirit."[10] The UNDP Human Development Report (1993, p. 8) reiterates:

The implications of placing people at the centre of political and economic change are profound. They challenge traditional concepts of security, old models of development, ideological debates on the role of the market and outmoded forms of international cooperation. They call for nothing less than a revolution in our thinking.

These examples point to an emerging recognition across the field that calls for a transformation in how we think about development, and how we work in it, both as participants and practitioners. With a focus on practical methodologies at the community level, this booklet builds on this dialogue and complements these previous books that focused on national and international spheres. The case study in the latter half of the booklet focuses on community development, but the integral approach described here could also be applied in national, regional, bioregional and international contexts.

Overview of the Booklet

In Chapter One, I discuss "development" as a larger concept, tracing the paradigms and practices of development from conventional to alternative approaches. These alternative approaches have participation and empowerment at their theoretical core. They refute mainstream development's treatment of local people as mere recipients of top-down, Euro-centric planning, and rather, seek to empower local people as the initiators and leaders of their own development process. While this is noble, it is not always effective (Randel, et al. 2004). In the final part of Chapter One, I discuss how participatory development methodologies can be more effective (i.e. more sustained and empowering), with a deeper understanding of the intangible, interior aspects to development.

In Chapter Two, I describe how an integral approach to community development can address these issues of meaningful, sustained participation. An integral approach recognizes that working with the interiority of groups and individuals is necessary for participants to feel committed to, and
empowered by, a participatory process. This is not a new approach per se — other approaches may implicitly include these interior aspects to development. The integral framework builds on previous approaches to explicitly bring together both tangible and intangible (or exterior and interior) aspects to community development, such as economic security and environmental sustainability as well as worldviews, personal growth, beliefs, and self-development of participants and practitioners. Using this transdisciplinary approach provides ways to tailor participatory methodology to meet the needs of local people, in terms of their own unique situations, values, worldviews and capacities for community development. The last half of this chapter offers short case studies (past and present) of other integrative community development projects in other parts of the world.

In Chapter Three, I draw upon my own work in San Juan del Gozo, El Salvador as a more in-depth case study, focusing on the methodologies and outcomes of using an integral framework for community development. I worked with two focus groups — women and fisherfolk — in a community-directed and participatory process, through which we identified and explored the community’s key concerns. Each part of the methodology involved both interior and exterior dimensions, reflecting the intangible and tangible processes and outcomes. Chapter Four continues with an analysis of the results and process of this case study, with implications for integral community development more generally. I offer a short conclusion in Chapter Five.

While this research is only a preliminary foray into the potential of an integral approach to community development, it seeks to stimulate further refinement of the approach, inquires into the nature and process of “development”, and offers an important piece to the international development mosaic. My intention is to offer something useful to the practice of development, inspired by my experiences and friendships in El Salvador. I invite the reader to participate in this inquiry, both in theory and practice, offering insights to this on-going evolution of international and community development practices.

Numerous concepts exist about what “development” is, how it should be carried out, and even whether, being a Western construct, the process should be called development at all.[11] Most likely, the number of concepts and forms of development exceed the number of people, institutions and entities asking questions related to the process of societal change.

At its essence, “development” refers to a process in which human groups move from a current state (e.g., organizational and socioeconomic structure) to another one — perhaps one that is more productive or more affluent, perhaps more able to care for its members, and/or perhaps more equitable and ecologically sustainable — in a continuous process of societal growth. This process of change will include (among others) shifts in how goods and services are produced, marketed and sold, in the manner social systems are organized, in the ways people value and view the world around them, and in how people treat one another.

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Historic and present day trends in economic development are characterized by concentrated power in centralized hierarchies (such as, global economies of scale). On the one hand, this is indeed the hallmark of progress that took Western society out of the 'dark ages' – a influential historical move for many countries that has produced wealth, technological gains and cross-cultural interactions. Yet, on the other hand, this progress has been, and continues to be, supported by linear, extractive flows of resources "from territories to the centre" that do not sustain the very biosphere that supports progress (M'Gonigle, 2000). This economic model has been a key factor in bringing human societies perilously close to severing their connection with the biosphere – the very ecological milieu in which humans and millions of other species exist.

To address today's pervasive ecological and social problems, sustainable development is not enough. M'Gonigle (2000) explains how sustainable development merely tacks environmental constraints onto an otherwise unrestructured process of economic growth, and does little to address some of the pervasive power imbalances (between urban and rural, centre and territory,[12] North and South, etc.). The practice of developing sustainability, however, seeks to address these systemic issues, by fostering circular economies (where appropriate) that support the biosphere in which human societies exist (M'Gonigle, 2000, p. 7, 10). This points to a more reconstructive path in which new, ecologically based institutions are fostered in a manner that supports and sustains the biosphere (M'Gonigle 1998, 2000).

I build off this analysis, suggesting that developing new institutions, economies and ethics that support sustainability involves finding a balance between circular and linear socio-economic models, and also includes working with the cultural and psychological processes of social change.
Exploring Growing Edges of Development

Development practices, historically and up until today, do not reflect the entire multifaceted process of change.

Most development approaches have tended to focus on the tangible, exterior needs of human communities, namely economic growth, medicine, education, infrastructure and technology. While these are important aspects of development, they do not represent the entire spectrum of human needs. Moreover, previous and current approaches to development tend to take cultural principles as universal values, and then assume they be taken up by the recipient society or community (Buckles, 1999).[13] This not only raises questions of ethics, but also of effectiveness for implementation, and points to the need for a way to integrate the beneficial components of previous approaches into a broader and deeper practice of development.

The conventional development paradigm provided a foundation for scientific discoveries, economic growth in certain regions, and new ethical directions for governance and law. Yet, it does not adequately address issues of equity and local ownership, nor does it address the full range of human needs that foster prosperity and cultivate happiness. For example, most of the widely cited indicators to gauge human progress focus exclusively on economic activity; two well-known examples of Gross Domestic Product and the Index of Leading Economic Indicators. Even the most progressive of indicators fails to account for key issues of sustainability and wellbeing.

The alternative development paradigm, which addresses many of the limitations of the conventional paradigm, is markedly broader, more inclusive and representative of human needs. For example, The Wellbeing of Nations by Prescott-Allen (2002), addresses the shortcomings of the conventional indicators of development by combining indicators of holistic human wellbeing with those of environmental sustainability to generate a more comprehensive picture of the state of our world.[14] The alternative paradigm calls for local ownership and engaging with community people as empowered agents of change.

The alternative paradigm arose to address the limitations of conventional development, for which it does well, but it fails to adequately address several important issues. While the alternative approach broadens the scope of development to include dialogue, group process and qualitative needs of local communities, it does not sufficiently provide methodologies for working with human interiority (e.g., worldviews, values, self-concept, etc.). Moreover, the alternative development paradigm is almost the photographic opposite of the conventional approach, yet to sufficiently address today's pervasive and complex eco-social problems will require multi-stakeholder collaboration beyond opposition. Both conventional and alternative institutions need to create avenues for this level of co-creative problem solving.
As the alternative paradigm emerged into new levels of practice, it defused some of the problems and limitations of conventional development, yet it also introduced its own new limitations, in what Habermas called the "dialectic of progress" (Wilber, 1995, pp 202-204). Today’s complex and global issues require that we begin to integrate the achievements of both paradigms, so as to enable appropriate, timely and adequate responses to such issues.

**Integrating Previous Approaches**

Tibbs (1999, p. 5, 15, 21), a consultant in sustainable development, explains:

What is significant in the concept of unsustainability is the idea that the risk we run is not a single crisis, but a crisis of crises: many breakdowns happening simultaneously through our entire environmental and socioeconomic system, and on a worldwide scale...

To address such wide scale collapse, humanity will need a new approach to development, not only to find mechanisms and tools for addressing unsustainability, but also to foster collaborative relationships and mutual understanding within and between human societies.

Such an approach pulls together the benefits of every era of development, while also integrating and communicating between the diverse disciplines, in search of a future beyond this crisis of crises that Tibbs describes.

How can we recognize the limitations to the former and current development paradigms, and engage in this innovative falling forward, this evolution of development practice? How can we integrate the beneficial features, processes and outcomes of previous development practices to further refine this field of work?

These "limitations" of both conventional and alternative approaches identify some of the growing edges or entry points into the very aspects of international and community development that need further refining. My discourse here acknowledges the energy and effort invested in development to date, and seeks to build upon previous and current successes as we move the field of international and community development forward.

**Broadening and Deepening Development**

Some development consultants and theorists call for a broadening of development objectives and processes. They explain how true development is a never-ending process that has to do with satisfying the basic material needs of people and their intangible, psychological needs (Sirolli, 1999). These psychological needs
make up the qualitative aspects of life — like health, love, respect and safety — that are not included in mainstream development. Community wellbeing involves feelings, ideas, beliefs, emotions and perspectives of individuals within the culture itself, and it cannot be reduced to economic growth and quantitative indicators.

Articulating this broader spectrum of needs requires a broader spectrum of methodologies and practices. In some regions, various psychosocial and psycho-cultural methodologies are employed to address these intangible aspects to community wellbeing, although there is room for much more integration of these methodologies (which I address in Chapter Two).

In addition to broadening development, a deepening of development is also needed. By “deeper”, I refer to the process and features of personal, collective and systemic transformation. How do people become empowered? How does authentic leadership emerge? How can emotional trauma and dispossession be overcome, so that individuals can participate meaningfully in developing sustainability? What fosters shifts in social norms and ethics such that they include sustainability?

To begin to answer some of these questions, I turned to empirical studies in psychological, moral, and cultural development (Beck and Cowan, 1996; Kegan 1995; Maslow, 1968), to evolutionary systems sciences (Laslow, 1987; Koestler, 1967), to Integral Theory (Wilber, 1995, 1996), as well as to practices and traditions in Latin America (liberation theology) and Asia (Sarvodaya Shramadana approach) that work with these very questions. This deeper understanding of development — of transformation, personal empowerment and emancipatory social change — is a critical piece to developing sustainability.

In a historical overview of development in the following section, I suggest that both the conventional and alternative paradigms of development make important contributions to developing sustainability (diagram 3), yet they fail to adequately include the breadth and diversity of human needs and the depth of transformative processes. An integral approach assists in moving the development paradigm into these new spheres of theory and practice, by integrating interiority, as well as bringing together these positive attributes into one framework.

Conventional Development: Its Advantages and Limitations

Today, the positive impacts of conventional development are unprecedented, with global communication networks, world travel, discoveries in science and technology, and more. Inroads in health care and education are particularly valuable (Thomas, V. et al. 2000, p XVII). These point to the benefits of conventional development today, and these gains cannot be overlooked.

However, many of these benefits are not available to the vast majority of the world’s population — an extremely small percentage of people own a computer, let alone have access to adequate health care. Civil society organizations and development agencies throughout the world realize the limitation of the conventional development model. These critics and concerned citizens call for a fundamental re-assessment of the paradigm of development,
Diagram 3: Examples of some of the benefits from paradigms and practices of development.

Each era of development has both its positive and negative impacts, in what has been called the 'dialectic of progress'. The positive contributions of conventional and alternative approaches are brought together in an integral approach to developing sustainability.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conventional</th>
<th>Alternative</th>
<th>Integral</th>
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<tr>
<td>The conventional modern approach brings scientific rigor, quantitative methodologies, and concrete problem solving for addressing tangible material needs. Characterized by centralized power and extractive, linear flows of non-local resources from territories. Notable advances include technology, medicine, education and communications, as well as contributing to the foundations for democracy, economic prosperity, gender equality and civil rights.</td>
<td>The alternative postmodern approach brings participatory and emancipatory methodologies that engage local beneficiaries as active contributors to, and co-creators of, social change. Promotes and emulates circular economies and hierarchical decision-making, is embedded in, and reinforces, 'local'. Notable advances include community-based approaches to natural resource management and local economic sufficiency, decentralized governance, addressing unjust power dynamics, as well as fostering human rights, gender equality and ecological sustainability, among many others.</td>
<td>The integral approach includes the interiority of communities, namely personal wellbeing and cultural integrity, with the objectives of economic security and environmental sustainability, and also works with the transformative processes of personal empowerment. The framework provides enough breadth and depth to include a vast number of development objectives, indicators and methodologies. It seeks to integrate the positive aspects of the conventional and alternative systems. Notable advances include working in self-development along with socioeconomic, political and ecological objectives; working toward shifts in worldviews; offers tools for identifying local worldviews and appropriately translating communications in ways that resonate with local worldviews.</td>
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An integral approach moves development into new spheres of theory and practice, by bringing together these positive attributes into one framework.

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which has evolved during the modern period of the last 200 years, has predominated the global arena since 1949, and underpins most development practices to date. The limitations are in the system of development, which was formed, and is now informed, by a narrow conception of what development is.

The statistics from the World Bank, for example, show that such "development" bypasses communities to benefit distant proprietors (Thomas, V. et al. 2000, p XIII), and leads to increases in environmental deterioration and depletion of natural resources (Thomas et al. 2000, p 6), not to mention increases in social problems, civil unrest, economic fragility, widespread disempowerment and loss of cultural identity. Edward Oyugi of the African Forum and Network on Debt and Development explains:

In the post Second World War era of the 1960s, 1970s and a large part of the 1980s, much development assistance was given to developing economies in order to maintain politically acceptable regimes and to ensure a continued supply of natural resources that many underdeveloped economies produced or were capable of producing...This was the initial ideological and, therefore, motivational context, within which aid began to distort the natural development and ideological orientation of [developing] economies and societies. (Oyugi, 2004, p 48)

Moreover, poverty and vulnerability is compounded by environmental degradation. In a Business Week issue entitled "Global Capitalism: Can It Be Made To Work Better?" (November 6, 2000), John Ruggie, then Assistant Secretary General of the United Nations, is quoted bluntly saying "The current system is unsustainable".

The recent publication entitled The Reality of Aid 2004, explains how many developing countries are worse off now than before they began to attract foreign development assistance: poverty in the developing world is increasing despite increased inflows of external resources even in economies that have attracted the largest share of foreign assistance (Randel, et al. 2004, p 37-54). These increases in the total number of impoverished people are partially due to the exponential population growth in many southern countries, an issue that complicates any development intervention.
These eco-social problems are evident across the world — within and between both “developed” and “developing” nations — to the extent that clearly something is grossly out of balance.

To explore this further, it is important to investigate some of the interconnected limitations of conventional development, namely:

- A divisive worldview,
- The bias of empiricism and quantitative measures,
- Structural reform before the human capacity to deal with it, and

These three limitations have simultaneously lead to gains as well as negative impacts in development, and today, they can be seen as entry points to building an approach that is able to address the current eco-social crisis.

A Divisive Worldview

As people around the world become more aware of the features of the conventional development agenda, an increasingly common discourse suggests that “our window on the world — our worldview — is somehow distorted, deeply destructive in its impact, and quite insufficient either to understand what is happening to the planet or to do anything fundamentally about it” (Selby, 2002, p 78).

Conventional development is heavily influenced by seventeenth- and eighteenth-century scientific thought that is underpinned by notions of separation, otherness, and domination, as some refer to as the legacy of the modernist mindset. [15]

Selby (2002, p 79) explains,

The dualisms spawned by Cartesian thought (e.g. human-animal, mind-body, masculine-feminine, us-them, inner-outer, subject-object; reason-emotion, spirit-matter, culture-nature, teacher-learner) and the hegemonic thinking they inspire also have become ingrained in the western mind-set.

This rise of rationalism was a key part in human development — it gave rise to the scientific approach producing thousands of inventions in technology, separating church and state, and thus fundamentally

A Biased Development

Smith (1995, p 205) describes how:

[Science should be honored] for what it tells us about nature, but as that is not all that exists, science cannot provide us with a worldview — not a valid one. The most it can show us is half of the world, the half where normative and intrinsic values, existential and ultimate meanings, teleologies, qualities, immaterial realities, and beings that are superior to us do not appear.

Goulet (1980, p 481) explains:

This reductionist approach to knowledge leads most development specialists to become one-eyed giants: scientists lacking wisdom. They analyze, prescribe and act as if man could live by bread alone, as if human destiny could be stripped to its material dimensions alone.
influencing ethics, law and governance to this day. Yet, rationality is not merely a Western product, and to reduce it to that not only diminishes its meaning but also universalizes a Western mode. Wilber explains how rationality includes “the capacity to mentally put yourself into the other person’s shoes and then decide to honour or at least tolerate that viewpoint even if you don’t agree with it...[this is the] pluralism of rational worldview...” (Wilber, 1995, p. 207). The shadow side of rationality is how it can be taken as paramount and thus displace or undervalue other ways of knowing.

When the shadow form of rationality is applied to the practice of development, local people are viewed as objects of development not as co-creators of their reality; scientific knowledge is valued as "more true" than other ways of knowing and is used as a prescriptive methodology for objectively analyzing and addressing symptoms of "under-development" (Estrella, 2000, p 3). In this paradigm, "truth" is that which can be measured. Therefore, science is identified as reliable knowledge, and other ways of knowing are deemed less valuable and reliable (Habermas, 1968). With this concept of knowledge being science, other ways of knowing (such as indigenous worldviews, traditional ways of making meaning or intuition) are left out of consideration. Instead, Western educated practitioners become the authorities on the development of another culture and ecosystem, and are contracted to carry out "objective", "value-free" and "quantifiable" procedures. Explains Jackson and Kassam (1998; p 4):

Conventional approaches relied heavily on outside professional experts to 'objectively' assess the technical and management effectiveness and efficiency of development interventions...

This scientific-rational approach has an important place in development, but it cannot be mistaken for the approach. Underlying conventional development is the unstated and unproved belief that progress and development are most effectively measured and defined only in terms of rational, linear, and deterministic processes to the neglect and disregard of additional frameworks or other qualitative and quantitative toolsets that have different emphases.[16] Development cooperation is inextricably linked to other macroeconomic processes, and thus assumes the concepts of capital markets, consumption, and unlimited growth.[17] In this manner, development has become:

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This rise of rationalism was a key part in human development...
The shadow side of rationality is how it can be taken as paramount and thus displace or undervalue other ways of knowing.
---
Characterized by urbanization and bureaucratization; the erosion of local economic, social, and political self-reliance; the progressive impoverishment of the rural population; and reliance on huge infrastructural projects...that emphasize centralized, top-down development and mainly benefit those already in control of land and marketing. (Jones, 2003, 188)

**The Bias of Empiricism and Quantitative Measures**

This focus primarily on material needs, based on quantitative and empirical indicators, is reflected in development outcomes (Boettke, 1994, p 92).[18] Wilber (1996, pp 226-267) says that the root cause to many of today’s industrial catastrophes is this dominance of scientific rationality over other important domains of human experience, namely beliefs, traditions, quality of life, spirit, culture. He calls for an integral approach that does not discard scientific rationality, but rather integrates it with other ways of knowing.

This bias of a one-sided approach favors only one set of indicators — quantitative and economic — which does not reflect the complexity and depth of human systems. A one-sided approach to development creates dependency in communities and societies, as development knowledge and capacity are held by experts not local residents. This mindset of “knowledge being science” erodes other knowledge systems and cultures, and results in inappropriate development projects and large-scale ecological problems. Once development experts leave, what can local people do with infrastructure and management policies designed by foreign experts with different epistemological and technological capacities? The message becomes one of disempowerment: that experts can solve the community’s problems not the community people themselves. While communities and civil society have articulated their dissatisfaction with conventional development, the development agencies are slow to adequately respond.

World Bank President James Wolfensohn on [a visit] to Thailand said:

We have the strong belief that people in this country don’t want charity. They want hope, work and to do it themselves. However, [consequent] Bank initiatives in ‘community development’ to meet the Thai crisis... still disregard the need for individuals to make sense of the development process on their own terms.[19]

**Structural Reform Before the Human Capacity to Deal With It**

A paper prepared by the Think Sangha for Suak Sivaraksa as part of the Lambeth, UK meeting with the World Bank and religious leaders (February, 1998), explains how the essential difficulty in the “development process” is that structural reform has come before the development of human capacity to deal with it. In other words, while human technical capacities span the globe — which is truly an enormous feat — the majority of the human population has not yet developed the consciousness or awareness sufficient to understand the dimensions and ramifications of such global processes, nor the capacities to act accordingly. This has produced unprecedented global environmental degradation, the mass globalization of culture to the detriment of
indigenous cultures and the exploitation of large sectors of society.

To solve today's global complex problems requires worldviews and capacities that can understand and work with interconnectedness. Tibbs (1999) explains,

The concept of sustainability amounts to a call to deal with the entire complex of global problems as an interrelated whole. This challenge goes well beyond the scope of issues individual organizations and governments have had to deal with before, and it demands new ways of thinking and acting... Clearly we have not yet found the right formula or context for the deployment of our knowledge in order to solve these problems.

Silos, development practitioner and founder of the Caribbean Institute, suggests that we need more complex modes of knowing, beyond the current rationality of modern science, to be able to comprehend the scope of problems and to craft creative solutions.[20]

In summary, the paradigm and practice of conventional development as such is not ecologically sustainable in the long term, nor does it adequately meet the basic needs of people in the short term (Ryan, 1995). This approach separates knowledge from experience, and fails to provide a comprehensive analysis of complex issues; as such it cannot provide lasting solutions for most of the world's population. At best, it provides a partial truth and understanding of a much more complex and multifaceted whole.

Oyugi (2004, p 51) summarizes this well:

The practice of donors throwing money, projects, and external know-how at problems in the South will not bring the desired changes in the lives of the affected populations. Development assistance...must build on a country's historical and cultural circumstances, and must involve a fundamental societal transformation process that money and projects alone can neither stimulate nor sustain.
Alternative, Participatory Development: Its Advantages and Limitations

Alternative development practices, which some refer to as "Paradigm Two" (Barr, 2004, p. 89), seek to address the limitations of the conventional model, based upon the desire to sincerely "deepen our understanding of development in a manner that takes into account a much wider spectrum of human needs" (O'Sullivan, Morrell and O'Connor, 2002, p. 9). Emerging interest in alternative approaches is largely a reflection of the international development community's dissatisfaction with conventional approaches (Estrella, 2000, p. 3). Jackson and Kassam (1998, p. 7) explain how alternative approaches to development are an attempt to deconstruct the dominant paradigm, to change the power relations in the creation and use of knowledge, thus addressing the larger issues of poverty, inequality and oppression. These more "alternative" or "critical" development agendas (such as Another Development, Community Economic Development, EcoDevelopment and Developing Sustainability) have re-defined development as participatory, people-centered and ecosystem-based, and re-oriented development efforts towards the need for the liberation and recovery of "community" (O'Sullivan, et al, 2002, p. 8-11).

A fundamental principle of these approaches is that people have a universal right to participate in the production of knowledge that directly affects their lives and to take action to meet their needs. These alternatives call for development to be directed by the community, to challenge conventional institutions and societal assumptions, to be attentive to indigenous knowledge and cultures, to honor and incorporate the riches of local knowledge and experiences, and to collaborate in true participatory partnerships (Ryan 1995).

Development, as such, includes not only stimulating economic initiatives or improving quantitative indicators, but also addressing quality of life, nurturing a sense of empowerment and fostering equity, equality and sustainability in society.

These alternative approaches can be referred to as "postmodern" (i.e. as being less deterministic, with no single narrative, more inclusive and diverse) in relation to their "modern" predecessor (i.e. conventional development). I will explain further in Chapter Two how "integral" differs from both modern and postmodern, in that it draws upon and seeks to integrate the positive legacies of these other paradigms and approaches.

The postmodern alternative approach is essentially a move away from a primarily objective science about others, toward a critical inquiry-in-action by individuals, groups ... and the wider community.
Participation is essential to such postmodern approaches that seek to create space for dialogue and community processes. Individuals draw upon their own traditional meaning-making structures in collective visioning and problem solving rather than being treated as passive recipients of technical and material inputs, as in the conventional model. Participatory methodologies aim to be inclusive of other ways of knowing, traditional governance systems, local worldviews and cultural norms. Such methodologies include Participatory Action Research, Participatory Rapid Appraisals, participatory learning and action, farming systems research (FSR) or farming participatory research (FPR), Appreciative Inquiry, and Participatory Monitoring and Evaluation.

The greatest strength of participatory methodologies is that they are focused around the process of empowering and enabling local people to analyze and solve their own problems (Jackson and Kassam, 1998, p.3), and building local capacity to understand, value and maintain structures and policies related to development. Such methodologies engage local people, who for decades had been "clients" or "data sources" of development, as participants that are actively engaged in this process of identifying and addressing their development needs. Participatory Evaluation, for example, is described as:

a process of self-assessment, collective knowledge production, and cooperative action in which the stakeholders in a development intervention participate substantively in the identification of the...issues, the design... the collection and analysis of data, and the action taken as a result of the evaluation findings. By participating in this process, the stakeholders also build their own capacity and skills to undertake research and evaluation in other areas and to promote other forms of participatory development.... [This approach] seeks to give preferential treatment to the voices and decisions of the least powerful and most affected stakeholders — the local beneficiaries... employs a wide range of data collection techniques... both qualitative and quantitative... (Jackson and Kassam, 1998, p.3)

In participatory activities, local people create new knowledge in active collaboration together as "colearners" (Elden and Levin, 1991: 128). With a variety of methodologies, these approaches encourage autonomous thinking and self-empowerment, where participants critically reflect on their self-identities and their assumptions of the culture and society, and act from this new perception of self (Mezirow and Associates,
2000, p. 31). Beneficiaries then become empowered citizens who take on their own development in the manner that is most meaningful to them.

**Growing Edges of Alternative**

The alternative approach articulates a viable option in opposition to the conventional model, yet a more prominent challenge today is to move development beyond this dialectic of conventional and alternative politics, and toward a more integrative and encompassing path of action. To address broad and deeply rooted development issues, such as poverty and sustainability, we will need to foster collaboration across sectors, drawing upon the beneficial contributions of both modern and postmodern paradigms.

Paul van Schaik, international development consultant for UNICEF, has reviewed the various eras and paradigms of development through the past five decades.[22] He comments on how development has moved through several eras since the 1950s, in its own form of development or evolution. He explains how the 1950s was the *Era of Disease Campaigns* with a focus on individual material needs. Individual needs were gradually seen to be more complex as the political and socioeconomic systems began to be better understood. The 1960s became the *Decade of Development*, with emphasis on both the individual and collective material needs, where development interventions were seen in terms of “functional fit”, instead of their more complicated and unpredictable nature. The 1970s was the *Era of Alternatives*, although it was again largely quantitative and materially oriented. Once again as each area came to be studied more, and to a degree understood more, interrelations were recognized. The 1980s became the *Era of Child Survival*, and thus then the 1990s were the Decade of Children’s Rights. The late 1990s has become the *Era of Donor Fatigue*, in which donors and governments returned to a pre-global state of nationalism stemming from problems at home. He also suggests that this was due to a lack of comprehension brought about from the misguided notion of all perspectives being equal and without a clear juxtaposition of “rights” (and justice) to jurisprudence (care and responsibility) at the global level. He sees that the 2000s have to become the *Era of the Integral Approach*, in which the sustainable process of change is seen from an integrative point of view — a view that treats each past perspective as part but not sufficient in itself, and one that explores more deeply the perspectives that include interiority. This approach integrates a broad scope of disciplines and methodologies, and perceives individuals and systems as wholes within greater wholes.
In the remainder of this chapter, I note the limitations and build on the legacies of these former development paradigms, pointing out some entry points for moving towards an integral approach.

**Participation, Not a Panacea**

Participatory development clearly holds a central place in emerging practices of international and community development.[23] Yet recent analyses of development suggest that it is not always effective in practice (Randel, 2004; Estrella, 2000). From this analysis, it appears that participatory methodologies need further refining in terms of:

1) The capacity of practitioners to use participatory methodologies, and
2) Understanding participants and the process of empowerment itself.

**Need for Capacity-Building and Internalization**

Mikaela Gavas of British Overseas NGOs for Development (BOND) (2004, p 172) explains that while most development actors, whether donors, recipients or implementers, now underline the importance of civil society participation in the development process, the question remains as to whether there has been an authentic shift in development cooperation. To work with participatory approaches effectively, requires not only a new way of working, but also a new understanding of development — truly another paradigm — that is internalized in our institutions, interactions, attitudes and mindsets. Yet, participatory methodologies can be used superficially while the quantitative conventional paradigm remains.

Mariano Valderrama, of the Peruvian Citizen Proposal Group, explains how the progress made by mainstream development efforts in the areas of participation and empowerment of local people is greater at a conceptual level than in practice (2004, p 158). Reason and Torbert (2001) explain how many practitioners of action research struggle with the shift away from a positivist modern approach:

"Participation", in this way, is merely used as if it were a toolbox of methods, a technical exercise or a way to mobilize local labor or ideas (Jackson and Kassam, 1998, p. 4), or it is used as merely consultation processes that belie the true meaning of participatory development (Gavas, 2004, p 178). It is heartening to note that most large
development institutions at the national and international levels are including participation in their approach (e.g., the Canadian International Development Agency and the World Bank). And there is also much room for improvement. Some practitioners, for example, say that the participatory processes of the World Bank "are seen as exercises used by the Bank to validate its proposals, without making any commitment to incorporate participant's inputs, and without defining mechanisms for civil society to participate in, and monitor, their implementation" (Valderrama, 2004, p. 152). Valderrama explains further that while the concept might be participatory, in practice, participatory processes rarely create opportunities for the local population to share in the collective vision or evaluation of mainstream development programs (2004, p. 153).

Gavas (2004, p. 177) offers another example of how civil society sat at the table in elaborating the Kenyan Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper, but still there was a general lack of understanding about the value and benefits of involving civil society in discussions on policy. An official of the Kenyan Ministry of Planning and Development remarked how "participation" in the process was "purely cosmetic" (Gavas, 2004, p. 177).

Even grassroots civil society groups that have a history of working with rural people recognize the need to build practitioners' capacity for using participatory approaches with integrity. Syme and Jasser (2000, p. 141) explain how:

In order to carry out [participatory methodologies] effectively, ... it is not sufficient simply to use participatory techniques. There must be a real commitment to the philosophy of participation at all levels within an organization, and a full understanding of what participation means and how to apply participatory techniques in an appropriate manner that would ensure full local involvement.

**Understanding Participation and Participants**

Meaningful participation requires that the individuals involved value participation, are able and interested in participating, are (to some degree) organized and have access to adequate information, and are willing and able to deconstruct and re-construct their personal, familial and community dynamics.
For various reasons, these requirements are not always present. Perhaps the "reality of the stomach" demands that many local people need to make quick decisions for ways to feed their families, and have little time or ability to engage in (slower, longer-term) processes. Perhaps the cultural buy-in to this approach is lacking, as local people may have never had the custom of working in this manner previously. Perhaps certain individuals have a self-concept that inhibits their participation in the group, such as low self-esteem or lack of confidence, which may have been reinforced by years of oppression and poverty. Perhaps they simply do not know how to meaningfully participate. Some of these requirements depend on an epistemology and a moral code that local people may not necessarily have. Other requirements rely upon an education that they might not have yet received.

Various disciplines have examined the social, political and cultural barriers to participation, but less so the psychological barriers such as self-concept, epistemology and emotional health. Moreover, the barriers to participation can be inter-linked, for example, as psychosocial or cultural-political. Barr (2004, p 90) describes how the "culture of silence" in Fiji impedes meaningful participation by local people. This "silence", or "unquestioning respect for authority", grew out of the traditional hierarchically-ordered and male-dominated society, and has since carried over into modern times such that ordinary people do neither ask questions nor take initiative but wait for authority figures to act and decide. This phenomenon is compounded by leaders of traditional community structures who do not value, understand or encourage participation (Symes and Jasser, 2000, p 141).

Another example from Palestine discusses how the political situation in the country has created a "culture of occupation" that makes it difficult for people to see beyond seemingly insurmountable problems that they feel powerless to change (Symes and Jasser, 2000, p 138). This sense of powerlessness becomes a barrier to mobilizing and empowering people to promote change through participation and collective action. This "culture of occupation" is both political and psychological. Symes and Jasser (2000, p 137) suggest that this is true of other regions with histories of political conflict or popular struggle, yet few studies look at how participatory development can be used in such contexts.

Anecdotal data from colleagues in Africa and Latin America[24] explain from their experience in community work how participatory methodologies, in and of themselves, are not necessarily sufficient to foster meaningful local engagement. Individuals bring to community meetings their domestic concerns, low self-esteem or emotional trauma, which can inhibit them from engaging and contributing to a participatory process.

Lawrentia Ofre, of Living Earth Nigeria, and Jenny Calderón, of Centro Bartolomé de las Casas in El Salvador, both explain that part of their work with communities includes a form of "informal counseling", which primarily
consists of listening to the local people’s stories, worries, traumas and concerns. Only when the individual’s trauma is alleviated or his/her worries subside, can he/she can begin to participate meaningfully.

These constraints to participatory development, north and south, suggest that employing participatory techniques, as they have been described and used, may not be enough to foster meaningful local engagement and empowerment. Participants bring their whole selves to a group process — their personal histories, dreams, values, ways of understanding themselves and their surroundings — and the process itself is embedded in a particular cultural and political context. Participation is therefore deeply personal, and is experienced in different ways by the individuals involved. Thus, when individuals participate, they do so in their own ways at their levels of ability — this will not look the same for everyone, nor will it necessarily be appropriate for everyone. The use of “informal counseling” and other such implicit techniques that complement participation are (usually) neither part of job descriptions nor an explicit aspect of the methodologies used. And yet, even though implicit and almost inextricable from the personalities of practitioners, they are crucial to the success of the work.

**Integrating Interiority**

In *The Reality of Aid 2004*, Kevin Barr, of the Ecumenical Center for Research and Advocacy, points to the role of awareness in the development process — which he refers to as “conscientization”:

> Through civic education, or the conscientization methods of social analysis, people can be assisted to become more aware, so that they are empowered. Empowerment then leads to involvement and involvements leads to the transformation of society, in the interests of the needs of all people — not just a few. (Barr, 2004, p.89)

While this is a reduced and simplified description of social transformation, Barr points to how conscientization (or awareness of self, society and self-in-society) is crucial to participants, facilitators and practitioners for fostering involvement, empowerment and true social change. New roles for participants, facilitators and practitioners emerge with the use of alternative or “new paradigm” methodologies, which essentially call for a different way of viewing oneself and others — a recognition of one’s own subjectivity as well as that of the different stakeholders involved (Gaventa and Blauert, 2000, p 229; Guba and Lincoln, 1989). This section explores the ways of working with this awareness and subjectivity in participatory development.

When individuals enter into a participatory process, they bring their full selves, their fears and traumas, their beliefs and values, their intentions and dreams. These are the qualitative components of human life — ethical, cultural, psychological and spiritual — that relate to more interior aspects of human experience.[25] This interiority includes all the intangible and subjective aspects of individuals and groups.

Integrity has a real expression in group dynamics; it is where conflicts are rooted and where collective visions arise. Projects seem to be more successful when people believe...
in the values behind the development intervention, and have the capacity and commitment to manifest solutions. Personal biases, unstated misunderstandings and hidden agendas, on the other hand, can thwart the success of projects. While holistic approaches to development that address economic, social and ecological needs do exist (such as the Sustainable Livelihoods approach), the success of these approaches is often related to the worldviews and the values — or the interiority — of the social group. Local people infuse development projects with meaning to the degree that they "own" the project and embed it in their culture and belief system.

For example, a composting toilet can be built to avoid water contamination, but if there is insufficient understanding by community people of how the toilet is linked to water contamination or how water quality is linked to health, or if there is little value placed on clean drinking water for others, the toilets might remain standing but unused. Thus, building a structure for avoiding water contamination is not enough; building the capacity and consciousness for avoiding water contamination is also required. To leave out the latter is incomplete and potentially ineffective, and even irresponsible — especially if the development practitioner is aware of the need to tailor the initiative to both the internal and external needs of the local people.

No social reforms, no beautiful programs or laws will be of any consequence unless people are healthy enough, evolved enough, ... to understand them and to want to put them into practice in the right way.

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With regard to new social institutions and policies that seek to bring forth sustainable societies, Macy (1998, p 21) explains:

These nascent institutions cannot take root and survive without deeply ingrained values to sustain them. They must mirror what we want and how we relate to Earth and each other. They require, in other words, a profound shift in our perception of reality... both as cognitive revolution and spiritual awakening.
Working with qualitative, cultural and subjective data can be complicated, as it involves working with extremely subtle and unseen dimensions of human systems. However, is it increasingly understood that it is necessary to include interiority in development projects; intangibles are crucial to community wellbeing, and they are inextricably linked with tangible outcomes.

In 1992, the Inter-American Foundation (IAF) began to develop a grassroots development framework (GDF) to “collect and assess results data that are not always reflected in more traditional analysis.” (Ritchey-Vance, 1998; Estrella, 2000, chapters 3 and 8). The GDF attempts to capture both the tangible and intangible results of grassroots development, at three levels of impact: personal, organizational and societal. Each level is divided into the tangible and intangible aspects of the work that NGOs carry out on those three levels with six potential areas of impact. At the personal level, the standard of living and personal capacity are assessed. At the organizational level, the organizational capability and culture are assessed. Finally, at the societal level, the policy environment and community norms are assessed. [28] The IAF have developed the GDF from experience with over 4000 projects in Latin America.

This framework suggests that when local people participate in project planning, intangibles are identified as essential goals and indicators, and they are translated into actions that are meaningful to the community. For example, in work with local indigenous communities in Colombia, Espinosa Alzate (2000, p 103) explains how one of the key goals for the project identified by the community was “the strengthening of local spirituality, religiosity and the cosmic vision of the community’s relationship with nature.

This is viewed in terms of improved education, health and natural resource management.”

Admittedly, interiority is difficult to work with, as it requires dialogical, interpretive and subjective ways of knowing that cannot easily be validated with scientific or objective proof. For those who worry about more local involvement and less scientific direction, there is a resistance to let go of professional standards, irrespective of whether these are relevant or not. The critics of participatory methodologies proclaim how opening up the process to “unskilled” participants compromises rigor, and how the credibility of information declines (Guijit, 2000, p 209). While this may be true in certain cases, it is contradictory to seek to foster empowerment while also denying the very subjective and developmental pathways necessary for the empowerment process. This critique is a call for strengthening our capacities of working with interiority, not a reason to cease inter-subjective and subjective inquiry. Other measurement techniques exist, which use the scientific method but are not empirically based, such as phenomenology and structuralism. Practitioners are encouraged to learn and use techniques, or team with professionals who are skilled in using them.

To sincerely go beyond a reductionist deterministic paradigm and to authentically include cultural and traditional ways of knowing, Wilber (1995, 1996) reiterates how it is essential to include interiority in development practices. In fact, some suggest that neglecting to work with interiority is a disservice to developing sustainability. Ryan’s (1995) research in Latin America and Africa explains how development work does not adequately integrate values and beliefs into the process and practice of development.
Current development strategies...tend to ignore, often underestimate, and sometimes undermine cultural values or the cultural environment, which are essential to healthy human development. The question, then, becomes: How can human values and belief systems be properly integrated into the modern economic development paradigm?

Silos (2002) analysis suggests that, 

...a neglect of the psycho-cultural aspects of Caribbean underdevelopment and how these relate to its peculiar economic and political institutions has contributed to a very limited and one-sided understanding of the reasons for the persistence of poverty in the region.

Although, development practitioners and institutions increasingly recognize that interiority plays an important role in transformative change and empowerment (Estrella, 2000; Silos, 2002; Esbjörn-Hargens, 2002), questions remain in the development field about how to work with interiors authentically and effectively. How can practitioners build the capacity for this new paradigm? How can participatory approaches honour and include what individuals and cultures bring to a participatory process that is not apparent and visible yet which manifests explicitly in the process and outcomes? How can practitioners use this deepened understanding of individuals to tailor their use of participatory methods accordingly?

Some Ways to Work With Interiority in Development

Understanding and working with interiority seems to be a gap in our collective knowledge and also a necessary growing edge in the field of developing sustainability. I suggest that to meet this challenge, we need to inquire into:

1) How the process of raising awareness occurs,
2) What “form” transforms in transformative or emancipatory processes,
3) What personal empowerment looks like to the unique participants involved, and
4) How certain principles can be promoted while also taking into account the evolutionary context of human social history.

Some key aspects of this include: fostering better understanding of psychological development, giving space for subjectivity, honouring local spiritual frameworks, and situating development in an evolutionary context. Below I explore why this is so, and then in Chapter Two, I take this discussion further to build a framework of methodologies for working in these areas.
1. Empowerment and Psychological Development

Theorists and practitioners of participatory approaches explain how participation is most effective when it empowers local inhabitants. Practitioners explain how empowerment tends to occur when a process of co-generative dialogue is used to bring participants new insights and understandings about their social world, when participants learn how to learn, and when the process is liberating, in the sense that participants learn how to create new possibilities for action (Whyte, 1991: pp 127-158).

This lofty intention brings up several questions. What does it mean for participants to learn how to learn, and how does that learning emerge into empowered action? How do practitioners create conditions for empowerment? Do organizations and funders adequately understand, commit to, and support this type of work?

Empowerment is a radical and profound experience. To begin with, this move from victim consciousness into a more empowered state (or, from “deficiency needs” to “being needs”) involves deep psychological shifts in ways of thinking and ways of being; these are not easy shifts to make. Moreover, these changes require the emotional...
capacity to be able to integrate this new self-identity into family and community dynamics. As local people move away from being dependant and towards becoming participants, problem-solvers and visionaries, the way individuals see themselves and their own roles in community dynamics can fundamentally change. Entering these (often new) empowered and participatory roles requires not only taking on new skills, modifying learning styles or increasing self-confidence, but also changing the way the individual understands herself/himself, her/his world and the relationship between the two (Kegan, 2000).

For practitioners to begin to understand and facilitate this inner process of change requires an understanding of personal growth or psychological development, of adult transformation and the expansion of worldviews. Methodologies from developmental psychology, popular education, transformative learning, action research and liberation theology are only some examples of current progressive approaches that offer a solid foundation for further refining and deepening this work.

2. Honouring Local Beliefs

Shifts in self-identity, worldviews and social relations are often meshed with the deeply held spiritual beliefs of local people and embedded in the traditions and customs of the community (Ryan 1995; Tamas, 1996; Harper 2001). Many communities (both in the south and north) are guided by a spiritual or religious understanding of reality. To be able to connect authentically with local worldviews, and to foster local ownership of development work, development practices must involve the subjective and intersubjective dimensions of change. Denis Goulet (1971, p. 362) contends that cultural and religious dimensions should be part of development, and explains that this is why the local community should have a participatory position along with technical experts in development activities, decisions and responsibilities. Baum (in Harper, 2000, p 82) explains further:

Although Western science plays an important role in such a [development] project, the symbolic meaning and creative energy to make the project work must come from the culture and the religion of the local community.

Any new attitudes or practices must find roots in the dynamic elements of the community’s own tradition.

That is to say, to meaningfully engage in a process of fostering "the flourishing of individual persons and their communities", as Horton (2003) mentions regarding the discipline of transformative learning, the practitioner would be wise to infuse the process with indigenous meanings for what "flourishing" is.
The sociologist … must be open to the possibility that the religious symbols that define the identity of a human community have a transcendent referent; and that the sociologist’s own secular presupposition is a Western cultural product rather than a universal truth.

Finally, regarding the cutting-edge discussion on people-centered development practices (in the Sustainable Livelihoods approach, for example), Kapur (2000) pointedly asks:

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To be able to connect authentically with local worldviews, and to foster local ownership of development work, development practices must involve the subjective and inter-subjective dimensions of change.

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I am left to wonder how this emphasis on ‘people centredness’ will manifest itself without a more explicit focus on spiritual principles. Are the challenges of tapping into creativity, distributing benefits justly, and providing equal access to opportunities (UNDP 1993) not, in the final analysis asking what motivates people to act, and (perhaps more important) to act compassionately? And does that question not require us to ask what is at the centre of ourselves?
3. Self-Development of the Practitioner

In the section above on Need for Capacity-Building and Internalization, it was apparent that the capacity of practitioners to use participatory and emancipatory methodologies is vital to their success.

However, to be able to create opportunities for participation and empowerment using progressive methodologies can be a complex undertaking. Elden and Levin (in Whyte, 1991) explain how the practitioner of participatory methodologies needs to be able to evoke an atmosphere of co-learning, to employ good interpersonal skills, and to have the ability to see systemically or to see patterns (i.e. to see "how things hang together"). Practitioners must be able to find the balance between letting go of ownership of the process and also maintaining some overarching context for and control of the project (Whyte, 1991, pp. 132-133, 140-141). Elden and Levin (in Whyte, 1991, pp. 140-141) explain how participatory action research requires that the outside researcher maintain the broader goals of the project beyond the local theory, as that helps the local actions to be successful. Practitioners have to understand the political and personal barriers to participation, and have to be able to recognize and harness the diverse skills and abilities of the group. Moreover, in using progressive methodologies, the role of practitioners change such that they are no longer the objective observer and are instead engaged in the co-creative process of change and able to see their own bias and subjectivity in group dynamics (Guba and Lincoln, 1998).

This is a long list, and a tall order for anyone! For that very reason, Elden and Levin (in Whyte, 1991) emphasize the need for practitioners to focus on their own development to be able to hold such a process. In other words, practitioners themselves have to undergo their own internal paradigm shifts to effectively use progressive approaches for developing sustainability. Kegan, (1994, p 304) explains how moving from a modern to a postmodern epistemology can take much of our adult lives, and only if certain life conditions are present. Yet, when these changes do not happen, often the good intentions of alternative, participatory approaches fail short.

Also, to be able to use these new integrative, reflective and learning-oriented techniques effectively requires radical changes in the systems and culture of organizations. Failing to recognize that these are indeed radical approaches "belies some fundamental changes which people are going to have to make in the way that their own organizations operate in order to make the [more progressive methodologies] work smoothly in the field,...and those are the issues which are the most difficult issues to address."(30)In the flavour of conscientisation, practitioners need to build not just their capacity, but also their own consciousness, to be able to work with...
By this, I refer to shifts in worldviews towards a broader frame of reference that cares and considers a wider circle of "others". Not only in terms of other people, nations, social sectors, ecosystems, etc., but also other beliefs, traditions and ways of being that may be different from one's own. By engaging in one's own process of self-development, practitioners come to know these inner shifts experientially, and also become more able to hold the space for such shifts in others.

Both the conventional and alternative development paradigms hold their own set of values and perspective about development that underpin the issues that different development agencies and practitioners promote. Daniel Buckles (1999), Senior Program Officer at the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) in Ottawa, Canada explains in Cultivating Peace, Conflict and Collaboration in Natural Resource Management that many donor agencies and practitioners tend to assume that their principles (such as pacifism, egalitarianism, communitarianism, secularism and rationalism) are universal, and then work to promote these principles in other countries with often very different cultural realities. He notes that these principles are actually culturally based values, and questions the ethics and effectiveness of assuming they be taken up by other countries.

It can be contradictory to promote these principles, or in some cases mainstream them throughout development projects, while also respecting and fostering local ownership of the development process. For example, with community-directed work or recipient-led development, development agencies and practitioners often already have an eye on where the process "should" go (e.g., small-scale business, ecologically friendly activities and equitable institutions). It is assumed that, if allowed to be heard,
communities will select certain healthy choices for themselves. Yet, the definition of "healthy community" is not universal; it may differ from development agencies to local people. In community-directed or recipient-led development, local people may not choose the form of "healthy community" defined by development practitioners; instead of small scale business and local governance, they may choose to enter the modern world, with a TV reality of comfort and a government that can attract foreign investment and provide minimum wage jobs.

Assuming these principles to be universal can create problems in development practice. For example, many development agencies call for mainstreaming gender equality throughout programming, an initiative that stems from international conferences and policies on women's rights and gender equality. To apply gender equality in other cultural contexts is noble and necessary. The delicate point here is not whether this should be done, but rather how it is implemented. It took many developed countries a hundred years for gender equality to emerge as a valid social norm, and thus it may not easily or immediately be taken up by other cultures. Moreover, by instituting it in development interventions, some may feel that it is a donor-prescribed policy that contradicts the intention to support recipient-led development. Implementation often requires finding a balance between seemingly discordant objectives of promoting such principles and fostering local ownership. Continuing with this example on gender equality, without an adequate balance, Indrani Sigamany, the Training and Capacity Building Manager of INTRAC (International NGO Training and Research Centre, London) explains:

Gender discussions can be intimidating if the concepts are too alien, and technical terminology can mystify rather than clarify debates within an organization. Every organization will react differently to assumptions being challenged...[33]

To assist in implementation, research from systems sciences (Laslow, 1987)[34] and studies in values development (Beck and Cowen, 1996) suggest that societies evolve according to changes in biological, social and psychological conditions, which are interconnected and mutually informing. For example, it took close to a century in North America for the
concept of “sustainability” to enter mainstream dialogue, under specific historical influences and experiences, and it is still not completely stabilized as a social norm in society. This emergent principle of sustainability points to new epistemologies and values, at particular levels of cognitive and moral development, which correspond to changed life conditions. The same goes for gender equality, human rights, solidarity, and so forth.

This body of research explains how fostering healthy expressions of the existing principles and values, as they manifest in the particular culture, can be an effective and ethical way to foster changes in behaviours and values over the long term. For example, to promote ecological conservation in a post-war context may first require working toward social organization to address long-standing civil violence, or working toward gender equality may require first working with men in gender-insensitive traditional structures. These may seem like lateral moves, yet such an approach acknowledges and honours the cultural context and existing values in that society, and helps to strike a balance between fostering local ownership and promoting external principles.

Each of these four points about working with interiority requires a more complex discussion; each area could become a book in its own right. In the following chapters, I further discuss their implementation in developing sustainability.

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**In Summary**

Each iteration of development theory and practice brings something key to the paradigm and practice of developing sustainability. The conventional modern approach brings scientific rigor, quantitative methodologies, and concrete problem solving for addressing tangible material needs. The alternative postmodern approach brings participatory and emancipatory methodologies that engage local beneficiaries as active contributors to, and co-creators of, social change. The growing edges of developing sustainability recognize that people’s interiority (feelings, beliefs, worldviews and values) influence and inform decisions, behaviours and systems. Working with interiority in development requires a deeper understanding of psychology, worldviews and belief systems, an understanding of the evolutionary context of development itself, and also emphasizes the self-development of practitioners.

There are still many questions around integrating interiority in community development. **What role do these unseen subjective domains have in development work? What types of methodologies already exist, or can be developed, for working with intangibles and interiority? How can practitioners better prepare themselves for working with interiority?**
CHAPTER TWO: An Integral Framework for Community Development

...The real problem [be it ecological, social, economic, etc] is not exterior. The real problem is interior. The real problem is how to get people to internally transform from egocentric, to sociocentric to worldcentric consciousness, which is the only stance that can grasp the global dimensions of the problem in the first place, and thus the only stance that can freely, even eagerly, embrace global solutions...

Wilber, 1995, p. 541 (author's italics)

Today, certain development agencies call for an integrated development in which "it is possible to address a number of issues simultaneously", and which includes environmental, social and economic issues as instrumental components, rather than the sole focus of a project.[35] An integral approach goes slightly further by integrating environmental, social and economic needs as well as the complex and varied needs of the human psyche and human cultures.

An integral approach to international and community development recognizes that to adequately address the complexity of developing sustainability, we need an approach that can weave together divergent disciplines, such as economics, sociology, politics, ecology, anthropology, psychology and spirituality, into a pragmatic transdisciplinary approach.[36]

This includes both the interior/qualitative and exterior/quantitative needs of individuals and communities in an approach that is active, interactive and self-reflective.

This approach seeks to address what people need socioeconomically, politically, environmentally, culturally and personally. Rather than assuming (as is done in conventional and some alternative development practices) that intangible needs will be met through addressing tangible needs, an integral approach seeks to address both tangible and intangible needs, without preferring one over the other, or assuming that working with the former will lead automatically to fulfilling the latter. An integral framework brings together various methodologies to address these multiple dimensions of development, including quantitative, objective data-collection as well as qualitative, intersubjective and subjective ways of gathering knowledge.

Community visioning and collaborative art, Centro Bartolomé de las Casas, El Salvador
The integral approach to developing sustainability is based on Wilber's all-quadrant all-level framework (AQAL), which maps out "the interior and exterior of the individual and the collective" (Figure 1a). The Upper and Lower Right-Hand quadrants deal with objective, empirical forms (such as behaviour, biology, social systems and institutions, political economic arrangements and technology). The Lower-Left includes the values, meanings, worldviews and ethics that are shared by any group of individuals and that form the basis for culture. The Upper-Left quadrant includes the entire spectrum of human consciousness, from bodily sensations to mental ideas to soul and spirit, and is the domain of psychological development and/or spirituality. These four quadrants can be reduced to three: the "It/Its" of science, the morals of "We", and the aesthetics of "I", or the Big Three.\[37\]

**Figure 1a:** Ken Wilber's All Quadrant, All Level Framework used as a theoretical tool in understanding human biological and social systems (right-hand quadrants, "exterior") and their psychological and cultural correlates (left-hand quadrants, "interior"). The concentric circles and arrows moving outward express the stages, orders or levels of complexity that are defining features of evolution in each quadrant. (Wilber, K. 2000, 1999, 1996)
Wilber explains how the integral approach is a panoramic look at the modes of inquiry (or the tools of knowledge acquisition) that human beings use, and have used, for decades and even centuries.[38] Using such an approach does not require practitioners become experts in all disciplines and fields, but rather “the whole point about any truly integral approach is that it touches bases with as many important areas of research as possible before returning very quickly to the specific issues and applications of a given practice.” (Wilber, 2004, pp 7-8)

Taking an integral approach to developing sustainability on a national or global scale is entirely necessary but quite daunting, especially when the effects of centralized decision-making are not explicitly seen and often purposefully hidden. Integrating the three spheres at a local level, however, seems more tangible. In a community, people do talk about their common future; residents can see how they affect their neighbors and the environment; inhabitants can see that the economy is linked to the ecology. In this way, an integral approach is a natural fit for community development.

This framework has practical use for developing sustainability. In Figure 1b, Brown (2004) compiles the areas addressed for an integral approach to sustainable development. Sean Esbjorn-Hargens, former development worker in Asia and Co-Director of the Integral Ecology Center (of Integral University), explains this further:

Sustainability increases because the more of reality you acknowledge and factor into a project the more it will be able to be responsive to the complexity of reality. One cannot leave out major dimensions of reality (e.g., psychological or economic) in environmental problem solving and expect long-lasting results. Eventually those realities that have been left out will demand to be recognized and incorporated into the design of any project. Otherwise the current design will falter and be left behind eventually for more nuanced and comprehensive strategies. So the best way one can incorporate sustainability into project design and trouble shooting is to acknowledge and include as much of reality in one’s efforts. Hence the need for an integral approach to adequately respond to today’s complex eco-social problems.[39]

An integral approach to community development is an approach that seeks to address material needs of communities (such as food security, health care, economic stability and shelter) and also to provide opportunities for fundamental changes to take place in how individuals see themselves and their roles in the community dynamics. To do this, an integral approach to development includes the objective, intersubjective and subjective aspects of individuals and the community, a meshwork of practical solutions, interactive processes, and personal growth. I have called these three areas Practical, Interpersonal and Personal; figure 1c explains what is included in each area, and figure 1d offers some examples of the methodologies that could be or have been used in each area. Such a framework helps to pay attention to these interrelated dimensions of development, each with their own specific set of methodologies.
Figure 1b: (from Brown, 2004)
The four quadrants of the Integral framework with respect to international development

UPPER-LEFT QUADRANT
Individual Interior: Self and Consciousness
The subjective, internal reality of an individual
Context: Intrapersonal consciousness; intentions; personal values; attitude; commitment (cognitive, emotional, spiritual, moral, etc.); cognitive capacity; depth of responsibility; degree of care for others and the environment
Examples of areas addressed: psychological health; educational level; emotional intelligence; motivation and will; understanding of one’s role in the community; personal goals; the development practitioner’s intrapersonal intelligence and self-knowledge
Tools for transformation: e.g., psychotherapy, religious/spiritual counseling, phenomenological research, self-questioning, introspection, prayer, meditation, journaling, goal-setting, emotional literacy training

UPPER-RIGHT QUADRANT
Individual Exterior: Brain and Organism
The physical, objective reality of an individual
Context: physical health; intentional behavior; skills; capabilities; actions
Examples of areas addressed: nutritional intake; pre- and post-natal care; conduct toward environment or opposite sex; routines; response to rules and regulations; birth control use; money management; computer skills
Tools for transformation: e.g., diet; hygiene; preventative medicine; skill-building; clear rules, regulations and guidance from a respected authority; exercise

LOWER-LEFT QUADRANT
Collective Interior: Culture and Worldview
The intersubjective, internal reality of groups
Context: shared values and worldviews; shared meaning; cultural norms and mores; language; customs; stories; symbolism; agreed upon ethics
Examples of areas addressed: collective vision; relationship between development practitioners and the community; relationship between community members; family relationships
Tools for transformation: e.g., dialogue; community-directed development; inclusive decision making; consensus-based strategic planning; organizational learning; support groups; participant-observer research; community visioning; cooperative participation; storytelling; collective introspection; group therapy
Note: The choice and application of all tools in all quadrants should be informed by the interior and exterior developmental levels of stakeholders and the developmental level of the human and natural systems in which they operate.

LOWER-RIGHT QUADRANT
Collective Exterior: Social System and Environment
The physical, interobjective reality of groups and Nature
Context: visible societal structures; systems and modes of production (economic, political, social, informational, educational, technological); strategies; policies; measures; work processes; technologies; natural environment
Examples of areas addressed: stability and effectiveness of economic and political systems; legal frameworks; strength of technological, education and healthcare infrastructure; social justice; poverty alleviation; global inequity; job creation and trade; national debt; corporate regulation; food security; health of the biosphere; climate change; restoration, protection and sustainable use of natural resources
Tools for transformation: e.g., policy-making; capacity building; systems thinking; organization redesign; micro-credit and micro-enterprise; interest rates; subsidies; regulations; natural resource restoration and management; appropriate technology; geographic information systems; natural environmental changes; population changes; scientific discoveries
**INTERPERSONAL (LL)**

*Culture*

Involves worldviews, social norms, customs and values that (subtly or explicitly) inform relationships, community processes, mutual understanding, and social appropriateness.

**PERSONAL (UL)**

*Experience*

Involves the psychological and cognitive processes involved in making meaning, constructing identity, structuring reasoning, and forming worldviews; perspectives of roles within the community, society, environment and world; attitudes, feelings, self-concept, and value systems.

**PRACTICAL (UR/LR)**

*Systems*

Involves: the quantifiable, measurable and exterior components of development; such as diagnostic statistics (i.e., health and education indicators, fertility rates), economic and ecological systems (i.e., economic feasibility studies, community economic development, ecological management and conservation), and social institutions and political arrangements (i.e., the community councils, communal development associations, cooperatives, community credit unions).

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**Figure 1c: An Integral Approach to Community Development.** The three facets describe an integral approach to development that integrates the areas of Personal, Interpersonal and Practical in an inclusive and comprehensive theoretical framework for personal, collective, and systemic change towards sustainability. The concentric circles of egocentric, sociocentric, and worldcentric illustrate how expanding worldviews transcend and include one another. The three areas of integral approach to community development correspond with the Upper/Lower Right ("practical), the Lower Left ("interpersonal") and the Upper Left ("personal") from the "All Quadrant, All Level" Integral Theory as described by Wilber (2000, 1999, 1996, 1995).

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*The whole point about any truly integral approach is that it touches bases with as many important areas of research as possible before returning very quickly to the specific issues and applications of a given practice.*

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42 • Developing Sustainability, Developing the Self
INTERPERSONAL (LL)
Qualitative, inter-subjective
Practices include dialogue, participatory methodologies, focus groups, collective visioning, trust-building exercises, group facilitation, participant-observer techniques, storytelling, appreciative inquiry, collective introspection, and other cooperative approaches of reaching a common vision and shared goals.

PERSONAL (UL)
Qualitative, subjective
Practices include: self-reflection, introspection, contemplation, self-inquiry, counseling, body scanning, journaling, goal-setting, meditation, prayer, rituals, vision quests, wild-nature experiences.

PRACTICAL (UR/LR)
Quantitative, objective
Practices include: quantitative research, scientific studies, monitoring and evaluation, gap analyses, diagnostic testing, assessments, rapid appraisals, skill building, policy-making, technical/social capacity

Figure 1d: Examples of Methodologies in an Integral Community Development Framework. This figure offers examples of some types of methodologies that are included in the integral framework. Generally, methodologies in the Practical area are empirical and quantitative; methodologies in the Interpersonal area are hermeneutic, intersubjective and dialogical; and the methodologies in the Personal area are subjective and qualitative.

An integral approach to development includes the objective, intersubjective and subjective aspects of individuals and the community, a meshwork of practical solutions, interactive processes, and personal growth.
All three domains—Practical, Interpersonal and Personal—work in an integrated manner. As Wilber (1995, p. 143) puts it, referring to his all-quadrant all-level framework:

...Before we can even attempt an ecological healing, we must first reach mutual understanding and mutual agreement among ourselves as to the best way to collectively proceed. In other words, the healing impulse comes not from championing functional fit (Lower Right) but mutual understanding (Lower Left). And that depends first and foremost...on individual growth and transformation.

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**Practical and Interpersonal Dimensions of Development**

The area of Practical (UR/LR) involves systems, applications and outcomes used for fulfilling economic, social, ecological and political needs through various types of infrastructures, designs and arrangements. This area seeks to address the tangible material aspects of development, such as economic growth, infrastructure, health and social indicators (such as life-expectancy rates, literacy rates, infant mortality rates, etc.), education, potable water and other essential natural resources, disaster relief, housing, resource management and policy change, among others. Most development work focuses on this area for the majority of activities and outcomes.

This area largely relies on quantitative measurement for data collection, analysis, action, application and problem solving. Taking the example of water borne diseases, the need for clean water and appropriate health care, an approach in the area of Practical might include analyzing the situation with water quality tests, scientific analysis and

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**PRACTICAL (UR/LR) Systems**

**Involves:** the quantifiable, measurable and exterior components of development, such as diagnostic statistics, economic and ecological systems and social institutions and political arrangements.

**Practices tend to be quantitative and objective; some examples include:**

- quantitative research,
- scientific studies,
- monitoring and evaluation,
- gap analyses,
- diagnostic testing,
- rapid appraisals,
- skill building,
- policy-making,
- technical/social capacity development.
medical diagnosis, which may then result in application of chlorine to drinking sources, construction of water purifying technology, enhanced education and provision of health services regarding water-borne illnesses. These methodologies take stock of a situation by carrying out diagnostic tests, gathering statistics, doing a community-wide census, and using other tools for measurement, which then guide or direct which actions and applications are taken.

The area of **Interpersonal (LL)** includes perspectives, worldviews, social norms, rituals, taboos, traditions and rules of the group that underpin and inform community systems. The shared understanding of the world is shaped by the local religions, ideologies, morality, backgrounds and attitudes of families and societies. These shared meanings can be silently or verbally agreed upon, and they operate like the invisible ties that bind a people together in their culture and customs. They have an enormous influence in development work. Brown, (2004, p. 20):

> If a shaman is honoured within a community, what are the consequence of not truly understanding why and designing a program insensitive to this truth?... What impact does a foundation of traditional values have on the introduction of new policies and technologies?

Methodologies in this area are more qualitative, inter-subjective, participatory, dialogical and process-oriented. This is a vital and dynamic aspect of development. Freire (1972, p 136), for example, explained how empowered dialogue in community development is characterized by "subjects who meet to name the world in order to transform it." Communication and participation empowers citizens to partake in the social construction of values and morals.
and is crucial for them to discern whether certain political and economic structures are "right" for their particular context, culture, ecosystem and tradition. The area of Interpersonal refers to these group processes that are needed for community people to foster mutual understanding, create shared visions and goals, collectively assess community needs, collaboratively plan and implement actions, participate in monitoring and evaluating project outcomes and develop strategies for sustainability.

The value of local inhabitants discussing the concept and process of development is important but often overlooked in development. For example, intergovernmental economic institutions, such as the World Trade Organization (WTO) or the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) tend to negotiate free trade legislation that will allow corporate interests to supercede even governmental constitutions, often without public dialogue and participation. Their rationale is that it will boost economic growth, which will be good for the quality of life of citizens. Yet, concern posed by members of the public in many nations involved in such agreements raises the possibility that this is not the case; that rather than promote the quality of living, it merely boosts the profit margins of large multinational corporations and their shareholders. Some individual corporations are addressing these concerns by moving towards triple-bottom lines that include profit, people and the planet, which is truly a progressive step forward. Yet, these concerns are not yet given enough space to be voiced, let alone incorporated meaningfully into legislation.

Tomlinson (2002) of the Canadian Council of International Cooperation puts it well:

Development is not a process easily amenable to bureaucratic and technical fixes. It is... [also] a political process that must engage people, particularly those living in poverty and powerlessness, in negotiating with each other, with their governments, and with the world community for policies and rights that advance their livelihood and secure their future in the world.

Increasingly, international development institutions realise that fostering participation greatly enhances the outcomes of development. The [Canadian] National Task Force on Consensus and Sustainability explains how:

Achieving sustainability is not primarily a technical or scientific challenge — although there is much to learn about
how ecosystems work and respond to human activity. Nor is the challenge merely to manage our resources more effectively although there is much room for improvement in that, too. Rather, it is (also) about dealing with people and their diverse cultures, interests, visions, priorities, and needs. It is through consensus that the 'people' differences can be addressed, understood, and resolved within the context of the best technical and scientific information. And it is through building consensus that we develop a collective commitment to manage scarce resources wisely. (Cormick, et al. 1996, p.3)

The methodologies used in this area of Interpersonal range from group dialogue, cooperative inquiry, appreciative inquiry, facilitation, collective visioning, shared goal setting, focus groups, and more (see figure 1d). The methodologies are usually participatory, hermeneutic and dialogical, where individuals discuss their own meanings and perspectives with a larger social group and co-create shared meanings and perspectives.

These dialogues and dynamics, in turn, usually translate into community action. The areas of Practical and Interpersonal are often woven together such that community development projects draw on methodologies from both areas seeking to foster shifts in the systems and social norms of a community. Some examples of this include community-mapping, community-based local resource management, participatory action research, community action plans, participatory rural appraisals, and multi-stakeholder processes for development interventions. Such examples draw upon local people's knowledge as well as scientific understanding of natural resources and/or ecosystems to address the practical and interpersonal dimensions of development.

**PERSONAL (UL) Experience**

Involves the psychological and cognitive processes involved in making meaning, constructing identity, structuring reasoning, and forming worldviews; perspectives of roles within the community, society, environment and world; attitudes, feelings, self-concept, and value systems.

Practices tend to be qualitative and subjective; some examples include:

- self-reflection/introspection,
- contemplation
- self-inquiry,
- counseling,
- body scanning,
- journaling,
- goal-setting,
- meditation,
- prayer,
- rituals,
- vision quests,
- wild-nature experiences.

**Personal Transformation – the “I” of Sustainability**

One of the unique aspects of the integral framework is its focus on the Personal (UL), which includes self-development, personal growth, epistemologies, emotional and moral capacity building, values, beliefs and attitudes that undoubtedly influence development outcomes. An individual’s attitudes toward the environment, development and other people can give rise to behaviour that either thwarts or supports sustainable development. As Brown (2004, p. 16) explains,
If a group of children is terrified of needles and refuses to be vaccinated, how does that affect the success of an immunization program? If a development project manager feels jealous of the media attention other NGO leaders are getting, what role does that play? If someone feels degraded, left out and unheard during training, but never says anything, what consequences ensue? If an analyst holds a strong bias toward rationality, and dismisses other ways of knowing, how does that influence her report and suggestions?

The area of Personal emphasizes that community wellbeing includes the wellbeing of individuals in a holistic sense. Methodologies in this area assist in fostering this personal care and empowerment. The methodologies are subtle and subjective, and require active and compassionate listening and the ability to create a safe space for self-inquiry (see Figure 1d). The "informal counseling" described in the previous chapter is an example of this type of methodology.

This area is important for developing sustainability primarily because personal change is inextricably linked to social change (Kegan, 1995, 2000; Torbert, 1991). As people's ways of thinking about themselves and about their world change, their behaviours, actions and ways of living also change. For example, Schugurensky (2002: 69-72) describes the personal process of change in Rosa Parks and Nelson Mandela. Both Parks and Mandela had years of experience as community organizers in which their perspective of the world expanded beyond single issues to include complex issues of larger social groups. Schugurensky (2002: 71) explains how, this transition from parochialism to a more continental or even cosmological approaches takes time and encounters with 'outsiders'... [and] fosters the development of a new social consciousness by which people expand their concerns from narrow self-interests to collective needs and develop attitudes of respect and social solidarity.

In Latin America, liberation theologists call this a "dynamic action of awakening."[41] Civil society organizations refer to it as conscientization, or "becoming conscious". Conscientization is often defined as a revolutionary understanding of social and political dynamics that foster new roles in socio-political processes. This also involves a profound change in one's sense of self and self-in-relationship.

Understanding these processes of personal change is vital for developing sustainability, yet it is the also the least understood.

Developmental psychologists and cultural theorists have extensively researched these changes in worldviews, and explain how our values, epistemologies and "orders of consciousness" unfold in nested stages moving towards greater complexity.[42] These stages transcend and include the previous stages, to open up into new expanded modes of
perception. Wilber (2000, pp 42-44) describes and summarizes the various bodies of research on this process of unfolding, explaining how it occurs both in individuals (referred to as "self-stages") and in the collective (reflected in morals and perspectives).[43] Wilber (2000, pp 40-41) writes:

It should be remembered that virtually all of these stage conceptions — from Abraham Maslow to Jane Loevinger to Robert Kegan to Clare Graves — are based on extensive amounts of research and data. They are not simply conceptual ideas and pet theories, but are grounded at every point in a considerable amount of carefully checked evidence. Many of the stage theorists... (Piaget, Loevinger, Maslow, and Graves) have had their models checked in First, Second and Third World countries.

Psychological studies on these self-stages explain how one's ability to "make meaning" of his/her surroundings does not stop in adolescence, but continues through adulthood (Cook-Greuter, 2004; Wilber, 2000; Kegan, 1995 (see figure 1e); Loevinger, 1976). This meaning making refers to how a person makes sense of his/her personal experiences. As humans age, capacities for "making meaning" have the potential to develop through distinct stages, where each stage encompasses and builds on the capacities of the previous stages. Understanding these capacities for meaning making is important in community development, as it enables a clearer understanding on how and why we (practitioners and participants) think as we do, and it enables practitioners and participants to understand (grant legitimacy to and/or more accurately critique) the perspectives of others. I have simplified the many complex theories involved in personal change (primarily from psychological and philosophical studies) into a practical model for understanding personal transformation.[44] The essence of this pragmatic theory is that developing sustainability involves changes in our "views of the world", from an egocentric view towards a more connected view with "other", be it a neighbor in the community, other nations, and even other species and ecosystems. This movement does not necessarily follow a linear progression and should not be reified. As Wilber (1999, p 111) explains, "These are not rigid levels, but fluid and flowing waves, with much overlap and interweaving, resulting in a meshwork or dynamic spiral of consciousness unfolding.... There is nothing linear about overall development."
As one's sphere of concern begins to transcend and include more than immediate self-needs — as it moves from egocentric to sociocentric — in addition to ourselves and/or our families, we care also about our group, our community and our society (Wilber, 1996, p. 183). With an egocentric view, individual concern only extends as far as "me and mine" — my self and my family needs and desires are most important. While this drive of the ego can be extremely useful for human growth, it can also lead to narcissistic and "self-contracted" tendencies. In many aspects, consumer driven capitalist society is optimized by the egocentric view, where competition is the primary drive for achieving. However, with a sociocentric perspective, caring extends to the group, community and society. People-centered development, like community economic development, embodies sociocentrism, and has cooperation, collaboration and teamwork as a driving force.

In a further phase, sociocentrism expands to worldcentrism, whereby caring and a sense of justice extends not just you and your people, but also all peoples and beings (Wilber, 1996, p. 187). In this way, worldcentrism includes, along with all that egocentrism and sociocentrism embraced, concern for other species and ecosystems, thus making room for ego- and sociocentrism but situating them in a larger context. Developing sustainability is connected to the emergence of a worldcentric consciousness and action, which draws upon the egocentric and sociocentric when and if required.[45]

Worldcentric awareness evokes a deep kinship with each other, or a sense of connectedness, in the sense that our "beingness" as humans is intricately bound up in and defined by our relations, with each other and with other beings. This "shared beingness" is essentially a spiritual recognition (M'Gonigle, 2000, p. 27). By recognizing that we exist both as empowered individuals and as beings-in-relation, the way we interact changes: rather than wrestling power over other beings, awareness and respect for our selves and our relatedness prioritizes a reverence for balance with others. As M'Gonigle, (2000, p. 27) explains:

If we exist in relation, then the very fact of that relational existence dictates not a good life of the separate self, but an involved life of respect for the wholeness of that other which breathes life and consciousness and meaning into our self.

With this new awareness comes a new perception of self-in-the-world, where one need not know precisely what befalls another on the opposite side of the globe, but rather that there is recognition that the needs and aspirations (as well as the struggles and hardships) of one are shared by many. This new perception of self in a "wider world of others" infuses action with awareness, respect and caring.
Being able to take the perspective of “other” (a phenomenon of rationality), be it a neighbor, another family, other nations, or another species enables compassionate or considerate action. Further integration and coordination of these “other” perspectives (through the emergence of trans-rationality) is needed to meet complex needs and address inter-connected global problems (Wilber, 1998, pp 229-231). This “interior development” is crucial for humankind to move toward different kinds of (and more ecologically-friendly) attitudes, practices, beliefs, institutions, politics, and economics. Empowered, sustainable and equitable societies emerge through this “awakening” throughout society, this movement away from narcissism and towards concern for others (Silos, 2002; Wilber, 2000, 1999, 1996, 1995; Hargen, 2002). Developing sustainability includes developing the self.

This area of personal growth and psychological development is an aspect of community development that many practitioners know is important, and yet it has not been given enough legitimate space in development processes to date. It is a gap in our collective knowledge and practice, and yet it is increasingly understood to be an imperative for sustainable communities.
Not All Interiority is Equal

As practitioners begin to work more with human interiority, it is important to point out that not all interiority is equal—racism and sexism, for example, also belong to the interior experience of many people, as do sentiments for equality and compassion. As Wilber (1995, p. 107-112) explains, "evolutionary progress" is not all sweetness and light; "with great structural complexity, ... more things can go horribly wrong. Atoms don't get cancer; animals do. ...[yet] the existence of cancer does not damn the existence of animals per se." He continues to explain (1995, p. 107-109; author's italics):

The fact that evolution always produces greater transcendence and greater differentiation means that a factor of possible pathology is built into every evolutionary step, because transcendence can go too far and become repression ... likewise differentiation can go too far and become dissociation. ... Whenever a new differentiation is not matched by a new and equal integration, whenever there is negation without preservation, the result is pathology of one sort or another. ... But, just as the existence of cancer does not damn the existence of animals per se, so the existence of cultural diseases and repressions does not damn cultural evolution itself. Each successive stage brought new information, new potentials, new hopes and new fears; brought a greater complexity, a greater differentiation, a great relative autonomy — and the capacity for a new and greater pathology if a corresponding integration and embrace did not ensue. ... the history of cultural evolution is the history of new achievement, the history of new disease.

However, he and other theorists explain that this possibility for pathologies is not a reason to roll back evolution. Habermas’s critique of Romantic regression, for example, is similar to Wilber’s (1995, p. 202-203):

Of course there are new problems and new pathologies at each stage of development, but to take only the pathologies of the higher stage and compare them with only the achievements of the previous stage is perverse in the extreme. What is required, rather, is a balanced view that takes into account the limitations and failures of the previous stage that necessitated and propelled a new evolutionary transformation beyond them.

Increasing growth and pathology are part of evolution, part of the dialectic of progress and part of human development. Societies usually use legislation, rules and social norms to rein in pathological behaviours, such as racism and sexism. In situations where such pathologies arise, healing is also needed in ways that allow evolution to move forward more harmoniously[46]

Natural Holarchy

These stages of self-development build on one another, transcending and including previous stages, like concentric spheres that embrace and add to the previous sphere. Each stage is whole in and of itself, and it is also simultaneously a part of the greater whole of psychological development. For example, if one grows from egocentric to sociocentric, one does not stop caring about oneself, but that care and concern is now extended to one’s family, community, nation, and so on.
For such entities that are simultaneously wholes and parts, Koestler (1967) coined the term holon. Wilber (1995, 1996) further uses this term to explain how holons are organized together in a holarchy. Holarchies can be seen quite obviously with sequences of natural growth, such as an acorn to a sapling to an oak; or from a cell to an organ to an organism. As described above, people also grow psychologically through stages of increasing complexity, care and concern.

These natural holarchies are distinct from social hierarchies. Existence is made up of natural holarchies — ecosystems, species, human cognition, language, and personal empowerment are just some examples. Maslow's hierarchy of needs depicts the holarchy of personal growth and empowerment as they relate to material, cultural, emotional and spiritual needs. Social hierarchies are another story altogether. Enormous abuses of power have occurred, and continue to occur, by those at the top of social hierarchies in practically every human society across the planet.

In the field of international and community development, it is important to understand the difference between these, since development work often seeks to promote personal empowerment (natural holarchy) and reduce the abuses of power (social hierarchy). Some practitioners are inclined to disregard holarchy altogether, for fear of opening the door to the abuses produced by social hierarchies. However, I suggest it is preferable to inquire further into the features of these, so as to work more effectively on both accounts.

To begin with, the two types are not only dissimilar, but they are inversely related: with more individuals able to operate from a higher stage of the self-development holarchy, dominating social hierarchies become less possible. Harvard developmental psychologist Robert Kegan (1995) explains why this is so. Through the psychological growth process, more care for a wider sphere of others is possible (see Figure 1e). But also, as each stage transcends and includes the function of what came before, it also excludes an exclusive identity with that function. In other words, at the higher stages of self-development, care and compassion increase, but exclusive identification with one's own worldview decreases, which avoids the fundamentalism inherent in most dominating social hierarchies.

Thus, with the growth to worldcentric awareness, an individual is less identified to his/her self and more able to extend care to all people regardless of race, class, creed, gender, etc. An individual with worldcentric awareness would never use any power given to them by
**Figure 1e. Robert Kegan's Orders of Consciousness.** These orders of consciousness describe a developmental progression of how individuals "make meaning," in which each stage transcends and includes the former stage, moving towards greater competence, compassion, and care for others. Kegan's first and second orders as egocentric (me), the third order as ethnocentric/sociocentric (us), and the fourth and fifth orders as worldcentric (all of us).

As Brown (2004, p. 14) puts it:

The corollary of increasing complexity with each developmental level is that, with each shift, comes decreasing degrees of prejudice. Because all cultures express themselves through society, there are corresponding external systems (political, educational, social, economic, etc.) that emerge in parallel to a population's collective internal development. These external systems reflect the collective's decreased degrees of prejudice and increased circles of care, compassion, and justice. Slavery, for example, was outlawed within the span of about 100 years around the world as the populations in countries began to express more modern worldviews. The rise of the environmental and humanitarian movements has largely come hand in hand with the propagation of postmodern values.

Understanding these processes enables practitioners to more specifically name the problems with social hierarchies and more intelligently and ethically work with the processes of personal transformation — in ourselves, with communities and society in general.
Working with Worldviews

Below, I discuss some ways of working with personal growth and the expansion of worldviews. My description is in no way complete or comprehensive. Rather, it serves to point out some general ways to begin understanding and working with these self-stages. My research in this area spans from developmental psychology and eastern philosophy to transformative learning and sustainable development theory.

I use the term worldview to refer to the "centre of gravity" of an individual's self stage. Yet, keep in mind that an individual's self sense is made up of their cognitive capacity, level of ego-development and level of moral development, to name a few. Moreover, Wilber explains that these worldviews are better understood as probabilities in people. If someone responds with sociocentric awareness 50% of the time, they are likely to respond with egocentric and worldcentric awareness 25% of the time, respectively. Worldviews are astoundingly complex, and they should not be understood or used as definitive categories.

There are two general approaches for working with worldviews. One involves creating opportunities for the transformation of worldviews, and the other involves translating key communications (about sustainability, for example) into the local worldviews of community people.

Transformative Processes

Shifts in worldviews are part of a transformative process where one's frame of reference shifts profoundly (Mezirow, 2000); where what was once subject (i.e. "part of me") becomes perceived as object (i.e. "something I can observe, reflect and act on") (Kegan, 1995). Thus, our relationship to our selves and our surroundings changes with each developmental stage. Intentionally fostering such shifts can enable individuals to become sensitized to their current and potential role in effecting positive change in their community, society and environment. Coupled with capacity building, empowered individuals can play an immense role in the community's development process. Popular education techniques offer a good example of this: they seek to radicalize local people through this type of shift in perspectives, where what was once accepted and not questioned by local people becomes something that can be analyzed, critiqued and acted upon.

Theorists from the disciplines of social science explain how changes in worldviews often begin when individuals are deeply moved by something and have thus begun acting differently (Kotter and Cohen, 2002, p 1-12). Personal transformation can also be propelled by a "disorienting dilemma" (which can be a traumatic and dramatic experience) (Taylor, 2000, pp 298-301), or by an "integrating circumstance" (which can be conscious or unconscious, and usually is a culmination of a process of searching for a missing element in one's life) (Schugurensky, 2002, p 70). Development practitioners in Sri Lanka say that through meditative practice, individuals are motivated and mobilized to act for the development of the village, with a more a connected and compassionate perspective; "only through inner transformation can the outside world change."[47]
There are myriad ways to work towards transformations in worldviews, some of which are highly intuitive, others that are “proven” empirically and well documented. Two examples include Transformational Learning and Action Research. According to O’Sullivan, Morrell and O’Connor (2002),

Transformational Learning involves experiencing a deep, structural shift in the basic premises of thought, feeling, and actions. It is a shift of consciousness that dramatically and permanently alters our way of being in the world. Such a shift involves our understanding of ourselves and our self-locations; our relationships with other humans and with the natural world; our understanding of relations of power in interlocking structure of class, race, and gender; our body-awareness, our visions of alternative approaches to living; and our sense of possibilities for social justice and peace and personal joy.

Horton (2003) describes action research as:

A participatory, democratic process concerned with developing practical knowledge in the pursuit of worthwhile human purposes, grounded in a participatory worldview, which is currently still emerging. It seeks to bring together action and reflection, theory and practice, in participation with others, in the pursuit of practical solutions to issues of pressing concern to people, and more generally the flourishing of individual persons and their communities.

Wilber describes practices that help to foster shifts in self-stages and worldviews as “Integral Transformative Practices”, which include working with physical health, psychological well-being, community service and spiritual unfolding (Wilber, 1999, p. 121).

Translating into Local Worldviews

It is challenging to work with the transformation of worldviews; shifts in worldviews and ways of thinking take time and specific life conditions, and this is often an extremely personal process that cannot be spurred along by a third party (Kegan, 1995; Beck and Cowan, 1996). Although a widespread transformation to worldcentric awareness is desirable, if not necessary, it is also unlikely in the near future, considering the profound nature of such a shift in consciousness.

This points to another way of working with worldviews. Rather than to foster shifts in worldviews, one can take the approach of coming to know and honour how people see the world, to then be able to translate communications to fit into their worldview. Brown (2004) explains this further:

If our economic, environmental and social challenges require values that
will drive new behavior — values which are fundamentally different than most people have — then we might not be successful in our efforts, as those values may not change fast enough on a large enough scale. Yet if we can learn to work with the values that people hold and translate what needs to be done so that it resonates with those core values, then we may go much farther, much faster toward sustainability. This is fundamentally a process of truly honouring people for who they are — not trying to force a change in values upon them — yet simultaneously explaining shared goals (like sustainability) in ways that are meaningful to them.

This ability to appropriately translate an intervention (e.g., the meaning of sustainability) into terms that resonate with local worldviews makes a crucial difference in the ultimate effectiveness of a project. One could design the perfect sustainable development intervention, but if no one in the local region understands or values it, then it will most likely fail. Beck explains that, the question is not ‘how do you motivate people’, but how do you relate what you are doing to their natural motivational flows?[48] Understanding the local psychology and the meanings behind behaviours can assist practitioners in relating and communicating complex concepts (such as democracy, equity and sustainability) into the local worldviews of the community.

For example, Abes (2000, p. 88) notes the importance of understanding the psychology of local people when working with communities in the Philippines. Abes explains how, according to Filipino psychology, there are eight levels of relationship that characterize how Filipinos interact with other people. These levels range from ‘respectful civility’, to ‘mixing’, ‘joining/participating’, ‘conforming’, ‘adjusting’, ‘mutual trust/rapport’, ‘getting involved’, and finally ‘fusion, oneness, full trust’. Abes identifies how in order to gather relevant and reliable data, researchers/practitioners must, at the very least, cultivate mutual trust and rapport (the sixth level of relationship). This is done by spending time in the area, becoming “insiders’ by staying and integrating themselves into the community, participating and being part of the natural flow and rhythm of life in the locality; being sensitive to and respectful of the values, traditions, norms and taboos; and being truthful about the purpose of her or his stay.” (Abes, 2000, p. 88)

Once these relationships are built, it is possible to find locally acceptable ways of gathering knowledge and communicating. In this Filipino example, this included: pagtatanong-tanong (asking questions), ginabayang talakayan (guided discussion), and pakikipagkuwentuhan (story-telling).[49] Abes (2000) explains how through these traditional ways of engaging, their research team encouraged local people to describe and understand new concepts like democracy in their own cultural context.
one must first be able to identify worldviews of others. Wilber (2005, personal communication) refers to this as "coming to know the bandwidth or the altitude at which people are flying". Because worldviews are so complex, this identification can be challenging. In doing so, it is important to distinguish between deep structures and surface features of worldviews.

Worldviews have deep structures that show up in similar groupings across empirical studies in psychology, as I described using the terms egocentric, sociocentric and worldcentric.[50] Current understanding on this explains "that there is an inherent telos in all humans to grow, expand, include and increase one's boundaries of care and concern" (Wilber, 2005, pers. comm.).[51] Yet, worldviews also have surface features that differ profoundly depending on the context and culture. The Filipino example studied and worked with the surface features of worldviews, as they were expressed in that local region, but these surface structures will look very different in another community or country. Therefore, even though the deep structures of worldviews are similar, they show up very differently in Kenya, for example, compared to El Salvador or the USA or Sweden.

Thus, because of the variability of surface structures, the important aspect to identifying worldviews is to be able to perceive the deep structures. Some questions to consider are: Where are people coming from? How are they making sense of the world? What does this person care about? What motivates him/her to take action? Why is he/she doing what they are doing? How is he/she making sense of his/her surroundings? Why does he/she believe what he/she believes? From those questions, one can get a general understanding about a person's worldview, to which communications can then be tailored.

In Diagram 4, I describe deep structures of ego-, socio- and worldcentric very generally, and suggest some possible ways to translate development interventions. More accurate tools for identifying these deep structures, include Kegan's Subject-Object Test (psychological development), Susanne Cook-Greuter's Sentence Completion Test (ego development), Beck and Cowan's Spiral Dynamics (values development), Esbjörn-Hargens' (2004) work on Eco-Selves (values development in environmental concerns), Brown's (2004, p 17-28) work on values development in sustainability work, and DeKay's (2004) ways to identify the dissolving and developing traits in values development (see Table 1). In Chapter Three, I describe my experiences, tools and process of working with worldviews in El Salvador.
Diagram 4: Identifying the deep structures of worldviews, and translating communications to resonate with different worldviews.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Worldview</th>
<th>Deep structures</th>
<th>Possible translations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Egocentric</strong></td>
<td>Primarily concerned for one's own needs and desires.</td>
<td>Translate communications about development issues (e.g. poverty, gender inequality, unsustainability, etc.) in ways that serve the individual's interests. For example, if an individual is primarily concerned with his/her own financial gains, explain how complying with rules and regulations for sustainability helps to secure that gain.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sociocentric</strong></td>
<td>Concerned for others in one's social group (family, nation, religion, ideology, etc.)</td>
<td>Development issues must be &quot;language&quot;ed in ways that resonate with the social group's morals and frame of reference. For example, find ways to translate the value of development issues into the social norms of the group, using the appropriate texts, authorities, principles and practices that are agreed upon and honoured by the group.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Worldcentric</strong></td>
<td>Concerned for all people, beings, ecosystems and cultures.</td>
<td>Explain or present development issues as forms of care for others, across and between cultures, countries, species and groups. For example, engage people's motivations by framing development work as work for the welfare of other people, species and generations.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: DeKay, M. (2004) describes how he works with worldviews by identifying the tendencies to dissolve certain traits and develop others in four value systems that are arbitrarily colour-coded (based on Spiral Dynamics, Beck and Cowen, 1996).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Values</th>
<th>Dissolving these traits</th>
<th>Developing these traits</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>BLUE</strong></td>
<td>Dissolving guilt, impulsivity, mythology, ethnocentrism</td>
<td>Developing autonomy, independent thinking, purpose, rationality, option thinking, courage, abstraction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ORANGE</strong></td>
<td>Dissolving competition, materialism, self-centeredness, reductionism, greed, intolerance</td>
<td>Developing compassion, empathy, cooperation, authenticity, team skills, interdependence, egalitarianism, self-reflection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>GREEN</strong></td>
<td>Dissolving politically correct rigidity, emotional attachment, fear, acceptance needs</td>
<td>Developing flexibility, principles, integration, skillful means, systemic thinking, self-discipline, a knowledge of ecology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>YELLOW</strong></td>
<td>Dissolving isolation, identity attachment</td>
<td>Developing holistic vision, spiritual balance, community relationships, trans-rationality, understanding of living systems, exceptional competencies</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Integrative Examples

While an integral approach to development is only recently emerging, some examples, both past and present, used integrative approaches and were effective in both qualitative and quantitative terms. These examples have grown out of the inspiration of finding solutions that work, sometimes in situations that were dire and urgent, and thus needed revolutionary thinking and action. Some failed, some succeeded; some exist only in ideal or in theory, others had a specific role at a specific time, and others still are in use today, with impressive outcomes. All have something to offer on how to work with sustainability at the community level.

The examples I have included here are: Mahatma Gandhi's village-based development, the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement in Sri Lanka, Sri Aurobindo's Auroville project in India, and a community development project in El Salvador informed by Liberation Theology.[52] (see table)

Although these examples come from different parts of the world and differ in many ways, there are common elements (see Table 2). In all examples, emphasis is placed on individual and collective shifts in worldviews and value systems, which have profound impacts on how the community or society operates as a whole. In its own ways, each example integrates concrete actions for social change with spirituality, morals and ethics, and each example works with the expansion of worldviews to foster caring for a broader social group.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case Study</th>
<th>Personal</th>
<th>Interpersonal</th>
<th>Practical</th>
<th>Worldview Growth (developing the self)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gandhi, India</strong></td>
<td>Satyagraha, or the study of the self, was a self-awareness and personal empowerment tool, which fostered (psychological) liberation from injustice through truth (satya) and non-violence (ahimsa).</td>
<td>The practice satyagraha was used, in which any act (thought, word, or deed) is done for the welfare of others. Also an aspect of satyagraha was self-reflection on communication and mutual understanding between people(s).</td>
<td>Promoted and emulated a form of economic self-reliance (or swadeshi) which enabled villages to be self-sufficient and independent of the colonialist economy.</td>
<td>Gandhi promoted and taught a method of self-transformation called satyagraha characterized by an earnest desire and effort to make truth, non-violence, and justice pervade every aspect of one’s personality as well as interpersonal interactions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sarvodaya, Sri Lanka</strong></td>
<td>Practicing Buddhist meditation to “free one’s mind of its limitations”, and to awaken loving kindness, compassion, joy, and equanimity.</td>
<td>Sarvodaya villagers are encouraged to share, to converse with each other, and to perform constructive activities together without considering the differences of class and caste. This helps to foster mutual understanding.</td>
<td>Creating and building rural infrastructure, such as preparing and tending agricultural lands, building and staffing schools and medicinal facilities, and communal meeting centres.</td>
<td>The Buddhist meditation and intention to “awaken loving kindness” is a key part of creating conditions for shifts in worldviews and developing the self.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Auroville, India</strong></td>
<td>Auroville community members continue to follow the teaching of Sri Aurobindo which call for the practice of self-realization via Integral yoga.</td>
<td>The community of Auroville is working towards human unity-in-diversity, which includes group process work and collective governance.</td>
<td>Work to maintain and develop the universal township, engaging in various different forms of community work including organic farming, medicine, small business, education, and more.</td>
<td>Integral yoga is a self-development practice of meditation and awareness which fosters evolution of consciousness in body, mind, overmind, and supermind.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Centro Bartolomé de las Casas, El Salvador</strong></td>
<td>Use mental health and other psychosocial tools, including compassionate listening, body work, rituals and appreciative inquiry, to address trauma and low self-worth</td>
<td>Foster healthy group dynamics and build community through non-denominational rituals, cooperative games, and group dialogue.</td>
<td>Develop sustainable local economies by promoting barter systems in communities.</td>
<td>Many of the approaches used for the area of Personal serve to connect with local worldviews and foster healthy expressions of local worldviews, particularly the rituals that the group designs for the specific context and community.</td>
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</table>
In India, Mahatma Gandhi explained that expanding one’s sphere of concern for others is necessary for creating a sustainable nation of India and beyond, and that this shift from ego-based actions (which he called the “brute nature”) to more compassionate actions happens through satyagraha (or truth and love) (Khoshoo, 1995). The Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement in Sri Lanka arose in a context of intense civil violence, engaging thousands of villages in a form of community development that included contemplative practices, collective visioning and village-based action. The work of Centro Bartolame de las Casas in El Salvador addresses pertinent community issues, such as the need for sustainable alternative economies, by also addressing psycho-social needs, such as emotional healing, rituals, psychological counseling and body work.

In each of these examples, by including interiority in community development, emphasis is placed on shifts in worldviews, in individuals and the group. These examples of integral approaches to development address exterior components of development (such as economic security, decision-making and governance, social and technical capacity, sustainable natural resource management) and interior psycho-cultural components (such as community and family wellness, moral and emotional capacity, awareness and worldviews). Such shifts have profound impacts on how the culture or society operates as a whole.

His approach integrated the personal, interpersonal and practical (or self-reflection, dialogue/process and practical solutions/action), and was deeply rooted in fostering a worldcentric perspective.

Gandhi envisioned a local political economy based on participatory decentralized governance and community-based economic self-reliance. The Gandhian Model of Rural Development reoriented planning to address the felt needs of the poorest of the poor, concentrating on villages and villagers. He believed that a bottom-up decentralized approach (called swaraj) — where each village would be a republic (or panchayat) with its own powers — would be the most effective form of development for India. “India is in villages, if villages perish, India perishes” (Khoshoo, 1995, p 66). Iyer (1990, p 365) explains how in the Gandhian model, economic self-reliance (or swadeshi) would enable villages to be self-sufficient and independent of the colonialist economy. This model envisaged that governance should be bottom-up not top-down; goals should be self-defined and not stranger-defined; production should be aimed at basic goods to fulfill basic needs with use-values, and not at non-basic and greed-oriented luxury goods with exchange-value; the process of production should be by masses and not through mass production; and the whole approach should be pluralistic and not singularist (Misra, R.P. 1989, p 192-193).

Tracing back the Success of Gandhi

Mahatma Gandhi described and embodied a model for developing sustainability that offers an excellent alternative to the pathologies of conventional development.

In terms of the domains of the personal and interpersonal, Gandhi made explicit the link between self-transformation and social transformation, and this formed the crux of the struggle for independence, economic self-sufficiency, justice and rural development. Satyagraha, the study of the self, played a key role in self/social transformation. It drew
attention to the role of self-examination as well as to communication and mutual understanding between peoples. Palshikar (1998, p. 15) describes:

This method of self-transformation [Gandhi] called *satyagraha* and it was characterized by an earnest desire and effort to make truth, non-violence and justice pervade every aspect of one's personality as well as inter-personal interactions.[55]

Linking the forces of truth (*satya*) and non-violence (*ahimsa*), the practitioners of *satyagraha* were empowered to liberate themselves from injustice.

The core of Gandhi's concept of "development" was *sarvodaya*, or "welfare of all". *Sarvodaya* is the full manifestation of a world-centric approach, where the "greatest-good-of-all" principle transcends ego-based priorities (Iyer, 1990, p 376). The practice of *sarvodaya* is done by holding the ideal of *yajna*, where any act (thought, word or deed) is done for the welfare of others. Gandhi makes it clear that the concept of "others" embraces not only humanity, but all life (Iyer, 1990, p 379), thus including the environment, women and the poor (Khoshoo, 1995; Harper, 2000, p 40). Gandhi explained the shift from ego-centric actions (what he called the "brute nature") to more compassionate actions happens through *satyagraha*.

"[Those who have never known *satyagraha*]...if challenged, they would say 'what do we care though the whole universe may perish so long as we guard the family interest'?... When men and women have gone a stage further, they would extend the law of love, i.e., *satyagraha*, from the family to the village. A still further stage away from the brute life is reached when the law of *satyagraha* is applied to provincial life, and the people inhabiting a province regulate their relations by love rather than by hatred. And when as in Hindustan we recognize the law of *satyagraha* as a binding force even between one another as brothers and sisters, we have advanced a stage further still from the brute nature."

Mahatma Gandhi re-cast the practice and goal of development; he Gandhi agreed that modernization and economic progress have a role in development, but explained that they should go along with promoting collaborative, ethical and
spiritual values in life. He believed that following sarvodaya and satyagraha, recognizing "spirit" or "soul-force", and expanding one's sphere of concern for others are necessary for creating a sustainable nation of India and beyond (Khoshoo, 1995; Iyer, R., 1990, pp 222-236). His work greatly influenced Indian economic and political policy during and after Independence as well as numerous civil society organizations and communities throughout the world.[56]

Gandhi made explicit the link between self-transformation and social transformation, and this formed the crux of the struggle for independence, economic self-sufficiency, justice and rural development.

Gandhi made explicit the link between self-transformation and social transformation, and this formed the crux of the struggle for independence, economic self-sufficiency, justice and rural development.

In the Sarvodaya Shramadana movement, individuals work to create and build rural infrastructure, such as preparing and tending agricultural lands, and building and staffing schools, medicinal facilities and communal meeting centres. People are encouraged to share, to converse with each other and to perform constructive activities together without considering the differences of class and caste. This fosters the principle of equality and mutual understanding. And, since "the key to social change lies in every individual", Sarvodaya...
aims to “awake” loving kindness, compassion, the joy of living derived from making others happy, and equanimity through meditative work.[58] Today, 12,000 villages in Sri Lanka are part of a movement to integrate the three important dimensions of community development, involving some 4 million people (Kapur, 2000, p. 41; Jones, 2003, p. 185). Although the country has been through terrifying civil violence and parts of the coast were devastated in the 2004 tsunami, Sri Lanka has better social indicators (such as infant mortality and literacy of women, etc.) than practically all developing countries with a similar level of income.[59]

The scholar, revolutionary and philosopher Sri Aurobindo offered another model for community liberation and self-development. Aurobindo was one of the first activists for independence in India, yet his approach was unique among them all. He was a highly educated man, steeped in the traditions of both the West and the East, and through this activism was subjected to spending years in jail. Through these experiences, Aurobindo investigated what independence and liberation from economic and social oppression would look like at a profoundly deep level. His inquiry began to link community empowerment with the Eastern tradition of self-liberation through yoga. He called this approach integral yoga in which practices that foster evolution of the self are integrated with work to address the community’s manifest needs. He called it “integral” as it uniquely combined Eastern spiritual practice (which had historically been disconnected from life in society) with a Western problem-solving approach to worldly issues (which had historically been disconnected from spiritual practice).

His teachings and work inspired thousands, and in collaboration with his partner referred to as The Mother, manifested in the creation of a universal township called Auroville in the State of Tamil Nadu, Southern India. Auroville is devoted to an experiment in human unity-in-diversity, to explore the transformation of consciousness and community actions towards sustainability. The township is backed by the Government of India, and in 1966 UNESCO passed a unanimous resolution commending it as a project of importance to the future of humanity, thereby giving their full encouragement. Today, Auroville is recognized as one of the only internationally endorsed ongoing experiments in human unity and transformation of consciousness, also concerned with — and practically researching into — the cultural, environmental, social and spiritual needs of humankind.
Sri Aurobindo’s approach, and the community of Auroville, point to an important trajectory for development practices that explicitly link personal growth with community development. Aurobindo took spiritual practice down from the mountain retreats and out of the ashrams and placed them directly into people’s homes, the community and society. His message was that a lofty search for liberation would not actually result in true liberation, and such personal liberation must have a socially engaged aspect to it.

Centro Bartolome de las Casas – an integrated approach to fostering alternative community economies in El Salvador

In El Salvador, a group called Centro Bartolomé de las Casas is pioneering a way of working with communities, which involves personal development as a key part of community development. This five-person team has had immense results in the various communities in which they work, and are recognized by other NGOs as an organization that, with minimal resources, have managed to be extremely effective.

I investigated their approach while in El Salvador in 2004. They explained to me that their approach is not written on paper as a recipe, or as a list of steps; rather, it is embodied, context-specific and designed as a continually evolving response to the particular communities in which they work. However, the common element of their approach, which can be seen throughout each of their community projects, is an authentic recognition that to work towards alternative community economies, there need to be healthy and whole individuals participating. In fact, “participation” in such community work does not exist without this personal wellbeing.

This grounding philosophy was particularly apparent after the earthquake of 2000, where aid responses addressed the need for shelter, clean water, food and clothing, and not the emotional trauma evident throughout the countryside. Centro Bartolomé decided to offer services
to address this emotional and psychological trauma — a service that they saw as a necessary complement to the aid work. As they engaged in this, the initial layer of trauma about the earthquake quickly uncovered a deeper layer of trauma about the war; about a massacre near their village, about children lost, wives raped and families displaced.

Using popular approaches to psychological development (such as compassionate listening skills, non-denominational rituals, cooperative games, group dialogues and body work), Centro Bartolomé created a popular, accessible approach to emotional and community healing. They work on their own processes of healing, engage in on-going self-reflection, have two team retreats a year, and collaborate with a trained psychologist on more complex matters of healing.

The results are both qualitative and quantitative. Jenny Calderón, who works in the area of mental health, explains that through the process “participants are able to smile and hug more readily and openly, they are able to cry and release emotion without the fear that their tears won’t stop once they start.” These results flow into a form of self-appreciation and self-worth that is absolutely necessary for these local people to be meaningfully involved in community development. It is not a matter of whether this work will produce results, but it is a matter of when: Calderón explains, “sometimes the results come within four months, and other times it takes longer, but this work always has an impact.”

Their community barter system project, for example, is woven with a practice of appreciative inquiry, where women and men explore what the “economy” actually is, looking at their own “value” as community members, and reconnecting to the aspect of exchange that is at the heart of local economies. Often, Centro Bartolomé has found that in order to engage local people as “participants” in this type of community economic development project, their team needs to find the right “doorway” into the community, into a trusting relationship with that community. This may require doing a ritual to pay tribute to the local belief system, or it may require naming and honouring a massacre that took place on local soil. This is not to re-live a previous horror, but it is to bring that pain into a shared space of healing.

For example, in one community, inhabitants were firm devotees of the Virgin Mary, and any work that could take place in the community had to honour that local belief system. The team members of Centro Bartolomé deeply acknowledge that most communities are guided by religious or spiritual faith. Thus, in this case, the team created a ritual that honoured women in community using photographs of nieces, wives, mothers, daughters, grandmothers and aunts, creating a sacred space to honour the feminine in reverence to the Virgin Mary.
Centro Bartolomé was able to "translate" their communications with the community into the local worldview, and this became a bridge of trust built between community people and the organization. This connection with local worldviews and the trusting relationship enabled the community barter system project to flourish.

The approach of Centro Bartolomé addresses both material and psychological needs in a culturally appropriate and spiritually meaningful way in local villages. It is a conscious unfolding of both individuals and the community towards true empowerment for developing sustainability. Gradually, their work is being recognized as having value in a larger development movement, although it has yet to be adopted by the conventional development approaches being used in the country.

**Current Implicit and Explicit Applications of an Integral Approach**

Several programs and projects are currently using an integral approach to aspects to international development work. These range from grassroots action to international development programs. Some of them use the integral framework implicitly, as a guide or orienting tool for understanding the complexities of the development project. In these cases, the word “integral”, or any other aspect of the theory may never be mentioned, but the integral framework is used implicitly to orient decisions, actions, communications and interventions. Others are applying the integral approach explicitly, in leadership trainings, assessments, project design, development implementation and evaluation, among others. See diagram 5 for a list of these examples.
Diagram 5: Current Applications of an Integral Approach to International and Community Development Worldwide. (Adapted from Brown, 2004)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Who</th>
<th>What</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF) and the United Nations</td>
<td>1. The senior UNICEF representative to Oman, June Kunugi, uses the integral framework to develop all assessments, advocacy programs, speeches, communication strategies and identify the etiology of destructive behavior. She states that it can “serve as the basis for a strategy to bring about social change [and] transformation.”</td>
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<tr>
<td>Development Programme (UNDP) have several senior staff who use an</td>
<td>2. The UNICEF Regional Office for South Asia used the integral framework to develop the regional Women’s Right to Life and Health project. The framework was also used for staff development.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Integral approach for their work in international development.</td>
<td>3. A major component of UNICEF’s Safe Motherhood project in Bhutan is “whole site transformation” which draws from the integral framework.</td>
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<tr>
<td>International</td>
<td>4. UNDP personnel currently use a rudimentary version of the integral framework (quadrants only) at the Virtual Development Academy to design strategic plans for countering HIV &amp; AIDS countrywide.</td>
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<tr>
<td><a href="http://www.unicef.org/">http://www.unicef.org/</a></td>
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<td><a href="http://www.unicef.org/">http://www.unicef.org/</a></td>
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<tr>
<td>Global Alliance for Improved Nutrition</td>
<td>The Executive Director of the Global Alliance for Improved Nutrition (GAIN), Roll Carriere, uses the integral framework to assess the developmental levels of people, organizations and countries so as to tailor project design, communications and advocacy initiatives. He also used the integral framework extensively in his previous senior positions with UNICEF.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Geneva</td>
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<td><a href="http://www.gainhealth.org/index.asp">http://www.gainhealth.org/index.asp</a></td>
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<tr>
<td>iSchalk Development Associates</td>
<td>iSchalk Development Associates has been working in international development with an integral framework based upon Ken Wilber’s work since 1995. Prior to this, they utilized a similar integral philosophy, founded in Dzogchen. Schalk has since consulted for The World Bank, the UN’s Department for International Development, the Federal Government of Australia, UNICEF and the European Union, among others. The integral framework has served as the core of their thinking and as a constant reference throughout implementation. In his article, “Trying to Be Integral in Practice” (available on the Integral Sustainability Center website: <a href="http://www.integraluniversity.org">www.integraluniversity.org</a>), Paul van Schaik offers specific case studies of an extensive project they did for UNICEF in Dhaka, which was designed completely around an integral approach, as well as a synthesis of lessons learned.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Based in Africa, work internationally</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Educate Girls Globally</td>
<td>Educate Girls Globally (EGG) is a non-profit organization founded in 2000 to promote the education of girls in developing countries. Working with local partners in a number of countries, EGG has developed a unique strategy and model (based upon Integral Theory) for promoting girls education K-12 through reform of government schools. At the request of local governments, they are currently expanding into working with 16,000 schools in India, and have launched projects in Guatemala, Peru, Bolivia and Argentina. The founder, Lawrence Chicheking, uses the Integral framework as the basis for all program design, implementation, and communications strategies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working in India, Guatemala, Peru, Bolivia and Argentina</td>
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<tr>
<td><a href="http://www.educategirls.org/">http://www.educategirls.org/</a></td>
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<tr>
<td>The Caribbean Institute</td>
<td>Dr. Maureen Sisk, founder of the Caribbean Institute, has been working with an Integral Sustainability framework for international development since 1983. She founded the Caribbean Institute because “I wanted an organization that would be capable of translating an integral Theory of development into practices that would foster the transition from the organization of poverty to the organization of sustainable prosperity in the region.”</td>
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<tr>
<td>Suriname, Caribbean</td>
<td>The Institute currently has three major programs to achieve its goals 1) A research and publications program, 2) An Integral leadership program that reaches the inner and outer paths of leadership to people from the worlds of NGOs, and the media, government, business, and education, and 3) An integral community development program called Anaanta, that models a particular combination of knowing, doing, and feeling for sustainable prosperity.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>The ultimate goal of Caribbean Institute is to create sustainable countries and a sustainable region: economically (natural capitalism), politically (participatory democracy and self-organization), and psycho-culturally (cultural self-responsibility and inclusive identities). Sisk paper, Politics of Consciousness: Integral Theory and Caribbean Development (available on Integral Sustainability Center website: <a href="http://www.integraluniversity.org">www.integraluniversity.org</a>) gives further insight into her understanding of this framework.</td>
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In Summary

Integral community development is a framework that integrates the areas of Practical, Interpersonal and Personal. It acknowledges the need for quantitative analysis along with participatory methodologies and personal growth, and this integration of disciplines and methodologies is its unique strength in development practice. A prominent gap in development knowledge is this latter area (Personal), which refers to the various intangible aspects to community wellbeing. While there is much empirical research on developmental psychology, this is rarely utilized in community development. Yet, human interiority impacts the process and outcomes of any development intervention. With an integral approach, “development” becomes something that is not solely based on the acquisition of economic clout. It includes economic sustainability along with social, cultural and psychological wellbeing, and it is re-framed as a movement from solely egocentric needs, towards and beyond worldcentric perspectives, attitudes and action. This completely redefines the idea of a “developed nation” or a “developed community”. By measuring the economic development of nations, perhaps one country could be judged as more developed than another. However, if we want to look at the integral development of that society (which includes many factors such as the physical and psychological health of individuals, the cultural integrity, the social well-being, economic justness and prosperity, and fair and inclusive political arrangements), categorization is more difficult. In this perspective, countries with lower gross domestic products (GDPs) may be much more integrally developed.

Examples at the end of this chapter offer tools and experiences for using an integral framework. These are just some examples — there could potentially be many others that implicitly and intuitively work in this way, or that use different language to explain this same type of approach. Other current uses of an integral approach are briefly described in diagram 5. Exploring, building on, and refining how to use an integral approach is an on-going process. The in-depth case study that follows in Chapter Three is one such exploration. Further experiments with an integral approach to developing sustainability are needed as part of our innovative “falling forward” in the continual evolution of development practices.
CHAPTER THREE:
In Practice – San Juan del Gozo, Jiquilisco Bay

Project Overview

El Salvador provides an interesting context for an inquiry into "what works" in developing sustainability in communities, with high levels of poverty, environmental degradation, post-war trauma, civil violence and vulnerability to natural disasters (such as Hurricane Mitch and the 2001 earthquakes). Projects that intend to develop sustainability face a number of challenges and barriers to being effective. These barriers are political and social, ecological and economic, and some are also psycho-cultural, relating to the interiority of the community people, local governments, the private sector, and civil society organizations (CSOs).

El Salvador’s history is paradoxically one of struggle and hope: an insidious twelve-year civil war (late 1970s-1992) and gross inequities between the poor and rich are juxtaposed with inspiring life-affirming approaches to social change. The twelve-year civil war, which sought to address the inequities between the haves and the have-nots, left the environment heavily denuded and nearly half of its rural population below the poverty line. The war is over, yet it remains present for many people. Even as recently as 2004, massacre sites were uncovered, located short distances from some rural communities. Many people are still traumatized by these memories.

The country followed a neoliberal agenda through the 1990s, orienting its national economic development policies to that of free-market capitalism. This included reduction of import tariffs, elimination of export taxes and other restrictions on foreign investment, privatization of banks and pensions, electric energy and telecommunication services, the establishment of maquiladoras (or "sweatshops"), alignment with the GATT and the WTO, and liberalization of price controls (Rodriguez, 2001, pp 10-11). The country has had a growth rate of 4-5% a year since the war, which ended in 1992, yet this growth has not been equitable (Rodriguez, 2001, p. 11). An article in The Economist (Vol. 341. Issue 8009. 1997) referred to the country’s economic policy as a “zealous embrace of free-marketry”, which made the “fat cats fatter, while the poor — over half of the populace — have grown poorer.”

In addition to these socioeconomic issues, the country is plagued with environmental problems that stem from decades of overexploitation of natural resources and high population density (Arene, in Maeda and Roggenbuck. 1995, p. 9). El Salvador has been cited as the most environmentally degraded country in the Western hemisphere after Haiti, with most rivers contaminated, high levels of deforestation, and air pollution being the leading cause of death in children.[60]

In the face of this hardship, however, the country is renowned for its history of...
alternative models, such as cooperative organizing, popular education and liberation theology. Often these alternatives were woven together in truly inspiring efforts for community development. Liberation theology, for example, unites popular movements with Christian theology in search of social, political and personal liberation. The latter — complete liberation of the individual — is emphasized as the ultimate aim (Gutierrez, 1973, pp 81-100, p 113; Baum, in Harper, 2000, p 62). Liberation theologists describe how community organizing and social justice involves conscientización (raising consciousness), or a "dynamic action of awakening" that involves providing local people with sources of information as well as legitimizing local ways of knowing (often subjective or inter-subjective) to enable participants to actualize their potential as human beings (Gutierrez, 1973, pp 81-100, 113; Baum, 2000). This tradition of linking individual liberation with sociopolitical empowerment is unique, and has been replicated within the region and in other countries to address the negative impacts of globalization, displacement and social injustice.

Inspired by the Salvadoran history of alternative and interdisciplinary approaches, in 2000-2002, I carried out my MA research project in the community of San Juan del Gozo in a region of islands, wetlands, estuaries, turtle-nesting grounds, and extensive mangrove forest on the central-eastern coast of El Salvador called Jiquilisco Bay. With approximately 86 resource-dependant and impoverished communities scattered throughout the Bay, the need to merge environmental and economic concerns is acute. San Juan del Gozo is distinctive of the other communities in the region, making it an appropriate choice for a case study in developing sustainability.

As a Masters Student with the Eco-Research Chair on Environmental Law and Policy (now the POLIS Project on Ecological Governance), University of Victoria, I worked in partnership with the Salvadoran environmental organization CESTA (Salvadoran Centre for Appropriate Technology). This partnership with CESTA grounded the research in practical and necessary environmental work in El Salvador, and ensured continuity of the project once I had left. I worked in collaboration with CESTA's EcoMarine team,[61] with a research grant from the International Development Research Centre's John G. Bene Fellowship: Forests and People. For the remainder of this paper, when I refer to "us" or "we" in the research process, I am referring to myself and my research assistant, Concepción Yesenia Juárez.

I encourage the reader to view this case study as a snapshot of a moving, living, evolving process of change. The reader is invited to participate in this story, to build on and refine an integral approach to development.
Exterior and Interior Aspects to the Methodology

In this project, we used participatory action research (PAR) methodology embedded in an integral community development framework. With this combined methodology, we created a space for discussion on common needs and a collective vision, for collaboration to respond to the community’s pertinent concerns, and for deciding upon a course of action to address these concerns. The approach enabled participants to identify the appropriate instruments (social, economic and ecological) for carrying out their intended projects, and fostered reflection on roles within focus groups, the community as a whole and the surrounding environment. Integral PAR also helped us to pay attention to the interior, subtle dimensions of the research, such as the complexity of the human psyche, the local spirituality and belief-systems, and the cultural context.

The integral approach was less a specific methodology than an implicit guide to ensure as much of reality (i.e., subjective, inter-subjective, and objective dimensions) is honoured and included in the process of using the (more specific and explicit) PAR. Rather than employing psychological tests to track changes in worldviews, we used an approach akin to Jordan’s (1998) methodology of identifying key phrases that point to inner understandings of community processes. I combined this approach with participant-observer methodology, and triangulated it with my research assistant and other community members.

Each phase included both exterior and interior processes and objectives (Table 3). In Phase One, the open-ended conversation-style questionnaires enabled us to learn about the socioeconomic, ecological, political and historical context of the community, as well as to learn about the local beliefs, worldviews, and values of the local culture. The process also enabled interviewees to share personal stories, beliefs and feelings, which helped to build trust between our research team and the community people and also helped us to understand the local worldviews.

In Phase Two, we worked with two focus groups (the fisherfolk and the women’s council) to discuss and seek solutions to their main issues of concern in the community. In Phase Three, we collectively reflected upon previous focus group discussions, visited other community development projects, and then decided upon a course of action by which the focus groups, and the community as a whole, could address their issues and concerns. (Appendix 1 lists the names of key informant interviewees, focus group participants and other institutions.)

The study was designed in three phases. In Phase One, we met the community councils, talked with key informants and carried out house-by-house interviews. In Phase Two, we worked with two focus groups (the fisherfolk and the women’s council) to discuss and seek solutions to their main issues of concern in the community. In Phase Three, we collectively reflected upon previous focus group discussions, visited other community development projects, and then decided upon a course of action by which the focus groups, and the community as a whole, could address their issues and concerns. (Appendix 1 lists the names of key informant interviewees, focus group participants and other institutions.)
Table 3: Exterior and interior dimensions of methodologies used in each phase of the research.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phase 1 Interviews and meetings</th>
<th>Phase 2 Focus groups</th>
<th>Phase 3 Exchanges and actions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Exterior</td>
<td>Interior</td>
<td>Exterior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open-ended questionnaire and meetings with leaders and local councils to understand the socioeconomic, ecological, political, and historical context of the community.</td>
<td>Using a conversation-style interview process, enabling interviewees to share personal stories, beliefs, and feelings. Learning about the &quot;interior&quot; context of the community (local beliefs, worldviews, and values). Building trust between our research team and the community. Sharing conversations on spirituality, faith, and hope.</td>
<td>Dialogue on issues and concerns and collective problem-solving. Build capacity for group dialogue and collaboration. Use focus groups as a venue for social and technical capacity building (workshops on organization, fundraising and cooperative training)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
The focus groups in Phase Two created a place for collaborative dialogue on issues, concerns and collective problem solving, and for social and technical capacity building (workshops on organization, fundraising and cooperative training). They also provided “safe” and trusting space for exploring “self-in-relation”, bringing new ideas into dialogue, fostering an atmosphere of exploration, and activating the “what if” mind. The focus groups also helped to build moral and emotional capacity (such as self-esteem and confidence to engage in the focus groups, and facilitating connection with others).

The exchanges and actions in Phase Three fostered the sharing of experiences and resources, learning other groups’ challenges and successes, and using the research to meet the community’s material needs. They also assisted in creating connections between different groups, fostering an appreciation of other perspectives, and providing opportunities to witness these other perspectives. It also became evident in this phase that the actions taken for community development were only one component of the project; that the process and inner work were also important.

Diagram 6: Overview of methodologies and tools used in each phase of the project.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Practical</th>
<th>Interpersonal</th>
<th>Personal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| • Open-ended questionnaires.  
• House-to-house meetings.  
• Interviews with key informants.  
• Workshops and capacity building.  
• Proposal writing to help meet community’s material needs.  
• Arranging meetings with external officials for community.  
• Promoting community participation.  
• Capacity development in focus groups.  
• Community exchanges to share experiences, information and resources.  
• Connecting community with specialists for specific issues, such as fisheries biologists, community forestry practitioners, etc. | • Trust-building with individuals by visiting their home, conversing and sharing personal stories.  
• Group dialogue on issues and concerns.  
• Engaging in attentive, compassionate listening.  
• Collective visioning and collaborative problem solving.  
• Bringing new ideas into dialogue.  
• Fostering creativity and exploration in focus group.  
• Emulating a process in which “success” includes not only material achievements but also healthy group dynamics and new understandings of self and community. | • Activating the “what if” mind in workshops (a form of appreciative inquiry).  
• Creating a “safe” and trusting space for exploring oneself and self-in-relation.  
• Encouraging self-esteem and leadership.  
• Fostering appreciation of other ways of being and perspectives.  
• Providing opportunities to “see” these other perspectives.  
• Being present, open and heartfelt with people (i.e. engaging in sympathetic resonance with others).  
• Being aware of my own biases and perspectives, to the degree that I was able. |
Phase One: Integral Overview of the Community

What follows is an integral overview of the community of San Juan del Gozo compiled into two sub-sections. I begin with a discussion of the systems, environment, economy, social institutions, and development projects (i.e. area of Practical). We gathered the information presented in this first subsection through reviewing documents and previous reports from the region, with house-to-house interviews, and from key-informant interviews with community leaders, health promoters and development workers.

In the second subsection, I discuss the interiority of the community, drawing on the areas of Interpersonal (culture, values, customs) and Personal (beliefs, ways of thinking, and worldviews). The information in this subsection came from the qualitative methodologies in Phase One, which required that we immersed ourselves in the community and garnered a felt-sense of the meanings behind community processes. This qualitative and hermeneutic approach is what Wilber (1996, p 86) calls sympathetic resonance, and it is necessary to understanding the interiority of a group and of individuals. In action research, it is referred to as “experiential knowing”, that takes place through “direct face-to-face encounters with person, place or thing; it is a knowing through empathy or resonance and it is almost impossible to put in words.”[67]

During Phase One, we used open-ended conversation-style questionnaires that often continued for over an hour, and during that time people shared with us their personal stories and perspectives. During this first phase of the project, we were living in a local woman’s house in the community, engaging with the community from dawn to dusk, often with evening conversations with community members outside of the more “formal research”. We also used participant-observer methodology and Jordan’s (1998) methodology of identifying key phrases that point to inner phenomena. I analyzed this with Beck and Cowan’s (1996) work in developmental psychology and Wilber’s (1996, 1999) work on worldviews.

---

Sympathetic resonance is necessary to understand the interiority of a group or of individuals...it takes place through direct face-to-face encounters, it is a knowing through empathy or resonance.

---
The community of San Juan del Gozo, Jiquilisco Bay is located on the central-eastern coast of El Salvador in the department of Usulután (Figure 2a, 2b). The community is bordered to the north by the mangroves of Jiquilisco Bay and to the south by a lagoon that is surrounded by mangroves, extends south-west to the mouth of the Lempa River and south to the Pacific coast (Figure 2c). The land between the bay and the open ocean is cultivated and used for livestock grazing, with some residual patches of forest cover (Figure 2d). It is a region of islands, wetlands, estuaries, turtle-nesting grounds, and the largest tract of mangrove ecosystem (14,267 hectares) in the country (SEMA. 1995, p. 1).

Figure 2a: Satellite map of south-east coast of El Salvador, including the region of Jiquilisco Bay and the community of San Juan del Gozo.
Figure 2b: Map of Jiquilisco Bay showing access routes to and from the community of San Juan del Gozo and urban areas where social services are located. The nearest Health Unit (for basic medical needs) is located in the community of La Canoa. The closest market is in San Marcos Lempa (not depicted on the map, but is 30 km from La Canoa), which is also where buses depart for larger urban centres like San Salvador, Jiquilisco and Usulutan. In the other direction, the community of Isla de Mendez also has a Health Unit and has boats that cross the Bay to Puerto Triunfo. Puerto Triunfo has markets, restaurants and stores. Jiquilisco is a larger urban centre, usually accessed by bus via San Marcos Lempa, with larger markets, banks, the nearest hospital, municipal government offices, utilities offices and high schools.
Figure 2c: The community of San Juan del Gozo and its surrounding ecosystems

Mangrove Forests of Jiquilisco Bay, El Salvador
Figure 2d: Aerial Photo taken of San Juan del Gozo at the end of the rainy season November 1999. Note the small acreages or parcelas (4 manzanas or 6.2 acres) of agricultural land that were transferred to cooperative members during the final years of the war (1989). Also of mention are the mangrove forests on the edge of Jiquilisco Bay as well as around the lagoon, and the fragments of dry-land forests further inland. Note the area of land solicited by the women’s cooperative to develop their CED project.
**Figure 2e: Aerial photo taken of San Juan del Gozo and surroundings in 1940.** During this time, one landowner most of the area and the agricultural lands cultivated by landless local people for cotton and cattle grazing. The local people would also fish the lagoon for the landowner during the high tides over the new and full moons (called "el movimiento"). At that time, the lagoon would dry up in the drier months of each year (Dec-Mar) which might have played a role in the ecological lifecycles of the shrimp. (This seasonal drying does not occur now, possibly due to changes in the flow of the River Lempas to the west). The community was much less populated at that time than it is now.
The community economy is closely linked to the surrounding ecosystems. The community members use three different ecosystems that surround the community, including the mangrove forest, the dry-land forest and the coastal marine habitat (Figure 3a, 3b).[68] In San Juan del Gozo, 83% of income-generation relies on the surrounding terrestrial and marine ecosystems (Figure 4).[69]

Figure 3a: Percent distribution of the uses of the various ecosystem types by community members (percentages calculated based on the total responses given by interviewees regarding ecosystem use).

Figure 3b: Percent distribution of the uses of wild species by community members (percentages calculated based on the total responses given by interviewees regarding use of wild species).
Various resource use practices threaten the mangrove habitat, including industrial agriculture, large-scale salt production, industrial fishing, aquaculture, tourism and mangrove harvesting. The lack of adequate mechanisms for water and forest management impacts the mangrove ecosystem negatively (SEMA, 1995; PANKIA, 1998). Marginal economic activities of poor inhabitants also affect the stability of mangroves and other ecosystems. Ironically, these ecosystems are the source of their family income (UNES, 1998. pp. 21-22).

In San Juan del Gozo, cooperatives assisted their members in acquiring land in the 1980s, and continue to provide a structure for income-generation, resource management, governance and social services. During the first phase of Salvadoran agrarian reform (catalyzed by the civil war in the 1980s), the lands and the adjacent lagoon owned by one rich landowner were divided up into smaller acreages (Figure 2d), and were awarded to members of two cooperatives. The cooperative Oro Blanco formed with assistance from Independent Cooperative Association of Agrarian Production (Asociación de las Cooperativas Productivas Agrarias Independientes, ACOPAI) in 1979 and the cooperative Brisas del Mar formed with support from Salvadoran Federation of Cooperatives (Federación Salvadorena de Cooperativas, FESACOA) in 1988. Membership in the cooperative awarded them with property for housing and either a small acreage of land to cultivate (called a parcela) or communal ownership of the lagoon (i.e. rights to fish and co-management responsibility).

**Figure 4:** Sources of family income for both men and women in the community (shown in percentages of each source of income out of the total income-generating activities available).
Some marginal economic activities, such as iguana, armadillo and turtle egg hunting, negatively impact the surrounding ecosystems. For example, vast areas of land are burnt for guano hunting. San Juan del Gozo Peninsula

These two cooperatives — for agriculture and fishing — form the backbone of the community economy (Figure 4). On the parcelas of agricultural land, families grow food for their own consumption as well as for sale within and outside of the community. Crops include corn, beans, radishes, tomatoes, avocados, potatoes, cucumbers, coconuts, plantains, lemons, mangos, watermelon, sesame and cashew seeds. The harvest is sold in the community stores, in the markets of San Marcos Lempa and Jiquilisco, and more recently, even in international markets. The fisherfolk co-own and co-manage the 90-acre lagoon, which is surrounded by 358 manzanas of mangrove forest that extends to the Lempa River (Figure 2b, 2e). The shrimp and fish come from the open ocean, via the brackish water of the Lempa River, through the channels of the mangroves and enter the lagoon through inflow/outflow gates. The lagoon-users sell the shrimp and fish to merchants in the community, who then prepare and preserve the products and sell them in local and regional markets (Figure 5a,b).

Figure 5a: Daily catch of shrimp and fish over the year 2000. Quantities in pounds per fisherperson.

Figure 5b: Average income from shrimp and fish over the year (in Canadian dollars). Prices for shrimp are 10 colones/pound ($1.96 CDN) and for fish are 2 colones/pound ($0.39 CDN).
These two primary economic activities — fishing and agriculture — have socioeconomic effects that percolate through the rest of the community. When corn is harvested, some women make tamales and ejote (corn on the cob), which they then sell in the community or in local markets of San Marcos Lempa. The same is done with watermelon and other vegetables. When the lagoon is producing a lot of shrimp and fish, other community residents (again, mostly women) buy, process and re-sell these products within and outside of the community. [76] The markets for these products are scattered in the nearby towns and cities throughout the region: from the community to San Marcos Lempa (the main town by the highway), Puerto Triunfo, Jiquilisco, Usulután, Zacatecoluca, and even as far as San Salvador.

The cooperatives are an important part of the community’s leadership structure. In 1999, the cooperative Oro Blanco was re-formed as the Communal Development Association (Asociación de Desarrollo Comunal, or ADESCO) to unite the community with one leadership body and to better organize the community, especially useful for working with outside NGOs.[77] Brisas del Mar has an important organizing role in the community regarding lagoon management and decision-making. Women had a minimal formal role in community governance until September 2000, when a Women’s Council formed to give women representation in community decisions. All of these councils are elected in a democratic manner: general assemblies are held in which candidates are nominated and each community member (for the ADESCO and women’s council) and cooperative member (for the cooperative Brisas del Mar) is able to vote for the nominated candidates.

Cooperatives also serve a social role in the community.[78] As a group, cooperative members in San Juan del Gozo solicit...
technical assistance or consulting from government agencies for resource management, capacity building and training. The cooperatives also provide development and aid organizations access points to the community. NGOs often work directly with the existing organizational structure of cooperatives, which facilitates meetings, training workshops, community planning, and other activities that are part of development and aid projects.[79]

Development projects in Jiquilisco Bay are carried out primarily by NGOs.[80] Their support for cooperatives and community development projects is visible throughout the region. This influx of NGOs after the civil war is an interesting historical trend that can have a positive as well as negative impact. For example, NGO projects in San Juan del Gozo have reinforced dependency on outside (foreign and/or urban) assistance. Some NGO projects have been effective, and increasingly, community councils and cooperatives have been organizing themselves, not only to solve their own problems, but to use support from NGOs to augment what they are already working on.

Rural culture in El Salvador differs from urban centres. In the countryside, life is attuned to the rhythms of the surrounding land. A shared knowledge about these rhythms — about the weather, the animals, fish and birds, and the moon's cycles — is inherent to the culture of San Juan del Gozo. Fisherfolk, for example, explained how the "lagoon is the axis of the community". For the six days before and after the full and new moons, the entire community becomes attuned to the moon's impact on the tides, which in turn impacts the fishing. In essence, the community moves with the moon, and aptly this time period is called el movimiento (the movement). Fisherfolk spend numerous hours carefully weaving atarayas (fishing nets), walking out to the lagoon at sunset with their long poles and bag of supplies, and bantering warmly to each other on the moonlit lagoon — these activities are pervaded with meaning beyond the actual tasks themselves. Once night falls, the lanterns twinkle from the canoes in the lagoon, and occasionally the songs of other fisherman waft over the water. Political issues that I discussed with some of the community leaders would disappear from importance when we were on the lagoon.
It seemed that the spaces between the actual doing were the ones that held the community together in spirit. The farmers in the community rise early to tend their crops and return in the afternoons along the sandy road together, the dust rising from their footsteps illumined orange in the afternoon sun.

People who collect shellfish from the mangrove can be seen every few days with baskets full of shellfish on their heads, moving through the community selling their products, their voices ringing out over the tops of the wood houses and between fences.

There are two Evangelist churches in the community which are an active component of the culture and customs: followers of La Luz Verdadera attend church every day at 4 pm, and followers of the Asamblea del Dios attend church for all day on Sunday. Yet religion is more than a social system for many — it provides faith and hope. It is common for people to give thanks for good health or fortune, to share stories about spiritual experiences, and to pray together. The church also provides a space for solidarity and union among people — for example, the women's group uses the church as a venue when making panamas for fundraisers, providing an opportunity to connect and share with others.

The traditions of strong family bonds and cooperative organizing have instilled values of cooperation, collaboration, solidarity and group organization, with signature phrases like juntos venceremos (together we will conquer!) and somos nada si no estamos organizados (we are nothing if we are not organized). These values provide a strong collective base for the community, especially important during the civil war, the social migrations after the war, and the several natural disasters that have ravaged the region (such as Hurricane Mitch in 1998 and the earthquakes of 2001).
Today, these value systems and social structures provide pathways toward community sustainability. The leaders of the cooperatives have egalitarian and humanitarian intentions; they are tolerant of differences and seek solidarity and consensus with all members. A key objective of the cooperatives is to accrue income and profit for the community; this emerging presence of entrepreneurialism is vital for the community, although it is currently not its biggest strength. For some of the community leaders, a highly complex way of thinking about issues includes poorer families, distant communities, and an understanding of the interrelated aspects to community sustainability.

El Salvador

The history of this region was one of oppression and hardship; the villages were hit hard by the civil war and then were largely forgotten in state planning. This type of history has the ability to affect an individual's worldviews and ways of thinking much like the "culture of silence" in Fiji (Barr, 2004) and "culture of occupation" in Palestine (Symes and Jasser, 2000). Some community members, particularly women and poorer individuals, have experienced a "culture of oppression" in various forms, and some now have a way of thinking that reinforces low self-worth and low self-esteem. This can limit their abilities to participate and be empowered to take action for their community.[81]
With that said, however, a particular spirit in the community is hopeful and forward-looking, even in the face of extreme poverty and minimal resources. This is not to romanticize poverty but rather to recognize the distinctive spirit in this community. After the earthquake in 2001, community people that lost their houses did not lament for long, and eagerly wanted to get back to work with us. Other development workers that have spent time in other countries after working in El Salvador have also noticed this undeniable spirit of the Salvadoran people. It seems to be woven into the hearts of individuals, a thread that has become a key part of the culture of San Juan del Gozo.

Phase Two and Three: Developing Sustainability with Focus Groups

From Phase One, it became apparent that there were two pressing issues related to community wellbeing, namely the low production of the lagoon, which was the main economic generator for the community, and the lack of opportunities for women in terms of employment, decision-making power and input into community’s development. We decided to work on these issues with two focus groups in the community, fisherfolk and women. The focus groups were chosen based on the concerns articulated by community members during the interviews, and included the low fishing catches at certain times of the year (Figure 5a, 5b), the minimal work opportunities for women in the community (Figure 6, Table 4), and the precarious economic situation in general (Figure 6 and 7, Tables 5 and 6). A year after carrying-out this work, we did participatory evaluations of our work together.

In this section, I first describe our work with these focus groups, and then in the following section, I discuss the exterior and interior dimensions of the work.
A. work with NGO (plant mangrove): 19%
B. cultivate "parcela": 12%
C. fish vendor: 8%
D. sesame seed project: 8%
E. cashew project: 7%
F. domestic sales: 7%
G. store owner/operator: 7%
H. shell-fish collector: 7%
I. fish in lagoon: 7%
J. family member works in city: 7%
K. marginal income (no land, no rights to fish): 7%
L. cows: 2%
M. sell turtle eggs: 2%

Figure 6: The percent distribution of income-generating activities done by women in the community (shown in percentages of each income-generating activity out of the total income-generating activities available).

A. cultivate "parcela": 12%
B. fish in lagoon: 23%
C. work with NGO (plant mangrove): 15%
D. sesame seed project: 6%
E. make fishing nets: 6%
F. cashew project: 5%
G. collect turtle eggs: 5%
H. shell-fish collector: 3%
I. catch armadillos: 3%
J. family member lives in "north": 3%
K. family member lives in city: 3%
L. hunt iguanas: 3%
M. caretaker: 3%
N. out-of-town work (farming, coffee): 3%
O. cut mangrove: 2%
P. marginal income (no land, no rights to fish): 2%
Q. cows: 2%
R. rent land: 2%

Figure 7: Percent distribution of income-generating activities done by men in the community (shown as percentages of each income-generating activity out of the total number of activities available).
Table 4: The Gender Differences In Work Activities In The Community
(expressed in the relative percentage of particular activities out of the total number of interviewees performing such activities.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Work Activity Categories</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Men</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cultivate &quot;parcela&quot;</td>
<td>42.9</td>
<td>57.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fish in lagoon</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>83.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sesame seed project</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cashew project</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic sales</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Store owner/operator</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fish vender</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sell turtle eggs</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shell-fish collector</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catch armadillos</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collect turtle eggs</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hunt iguanas</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cut mangrove</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work with NGO (plant mangrove)</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family member lives in &quot;north&quot;</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family member works in city</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Make fishing nets</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marginal income (no land, no rights to fish)</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cows</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rent land</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take care of another's land</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Out-of-town work (farming, coffee)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic housework</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 5: Approximate annual per-capita income in five economic sectors. Quantities in Canadian dollars.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Economic sector</th>
<th>Income ($ CDN)</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fishing</td>
<td>3011.50</td>
<td>Fisherfolk make $1976.50 CDN on shrimp annually and an additional $1035 CDN during May to August, catching up to 50 pound of fish daily in the month of August.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>1976.50</td>
<td>This sector includes the harvest from personal crops, as well as the organic sesame seed harvest in December 2000. The organic cashew trees will be ready for harvest in another 3 years.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGO employment</td>
<td>1976.50</td>
<td>Based on a salary of 35 colones a day of two NGO projects in 2000 and 2001.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selling fish and shrimp</td>
<td>4743.53 (shrimp) 1656.5 (fish)</td>
<td>This is a rough approximation based on value-added prices of 15 colones/pound of shrimp and 4 colones/pound of fish, and considering there are 50 fish merchants in the community. This excludes the expenses for preparation (drying and salting), for necessary equipment (drying racks and baskets), transportation and other overhead.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hunting and gathering</td>
<td>423.53</td>
<td>This is an approximation of the income generated by gathering of clams and other mangrove fauna each week of the year.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6: Annual per-capita income in El Salvador (national and department average in urban and rural areas) and in the community of San Juan del Gozo.
The average for San Juan del Gozo was calculated based on an average daily salary of 35 colones ($6.86 CDN) which is based on 20 interviews with people from three sectors of the community (fisherfolk, women and poorer families) and represents income generated from fishing in the lagoon, agriculture, NGO employment in the community and supplementary income generating activities.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Annual per-capita income</th>
<th>$ CDN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>National – urban</td>
<td>9123.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Usulután – urban</td>
<td>6752.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National – rural</td>
<td>3161.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Usulután – rural</td>
<td>2734.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Juan del Gozo (approximate)</td>
<td>1976.50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Fisherfolk Focus Group: Facing Complexity with Ideas and Collaboration

The fisherfolk focus group was made up of six council members of the cooperative Brisas del Mar. In the focus group, we discussed pertinent issues and possible solutions, and carried out site visits and community mapping activities. The process enabled the fisherfolk to discuss and reflect on the lagoon's history, its current state and their key concerns about the lagoon, as well as to gather traditional ecological knowledge and find solutions to address these concerns.

The main concern was the low production of shrimp and fish compared to previous years (Figure 8a, 8b). The three possible interrelated causes were 1) the lagoon border had been eroded during Hurricane Mitch in 1998, which resulted in shrimp and fish escaping back into the surrounding mangrove, 2) the lagoon-users were possibly over-fishing, and 3) the group was not well organized, which complicated management practices. The solutions that came out of focus group discussions called for the need to collaborate in fixing the border of the lagoon, to restrict net size and limit fishing effort, and to boost participation and motivation in problem-solving by strengthening internal organization.

*Figure 8a:* The quality of the fishery on a scale of 1-5 during the various epochs since the 1930s based on a focus group discussion with the fisherfolk about the qualitative changes in the fishery over time.

*Figure 8b:* Approximate quantity of fish and shrimp caught monthly in the lagoon during the various epochs since the 1930s. Amounts measured in quintales (1 quintal = 100 pounds), taken from a focus group discussion with the fisherfolk, January 17, 2002.
Working together, we moved the discussion of these solutions into action. We collaborated with the fisherfolk in seeking financial support to raise the border of the lagoon and we arranged a workshop series for the fisherfolk to improve their organizational capacity. The fisherfolk assembly decided to restrict fishing and net size — two resource management strategies that are a start towards long-term sustainable management of the fishery.

These strategies are a great beginning for working towards sustainable management of the fishery, yet considering the pivotal position of the lagoon for the subsistence economy, the fisherfolk cannot commit to a complete restriction on fishing. For this same reason, they restricted the use of the very small sized net but had to still allow the use of the small sized net.

This focus group was a catalyst for more organizational capacity building as well as more specific scientific research as part of CESTA's more extensive regional project. In November and December 2002, a fisheries biologist from Canada joined CESTA's marine biologist to assist the fisherfolk in understanding the scientific reasons for low production, and in exploring further solutions.

**Women's Focus Group: A Cooperative with a Common Future**

The focus group of five women — women who also made up the community's first ever Women's Council — explained that their key concern was the lack of stable work opportunities for women in the community, which indirectly affected family security (Figure 6). Community health, in its cultural and spiritual dimensions, is very much linked to the family. Recognizing this, our work with the women via the focus group enabled us to identify and address both family and community economic needs in a larger framework of integral community development.

We began exploring together their ideas to improve the local economy for women. They discussed their options and agreed on four potential ways to address their economic needs, which included: 1) developing individual community economic development (CED) initiatives (to benefit 2-3 individuals), 2) obtaining credit for buying and raising livestock, 3) creating an artisanal fishing lagoon next to the mangrove forest of Jiquilisco Bay, and 4) developing an ecotourism project in the community and the surrounding area. They decided to combine the ideas for an artisanal fishing lagoon and an ecotourism project, as these seemed feasible, considering the experience and the resources necessary to carry them out, and preferable in that they could benefit more women than the other options discussed.
Moreover, these two initiatives could blend well together, since the fish and shrimp would enter the lagoon naturally with the tides and the women could operate a small restaurant for fresh seafood dishes, reforest the area surrounding the lagoon, and offer bird-watching canoe trips into the mangroves.

The focus group discussed what they needed to carry out this initiative. Their strategy included the formation of a cooperative of 20 women, soliciting land for the fishing and ecotourism lagoon, improving group collaboration and organization, seeking financial support, and contracting technical studies for the construction, production and management of the lagoon and for an environmental impact assessment. We collaborated with the women on this process. The women began the legal process of founding the cooperative and began learning about cooperative management and organization.[84] We held various meetings with the Salvadoran Institute for Land Transfer about land acquisition, and after inquiring into the necessary technical studies and environmental impact assessments, we began fundraising to be able to carry out the project. We also visited a neighbouring community and met with another women’s cooperative that had been working together for ten years, and also included a representative from the women’s group on a delegation to Guatemala to learn more about community-based ecotourism.

**Participatory Evaluations: Tangibles and Intangibles**

The quantitative and participatory evaluations we did with both focus groups after 6 months, and again a year later, suggest that our approach was a success. These evaluation tools were designed as such to represent adequately the interior and exterior domains of the process and outcomes.

Quantitatively, the results were immense. The fisherfolk focus group had mitigated disputes between fishers by organizing more equitably and effectively, they had discussed and began implementing (short- and long-term) sustainable management strategies for the lagoon and had sought financial and technical support to identify and address the reasons for low production. The women’s focus group were forming a cooperative,
attending capacity-building workshops and working on raising funds to develop their lagoon and ecotourism project. They had gone from being excluded in local decision-making, and thus also from issues regarding family security, to having a voice in local governance and participating (to some degree) in income-generation.

During the participatory evaluations, participants shared their own recognition of the complementary interior and exterior dimensions of community development. The fisherman, Samuel Rivas, explained that, while economic security is important,

I finally realize that you come not with money or things to give us, but with knowledge to share. Sometimes money isn’t worth anything, and it is this knowledge and understanding that is most important.

This internal domain was a key part of our work together. Through creating a safe, respectful and encouraging space in the focus groups, participants could suspend self-interest and collaborate together on shared concerns. This may have helped to foster new perspectives of “self” and “other”. People had come together to discuss their differences and seek solidarity in their similarities, to address seriously their need for collaboration and organization, and to recognize each others’ needs and value-systems even if different from their own. Some individuals, particularly some of the women and youth, who had never been “community leaders”, were taking on such roles with self-esteem and confidence, learning as they went along how to facilitate a larger group of varied interests and needs. The name of the women’s cooperative Fuente de Jacob (Jacob’s Source), which (for administration reasons) was later changed to La Vision (The Vision), hint at an ecclesiastical root and reflect the inner dimension of our work together.
In Summary

In Phase One of this case study, we learned about the community’s systems and interiority with various quantitative and qualitative methodologies. In Phase Two and Three, through working with two focus groups, we engaged in a process of collective visioning and creating solutions for shared issues. We worked with the two groups in different ways, depending on their articulated needs and situation. Our blend of methodologies was unique to other (previous and current) development activities in the community, and may be a reason for its success.
Chapter Four: Analysis of an Integral Approach in Development

The analysis in this chapter offers some examples of systems, processes and methodologies for using an integral approach in community development from our experience in San Juan del Gozo. I discuss some of the interior and exterior processes and outcomes of this project, drawing on examples from each phase of the project and in each area of the integral framework. I begin with the area of Practical (systems and behaviours), then Interpersonal (culture and dialogue) and finally Personal (self-reflection and personal growth). The systems and behaviours for sustainability (Practical) correlate and mesh with the cultural context and worldviews (Interpersonal), which simultaneously correlate and mesh with the individual self-systems (Personal).

Thus, what follows is specific to San Juan del Gozo, and possibly also other rural communities in Jiquilisco Bay. This analysis could also be useful in other international development projects that involve communities in terms of how the integral approach looks in practice. Yet each community will have its own unique systems and manifestations that mesh with the particular culture, customs and local interiority. Thus, below, I offer a commentary on a specific case study, which I hope may build toward a fuller understanding of an integral approach in international or community development in other regions.

PRACTICAL – Systems and Behaviours for Sustainability

In this following section, I discuss some of the features of the intricate balance between social, political, economic and ecological systems in San Juan del Gozo.

In this community, as in many rural communities in El Salvador, conservation efforts cannot be separated from socioeconomic issues, since rural livelihoods are so intertwined with surrounding ecosystems. Thus the systems and social institutions that work with a "triple objective" — economic, social and ecological — are the most conducive to sustainability. This triple bottom line is also referred to as profit, people and the planet.

Community leaders know how important to community wellbeing these three
interrelated aspects are. Both focus groups (fisherfolk and women) recognized that their immediate needs were economic — the fisherfolk needed to increase their production from the lagoon and the women needed sources of work — yet both groups recognized that the improvement in the local economy depended on well-organized and collaborative social systems as well as on healthy ecosystem function.

Moreover, because cooperatives are so linked to the local culture and ecosystem, they are natural conduits for social change. Chaves (1960, p. 8) explains how "...cooperatives in general, should not be viewed as societies helping their members only, but should be considered as tools for social change and institutions for community development." We sought to work with these existing traditions and institutions, knowing their pivotal place in developing sustainability in the community.

Cooperatives offer their members various opportunities and services not necessarily given by state institutions or development agencies that assist in addressing a community's interrelated needs. Cooperatives enable small producers and operators to pool together their products for sale in local, national and international markets. In doing so, these small producers can secure better prices in a fluctuating market economy. Furthermore, by organizing collectively and democratically, members own part of the cooperative venture, and thus have access to surplus earnings. For individuals beginning an economic initiative, the cooperative allows reasonable access to loans and credit for start-up costs.

As we began to work with the community, we realized that the cooperative institutions (Oro Blanco and Brisas del Mar, described in Chapter Three) were set up to address economic, social and ecological objectives.

Fisherman of Jiquilisco Bay
In terms of social services, cooperatives provide their members with training and sometimes continued education for family members. Cooperatives also foster participation in decision-making; most decisions are made inclusively and the structure is democratic. Thus, local inhabitants, who feel the acute effects of resource decisions, have control over the cooperative’s economic activities, rather than decision-making power being held by corporate shareholders that live outside of the ecosystem and community. Wealth is re-circulated within the community, and value is added by each step of processing and preparation that occurs locally. Participation in the decisions and functioning of the cooperative enable members to build the social capital necessary for a fruitful and sustained cooperative venture.

Cooperatives have excellent potential to address environmental sustainability. Rather than regarding "community" in purely anthropogenic terms, "community" can also be defined more holistically to also include non-human residents of communities (Burda and M’Gonigle. 1999, p.18). This broader conception of "community" includes the ecological systems as well as other (social, economic and political) systems. This is both spatial and temporal — it includes ecosystem integrity for both human and non-human inhabitants as well as for the future generations that depend on the ecosystem. For example, as cooperative members make decisions for their local region, they have a vested interest in operating in a sustainable way to ensure that their own kin can also benefit from the area’s natural resources.

In San Juan del Gozo, cooperatives support land use practices, resource management and income-generation, and provide avenues for social and technical capacity building. The two cooperatives have enabled the community to better organize and distribute equitable access to local resources, mitigate negative effects on natural resources and develop sustainable management strategies. The cooperatives were instrumental in re-distributing land to local people and in obtaining local ownership of the lagoon. In 2000-2002, other development NGOs worked with the cooperatives in an organic agriculture project (with sesame seeds and cashews) that included capacity-building, education and training, and organic certification and marketing. The cooperatives in San Juan del Gozo hope to capitalize on the growing international demand for fair trade, organic and green consumer items, by eventually selling their organic sesame and cashews in international markets.
The council of the cooperative *Brisas del Mar* has sought ways to manage the shellfish and fish resources more sustainably. Since the war, the cooperative has encouraged collaboration between lagoon-users to address their key issues of low production and equitable access. This involved limiting the fishing times to the night (rather than day and night) and restricting the use of ecologically destructive fishing gear (drag-nets). In 2000, the council organized the fisherfolk into four groups of twenty to ensure that each individual gets a fair chance of fishing in the most productive parts of the lagoon. The fisherfolk recognized that the volume and rate of fishing (i.e. all 80 lagoon-users fishing every night throughout the year) makes it difficult for the natural resource to replenish itself, and they discussed extensively the need to restrict fishing or the use of small-mesh fishing nets to allow for the rejuvenation of the fish stocks. Through the focus group work, we helped the group understand why the lagoon production was low, using community mapping and other qualitative information gathering techniques to provide a bigger picture of the situation.

The women’s focus group sought to create a women’s cooperative to link their economic and social needs. As a recognized Women’s Council, they had new decision-making power in the municipality, and thus had a role in the economic security for their families. The focus group was eager to increase participation in their planning and activities, and discussed at length the role of organization and collaboration in the cooperative’s potential success. Similarly, they recognized how the success of their proposed artisanal fishing lagoon depended on the mangrove ecosystem for providing habitat for shrimp larvae and fish, also discussing how the mangrove forest would provide bird habitat and perhaps also ecotourism opportunities.

When community members work as empowered agents of change for their own sustainability, it becomes apparent that social and ecological needs are necessary components for a healthy local economy. Community-based social institutions, like cooperatives, can greatly aid in fulfilling social needs, devising ecologically-sound resource management strategies as well as ensuring equitable local economic activities.
The viability and success of these community systems (the cooperative institutions, community-based resource management strategies and equitable local economies) depend, in part, on the interpersonal dynamics, worldviews, level of discourse and ethics of the people involved. Group buy-in and commitment, for example, enables the effectiveness of these institutions. However, interests of different stakeholders are often misunderstood and result in conflicts. To arrive at a "win-win" scenario is ideal, but difficult to realize, especially if such interests and values are not uncovered and discussed.

At first, the women's focus group discussed how their primary objective was to help their own families, and their ideas for economic development extended only as far as 3-4 individuals. Through the dialogues, however, common needs and aspirations of the women became apparent — they began to see that others shared their own family's struggles. They began to recognize that within the differences, common needs existed. As a result, they sought a more inclusive and far-reaching initiative that transcended but included individual needs. Eventually, the women saw how an respectful space where participants could explore their individual interests and values, as well as find common ground, like family security and community health. Fostering participation helped to create a space where participants discussed their individual and shared interests, and then worked towards solutions that addressed as many of these as possible. This process required dialogue, honesty and active listening, and slowly built mutual understanding of common needs/aspirations between individuals.

The process of the focus groups created an open, inclusive and

Discussing the formation of a women's cooperative in San Juan del Gaza
initiative with a broad scope could benefit and address the common interests of many individuals, not just a few families.

The lagoon-users came from diverse backgrounds. Some were noticeably poorer with less capacity than others, and their values tended to centre around meeting these essential self-needs. Individuals in this situation supplemented their fishing with hunting turtle eggs, iguanas and armadillos; and while some of them admitted that these practices were damaging the environment, they saw them as necessary to provide for themselves and their families. Other fisherfolk considered the larger social group and the surrounding environment in decision-making, seeking to meet their own needs as well as those of others. Individuals in this latter group generally had access to alternative sources of income beyond what the lagoon provided. Through dialogue, it was evident that the poorer members of the group were impacted the most negatively by low lagoon production. Recognizing their shared need for economic security, the fisherfolk repeatedly turned down resource management options that would not address the shared needs of all lagoon users. For example, they decided that they could not restrict the use of the smaller net sizes, because it would be disastrous for the poorest fisherfolk who had no other access to food and income. The fisherfolk group did not accept decisions that left out the poorer sector of the community; and they knew that by improving their internal organization further, their collective energies could overcome and solve shared problems that were too big for individuals to address alone.

By using a community-directed approach and by taking time to learn about the community’s systems and culture (during the Phase One interviews), we began to understand the values and worldviews of these groups, which helped us to tailor our subsequent work with them. For example, the women’s group’s main concern was the lack of economic security for the family, and they wanted to form a cooperative to generate income. Yet, behind these concerns was the feeling of disempowerment to impact positive change in their community and family. Thus we focused first on addressing this acute economic concern by fostering creativity, collective visioning, group esteem, and solidarity as an organization. In a later stage, we focused on strategic thinking, fundraising, negotiations for land tenure and other such practical strengths. The fisherfolk had been working collaboratively for years, and so less process work was required. We thus began with their key problem, helping them to uncover the complexity of low lagoon production using quantitative analysis, self-assessment and reflection (Fig. 8a, 8b.), and also assisting with securing financial and technical support.[85]

This is an important point, as it refers to translating communications when working with worldviews (see the section on Working With Worldviews above). Too often development experts enter a community with an “agenda” – agendas that are held by the organization, promoted by the donor, or part of the individual practitioner’s biases and beliefs. Working in a truly community-directed way helps to let go of these agendas. This can be “risky” for a practitioner who has an organization and/or donor to report back to – one cannot know where the process will go, whether it will be oriented towards a more sustainable option or not.

In working with these two groups, I tried as much as possible to take direction from the groups’ values and needs, and
Through the process, the group themselves began discussing the environment, sustainability, and future generations.

It can be challenging to come together in a group, where participants offer each other their sincere opinions and perspectives. Self-esteem and self-confidence facilitates (or can be a prerequisite for) true participation in such a group. Few participants in the focus groups came with high self-confidence (including myself) but through the process we supported each other, built confidence working as a group and provided new opportunities for personal development. We did this various ways.

First, the nature of the focus group was inclusive and respectful. Everyone listened to each other's ideas in a way that encouraged them to share verbally in a group setting. These ideas were discussed and different ideas offered, fostering trust in the participatory methodology and eliciting many more ideas.

Second, when individuals shared with me their personal concerns, whether emotional (domestic disputes), psychological (self-
worth), or physical (lack of self-confidence in one’s capacities), I took the time to listen. This has been referred to as “informal counseling”, and requires compassionate, active listening to the individual’s concerns. Other practitioners have other tools (from psychology and counseling) that could be very useful here.

Third, we gave individuals responsibilities that would help them cultivate their own capacities. Oftentimes, these responsibilities were new, challenging and somewhat fearsome, yet given such new positions in the group and community, the individuals involved were eager to try and learn. For example, Digna de Jesús Andrade, the president of the Women’s Council, was nervous about her public-speaking role, the task of keeping track of important facts and dates, and other aspects of leadership. Yet, every time we had a meeting with government representatives, other NGO workers or other community members, she took on her new challenges and surpassed even her own expectations.

Fourth, through the focus groups, I encouraged participants to reflect on their individual role within the community. Rather than listening to complaints about a certain problem, I asked participants how they, as individuals and as a group, could begin envisioning its solution. Activating the “what if” mind in this way evoked a sense of excitement about potentials and possibilities. I found that oftentimes, I would pose a question one week, and the following week, participants had mulled over the question and came up with unique answers, through some kind of self-reflective process.

And finally, individuals in both focus groups experienced “trying on” other perspectives, by listening to other people’s stories and doing exercises that portrayed the community situation in different ways. For example, one exercise with the fisherfolk involved qualitatively tracking the changes in lagoon production over several decades, and then drawing this trajectory of change to see where the group had been, where they were now and where they were going. As we reflected on this exercise, one of the
fisherfolk remarked “I have never thought of it in this way before.” At the beginning of our work together, the women were concerned about not being able to provide economic security for their families. Yet, by creating a process founded on hope and creative thinking, the group became inspired and active in community processes — they went from drawing an empty basket to represent their place in the community to forming a cooperative and taking on empowered roles as leaders. This suggests their initial concerns were not only due to a lack of employment, but may have also involved their lack of self-esteem and capacity to contribute positively to the community. These examples illustrate how our work in the area of Personal helped individuals to shift from an attitude of deficiency and dependency to one of creativity and personal power.

Thus, with the integral framework, we sought to create conditions for personal growth in community development through balancing support and challenge, using attentive listening skills, encouraging self-reflection and providing ways for individuals to “try on” new perspectives. These are only some of the potential tools to engage in a process of personal empowerment for this particular context and culture. They may also be useful elsewhere.

The successes in the area of Personal were often unseen and intangible, yet they assisted the dialogue process and the tangible outcomes. Rather than being subject to the ebb and flow of community prosperity, participants began to see that they had a role in the process and they themselves could effect positive change in that newly found capacity.

**Interiority in Community Development**

Working with the interior dimensions of development was particularly important in this project. Our approach recognized that the health of the human psyche is linked to community health in a more material sense. Making space (however implicitly) for personal growth and self-reflection enables participants to bring their full selves to a process, to voice their emotional concerns up front, and also helped me to understand the perspectives and biases of myself and others. This is key, and often missed from community development work.

From on-going inquiry into participatory methodologies in community development, it is clear that many practitioners understand a “concept” of community development that they aren’t actually working with. While development may be understood as a process that includes the interior, intangible, and often spiritual aspects of communities and individuals, there is little in community development practice that acknowledges and addresses this. An individual’s sense of who they are or what they believe, is deeply spiritual, and yet, if these individuals are implicitly (or in some cases explicitly) asked to
“check their spirituality at the door” before entering a process, it is understandable that such “participants” are not actually participating. This disconnect between understood concepts and embodied practice creates miscommunication with local people, which can eventually result in ineffective outcomes. My previous examples of development practitioners from Nigeria and El Salvador that do “informal counseling”, often outside of their job descriptions, give testimony to this. Participation stripped of interiority falls short of what it could be.

In San Juan del Gozo, the community’s daily routine was intricately woven with beliefs and religion, and this offers a space for inner work. In times of hardship, avenues for hope are few, and it seemed that religion provides something essential that other institutions in the community do not. This is important to recognize and honour. It is common for (particularly Western-educated) development practitioners to dismiss this role of religion. Yet Smith (1995, p. 209) explains how such individuals:

...Simply assume (they do not argue) that religion does more harm than good. That this runs counter to social science functionalism, which holds that institutions don’t survive unless they serve social needs, is conveniently overlooked, but the deeper point is that the vertical dimension — the way religion feeds the human soul in its inwardness and solitude — gets little attention.

Through the project I came to understand that, in San Juan del Gozo, religion plays both a social function as well as provides a “vertical dimension” to life.

The internal dimension of our work also relates to capacity development. Developing or building capacity is a complex process that includes, not just technical and social capacity, but also “emotional capacity” (the ability to relate healthily at an emotional level to the world), the moral capacity to treat other beings with respect, the capacity for humour, the capacity to love, and the capacity to engage in a spiritual life.[86] Our process sought to: 1) facilitate technical and social capacity building through workshops, training and (informal) mentoring, 2) foster moral capacity building through collective visioning and dialogue, and 3) encourage emotional capacity building through self-reflection and sharing (Table 1). This multi-faceted capacity building was important in enabling the community to move beyond the dependency model of development to a more self-empowered and sustainable process.

To use the same example as previously, Digna Andrade (leader of the women’s group) said to me at one meeting three months into the project, that it was great that I was there to have meetings in San Salvador on behalf of the women’s group, or in her words, “to knock on doors” for the group. I said to her that it was an important part of the work but that the point of the process was that the women could begin to knock on these doors themselves, that I was simply “passing on the capacity of knocking on doors”. By my last month in the community, the women’s group lead by Digna was holding meetings with the other cooperative members, conducting meetings with land-tenure representatives from ISTA and interacting confidently with other
outside institutions (such as the Asociación Agropecuaria). Our work together helped to create a safe, but also challenging, space where she, and the other participants, could build several types of capacity (self-esteem, confidence and skills) involved in leadership. While CESTA and other NGOs still "knock on doors" for the group, especially in terms of finding international financial and technical support, the group is engaged in the process and building their own individual and organizational capacity in doing so.

If interiority were woven into community development, the process and outcomes of development would be very different. For example, take three well-known buzzwords in development today: participation, local ownership and capacity development. If practitioners had a better understanding of, and tools to work with, the interiority of individuals and groups, these three aspects to development would be very different than they are today. "Participation" would become a process of ushering in human interiority, such as self-esteem, self-concept, feelings, perspectives and attitudes, to authentically engage in an empowering process of social change. Terms like "local ownership" or "community-based" would involve finding ways to meet community people where they are; seeking to know (as much as possible) another's worldview and values, and then translating communications to resonate with those local worldviews; and infusing the process with local beliefs and meanings. "Capacity development", as I described above, would involve integrating both interior and exterior dimensions of capacity — technical, social, emotional, psychological, moral, (etc).

**Community Visioning Towards Worldcentric**

Changes in personal actions and behaviours are usually sparked by new feelings and understandings of one's reality that eclipse, and also add to, the old worldview. Often this new "felt-sense" requires a change in the surrounding systems and culture. In fact, this defines "transformational learning", in that something new is found that requires a reconfiguration of one's context and livelihood to be able to integrate it meaningfully into his/her life. Rosa Parks and Martin Luther-King were the two examples I used previously. Another example from community development occurs when women become more empowered in their family and community life, and the familial and/or community structure and culture need to adapt to these personal changes of worldview. This is the connection point between inner change (i.e. worldviews and "meaning-making") and external change (i.e. institutions, laws, social norms, customs), as well as a link between individual and collective transformation.

In the previous section on *Working with Worldviews*, I briefly described transformation and translation of worldviews, which hardly conveys the depth of understanding of this process (from empirical, phenomenological, contemplative and cross-cultural evidence; Wilber, 1996, p 138). When an individual's concern expands
to a wider concentric sphere (i.e. sociocentric and/or worldcentric), often the roles of individuals in the community, as well as the roles of humans in the ecosystem, change.

In San Juan del Gozo, we did not seek to transform worldviews as such, but helped to create the conditions for shifts in worldviews. As participants reflected on their individual roles in the community and began to work towards their own community’s development in a larger framework of sustainability, we noticed changes in peoples’ perspectives of themselves and others.

These terms “worldcentric”, “sociocentric” and “egocentric” refer to general, overlapping and nested phases in the ever-expanding orientation towards greater self-awareness and concern for others. As the research progressed, we noticed trends towards more consideration for the less fortunate members of the community, for women in decision-making, for the surrounding ecosystems and for neighboring communities, with what seemed to be a broader, more inclusive worldview (Figure 9).

During the first phase of the research, I heard many comments that embodied an egocentric perspective, where the needs of “me and mine” were put before the collective needs of the group or community. Participants often said how “my family needs a stable supply of food” or “I need secure income”, and the women’s focus group were initially interested in helping themselves and their own families with small economic initiatives.

While fulfilling these personal needs are very important, if they are not coupled with the awareness that others also have similar needs and values, such self-interested attitudes will not lead to sustainability. In the Sarvodaya Shrama Dünya Movement in Sri Lanka, when community suffering (such as poverty, disease, exploitation, conflict) is explored, its origins are found in “individual egocentricity, distrust, greed and competitiveness, which demoralizes and divides the community and wastes its potential.”(Jones, 2003, p. 186)

In San Juan del Gozo, previous fisherfolk councils during the postwar period had a more egocentric approach, which did not foster collaboration and did not value equity between lagoon-users, which allowed for the use of damaging fishing gear, leaving the fishery at risk of depletion. This kind of attitude embodies the “tragedy of the commons” phenomenon, where in looking out for one’s individual gains, the communal resource base is overexploited.

Perhaps because many of the fisherfolk had experienced this first-hand, they were thinking and acting with a sociocentric perspective when I joined the group, seeking to find solutions that would increase production for all lagoon-users. Oscar Willian Duran Martinez, the leader of the fisherfolk, explained how “we [the fisherfolk] need to organize better to be able to deal with any other problem” and that “we are nothing if we are not organized”. For example, the group decided on a fair way of partitioning the most productive part of the lagoon so that all the fisherfolk would catch a similar quantity of fish and shrimp, and final decisions about net size and fishing restrictions took into consideration the poorest fisherfolk. Said Oscar Martinez, president of Brisas del Mar, “we are poor, but there are others that are more poor,
Figure 9: Trends observed in worldviews of participants.

Data was collected from focus groups with women and fisherfolk using a similar methodology as described by Jordan (1998), and describes general trends in the participants (including myself) over time throughout the project. Some individuals did not follow these trends – some participants interacted and spoke with egocentric perspectives throughout the project, while others were operating with a worldcentric perspective throughout. The figure is purposefully designed in concentric circles, as this process is dynamic and non-linear, in which previous stages are encompassed and integrated as they are transcended. I have also illustrated here how the categories used may align with similar developmental approaches described by Esbjörn-Hargens (ecological selves, 2003), Beck (vMemes, 1996) and Kegan (orders of consciousness, 1995).

**EGOCENTRIC**
Interest in "me and mine".
Individual needs are articulated and heard.
"My family needs a stable supply of food".
"I need secure income".
Interest in community economic initiatives for only 2-4 people.
1-2 months
(Eco-Warrior, Esbjörn-Hargens; Red vMeme, Beck; 3rd order consciousness, Kegan)

**SOCIOCENTRIC**
Interest in "we and ours" specifically in the immediate family and community groups.
Collaborative organizing structure built around a common goal. Using the cooperative for utilizing creativity and innovation, for collaboration and cooperation to provide for self, family and group.
Equitable partitioning of the most productive part of the lagoon.
Considering the poorest fisherfolk in final decisions about net size and fishing restrictions.
2-4 months
(Eco-Manager/Eco-Strategist, Esbjörn-Hargens; Blue/Orange vMeme, Beck; 3rd-4th order consciousness, Kegan)

**WORLDCENTRIC**
Interest in "we and ours" extended to include other groups, generations, species, and ecosystems.
Recognized inherent value of other species (fish, shrimp, turtles, birds, and iguanas).
Corresponding actions and decisions (interest in "sustainable" resource management, turtle conservation, mangrove reforestation for birds and aquatic species, and decreases in iguana hunting).
Linking deterioration of the environment with future generations.
Recognition of other peoples' concerns, needs and resources.
Learning from and sharing with other cooperatives in the community and in neighboring communities.
Linking with other local, national and international groups.
3-5 months, following year
(Eco-Radical, Esbjörn-Hargens; Green vMeme, Beck; 4th order of consciousness, Kegan)

Beyond WORLD-CENTRIC
Ability to integrate complex questions and issues; focus on process and interconnected nature of systems.
Only observed with some individuals and leaders.
(Eco-Holist / Integral Ecologist, Esbjörn-Hargens; Yellow vMeme, Beck; 4-5th order of consciousness, Kegan)
we should think of them [in our decision-making]."

In the women's focus groups, I began to see a transition from an egocentric perspective to a sociocentric one through our work together. Participants began thinking about the other less fortunate families in the community and expressing the 'need to find a community economic development (CED) initiative that includes as many women as possible'. They also began suggesting how they could learn from and share with other councils and cooperatives in the community and with groups in neighboring communities. Such a sociocentric perspective incorporates the philosophy of cooperatives, compassionate action and service to others, and the concept of re-circulating power to disenfranchised sectors.

The shift towards worldcentric awareness is something quite profound. The leaders of the fisherfolk began to discuss resource management plans with a worldcentric perspective that included not just people but other species as well. They discussed how better lagoon management would help the shrimp and fish, and they were interested in working with CESTA on turtle conservation, realizing the vulnerability of these marine species. The women expressed their concern that with the continuing deterioration of the environment, their children will not experience nature as they had once experienced it. They spoke about how the mangrove forest around their lagoon creates habitat for birds and fish, and about how they intended to reforest and protect this ecosystem. Both the women's group and the fisherfolk were very much interested in linking with other local, national and international groups, recognizing shared values across geographic space and cultural norms. All these are meaningful indicators of shifts in awareness towards a more worldcentric perception of local issues.

Worldcentrism does not require comprehensive knowledge of other groups or regions and their struggles; this may help, but as the immediate access to information and education in the north shows, often this does not necessarily result in a worldcentric perspective. Rather, this shift towards worldcentric awareness begins to illuminate the false boundaries between each other, and between the environment and humans. It fosters a sense of unity-in-diversity on a philosophical and practical level so as to precipitate changes in behaviour within the individual and the collective. Thus, it is often because of these shifts in worldviews and values that ecologically sensitive actions and a sustainable economy arise. Several individuals in both focus groups spoke and acted with such a perspective — one that seems to be important for sustainability.

Self-Development of the Practitioner

When working in community development with an integral approach, the roles of development practitioners[87] and participants change. An integral approach
to development broadens the frame of reference for the definitions, methodologies and outcomes of developing sustainability. Development practice is thus situated in a dynamic, empowering process that is informed by the context and interiority of the ecosystem and community. The role for practitioners is to access what is appropriate when. In some situations, directive leadership will be useful, for example during disaster relief efforts, and in other situations, community empowerment techniques and bottom-up leadership is preferable. To work in this way and to take on these new roles, development practitioners must be able to hold an integral framework for the process. In other words, the practice of working with an integral framework includes developing one's own self — one's own capacity and consciousness as a practitioner.

Working in the area of Practical, for example, usually includes economic analysis, resource management, conservation science and institutional design. The area of Interpersonal relates to social work, cultural studies, and dispute mediation or facilitation in multi-stakeholder discussions. The area of Personal is the realm of psychology, counseling, consciousness-raising, and spirituality. This doesn’t mean that to use an integral approach, practitioners must be part psychologist, part dispute resolution facilitator, part economist, part scientist and part mystic. But, it does mean that to be effective, the integration of the three dimensions has to be given some attention. This can be done through working explicitly in each area, or it can be implicit, informal and intrinsic to one’s own personal approach to development. This integration can be fostered by forming partnerships with more specialized practitioners. Brown (2004, forthcoming) explains the integral approach as:

a practice that bridges other practices. It is not a call to invent entirely new practice to replace others, but a way to develop a [more encompassing] practice that uses all other practices in their appropriate times and places.

The integral approach calls on the development practitioner to assist in creating the space and conditions for shifts in worldviews, not only for others but also for themselves. If the practitioner understands in a felt-sense what is involved in this, it becomes easier to facilitate this process for others. Moreover, practitioners have an immense responsibility to work without an egocentric/ethnocentric perspective and a more worldcentric one, using whatever personal practices are needed to develop this expanded awareness. To this end, Majid Rahnema says,

My personal, sometimes bitter, experience has taught me to be so cautious in this respect as to perceive intervention as an act bordering on the sacred. What right do I have to intervene in the life of another, who I don't know, when I have only a personal, egocentric impression of his or her reality? ... The most significant quality [of intervention] is to be open and always attentive to the world and to all other humans. . .
Attentive implies the art of listening, in the broadest sense of the word, being sensitive to what is, observing things as they are, free from any preconceived judgment, and not as one would like them to be, and believing that every person's experience or insight is a potential source of learning. Such an attitude is basically different from that of experts of highly paid consultants who generally act on the basis of a series of certainties coming from their "knowledge" or "professional experience."... [Such 'authorities'] seldom realize that they do to others what their all-powerful egos, with their seductive and manipulative tricks, do to them. Intervention should therefore be envisaged only in the context of a constant exercise of self-awareness...[88]

Fostering self-awareness is at the core of an integral approach to development. The types of practices that assist in cultivating self-awareness are varied and highly personal. For some, working for the service of others is already linked to a personal practice. For others, this comes later. In Table 2, I have listed some examples of such practices, but it is not comprehensive list in the least.

Brown and Hargens (2004, forthcoming) sum it up well:

We are part of this grand territory, not simply observers or analysts of its flows and patterns. We have traditionally underrated the role that our own individual psychology, mental models, and worldview play in the success or failure of our endeavours. Interior development is a vital component for helping oneself and others to develop a mindset that naturally gives rise to sustainable behaviour. The integral practitioner uses transformative practices — such as

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A Personal Journey - self and social change in El Salvador

Every morning, I practice yoga and meditate. This is an opportunity to set my intention and to become permeable and present to what is arising. My practice continues through the day, every moment providing an opportunity to act consciously and compassionately, and also an opportunity to learn where I am not conscious and not compassionate, and then to inquire into why. This self-reflection is a way to illuminate both my moments of expansion and also self-contraction — a helpful inquiry on the path of personal development.

One morning in El Salvador, the dawn mist still lingering in the trees, I rolled up my mat after yoga practice and prepared for the day. I was aware that my mind was already filling up with thoughts of what meetings were planned for the community, of where the process was at, and of how each individual brought something special to the group... These thoughts flowed in the inner spaciousness created by yoga — flowing like streams of water into a still, empty cavern. I stepped out the door, smiling at this thought-infiltration, when it suddenly occurred to me that this work with the community was my yoga practice. In my mind's eye, I saw my yoga mat extending invisibly in all directions, and my heart opening similarly across the expanse. As the sun rose over Salvadoran soil, it dawned on me that self and social change are inextricably connected. Developing sustainability, developing the self.

Becoming more present to the moment, I also become more "available" to other people around me. This helps me to engage more completely with my work, to see interpersonal dynamics more clearly, and to hold with more respect the varied ways that other people go about their lives. Whether paddling in the lagoon, dialoging in a workshop, or participating in prayers with community people, my practice includes simply being present as the moment unfolds.

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In Summary

In this case study, we sought to balance actions, dialogue and self-reflection. The tangibles and intangibles are linked: through the process, individuals built their leadership abilities, confidence and self-esteem, and this new self-concept brought unprecedented actions. The women, in particular, began taking leadership roles during assemblies, approaching institutions and government representatives with more self-esteem, and began seeing their individual place in the community differently. The latter was perhaps one of the most profound aspects to our work. Deep self-examination, where individuals re-think what role they play in the community, society, environment, or even the world, is the beginning of the transformative shift from egocentric perspectives towards more worldcentric vision and action. These perceptions, worldviews and values have an essential role in informing individual and collective action. With the participatory action research rooted in an integral framework, we made room not only for self-exploration and reflection, but also helped to create the conditions for such shifts in awareness. From this work, it seems that working with human interiority (in addition to addressing material needs) is a key piece to developing sustainability with communities.
Chapter Five: Conclusion

In this booklet, I sought to expand the limits of conventional development to be able to meaningfully integrate socioeconomic and ecological needs, as well as the complexity of psychology and culture. I set this expanded concept of development in a movement away from egocentric perspectives to more worldcentric ones—a process that includes an expansion of worldviews and consciousness. While this seems complicated, to say the least, I suggest that an integral approach offers some essential pieces to working with such an approach in sustainable development.

The rationale behind exploring a new concept and process of development stems from the fact that conventional development is limited both by its primarily quantitative scope and in its almost exclusively neocolonialist and rational-scientific epistemology. It has produced gains in certain areas, particularly in a quantitative economic sense, and it can be useful for specific projects on shorter timelines, but this system is limited in qualitative terms. We have gathered enough evidence that the conventional development paradigm, in which outside experts import inappropriate technology and culturally dependent knowledge to a locality that has its own traditions, rhythms and knowledge, often does not work.

To address these limitations requires a shift toward more economically equitable, socially representative and ecologically sound development, as many proponents of alternative development strategies suggest. These alternatives are premised on participation and empowerment, and thus to some degree also include changes in self-identify, worldviews and community dynamics.

While these alternatives have brought a lot to the practice of developing sustainability, they are also limited in certain ways. Some of the growing edges of the alternative development include understanding and working with the processes of self-empowerment, translating communications such that they resonate with the worldviews of local people, and recognizing the risks of mistaking cultural principles for universal values. In an innovative falling forward, this booklet seeks to extricate the positive attributes of both conventional and alternative development and integrate them into a more inclusive and comprehensive practice of development.

In the tradition of conscientization and liberation theology in Latin America, community work involves a "dynamic action of awakening" in which local people become aware of the material forces which inhibit or facilitate their development, and are empowered to use their own traditional knowledge and lived experience for their own community's development. I have described this dynamic awakening as the expansion of awareness that moves from purely self needs to group needs to world needs (i.e. humans, other species and the environment); or, in other words, from egocentric to sociocentric to worldcentric perspectives (and ultimately, beyond).

Working with development as such a process toward and beyond worldcentric awareness fundamentally changes the concept of a "developed nation". Such
a change requires a new set of guiding principles and approaches, where development practices include working with the local values, epistemologies and worldviews that give meaning to any development intervention.

In the search for a broader concept of development, we must also expand our limited view of what is valid knowledge and what is valid truth. To do this, we must recognize that many concepts about development are tied to a Western, scientific and material worldview which misses important aspects of the human condition, the world and our ways of perceiving our place in it. This brings in qualitative, subjective and interpretive aspects to development — of ontology, epistemology, culture, worldviews and spirituality — in what I refer to as interiority. The emerging field of integral theory illustrates an approach that works with meeting exterior material needs as well as including these interior dimensions in development activities.

With an integral approach to international and community development, the boundaries of valid knowledge embrace not just the sphere of science and quantitative analysis, but also spheres of dialogue and process, and self-reflection and self-development. Thus, while this approach definitely aims to secure livelihood needs in a material, social and economic sense, it does not confine the idea of development to material constructs (i.e. better economy, improved infrastructure) nor to culturally formed principles of progressive thinking (i.e. egalitarianism, pacifism, communalism, etc.). Instead, development becomes a process of coming to know local worldviews, translating communications to appropriately resonate with local people, working to build mutual understanding between each other, and also engaging in a process of self-development, all of which in turn feed back into the success of the more material components of development. With an integral approach to development, the material and the immaterial are very much inter-linked — to disregard one is irresponsible, potentially even pathological; to consider both is mutually supporting.

I attempted to embed my fieldwork in the community of San Juan del Gozo in an integral framework. In this community, the need for economic security is acute and makes up a key part of community development. Since the community is so closely linked to its surrounding ecosystem, meeting economic needs also means sustaining ecosystem integrity. Understanding the inherent connection between environmental and economic needs is one thing, but bringing forth an ecological form of community development is quite another. Since economic and environmental objectives are often seemingly at odds, how do these two sets of objectives merge?

Through the research, I found that interior dimensions are very important in merging...
economic and environmental concerns in development. For example, in San Juan del Gozo, when faced with complex problems that warrant immediate attention (like economic poverty for the women or low production in the lagoon for fisherfolk), community inhabitants first sought to organize themselves, to then meet their economic needs. As a practitioner, meeting people where they were, translating development issues in ways that resonate with local worldviews, taking direction from local motivations, and creating conditions for healthy expressions of those motivations, were important aspects to our work together.

The community people all saw that their primary need was their own internal organization. The quality of this organization comes from the degree to which individuals relate to one another and understand each other's values, interests and concerns. Creating a group atmosphere in which people came to understand each other's diverse concerns also enabled participants to build their capacity, collaborate, agree upon and work towards solutions.

Yet, respecting varied concerns and identifying a common vision does not just happen overnight — it often requires introspection on the role that an individual plays in the community and surrounding ecosystem. This inner reflection is pivotal in how individuals view and operate in the human and natural environment, affecting how one interacts with others in social institutions as much as in the surrounding ecosystem. This interface between self and other is where local sustainable and equitable development is found. When individuals profoundly recognize that they are not self-contained objects alone in their own personal orbits, but rather exist as beings-in-relation to all that is around them, their ways of viewing the world, and living in it, change. It is in this shift in consciousness that economic and ecological objectives begin to merge.

Considering the importance of interior dimensions in development, we took various routes to addressing development issues in San Juan del Gozo. One route was the focus group discussions that created a space for communication of varied needs and collaboration for common goals. This route ran concurrent with a second route: creating the conditions for self-reflection. This was a more implicit route that is neither guaranteed to be effective, nor easily encouraged or promoted. However, self-reflection played a large role in bringing people to the focus group discussions, in helping them overcome low self-esteem, in understanding shared values and finding a common vision, and in cultivating respect for each other, for other inhabitants and for other species in the ecosystem. The third route included addressing the concerns decided upon in the focus groups. Our commitment to integrating these three aspects in community development ensured that the methodology itself was community-directed, participatory, self-reflective and action-oriented.

Exploring the concept and process of an integral approach to development was valuable to the community of San Juan del Gozo. This project has potential value in other communities; even the most economically developed nation may benefit from such an integral approach to development. Where there is worldcentric awareness, respect and consideration for others follow, thus sowing the seeds for a truly sustainable, equitable and qualitative development. Orienting
development as a movement away from egocentrism, therefore, holds the possibility for development to extend past merely a stockpile of material wealth and infrastructure to what it really is: an ever-unfolding process of awakening, of respect for other beings which share this world, and of actions that stem from such an awakened respectful state.


Where there is worldcentric awareness, respect and consideration for others follow, thus sowing the seeds for a truly sustainable, equitable and qualitative development.

Community Members, San Juan del Gozo
EPILOGUE

In February — March 2004, I returned to El Salvador to work briefly with the same community. This trip allowed for me to do an informal assessment of our prior work from 2000-2002. It brought to light how the global political economic dynamics (of the LR quadrant) hold a disproportionate amount of power in social systems. Thus, however successful our work together was in fostering shared visioning and group organization (LL quadrant), and in nurturing changes in attitudes, individual capacity building and motivation (UL quadrant), recent political and economic trends have undermined some of these successes.

The Jiquilisco Bay region is being developed as “the next Acapulco” for conventional tourism, which is a grave concern for local people whose main income is derived from their natural habitat. This has caused the Brisas del Mar fishing cooperative to be wary of whom they work with, causing what appeared to be a shift towards a sociocentric awareness — to meeting their own group’s needs — rather than a continued move towards worldcentric (of considering others, the ecosystem and future generations).

The women’s group has had an on-going struggle with governmental institutions to legalize their cooperative, and the frustratingly slow and bureaucratic process has provoked frustration, lack of confidence in the government agencies as well as distrust of NGOs. This experience validates their concerns that “rural communities are forgotten” in a political system that does not (or cannot) adequately support their efforts to foster community economic development initiatives. Recent dollarization in 2001 (from Salvadoran colones to US dollars) has added an additional economic stress on rural communities throughout the country, including San Juan del Gozo. Yet, the fisherfolk and women’s groups continue their work towards community wellbeing, although their engagement with other outsiders has become more cautious.

The other interesting aspect to this informal assessment was that CESTA, having worked in the region now for 4 years, is increasingly interested in an integral approach to community development. Particularly, CESTA’s EcoMarine team is interested on how an integral approach can foster meaningful participation with community members through addressing the unseen, emotional trauma and self-esteem issues that other methodologies leave out.

Returning to San Juan del Gozo was a very important part of this story as it points out how fragile our “successes” are in the broad landscape of sustainable community development, and how far we have yet to go. My intent with this booklet is to engage the development community — local people, practitioners, development agencies, research centres — in this on-going dialogue, exploration and commitment to alleviating poverty and fostering sustainability, worldwide.

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Appendix 1: List of Focus Group Participants and Key

**Fishfolk:**
Oscar William Duran Martinez, president, *Brisas del Mar* council.
Isabel Fuente Gallegos, vice-president, *Brisas del Mar* council.
Luis Alonso Martinez, secretary, *Brisas del Mar* council.
Samuel Rivas, treasurer, *Brisas del Mar* council.
Jose David Esquiel, fisherman.
Reina Isabella Rodriguez, fisherwoman.
Jose Gualelupe Garcia Fuentes, fisherman.

**Women:**
Digna de Jesus Andrade, president, women’s council.
Rosa Telma Flores de Zetino, vice-president, women’s council.
Delmi del Carman Villarta de Palacios, secretary, women’s council.
Edith Andusol Pineda, treasurer, women’s council, fish merchant.
Graciela del Carmen Rivas, vocal, women’s council.
Dora Christina Mejia, woman in community.
Rubidia Carman Gonzales, woman in community.
Ana del Amira Amaya, fish merchant.
Maria Ester Castillo, store owner.
Candil, store owner.

**ADESCO:**

**Social Institutions:**
Mario Ernesto Paz, Director of School.
Hernan Gonzalez, President, Education Council.
Abner Nochez Vela, Health Promoter.
Carlos Guzman, Pastor, *Luz Verdadera* Church.
Dimas Moises Nolasco, Pastor, *Asembleas de Dios* Church.

**Governmental, Private and Non-Governmental Organizations:**
Josefina, Coordinadora del proyecto en San Juan del Gozo, Asociacion de Desarrollo Integral, ADIC (Integral Development Association)
Rolando Arturo Rodriguez, Technician, Sistema De Asesoría Y Capacitación Para El Desarrollo Local, SACDEL (System of Consulting and Training for Local Development)
Ingeniero Pedro Amaya, Environment Manager, Cooperative Housing Foundation, CHF.
Interview with Juan Marenco, Cooperative League of the United States of America, CLUSA.
Cecilia Hernandez and Maravile, Coordinators of Movimiento Salvadoreno de la Mujer, MSM (Salvadoran Women’s Movement)
Héctor Armando Maldonado, President of DEICO, Desarrollo, Investigación y Consultoría, S.A. de C.V. (Development, Research and Consulting)
William Cruz, manager of ISTA lands in Usulután and the area of San Juan del Gozo, Instituto Salvadoreno de Transformación Agraria, ISTA (Salvadoran Institute of Agrarian Transfer)
Jaime Enrique de Leon G., Departamento de Asociaciones Agropecuarias de Ministerio de Agricultura y Ganadería. (Department of Agriculture and Livestock Associations of the Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock)
Endnotes


[11] For example, the predominant methodologies and frameworks for sustainable development alone include: The Brandt Equation from the Brandt21 Forum, (ISO14001), CERES, World Business Council for Sustainable Development (WBCSD), Natural Capitalism, Gunter Pauli's Zero Emissions Research and Initiatives (ZERI), Factor X; Wackernagel's Ecological Footprinting, Life Cycle Analysis, various forms of TOEF (total quality environmental management); Elkingon's Triple Bottom Line, the Swedish Natural Step, Robert Gilman's "five capitals" (human, social, natural, manufactured and money capital) and a related approach used by Jonathan Porritt at the UK-based Forum for the Future, Bhutan's Gross National Happiness Index, Canada's Genuine Progress indicator, and both the "BITE" framework (biophysical, instructional, technical and ethical dimensional) and the Sustainable Livelihoods approach being used by UN's Department for International Development. (Frameworks compiled from research that included Society for Organizational Learning, Integrating Frameworks for Sustainability (DRAFT), April 1, 2001; and Hardin Tibbs, "Saving the World Slowly -- Impressions of the United Nations World Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg, South Africa", 2002, p. 10.)

[12] M'Gongile (2000, p 4) explains: "centre and territory have both a physical component and a social component. It would, however, be inaccurate to reduce them to discrete, concrete, either/or dichotomies...they exist as omnipresent tendencies in all forms of social organization and cultural consciousness. Centre, for example, is manifest in the fluorescent lights in the corporate office tower, but it also exists in the authority of a local mayor or a traditional aboriginal chieftain. Territory is manifest in the town hall meeting in the remote village, but it exists in the urban neighborhood association as well..."

[13] The conventional development approach, with structural adjustment programs and other financial mechanisms designed to re-align traditional socioeconomic systems to the macro economic system (Chomsky, 1999). A similar phenomenon, albeit underpinned by different values, is explained by Jacques M. Chevalier and Daniel Bucless describe in "Chapter 1 Conflict
management: A heterocultural perspective" in the book Cultivating Peace. Conflict and Collaboration in Natural Resource Management. The authors explain how the concepts of pacifism, egalitarianism, communalism, secularism, and rationalism are built into the community-based approach to natural resource management and are often treated as universal principles. These are not universal principles, and to assume they are can pose serious risks, as the authors explain with examples from around the world. Even though the community-based approach itself is well intentioned, they call for a more culturally and socially grounded approach to conflict management, and other resource management activities.

[14] Prescott-Allen, Robert (2001). The Wellbeing Of Nations. A Country-by-Country Index of Quality of Life and the Environment (IDRC/Island Press). The author combines 36 indicators of health, population, wealth, education, communication, freedom, peace, crime, and equity into a Human Wellbeing Index, and 51 indicators of land health, protected areas, water quality, water supply, global atmosphere, air quality, species diversity, energy use, and resource pressures into an Ecosystem Wellbeing Index. The two indexes are then combined into a Wellbeing/Stress Index that measure how much human wellbeing each country obtains for the amount of stress it places on the environment.

[15] Selby, D. (2002: 78) traces these influences from Francis Bacon’s view to enslave nature; Rene Descartes’s division of the world between that which is mind from that which is matter; to the various writers (Bateson, 1973; Bohm, 1990; Capra, 1983; 1996; Merchant, 1981) that describe how this Cartesian thought gave rise to a linear, deterministic, reductionist mentality. Habermas called this phenomenon the colonization of art and morals by science (Teilas, 1995, pp. 3-22). Marcuse referred to it as the one-dimensional man (Marcuse, 1964). Weber said it was the disenchantment of the world (Weber, 1963), and Wilber explains it as flatland (Wilber, 2000, 1999, 1996, and 1995).

[16] To then place the work “sustainable” upon such a concept of development does not address its central flaws; rather, the term developing sustainability fundamentally questions the roots of development, provides a revolutionized context for working for social change and frames the work as a process of unfolding versus an already defined endpoint.

[17] Paper prepared by the Think Sangha for Sulak Sivaraksa as part of the Lambeth, UK meeting with the World Bank and religious leaders (February, 1998).

[18] “Development planning has been shaped and influenced by an underlying vision which is fundamental to its spread and subsequent failure. The principal tenets undergirding this vision are that economic development can be engineered through reason and foresight; that rational economic planning and effective control of entire economic systems are both feasible and desirable; and that centralized knowledge collection and decision-making are both feasible and efficacious in human society.” Kamath, Shyam J., “The Failure of Development Planning in India.” chapter 5, in Peter J. Boettke. 1994. The Collapse of Development Planning. (New York: New York University Press) p 92

[19] Paper prepared by the Think Sangha for Sulak Sivaraksa as part of the Lambeth, UK meeting with the World Bank and religious leaders (February, 1998).


[22] Many of Paul van Schaik’s work and papers are posted on the Integral Sustainability Centre website of Integral University: www.integraluniversity.org

[23] By the 1980s, the concept of participatory development had entered the policy-making domain of larger donor agencies and development organizations, although it is questionable that it has been fully adapted in practice. These agencies include: Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), United States Agency for International Development (USAID), the Danish Agency for International Development (DANIDA), the UK Department for International Development (DFID), the Swedish International Development Authority (SIDA), the Norwegian Agency for International Development (NORAD), and the World Bank (Estrella, 2000, p 3).
feelings, outcomes), communicative learning (learning


[28] For example, in the GDF, the Inter-American Foundation requires that organizations receiving grants for community development work must demonstrate capacity to raise public awareness regarding the disadvantaged population, and they describe the need for self-esteem building, appreciation of cultural identity, and respect for one another’s customs.


[32] Brian Tomlinson, of the Canadian Coalition for International Cooperation, points out this contradiction in his article on “Promoting ownership and gender equality” (Reality of Aid, 2002).


[34] Laslow, 1987, p. 9, explains: The old adage “everything is connected with everything else” describes a true state of affairs. The results achieved by (evolutionary sciences) furnish adequate proof that the physical, the biological, and the social realms in which evolution unfolds are by no means disconnected. At the very least, one kind of evolution presages the ground for the next. Out of the conditions created by evolution in the physical realm emerge the conditions that permit biological evolution to take off. And out of the conditions created by biological evolutions come the condition that allow human beings — and many other species — to evolve certain social forms of organization.


[36] The integral approach is based on Ken Wilber’s Integral Theory. His work attempts to integrate and synthesize knowledge and research from various disciplines in search of a more comprehensive framework. Wilber is the most translated academic author in the United States, with over 20 published books and over 100 articles, some appearing in more than 24 languages. Integral Sustainability practitioners most notably include: Maureen Silos of the Caribbean Institute in Suriname and Paul and Barbara van Schaik of Awa Mara Foundation-Integral Praxis Training and Research based in South Africa.

[37] The three domains relate to the “domains of learning” explained by Habermas (1984). These are: instrumental learning (learning to control and manipulate the environment or other people, as in task-oriented problem-solving to improve outcomes), communicative learning (learning what others mean when they communicate with you, with often involves feelings, intentions, values, and moral issues), and emancipation learning (which involves critical reflection and self-reflection).


For example, a more complex aspect of integral theory that relates to the study of self-stages is that of the lines of self-development. Lines refer to the varied aspects to the self that grow and develop separately but in relation to each other. Some of these include the cognitive line, values line, affective (or emotional) line, spiritual line, and so forth. They can be understood akin to Howard Gardner's different types of intelligence – intellectual intelligence, emotional intelligence, and so forth. Some but not all of these lines are developmental (i.e. grow through stage conceptions into more expansive and complex modes). I do not address this aspect to integral theory explicitly in this book but refer the reader to Wilber (1995) for a more complete explanation.

Kohlerberg first introduced the terms preconventional, conventional, postconventional to these stages of self-development which roughly align with egocentric, sociocentric and worldcentric. Wilber added postpostconventional to the overall model; this forth stage is also often referred to as trans-personal or self-transcendent. Worldcentrism has been described by other theorists as postconventional (Kohlerberg), universal care/hierarchical integrative (Gilligan), existential/ironist (Torbert), and 4th order-self-authoring/5th order-integral (Kegan). See Wilber (2000) Charts 5a-c; pp 206-208.

As Wilber puts it (1995, p. 110-111). "the higher structure relaxes its grip on consciousness, regresses to a previous level where the failed integration first occurred, repairs the damage on that level by reliving it in a benign and healing context, and then integrates that level – embraces the former 'shadow' – in a new and higher holon of the [total self system]." Healing practices exist for individuals and groups, from therapy and counseling to ceremonies and dialogue circles; while crucially important, this is not a topic I explore in detail in this book.

[38] It may be useful here to point out a potential pitfall of the AQAL approach to mapping problems and studies especially in the hands of novice practitioners. As with any new tool, it can be over applied just like the toddler who uses his play hammer to hammer everything in his wake, not just the nails on his play bench. Whether and how much one follows the AQ model to the letter or to the spirit is likely at least partially a reflection of the practitioner's experience as well as his or her awareness of models as symbolic abstractions or maps – they are always incomplete no matter how much of the territory they depict. It is becoming more widely understood and accepted across the sciences that our maps and theories about reality are always partial. The theories we create can never grasp the whole, intricate unity of the living universe of which we are an inseparable part." (Cook-Greuter, 2004, p.4-5)


[41] Liberation theology unites popular movements with Christian theology in the struggle for social and political liberation, with the ultimate aim of complete liberation for individuals and communities (Guillem, G. 1973, pp 81-100, p. 113).


[44] For example, a more complex aspect of integral theory that relates to the study of self-stages is that of the lines of self-development. Lines refer to the varied aspects to the self that grow and develop separately but in relation to each other. Some of these include the cognitive line, values line, affective (or emotional) line, spiritual line, and so forth. They can be understood akin to Howard Gardner's different types of intelligence – intellectual intelligence, emotional intelligence, and so forth. Some but not all of these lines are developmental (i.e. grow through stage conceptions into more expansive and complex modes). I do not address this aspect to integral theory explicitly in this book, and refer the reader to Wilber (1995) for a more complete explanation.

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[49] The data was then collated, analyzed and validated by the community participants before reports were written and shared. A full description of the research project is found in Estrella, 2000, pp. 83-94.

[51] These stages of growth are understood to be cross-cultural (Kohlberg, for example, studied moral development in over 40 cultures), although practitioners should always maintain an on-going inquiry into the uniqueness of the cultural context, as the culture is always and infinitely impacting and influencing development work.


[56] However, Nehru, the first president after independence, began to follow neoclassical economic policies and mainstream development processes. Most presidents since then have similarly followed the conventional model. This is a common trend in most countries (including and particularly in Latin America) as the world undergoes economic globalization. Just because it is a common trend, however, does not mean that it is a good one. Analysts explain how the “so-called free-market miracle” agenda, which makes these countries “darlings” of large development financial institutions (like the World Bank) and other international investors and which precipitate removal of tariffs and widespread privatization, may stimulate economic growth, yet little of these tangible benefits actually reach the ordinary people. See ECN — The Economist. March 22, 1997. Volume 342: Issue 809.


[60] Dr. Ricardo Navarro, Director, CESTA (Salvadoran Centre for Appropriate Technology), personal communication, August 2004.

[61] Which included, among others: Concepción Yesenia Juarez, Rafael Vela Núñez, Sofia Barres, Rosibel Acosta Cantón and Hannish Millar.


[63] Such as Kegan’s Subject-Object Test, Susan Cook-Greuter’s Sentence Completion Test or other tools for identifying meaning-making capacities. In this regard, our methodology could be greatly improved.

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[65] Based on interviews with 15% of the families in the community (38 interviews in total, 16 with men and 22 with women). In the 23 families interviewed, there was an average of 5.4 children per household, depending on the age of the husband and wife, with older parents having 7-10 children.

[66] Some problems in data collection that I encountered during the fieldwork were the ambiguity of answers given during the open-ended interviews and the inherent subjectivity of the qualitative methodology used. We mitigated some of this ambiguity by checking each our own perspectives with each other and with other community members, to triangulate our data collection and reveal our biases (if any) as quickly as possible.


[68] 43% of all income-generating activities depend on the mangrove forest ecosystem either directly (working in reforestation with NGO projects, fishing in lagoon, collecting mangrove shellfish or cutting mangrove) or indirectly (selling fish and shellfish) (Figure 3b). Most families collect fallen branches for firewood and some harvest wood from the mangrove for construction and reparation of houses (Figure 3b). All lagoon-users and fisher merchants, and their families, rely on the mangrove to nurse the shrimp and fish in the lagoon (Figure 3b). Some people collect various shellfish from the mangrove forest itself, such as clams and crabs. The dry-land forest and coastal marine habitat are used less by the community, but are still important (Figure 3b). Community inhabitants collect firewood and occasionally medicinal plants from the patches of dry-land forest, and they also hunt wild species like iguanas and armadillos. Community residents use the coastal marine habitat for collecting turtle eggs, but for lack of access to appropriate fishing gear, do not fish in the open ocean (Figure 3b).

[69] The remaining income-generating activities are not directly linked to the environment; they include: renting land, operating stores, receiving income from a family member living in the North, working in the city, working out of town, working as a caretaker, selling domestic goods, and having a marginal income (i.e. no paid work at all) (Figure 4).

[70] The lands of Jiquilisco Bay were re-distributed and divided among cooperatives during the civil war. The cooperatives received these properties initially as a loan from the Land Bank (Banco de la Tierra). Later, however, the lands were bought by the European Union (Union Europea) and distributed by the Salvadoran Institute of Agrarian Transfer (Instituto Salvadoreno de Transferencia Agraria, ISTA) to cooperative members, who received legal status as owners of these lands.

[71] At that time, individuals interested in joining the cooperative had to attend training in cooperativism and have a cedula for personal identification, with the only cost being for drawing up the legal contract. Proyecto MIRA, (2000), p. 3.

[72] The acreage is called a parcelo, valued at 5 thousand colones/manzana in 2002, and is just over four acres in size (a manzana measures just over an acre).

[73] The cultivation of sesame and cashew seeds is part of the organic agriculture project with the NGO’s CHF and CLUSA. In 2000, the sesame seeds were sold to organic buyers in the United States for almost twice as much as an inorganic crop would (285 colones/sack instead of 150 colones/sack; $55.88 CDN versus $29.41 CDN) and in another three years, the cashew trees will produce nuts for market in the US.

[74] The fisherfolk fish at night, from dusk until (at least) midnight or (at most) the early hours of the morning.

[75] After the fish and shellfish have been processed, the price increases. Raw shrimp are sold to community fish merchants for 10 colones/pound ($ 1.96 CDN/pound) and shrimp that have been dried and salted are sold for 15 colones/pound ($ 2.94 CDN/pound); fish are sold raw for 2 colones/pound ($ 0.30 CDN/pound) and for 4 colones/pound ($ 0.78 CDN) after being dried and salted. When the catch is minimal and not worth taking it to market (for example, from September to April when they catch no fish and only 1.5 pounds of shrimp per fisherperson a night) the seafood is not sold and instead augments the household diet.

[76] Below, I discuss the tendency for women to sell the products of men's labor in a section on gender differences in income-generation.

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While the leadership of Oro Blanco has changed, the cooperative members still benefit economically from being members of the cooperative as they still own the land awarded to them during the cooperative's inception.

See appendix 1 for an overview of social services in the community.

Examples include the work that two NGOs (CLUSA and CHF) carried out with Oro Blanco and Brisas del Mar in organic agriculture, which included a series of workshops on organic agriculture methods, commercialization and marketing of the products and certification. Another NGO (SACDEL) also held sustainable agriculture/agroforestry workshops with representatives of the two cooperatives.

There are governmental programs for health care and education, infrastructure support and ecological conservation, but the NGO presence is more prominent in the region.

This was from my personal observations throughout the project, and was also confirmed in personal communication with CESTA community workers from 2002-2004.

Women: Digna de Jesús Andrade (president of women's council), Rosa Telma Flores de Zetino (vice president of women's council), Delmi del Carmen Villarta de Palacios (secretary of women's council), Edith Andusol Plineda (treasurer of women's council, fish merchant), and Graciela del Carmen Rivas (vocal of women's council).

The process of legalizing the cooperative was set back by numerous months due to complications within the governmental departments in San Salvador, however during this time, CESTA continued to work with the women's cooperative, helping them to further plan their vision, keeping their confidence high, and giving workshops on ecotourism and the environment.

For the women's focus group, Beck and Cowan (1996) would describe this as a working with Red-Blue wMemes towards Blue-Orange wMemes, and for the fisherfolk, our work centered around strengthening the emerging Orange wMeme. In both groups, there were signs of Green wMeme emerging toward the later months of the project.

I use the term "development practitioner" rather loosely, recognizing that various individuals (like activists, action researchers, social workers and community leaders) may take on this role, or may move in and out of this role, depending on the situation.
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