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Born in Texas in 1950, I grew up on Long Island, New York, in a completely Southern white Memphian family. Learning to interrogate the stark differences between the public schools' version of the history of slavery and the Civil War and my grandmother's racist rendition was a crash course in the constructed nature of histories and the importance of ascertaining who and what each version serves. This was underscored when, at the height of the Vietnam War, I attended a Quaker high school while living in a Republican family. Slavery, civil rights, pacifism, and social justice were on my mind as an adolescent, but so were struggles to understand my mother's psychology, as well as my own.

I decided to study psychology in college and was soon disappointed by the mainstream offerings, engulfed in positivism and behaviorism. I turned to anthropology, religion, and the work of Jung. In Jung's active imagination, I found a description of the kind of waking dreams that were beginning to overtake me, as I struggled with the onset of a depression at 19. For my senior thesis at Princeton University, I researched directed and undirected daydreaming, a work that later became *Waking Dreams*. During this period, I awoke at dawn one morning and experienced light and a voice suffusing my bedroom: "To love is to listen; to listen is to love" repeated over and over again and then receded. This became my orienting koan.

Inspired by the work of Laing to help create alternative community living situations for people undergoing psychotic breaks, upon graduation I began to volunteer and live at such a place and worked nights at a psychiatric inpatient unit. One night, as I checked on people, I discovered a teacher trying to kill herself. It deeply affected me. My Jungian analyst suggested that I read James Hillman's *Suicide and the Soul*. I was very moved by his honoring of the difficult images that are suffered in the midst of suicidal periods. Hillman was teaching at the Jung Institute in Zürich, and I decided to study there.

During my year at the Institute, 1973–1974, I was fortunate to be able to listen to Hillman's lectures that became *Re-Visioning Psychology* and *The Dream and the Underworld*, to join the early group of archetypal psychologists, and to have some of my writing published in *Spring Journal*. I also studied the work of another Zürich analyst, Medard Boss, who was bringing Heidegger's ideas into his work. I decided that I also wanted to study further afield from Jung and left to study phenomenological and existential psychology at Duquesne University, the first graduate school in the United States to teach qualitative methodologies. I took to Amedeo Giorgi's phenomenological approach to research, a cousin of which—critical phenomenology—I still teach today.

I then decided to study developmental and clinical psychology with Bernard Kaplan at Clark University. Bernie, like Hillman, was extremely generous and encouraging to budding female scholars, not a common occurrence at that time. I took a deep dive into object relations theories, which began to ground my clinical practice with children and adults. Kaplan allowed me to write my dissertation on imaginal dialogues, how they had been treated in various cultures, and why they were so derided and confined to childhood in American psychology. This work became *Invisible Guests: The Development of Imaginal Dialogues*.

Once free from graduate school, I continued to practice, teach, and write. But my life was divided between social and psychological issues. Then, in the early 1980s, I began to experience a series of nightmares about nuclear war. The social broke through into the imaginal. The Australian physician Helen Caldecott was establishing Physicians for Social Responsibility in Cambridge, where I lived, and I began to work with them. Part of my week was spent in clinical sessions in which people spoke intimately about their interior lives, families, and friends. The other part was spent working along with other social activists on a variety of social issues. I was deeply struck by how many of the latters' intense feelings and images concerned social justice situations, whereas my middle- and upper-class clients rarely reflected on politics, economics, and injustice in their sessions. I came to understand how depth psychologies of that time had come to define the psychological as apart from the social, the cultural, the political, and the ecological. Slowly, I saw that the underlying paradigm of individualism was distorting our understandings, and I began to theorize and work from an interdependent paradigm.

In 1985, while preparing to adopt my first daughter from Northeast Brazil, I encountered the work of Paulo Freire, a Brazilian liberatory pedagogist. I experienced his work as the missing half of depth psychology. It led me to the work of Frantz Fanon and Ignacio Martín-Baró and the evolving work being done in liberation psychology, centering psychology in the service of justice. This helped me to cross a bridge into more community-based participatory and dialogical approaches (see *Toward Psychologies of Liberation*).

Once teaching at Pacifica Graduate Institute, my life as a mother of four daughters and my life as a teacher became a daily balancing act, punctuated by maternal joy. I developed a community and ecological fieldwork and research component of the Depth Psychology Program that I co-founded in 1996. In 2009, I co-founded a doctoral specialization in Community, Liberation, Indigenous, and Eco-Psychologies. Here students and faculty are involved in what I call the "public" practice of psychology in a wide variety of settings, as they attempt to understand the effects of coloniality and dream and act to create decolonial realities. My own work over

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the last 15 years has been centered on forced migration, the US-Mexico border, and the plight of asylum seekers in detention prisons in the US (see *Up Against the Wall: Re-Imagining the U.S.-Mexico Border*).

My life now is not as divided as it was in my 30s. The false separations that one learns have given way. A deep desire to learn with others remains a daily companion, a sustaining joy. Lewis Hyde (2007) said that the "ego's firmness has its virtues, but at some point we seek the slow dilation . . . in which the ego enjoys a widening give-and-take with the world" (p. 21). I feel this deeply.

Seeing From "the South"

Using Liberation Psychology to Reorient the Vision, Theory, and Practice of Depth Psychology

This was an invited keynote address to the Society for Theoretical and Philosophical Psychology, Division 24, of the American Psychological Association, March 2, 2019, Vanderbilt University upon receiving the 2019 Award for Distinguished Theoretical and Philosophical Contributions to Psychology.

Like most of you, my readers, I am on a long journey with the theories and practice of depth psychologies. The Euro-American discipline of psychology is one of my life partners. For a very short period, early in my life, I idealized it. I have been both educated and disappointed by it. At times it has flooded me with excitement, and, at others, suffused me with shame. Bidden and unbidden, it is a source of abiding interest, but also of my continuing resistance and defection.

My formal education in psychology was based in the northeast of the United States and in Zürich, Switzerland. My informal psychological education was based in the south of the United States. Although I grew up in New York, I did so in a completely southern, white, Memphis family. My formal education rooted me in phenomenology, depth psychologies, developmental psychology, and the clinical paradigm. My informal education rooted me in a felt sense of the profound racial injustice around me, an injustice that clearly affected individuals and also families, schools, neighborhoods, towns, and institutions; an injustice that not only oppressed victims of racism but that psychically and interpersonally deformed perpetrators of it.

Issues of social and environmental justice were absent from my study of phenomenological psychology at Duquesne University (Pittsburgh, PA) in the 1970s

and very rarely evident in the developmental and clinical psychology I studied at Clark University (Worcester, MA), also in the 1970s. By the time I completed graduate school in 1982, my library was noticeably divided: social justice, ecological, and spiritual issues on one set of shelves in my bedroom, and psychology on other shelves in my office.

In the early 1980s, fresh from graduate school, my work weeks were as divided as my library: individual clinical work with children and adults on weekdays and group social action work in the evenings and on weekends. Each operated in its own register of emotion and concern, rarely intersecting. It seemed like both psychotherapists and clients had learned to draw a tight circle around what was defined as problematic psychologically and worked assiduously to keep within the local confines of the individual and the immediate family. I began to reflect on how I colluded with this circumscription, enabling me to slowly understand and then challenge individualism as an adequate underlying paradigm for psychological theory and practice (Watkins, 1992) and proposing instead a shift to interdependence.

I was deeply uncomfortable with the split I was living. I learned as much as I could from authors like Fromm, Horney, Laing, Sullivan, and Szasz about how to heal this divide, but it was an unexpected turn to the south—to Brazil—that gifted me with the glimmerings of the perspective I needed to understand and address the split. I was adopting my first daughter from northeast Brazil, and I began to immerse myself in all things from the *Nor'este* of Brazil: music, poetry, food, history, and the work of Paulo Freire. As I read Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* in 1984, I witnessed a scholar-activist who understood the deep interpenetration of the psychological and the cultural, seeing both from the perspectives of the history of colonialism and the pressing social needs it spawned. I began to understand that to the extent that psychological theories turned a blind eye to the underlying paradigm of individualism, they had made it difficult for me to deeply grasp that the psychological unfolds within history, that psychology itself was bound to be affected by the 500 years of colonialism that was at its apex in the first part of the 20th century and that has since morphed into neoliberalism and transnational capitalism. I have a very specific body memory from the first day I deeply entered the pages of *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. I realized I had been looking for a missing half of Euro-American depth psychologies. Suddenly there was the promise of it.

Freire had to learn to reorient himself to create his form of liberatory pedagogy, a group method of developing critical understanding of the sociocultural roots of psychological and social misery. He reflected on some of his own lessons in moving from the position of teaching others to learning with them. His work was inflected with the values of liberation theology, particularly its shift to a preferential option for the poor. One night he was asked to speak with a roomful of workers, and he shared with them how he understood the situation they were in and what he thought they should do. On the drive home, he noticed that his wife, Elsa, was distant and he inquired why. She confronted him, "Look, Paulo, it does not work like this." Freire says he answered, "What did I do? I spoke serious about serious things." She said, "Yes, of course. All you said is right, but did you ask them whether they were interested in listening to you speak about that? You gave them the answers *and* the

questions" (Horton & Freire, 1990, p. 65). He realized he had failed to listen to them or to understand what they knew about the situation, what kinds of transformation they deeply desired, and what they were willing to work for together.

According to Freire, this moment marked the beginning of his most important contribution to liberatory education, the process of conscientization, *conscientização*, a problem-posing group methodology that seeks to bring into awareness and dialogue what people know about their struggles and their dreams for themselves and their communities so that they can together act to transform their shared oppressive circumstances. This kind of experience helped Freire to decenter and deprivilege his own knowledge, enabling him to be a partner in dialogue, not as an expert but as an accompanist. Due to his own exposure to fascist groups, Jung did not believe groups to be a likely place to build consciousness. Freirean methodology shows clearly the conditions under which groups are extremely effective in building critical understanding.

As a clinician, Freire's work tutored me in posing generative questions to assist individuals and small groups to gain insight into the relationships between their intimate psychological symptoms and struggles and the historical, sociocultural contexts of their lives. Like Jung's approach to the amplification of images, this form of sociocultural amplification also assists individuals to feel less isolated and to understand that others also shoulder versions of their difficulties because of their common roots. Conscientization helps to transmute the burden of feelings of personal failure and defectiveness into sociocultural insights that can fuel transformations.

As one develops a critical consciousness of a particular situation, one understands how the situation has been constructed and created. One can denounce the destructive aspects. The work does not stop, however, with denunciation. Denunciation opens the path for what Freire called annunciation or prophetic imagination. Freire activated creative imagination by recognizing the possibility for creation inherent in all impasses. In his language, limit situations, where we at first seem unable to imagine how things could be otherwise, are the very locations where the most intense experiences of prophetic imagination can occur, unlocking transformative potentials. The path from Freire led me to the work of Frantz Fanon, Ignacio Martín-Baró, Virgilio Enriquez, and Marie Langer, further portals into key concepts and practices in liberation psychology.

In his short life, Martinican psychiatrist and liberation fighter Frantz Fanon (1967), with his cogent grasp of the work of Merleau-Ponty, Lacan, and Sartre, eloquently laid out how psychology not only left out the experiences of people of color but how psychiatry was used against them in North Africa. In his resignation as director of the Blida-Joinville Psychiatric Hospital in Algeria, Fanon rejected the use of psychiatry to help individuals make personal accommodations to unjust and destructive social environments. In his writings, he worked to place phenomenological inquiry into the service of sociopolitical and psychological liberation. His work prefigured what is now called decolonial or critical phenomenology.

Fanon (1967) critiqued Jung's understandings of the collective unconscious as arising from "cerebral heredity" and of the "myths and archetypes" as "permanent

enneagrams of the race" (p. 188). He argued that the contents of the collective unconscious are not collective but "the result of . . . the unreflected imposition of a culture" (Ibid., 1967, p. 191). "The collective unconscious is cultural, which means acquired;" "it is the sum of prejudices, myths, collective attitudes of a given group" (p. 188). He cites Jung's innovation of wanting to go back to the "childhood of the world" (p. 190). But, Fanon said, "he made a remarkable mistake: He went back only to the childhood of Europe" (p. 190). Fanon points out that the Indigenous people that Jung knew had all had traumatic contacts with the white man (p. 187) and that Jung failed to adequately take into account the effects of colonialism on them and their cultures.

These critiques made it clear that Jung's work was predominantly about the white, largely privileged, European psyche that was central to the perpetrating and sustaining of colonialism. These critiques enabled me to see more clearly that some of the shifts Jung was encouraging in his patients could be understood as treatments to redress the colonial or imperial ego of white European colonialists, what James Hillman later termed the heroic ego. Both men were acutely aware of how efforts to dominate and control, both oneself and others, led to overidentification with the ego and the persona and to destructive relationships (Watkins, 2014).

Spanish-born Jesuit and social psychologist Ignacio Martín-Baró (1994) brought the insights and commitments of liberation theology into dialogue with psychology, naming this orientation from the south "liberation psychology." From his perspective in El Salvador in the 1980s, psychological trauma was not only an individual affliction but the shared suffering of whole communities struggling with violence, poverty, and oppression. He introduced the term "psychosocial trauma," also understood as collective trauma. His understanding of psychosocial trauma throws light on the ways in which Western trauma theory failed to adequately include people of color in its theorizing and practices.

As a psychologist, Martín-Baró accompanied the oppressed as they sought to stop the injustices saturating their lives. In addition, he used his role as a psychologist to create research that informed the wider world of the violence being inflicted on the Salvadoran people. By collecting and publishing anonymous narratives and composite polls, he was able to provide a completely different portrait of what the Salvadoran people were enduring than the government's version, saturated with propaganda. He was targeted by the Salvadoran military along with five of his fellow Jesuits and assassinated in 1989 by a U.S.-trained death squad.

Filipino psychologist Virgilio Enriquez (1992), like Martín-Baró, came to reject the naïve deployment of American psychology in the Philippines. Both men studied psychology in the United States, but when they went to use North American psychology in the south, they discovered its limits. Enriquez came to realize that Filipinos enjoyed their own forms of Indigenous psychology that were unrecognized and endangered by the universalism and imperialism of U.S. psychology. His work decisively linked liberation psychology to Indigenous psychology, rejecting what Freire called cultural invasion—interpretations and interventions imposed from outside a given culture. This decentering of Western epistemology

presaged the present decolonial emphasis on pluriversal understandings (Escobar, 2018). By virtue of this decentering, we can come closer to claiming various depth psychological approaches as themselves indigenous to particular peoples at a particular set of historical moments. Once we understand this, our study of depth psychologies can more clearly educate us about the primarily white, upper-middle and upper classes. As Fanon suggested, we can sort the concepts that may be useful in another particular context, while critiquing the universalism and racism where it is harbored in theories. Enriquez's turn from transplanting American psychology onto Filipino soil to understanding and further articulating Indigenous psychologies in the Philippines has now been deployed in many places, including the Māori & Psychology Research Unit at the University of Waikato in New Zealand, which is indigenizing liberation psychology (Rua et al., 2021).

Marie Langer (1989), author of *From Vienna to Managua: Journey of a Psychoanalyst*, offered a model for cultural synthesis in psychoanalytic work. In cultural synthesis, Freire offered, people "do not come to *teach* or *transmit* or *give* anything, but rather to learn, with the people, about the people's world" (Freire, 2000, p. 180)—there is a synthesis of worlds through efforts of mutual understanding. Langer learned to move fluidly between the direct service of providing psychotherapeutic accompaniment to refugees fleeing state terror to work on co-constructing a national mental health system for Nicaraguans deeply affected by losses from a civil war and by centuries of colonial exploitation.

Like the liberation theologians' challenge to priests who supported exploitative elites, Langer directly critiqued her colleagues in the Argentine Psychoanalytic Association, which she had founded. During the "Dirty War" (1973–1983), she called out those psychoanalysts who were colluding with a repressive class system, profiting from their treatment of elites, and separating mental health issues from the pernicious psychosocial effects of class struggle. She urged psychoanalysts to use their knowledge to facilitate rather than to oppose progressive social movements (Hollander, 1997; Langer, 1971).

Her vocal human rights activism, denunciation of atrocities, and advocacy to democratize mental health care led to her placement on a death squad list in 1974, causing her to seek asylum in Mexico. There she treated refugee survivors of the brutal military dictatorships in Central and Latin America and helped to create The Committee on Solidarity with the Argentine People, which helped new refugees with housing, clothes, work, and psychological care, while working to document the human rights abuses they had suffered in Argentina (Hollander, 2010). It is important to note her clear understanding that at times treatment is less important than working to provide the necessities of daily life, upon which psychological well-being is also dependent.

In 1981, she joined with twelve psychologists and medical doctors with psychoanalytic training to form the Internationalist Team of Mental Health Workers, Mexico-Nicaragua. They accompanied Sandinistas in Nicaragua as they created their first national mental health system, one with universal access and a focus on prevention (Hollander, 1991). I see such efforts as a decommodification of psychology, a giving away of what others may find useful in a given context, even if this undermines the economic security of professionalized practice.

"Accompaniment" is a term sprinkled throughout the literature of liberation theology and liberation psychology. It has compelled my attention for the last 15 years. As I began to track it, I found it used in arenas as diverse as social medicine, peace activism, human rights, pastoral support, social psychology, animal rights, and liberation psychology (Watkins, 2015, 2019). The concept is used when speaking of accompanying the ill who are also poor (Farmer, 2011), those caught in prison and detention systems (Lykes, Hershberg, & Brabeck, 2011), political dissidents (Romero, 2001), refugees (Jesuit Refugee Service), those suffering under occupation (Ecumenical Accompaniment Programme in Palestine), victims of torture and other forms of violence, those forcibly displaced (Sacipa-Rodríguez, Vidales, Galindo, & Tovar, 2007), those suffering from human rights violations (Mahoney & Eguren, 1997), and those attempting to live peacefully in the face of paramilitary and military violence (such as the peace communities in Colombia). In Latin America, "psychosocial accompaniment" has arisen as a role that is distinct from that of psychotherapist or psychological researcher, though it may include elements of each. In countless other situations of human and environmental duress, accompaniment is engaged in without recourse to the term.

Paul Farmer, the co-founder of Partners in Health, describes accompaniment:

> To accompany someone is to go somewhere with him or her, to break bread together, to be present on a journey with a beginning and an end. There's an element of mystery, of openness, of trust, in accompaniment. The companion, the accompagnateur, says: "I'll go with you and support you on your journey wherever it leads. I'll share your fate for a while—and by "a while," I don't mean a little while. Accompaniment is about sticking with a task until it's deemed completed—not by the accompagnateur, but by the person being accompanied.
> (Farmer, 2013, p. 234)

Indeed, accompaniment conveys the relational horizontality and the solidarity that can emerge through committed co-presence. When "psychosocial" is added as an adjective, accompaniment gains a dimensionality that is resonant with conscientization, inclusive of understanding the historical and sociocultural context and engaging in transformative action.

Through these vignettes I have outlined some key compass points for reorienting depth psychological theory and practice to liberatory ends: liberatory pedagogy, conscientization, annunciation or prophetic imagination, decolonial phenomenology, an interdependent paradigm, collective or psychosocial trauma, the preferential option for the poor and the marginalized, the Indigenization of psychology, cultural synthesis, and psychosocial accompaniment (Watkins & Lorenz, 2008).

As my own reorientation was taking place, an opportunity arose to explore what psychological work might look like if it were released from the clinical paradigm while being inflected by depth psychologies and deeply influenced by

the insights, social justice aims, and practices of liberation psychology. In a graduate program that I co-founded in 1996—the M.A./Ph.D. Depth Psychology Program at Pacifica Graduate Institute—many of our students and fieldwork faculty engaged in this reorientation from the south and nourished the community and ecological fieldwork we were doing with the insights and practices of liberation psychology. Some colleagues argued vehemently that this was not psychology at all and certainly not depth psychology—but maybe sociology or perhaps social work. As I defended to depth psychologists the logic of linking individual and community well-being, I discovered it had already been—historically speaking—at the roots and heart of psychoanalytic practice.

It would be difficult to tell from much of the contemporary mainstream practice of depth psychologies in the United States that psychoanalysis was conceived in an atmosphere of acute consciousness of social inequalities and their impact on mental health. In *Freud's Free Clinics: Psychoanalysis and Social Justice, 1918–1938,* Elizabeth Danto (2005) chronicles this now rarely considered early history of the psychoanalytic movement, forged in the aftermath of the economic and social devastation of World War I.

Many early psychoanalytic practitioners were engaged Marxists, socialists, or social democrats, whose practice of depth psychology issued from hopes of liberation on social and psychological fronts, fronts that were seen as inextricably intertwined. In the early period of psychoanalysis, forged in Red Vienna, psychoanalysts were deeply involved in initiatives to create and staff free clinics for psychoanalytic treatment, free clinics for reproductive health care and education for women, initiatives to help women struggle against various forms of domination, abuse, and control, experimental schools for inner-city children, school-based treatment centers for children traumatized by war and poverty, settlement house psychology classes for workers, the first child guidance clinics, suicide prevention centers, They worked to build conditions for peace and stability in Austria and Europe and supported the kindergarten movement and architectural initiatives for public housing that would help to build urban families' sense of community, a sense understood to undergird psychological health (Danto, 2005). For these analysts, there was not a strict divide between their work in private practice and their work in what I call "public practice."

In 1918, Freud gave a speech in Budapest on awakening the conscience of society. He expressed that suffering was not evenly distributed in a society but was "imposed unfairly and largely according to economic status and position" (Danto, 2005, p. 19). In this talk, Freud reversed his earlier assertion that low or no fees compromised psychoanalytic treatment in the eyes of the patient, and he retracted his image of the psychoanalyst as a medical entrepreneur. From this point forward, Freud became an advocate for free psychoanalytic clinics, flexible fees, and lay analysis. He worked to wrestle psychoanalytic practice from the medical establishment and attempted, with his colleagues, to expand the circle of those who could benefit from psychoanalytic treatment to include the poor. The first psychoanalytic free clinic was in Berlin. It adopted the practice of performing

initial intake evaluations that were blind to one's capacity to pay. Analysts who were part of the international society agreed to donate their time one day a week to provide psychoanalytic care to those who could not afford it or to contribute the equivalent in funds for the clinics.

Psychoanalytic understanding of the effects of culture grew dimmer as psychoanalysis was transplanted from Europe to America during and after World War II. Many Jewish émigré analysts sought refuge in America. Russell Jacoby (1983) argues that the transplanted analysts suppressed their history of social and political engagement in Europe to avoid delays in the U.S. naturalization process. Many felt this suppression continued to be necessary because of the political climate in America as the Cold War deepened and McCarthyism erupted. Those with allegiances to Marxism and socialism were afraid they would be seen as communists or traitors. Émigré analysts sought economic security by flight from the kinds of public and socialist initiatives popular in Vienna to private practice models that uncritically embraced capitalism's brutal divisions in the provision of health care. Psychoanalysis became relatively indifferent to racial and cultural issues and insufficiently reflective of its own cultural location within a multicultural society (Altman, 1995).

As psychoanalysis retreated from interest in and commitment to social justice, it took refuge in disease models that undergird a perceived need for individual treatment. Lay analysis was outlawed in America against Freud's wishes. This pushed psychoanalysis away from cultural criticism and public practice toward medicalized practice. Economic stresses on the health-care system forced a wide adoption of the disease model, locating pathology almost entirely within individuals, requiring a diagnosis of psychopathology, and systematizing interventions in order to gain payment from third party insurance.

Once the consulting room and the therapist were segregated from the community, the daily lives of the people who consulted them, and the community life beyond their view, the office became not only a quiet and hopefully safe place for the client to work on their private and psychological life but a place and a practice that segregated the psychologist from the life of the community and those caught in what sociologist Saskia Sassen (2014) calls "elementary brutalities." The consulting room can be seen as a place of refuge from grappling more directly with issues of social, economic, and environmental justice. It can be a place of defense that makes it less likely we will be working alongside people who feel the brunt of neoliberalism and coloniality. If we live in economically, racially, and ethnically segregated neighborhoods, and if we practice our spirituality in a homogeneous group, our segregation is compounded. As our privilege increases and is more solidified with advanced professionalization, without great effort we can find ourselves increasingly separated from others whose experiences are quite different from our own.

Fourteen years ago, an opportunity arose to use curricular space at Pacifica Graduate Institute to create a doctoral depth psychology specialization that emphasizes the integration of critical community psychology, liberation psychology, Indigenous psychologies, and environmental justice. During these years,

community and ecological fieldwork and research at Pacifica have deepened and profited from coursework that supports insight into moving away from coloniality toward decoloniality, Indigenous approaches to research, and serious attention to anti-racism work. Over 700 examples of community and ecological fieldwork and research have emerged over 24 years of community and ecological fieldwork and research at Pacifica, many oriented by liberation psychology. Each year, students and I study phenomenologically the fieldworkers' experiences and the outcomes, difficulties, and joys of their work. We have tried to discern some of the points of orientation of ecopsychosocial accompaniment that have been useful. In the following, I will try to give a sense of how mutual accompaniment can unfold, using these points of orientation. To do so, I will draw on aspects of my own fieldwork experience with forced migration and the U.S.-Mexico border over the last 18 years, in concert with others', to exemplify some of the principles of this work.

First Point of Orientation: Discern "the call" you experience and reflect on its relationship to your own autobiography and positionality. We ask ourselves to be aware of the issues that are compelling our attention and to work to become aware of how they intersect with our lives, discerning our own complex positionality in relation to them.

I am a relative newcomer to the southwest, having spent the first 45 years of my life in New York and Boston. When I moved west, I began to try to understand my new city: Santa Barbara, a city of 38% Mexican and Mexican Americans and the rest predominantly white Anglos. In 2002, I had the opportunity to travel with a group of young Quakers to an autonomous community, Maclovio Rojas near Tijuana, Mexico, to accompany Maclovians at their request during a period when the government was trying to displace the members of the community in order to sell the land to transnational companies that were building *maquiladores*, large industrial plants. On the way there, we stopped at Friendship Park, where Tijuana and the most southern part of the U.S. meet at the edge of the Pacific Ocean. There I first encountered the U.S. border wall. I had a sickening feeling when I first saw it. A wall between two friendly peoples, a wall to keep out people who are struggling to feed themselves and their families when the U.S. has created policies that worsen this struggle in their home country, a wall in the middle of historically bicultural communities, a wall that separates family members and that marks an unjust conquest of land. My attempt to understand my own community in Santa Barbara, where so many live in the shadow of this wall, strengthened my sense that I should commit to border studies and action. From my own autobiography, it resonated with my informal education in U.S. racism.

The border crystallizes many of the profound social problems of our time. It is indeed a wound, as Gloria Anzaldúa (2007) described it, *una herida*, a scar across the land. It permits the free flow of consumer goods but makes unfree the passage of human beings. The wall is not aimed at keeping people out or guns in. What it does achieve is to make immigrant labor cheap and laborers afraid and disenfranchised, without any path to citizenship and voting. Those who fail in crossing are swallowed as cheap labor by the vast *maquiladores* at the border. Many who succeed in crossing the border never get past the multiple checkpoints and become entrapped in the abandonment zones of the *colonias* in Texas.

The border is a place where Americans must grapple with what it means to shut the door on people who are fleeing unlivable and violent conditions, conditions created in part by our own country and our ways of living.

Second Point of Orientation: Guard against cultural invasion by seeking invitation and by your own patient immersion, listening, and learning. An awareness of psychology's history of cultural invasion has led to fieldwork where fieldworkers are not bringing interventions to places they do not know and who do not know them. This does not mean that they do not have skills and theories in their backpacks, but it does mean that if they are entering a situation or community as an outsider, that they do so only with invitation and that their first and abiding work is listening, learning, immersing themselves, and building relationships. This takes time and patience, but it yields understanding of and respect for local knowledge and approaches. It creates the groundwork for potential solidarity.

Over the next several years (2002–2006), I took advantage of several invitations for immersion at the border: through Borderlinks, an organization in Tucson that helps groups travel to both sides of the border in Arizona, speaking to Border Patrol agents, migrants, maquiladora workers, humanitarian organizations that provide food and water in the desert, and those sustaining the sanctuary movement; through Global Xchange, which focuses on human rights issues at the border in Tijuana and surrounding the Zapatista communities in Chiapas; and through language study. I spoke with migrants and with people assisting them, and I helped to place water in the desert for people crossing in extremely high temperatures, a practice that has fought criminalization by the U.S. government.

Third Point of Orientation: Join into the ongoing work of the community. Psychologists have a lot to learn from cultural workers who have been engaged in community-based initiatives, most often outside the academy. With a better understanding of migration from Mexico, I located a Latino organization, PUEBLO, in Santa Barbara that was working on issues of immigration and that welcomed my Anglo presence. I faithfully attended their meetings, got to know members, and helped with whatever was needed. While I felt out of place and was unable to understand much of what was said in Spanish, I began to grasp what those without documents were enduring in my community. One year into this, a young member said she had a dream of creating an oral history of the undocumented community in Santa Barbara, but she was unsure of how to go about this and wondered if any people wanted to help.

Fourth Point of Orientation: Engage in participatory and dialogical inquiry with community members. This initiated my participation in an oral history research project for several years with a small group of young adult immigrants without immigration documents. They interviewed community members without documents, translated these interviews, worked together to identify themes, organized a book, and then introduced it to the community (Pueblo Immigration Committee, 2008). This created a forum for people without documents to

speak to citizen neighbors about their lives and challenges. It enabled topics like racism, economic inequality, poor housing, harassment by the police, and seizure of cars at police checkpoints to become community topics. The psychological sequelae of these stresses were often broached.

Fifth Point of Orientation: Forego expertism and practice horizontality and shared leadership. Initially, many of the young people looked to me as an older, white, educationally privileged professional for direction. While providing background about creating oral history, I tried as much as possible to move into a more horizontal and off-center position, supporting other members of the group to assume leadership. At the same time, there were opportunities for speaking and sharing their work that I could access through my professional privilege, such as their speaking at a Grand Rounds at the local hospital. Now with feet in both Anglo and Mexican communities, it was possible to use my positionality to create bridges between communities that are too rarely in meaningful contact, while being careful not to usurp the leadership of young people of color.

This occurred when the so-called Secure Communities Act swung into place, striking terror into the hearts of immigrant families, while Anglo community members barely noticed. BorderLinks announced that increased dangers at the Arizona-Mexico border were making their border immersion delegations unsafe. They proposed instead to create border immersion programs in our own communities. In Santa Barbara, we invited representatives of immigrant groups to educate a largely Anglo audience about their concerns and struggles. We also included representatives from the police department, the county jail, and Border Patrol so that attendees could gain a fuller picture of the issues from multiple viewpoints.

Sixth Point of Orientation: Understand history critically and engage in ongoing efforts of conscientization. Our psychological well-being, as well as the well-being of our communities, is inextricably linked to our interdependent histories. These histories are crucial to developing a deepened understanding of ourselves and others and to the work before us to build more beloved communities.

For a year, I spent some of my free time each week in the history archives of my city, trying to piece together how Santa Barbara, a Mexican town that was more important than Los Angeles in 1860, had become a wealthy Anglo enclave, oblivious to its history of creating an internal colony of Mexicans and Mexican Americans. For instance, in 1930 people of Mexican descent—U.S. citizens included—were lied to in order for Anglos to expel them. At the behest of the city government, social workers promised them land and tools in Baja, Mexico. They were gathered onto railway cattle cars. Once in Baja, they discovered the hoax. In adjacent Carpinteria, CA, children of Mexican descent suffered educational and social segregation until after World War II: separate and unequal schools, and even differential access to areas of the beach and the movie theater. I was able to bring forward many aspects of this extruded history at gatherings, in the newspaper, and in a book (Casey & Watkins, 2015). A local movement to include such history in ethnic studies classes in the public schools has finally succeeded.

Seventh Point of Orientation: Engage in border crossing, reverse osmosis. As I got to know families affected and afflicted by detention and deportation, the emerging American gulag of detention centers began to come into focus for me. To deport almost half a million people a year, the Obama administration had to expand detention facilities. Our country is now laced not only by prisons but by 200 detention centers, imprisoning 39,000 migrants a day (Detention Watch Network, 2016).

For accompanists from the outside, those who have not grown up in or as a part of the community with which they are working, accompaniment often entails reverse border crossing; what I call reverse osmosis (Watkins, 2021). While others attempt to avoid prisons and detention facilities, for example, those practicing reverse osmosis seek to provide witness and accompaniment there.

New Sanctuary Coalition in New York City requests accompaniment from citizens for immigrants needing to report to Federal Plaza for immigration check-ins and immigration hearings. Often family members cannot attend to provide support because they do not have documents and are afraid of being apprehended. If a person is detained, someone needs to be present who is knowledgeable to contact family members so they will know where their loved one is. As you wait for the hearing to begin, people share their stories and their fears of being uprooted. After hearing about some of their stories of being detained, I volunteered for Sojourners, which helps to support First Friends in New Jersey. It is a visitation program that pairs an accompanier with a detainee. The accompanier visits regularly until the detainee is released or deported. To enter a detention center in the United States is to enter into a dark awareness of the warehousing of human lives in which our government is engaged. Our country detains more people than any other in the world.

During the Trump administration, I retooled myself to provide pro bono forensic reports for asylum seekers, for female migrants without documents who are caught in domestic violence here, and for those fighting their deportation due to the extreme hardship it would cause to their citizen or permanent resident family members. Fewer than 50% of asylum applicants are granted asylum. Without a lawyer, one's chances are practically zero. If one's case is presented in places like Atlanta, regardless of the merit of the case, it is likely to be denied.

Even if one wins asylum, the path to creating a life in the United States is extremely hard for people without English skills, financial means, or families. Accompanying asylees during their resettlement can make a decisive difference in the outcome. Psychologist Mary Pipher (2003) realized that refugees arriving to her private practice in Loncohn, Nebraska often needed a very different kind of relationship and set of experiences than those of psychotherapy. This requires the clinicians among us to leave our offices and to practice border crossing and reverse osmosis, leaving behind whatever measure of familiarity and authority we enjoy in our more circumscribed offices.

For the past 18 years, a group of Colombian social, political, and clinical psychologists from Pontifical Javeriana University have done just this as they accompany families who were forcibly displaced by paramilitaries from the countryside to the capital of Bogatá. Many of these displaced persons have experienced acute

and chronic violence and often the loss of family members (Sacipa-Rodríguez, Vidales, Galindo, & Tovar, 2007). The accompanists were seeking to construct a daily practice that was consistent with their understanding of social commitment (Sacipa-Rodriguez & Montero, 2014). The members of this group—Social Bonds and Peace Culture—committed themselves to resist the trivialization of death and the rampant depersonalization of others that characterized daily reality in a society that has been torn for decades by armed conflict.

Stella Sacipa-Rodriguez describes her team's perspective on psychosocial accompaniment:

> [W]e conceive psychosocial accompaniment as a way of offering displaced people support and providing spaces for expressing and recognizing the emotional impact these violent events have had on them. . . .
>
> Psychosocial accompaniment is a process marked by respect, acknowledgment of the human dignity of the person who has suffered displacement, a process which seeks to establish bonds and bridges for the renewal of confidence in a work of successive, respectful rapprochement, aimed at opening up the psychosocial relationship, to reach the heart of others from within oneself, through mutual recognition in everyday dialogue, in active listening and in shared work and play.
>
> We believe that accompaniment should be directed toward the affirmation of displaced persons as subjects in their own stories and the reconstruction of the social fabric of the community.
>
> (2014, p. 67)

Eighth Point of Orientation: Open yourself to learn what is needed rather than supplying what you already know. The psychologists found that, in accompaniment, one is often faced with needs about which the accompanist has very little knowledge. Together they must learn new skills or gather resources to meet these needs. For instance, many of the displaced families wanted it to be clear in public records and in memory that their loved ones were falsely assumed to be guerillas. They also wanted to know where their loved ones' remains were so that proper burials could be conducted. Honoring these deep desires, the psychologists needed to become knowledgeable about and effective in interfacing with relevant judicial and public authorities and processes.

Ninth Point of Orientation: Commit to working across levels of organization. The Colombian psychologists, like Fanon before them, emphasize that a fuller recovery from such psychosocial suffering requires societal circumstances that make meaningful work, peace, and a dignified life possible. For the psychosocial reconstruction of a community to ultimately be effective, it must be part of a holistic approach that includes changes in the social, economic, and political life of the country. For these reasons, at a systems level, the psychologists have also been exploring their possible contributions as psychologists to creating cultures of peace in Colombia. They embrace UNESCO's call for cultures of peace founded

on "solidarity, active nonviolence, pluralism, and an active posture against exclusion and structural violence." To be able to pivot from the "private" practice of psychology to a community-oriented or "public" practice entails ongoing learning about how to nimbly work across levels of organization.

Let us place these principles into dynamic relationship with one another: Of all the forms of psychological research, participatory action research (PAR) is one of the most compatible with the practice of accompaniment. In PAR, a researcher partners with a group or community to offer research support for the questions to which they are seeking answers. Instead of participants serving the research agenda of someone outside of their community, the researcher partners agree to serve the research needs of the community. The researcher may or may not be a member of the community. Community members formulate research questions, conduct research conversations, analyze data, and discern meaningful ways of disseminating findings that assist in the achievement of shared goals.

Liberation psychologist M. Brinton Lykes's work over three decades offers an inspiring example of participatory action research as accompaniment. Lykes accompanied Mayan women in Guatemala as they suffered genocide, struggled to give testimony, and worked together to make the genocide known internationally (2001). More recently, through the Post-Deportation Human Rights Project (PDHRP), Lykes has been collaborating with human rights lawyers, immigrant community groups in the U.S., deportees, and families without immigration documents to explore the effects of current U.S. detention and deportation policies on Salvadoran and Guatemalan families residing in the northeast United States. A major goal "is to reintroduce legal predictability, proportionality, compassion, and respect for family unity into the deportation laws in the U.S. through successfully defending individual deportees, thereby setting new precedents and creating a new area of legal representation" (Lykes, Hershberg, & Brabeck, 2011, p. 26). Through her long-standing accompaniment of Guatemalans who suffered genocide, Lykes is intimately aware of the need of many to migrate to the U.S. due to poverty and ongoing violence, the conditions of precarity they suffer in the U.S. without legal documents, their lack of representation during deportation proceedings, and the family fragmentation that results both from forced migration and forcible deportation. Her team has interviewed family members who were separated due to forced migration and returning deportees and has "create[d] collaborative spaces for bridging the growing chasms between citizens and non-citizens and for deepening a shared understanding of and response to injustices that immigrant families (many of which include U.S.-born citizen children) face" (Lykes, Hershberg, & Brabeck, 2011, p. 24).

Lykes honestly acknowledges that accompanists who hold social privilege must question the paradox of personally benefiting from the colonial power they are seeking to disrupt and transform. Accompaniment can easily go awry if the colonial framework of "helping," "charity," and "being of service" are not thematized and deconstructed. Too often, humanitarian, community, and psychosocial work occurs within the same structure of colonial relations that gives rise to

a community's suffering in the first place. Hierarchical relations are mindlessly reproduced, ignoring or denigrating the knowledge of community members. Ameliorative actions (Prilleltensky & Nelson, 2005) can neglect the deeper causes of distress, particularly those of systemic injustice.

Mutuality of Accompaniment

There is no doubt that I entered the study of psychology with a simplistic and naïve desire to "help" people, largely ignorant of the implications of my own positionality and the wider sociocultural and historical contexts of eco-psychosocial suffering. Only in time have I come to understand the wisdom articulated by an aboriginal activist group in Queensland, Australia, in the 1970s:

> If you come here to help me,
> you are wasting your time.
> If you come because your liberation is bound up with mine,
> then let us work together.

Now I place the word "mutual" in front of eco-psychosocial accompaniment to underscore this interdependence of one person's liberation with another's, one community's with others'—inclusive of ecosystems and other-than-human animal communities.

Walsh and Gokani (2014) help us to confront the reality that if our own social, economic, and professional standing is enhanced by neoliberal capitalism, it is likely that our work will at best be reformist and at worse be collusive with the very status quo that manufactures these disorders. We need to struggle to extricate ourselves as much as possible from those structures that have negative consequences and find ways to improvise liberatory eco-psychosocial work apart from the models dictated by a capitalist service economy.

The compass points of Western psychology as a whole will never be those of liberation psychology, because psychology as a Euro-American discipline has multiple and conflicting teloi. But for those who actively seek a more just and peaceful world, a world where, as Freire (2008) says, it will be easier to love, the reorientation of depth psychology by liberation psychology from the south offers important coordinates to orient our theorizing and practice.

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Chapter 14

Luigi Zoja

I did not have a linear trajectory. Despite having always attended Catholic schools, or perhaps because of it, a vocation in the church was not for me. As my father ran the family firm that had been founded by my great-grandfather, I decided to study business at Italy's most prestigious university (Università Bocconi). However, on graduating all I knew was that I had no interest in business. In 1967–1968, I instead moved into sociology and participated in the rise of the protest movements. But at one demonstration, when I heard the slogan "Masters, bourgeois, a few more months," I walked away: I thought my father was a good person, even if he was bourgeois. In fact, I realized that I was also bourgeois – and at only 24 I was not happy to think I had only a few months left. That also marked my departure from sociology, and I found myself reading more and more books about psychoanalysis. So off I went ("running away" I told myself) to the C.G. Jung Institute in Zürich. After completing my analytical training, I worked for a few years at the Klinik am Zürichberg before returning to Milan, where I worked mainly in private practice. At the time, I said that one of the reasons I wanted to be an analyst was because I found groups awkward and preferred talking to one person at a time. I would probably still say the same today if I'm perfectly honest.

Following a stint as president of the International Association of Jungian Analysts (IAAP) and some teaching activity at university level and the Jung Institute in Zürich, my next move was to New York. I was there just in time to witness the aftermath of the Twin Towers' collapse and to observe and study the collective paranoia that abounded, in terrorists and in the average American public. Paranoia eventually became the subject of my longest book. It seemed to me that humans have an inextricable need for enemies, even more than for friends. Perhaps that explains why wars are started even when it is clear that both sides will have more to lose than to gain: perhaps having an enemy is the hardest thing to give up.

Upon my return to Italy, I continued to work as an analyst but also devoted more time to writing. There is no one common theme to my work; the variety in my books is the result of my curiosity about a multitude of topics. One area that still interests me, despite my youthful rejection of the subject, is economics and above all its absurd core. Why, according to economics, must "needs" – and therefore the market – continue to grow, when the resources of the earth on which

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