
Psychosocial practices and community dynamics: meanings and possibilities of advance from the perspective of the engaged social actors

Maria de Fatima Quintal de Freitas

This paper discusses the meanings that community work has for the participants involved. It considers the meanings of community they build, and the possibilities for change that exist in, and are credited to, the practice they develop. In considering the psychosocial dynamics, it discusses those aspects related to the intrinsic dimensions of the relationship between the community and the professionals working with it. Conceptions of the relationship between the individual and society are identified as one of the first levels of analysis to be considered. This enables the community workers to reflect on their own practices and processes. There are also some paradoxes and contradictions that accompany the community worker and that, even though placed in a lesser position, often become factors responsible for the failure of the practices developed. Among them there are: the people's need for community work as opposed to its low credibility with the community leaders and representatives themselves; utilization of common terms as opposed to different contents and a political-ideological emptying; the technical sophistication of the action strategies as opposed to the psychosocial meanings of the lived reality; the increase in the number of community projects as opposed to the low participation of the population; the guarantee of life/support through 'assistentialism' as opposed to the a priori delimitation of what it is legitimate to do. Thus, we propose an analysis of the psychosocial processes and dimensions present in the relations among the community, community workers, leaders and external agents who

have been important during the community work. Understanding these dynamics, which change at each phase of the work, may contribute to an understanding of the reasons for both the successes and failures of the community work. To this end, the following things are analysed: the meanings that beliefs about the work produce in daily relationships; the psychosocial repercussions for the people directly involved that are produced by the objectives and practices of the work; and the importance and meaning that such work has on the daily life of the participants.

Community context and dynamics

Since the 1950s both community context and dynamics have been the target of social researchers' actions, be it as independent ventures or as part of the public policies of governments interested in neutralising or placating the people's demand for justice (Ammann, 1980). The type of relations established; the way those actions were carried out; their degree of importance; the participation of the people involved, and the conceptions related to what was to be considered as community development; had characteristics that were not only different, but sometimes even contradictory, when studied from a socio-historical participatory and critical perspective (Sader, 1987; Iglesias, 1993).

Today, after more than fifty years, it is important to discuss the degree of importance and the impact of those practices on community life, in so doing, critically reflect on the type of commitment implicit, as well as the alliances established, in that sort of work. Such a discussion points to a process of conscientisation and politicisation, and looks for a larger participation in the satisfaction of both their immediate and long term needs. This also involves identification of the intrinsic dynamics of the work, whose repercussions on the network of relationships, and on the psychosocial processes of the actors involved (both stakeholders, and intervening professionals), may either empower or weaken the emergence of a critical consciousness, and the development of participation, whether those actors are committed to social transformation or not.

It is within this perspective that I intend to weave some considerations and reflections about the community practices developed in Brazil, taking as reference the internal dynamic of the psychosocial processes concerning the actors engaged in them. In other words, I will discuss the meanings and impacts perceived and appraised in community work, and daily relationships, from the viewpoint of the people

involved. This may help us understand the possibilities for advancement or setback of community work, despite its 'good intentions' or favourable conditions (Quintal de Freitas, 1998c, 1999 a, 1999c, 2000a; Sandoval, 1994).

From this it can be inferred that the processes of conscientisation and participation may be altered due to; the relationships experienced by the people in their daily lives; the meaning of community that they may build, and the importance of this meaning for their lives.

How did we come to the current situation?

At the beginning of this new century, community psychosocial work and practices have acquired a prominent place in public policies and in the setting of several events and problems of civil society in Brazil. Compared to past times, we now have the new phenomenon of the social appraisal of this type of intervention. This has not happened in a spontaneous manner, much less a haphazard and gratuitous way.

Although at this time in Brazil, debate about the relationships between the State, public policies, problem-solving alternatives and the participation of civil society is not being promoted, it is nevertheless necessary to stress that the 'search' for efficient community practices for long range community intervention projects, and for 'adequate' and consensual means of organisation and mobilisation of the popular sectors, is happening in a political moment in which the most diverse countries and governments are forced, due to the suffering of their people, to admit the inadequacy of their neo-liberal social and economic policies. At the Copenhagen Summit in 1995, the representatives of the Third World countries were looking for alternatives for the worrying picture of misery, indigence, unemployment, violence and diseases of their populations.

Itamaraty¹ delivered a report to the UN on the social situation of the country. The data are not new, but they reveal, in their whole, a frightening picture for a country that is the eighth in GDP in the world. Brazil is one of the champions of income disparity in the world. In the 1960s, the richest 10% of the population still earned 34 times more than the poorest 10%. Today, this difference has gone up to 78 times. Or: the poorest 10% have the right to only 0.8% of the national block. Each country sent a diagnosis with social indicators to the UN before the conference. During the summit, *it was agreed that each country would prepare a national plan against poverty*, establishing the dates according

to the specific condition of each region. (Cadernos do Terceiro Mundo. 184, 1995, April) (my emphasis).

Despite the fact that in Brazil, thirty to forty years ago, psychology's work in the community was considered to be marginal, clandestine and without scientific-academic prestige, the psychologists engaged in solving the concrete problems of the population in different regions of the country continued to develop their practices with the aim of contributing to changes in the social scenario and a clear commitment to building theoretic-methodological inputs in the area that later became known as Community Psychology, and more recently, Community Social Psychology (Quintal de Freitas, 2000a, 2000b; Sandoval, 2000a). Today, approximately forty years later, after the legal regulation of the profession, one can observe a modification of this picture, in terms of the values, meanings and importance attributed to community practices, that emphasises some aspects pertaining to the relationship psychology-society-community in psychosocial intervention work.

During the last decade of the twentieth century, the concerns of institutions, government agencies, organisations for social action, research centres and public and private projects, were mainly directed to the precarious and inhumane living conditions of the Brazilian population. Despite the fact that this situation is unfortunately neither new nor recent, the approach, and a certain sensibility shown by those sectors concerning the situation of the majority of the people in our country, has been important. Brazil is a country of huge proportions, and of huge hunger and poverty: we are a population of 175 million, in which almost one third (about fifty-four million) are hungry every day and live below the poverty line! So we might imagine that, after long and difficult decades of work in community situations, the ranks of scholars and scientific and social workers concerned with a variety of topics and problems of daily life of the population would be larger.

Due to the frequency of research currently directed to help underprivileged sectors of the population, some theoreticians consider the trajectory of community work in this country to be significant. But one could truly say that they are insufficient, both in terms of their success in presenting a general perspective of the social and psychosocial phenomena attended to, and in terms of how many of them have been able to produce programmes changing the concrete conditions that generate exploitation and social injustice (Quintal de Freitas, 1999c;

2000a). This insufficiency could also be partially explained by the depth and cruelty of the problems suffered by the population, as well as by the difficulties in accomplishing relevant research about the reality, folkways, cultural life and values that permeate daily relationships. Further, work in these contexts has only recently begun to be published and accepted by the population. This current public interest has generated, in part, a dissemination of practices with the most varied theoretic-methodological orientations, placing the emphasis much more on the outcomes of the practices than on the epistemological coherence of the process where such work has been generated (Quintal de Freitas, 1996, 1998c, 2000a, 2000b; Montero, 1994a, 1994b).

Nowadays, while the State associates itself with and delegates to certain segments of civil society the tasks and responsibilities belonging to its domain, or incorporates NGOs and/or other private organisations to carry out and complement public policies, we see in several community contexts a certain return to the assistentialist² and clientelist practices, little concerned with the development of political consciousness and commitment to the transformation of the living conditions of the population. This leads to a repetition of what happened during the 1950s in the so-called 'desenvolvimentismo comunitário' (community developmentalism) (Quintal de Freitas, 1998b, 1999b, 2000b).

Organisations, institutions, community and population movements in the outskirts of big cities have gone through significant changes in recent decades. These changes, partially derived from the transformations in the social model existing in the country, have affected the living conditions and chances of survival of the people, and as a consequence, had repercussions on the forms of political participation and involvement of the population.

In recent years we have observed changes in the role and action of the so-called social agents and actors. Twenty years ago it was easier for us to detect favourable dispositions towards the mobilisation and organisation of the population around basic claims. Today, conformity and incredulity towards such actions is frequent. Have the living conditions of the people changed in such a manner that all the basic necessities are provided for? Unfortunately, the answer to this question is negative. This is illustrated by high unemployment indexes, an increase in the rates of casual work and such recent events as: the mutiny in São Paulo in February 2001, when a criminal faction, the

PCC 'Primeiro Comando da Capital' (First Command of the Capital), took command of the penitentiary system; or the manifestations, in the same year, of the MST 'Movimento dos Sem Terra' (Movement of the landless) in urban spaces, such as in the capital city of Paraná State, when families were separated through 'fast' 'evacuation' actions performed by the State. (Cadernos do 3. Mundo, 1995; Folha de São Paulo, 2001).

Thus we are faced with the question of what happens with the people in their daily life that they adapt and accommodate to this state of things, not believing that it is worth doing something to change them, or even less, that something needs to be done despite the oppression and injustice in their lives. In this manner, the concerns of a community social psychology engaged with the possibility of social transformation may contribute to knowledge, and by knowing, try to intervene in those psychosocial aspects and processes that induce people to develop fatalist and conformist attitudes regarding the injustices and difficulties they experience, as well as beliefs and feelings of impotence towards private and collective possibilities and ways to transform their lives (Montero, 1994b; Martín-Baró, 1987, 1989; Quintal de Freitas, 2000b).

The factors responsible for the organisation and participation of people in Brazil have increased in these last years, and at the same time been diluted, producing at least two by-products. The first is the divulgance of information about the problems, needs, expectations and living conditions of the general population. The second by-product, connected to a weakening of the people's mobilisation where their efforts at organisation are diluted, is the fragmentation of their capacity for mobilisation and the strengthening individualism.

This picture is intriguing, challenging, and perhaps tricky. On the one hand, there is a *proliferation of work and practices* with marginalised and underprivileged sectors of society, of a type never before perceived, much less mentioned in public policies. On the other hand, social problems are seen as presenting a new dimension of society, as if they had an *unusual character*. Actually, these problems and the maintenance of their conditions are what have become visible in the media, as well as in countless 'social' projects and work. We have a great variety of NGOs; of projects characterised by the word 'solidarity'; of proposals for action in the name of the 'rescue or building of citizenry'; of the defence of the human rights; of the search for dignity and justice in

everyday life (Gohn, 1997, 2000; Landim, 1998). These are old subjects in the history of the marginalised and underprivileged who live in conditions of exploitation and misery. But, at some moments and in some contexts, they become the 'new' flags of the contemporary world. In an intriguing way, it is common to find a perfect alliance between those who were not too long ago enemies in the social-political history of Brazil and of the Latin American populations. We have been witnessing this same phenomenon within universities and research centres. Theoretical models that were once incompatible and irreconcilable have been used in an atmosphere of complete harmony in the practices of different types of community (Quintal de Freitas, 1998, 2000a, 2000b). The epistemological premises seem to have disappeared from the debate concerning society, human beings and daily life. At the same time, there is an emphasis on privileging the methodological, technical and strategic aspects present in the projects developed in the community. However, the methodological aspects and action strategies have neither an autonomous existence nor succeed in reaching their objectives. To privilege action, in terms of the forms and strategies of implementation, implies the risk of emptying human action of its theoretical and political contents, contents that complement the dynamics and psychosocial processes in daily life (Montero, 1996; Martín-Baró, 1983; Quintal de Freitas, 1996; 1998b).

Within this picture, one observes that different community contexts – popular districts, 'favelas' (shantytowns), 'cortiços' (slum tenement-house), swamps, marshes, shelters, places of beggars, prostitutes, street dwellers and rural migrants among so many others – have been the target of social and human sciences research and intervention. On the one hand, this has a positive side: the fact that civil society can no longer separate itself from social events and problems. On the other hand, it poses innumerable challenges and obstacles for community workers, three of which are directly linked to the search for justice in response to the question '*what can be done?*'.

Firstly, we face a paradox: regarding the action of professionals in this field there is, in the general population, a high degree of passive adaptation to, and acceptance of that performance, thus positioning it as necessary and unquestionable. Beside this, one finds that the participation of the population: takes an intrinsically different form from what it was in prior years; happens less frequently and intensely; as representation appears as a negotiating dimension the number of

participants is reduced; and is characterised by having less political content and concern about everyday life.

The second challenge is linked to the use, in the different phases of the work, of jargon and terms related to the processes of conscientisation and community participation. This has given the false idea that all community work is imbued with the same perspective and the same commitment, as if they are similar in terms of the way in which the phenomena studied are understood. However, an epistemological and ontological analysis of these terms and conceptions shows great differences in the ideological-political content of the analytical categories, revealing a worrying incompatibility between the conceptions about the object and the methodological resources employed.

The third challenge is related to a certain primacy that has been given to the strategic and technical improvement and sophistication of community actions. This has resulted in the relegation of the everyday needs of the people to second place. It has, at the same time, increased the authority of the professional: he/she comes to decide the fate of his/her work, steering it so that the population 'is better helped', 'understands what is better for itself', or 'fights for its rights'. Ultimately, even with the best intentions, this professional positions him/herself as an authority, placing the population in a position of mere recipient of his/her professional services, the quality of which is guaranteed by technological sophistication. In this way the problematic and pragmatic aspects of their strategies and actions in the community are re-edited.

In this way, even though the macro-structural determinants of poverty and malnutrition in all their degrees may be the same in different places of the country (Troyanno, Hoffmann & Ferreira, 1990; Prates, 1990), we should nonetheless make some inquiries if we also plan to offer our knowledge and work for the construction of more dignified living alternatives for the people. Among such inquiries are those related to the determinants of those conditions, and to the psychosocial meaning that this poverty and exploitation may have for those people 'living' in them, as well as for those who deal with such aspects in their daily community work (Martín-Baró, 1987, 1989). This may allow us to identify the factors and mechanisms responsible for the type of interpersonal relationships established through daily participation in the community, as well as understand the spheres of life affected by the dominant ideology which produces psychosocial reflexes

favourable to the strengthening or weakening of modes of participating and acting in more or less collective ways. (Quintal de Freitas, 1998b; Hobsbawm, 1998; Martín-Baró, 1989; Montero, 1994b; Sandoval, 1994). It is important to identify, at the core of this debate, those elements that sustain the relation 'external agents – community – importance of the work in daily life'.

Thus, the new visibility that community social psychology practices have lately received brings both by-products and worries. One of them is linked to the fact that there is an academic movement for the training and qualification of workers engaged with, and sensitive to, social problems and conditions. As a consequence, this points towards the need, already felt in prior decades when carrying out community work, to produce and systematise knowledge committed to our specific social circumstances and discipline. Moreover, it is also important to emphasise that the increased attention that community work has received, particularly those practices committed to conscientisation and political participation and aiming to improve the living conditions of the population, is not necessarily the direct result of an institutional and formalised process. On the contrary, experience with community work has shown that it is a long and difficult process, full of epistemological and political traps, that has as its goal the eradication of structural conditions of social oppression, marginalisation and exclusion. These conditions have deprived our population of their rights to dignity and a good life. Besides, the insertion of professionals into community contexts and dynamics may, depending on its objective and the way in which it happens, contribute to making the general population an easy target for assistentialist and paternalist programmes, thus producing effects contrary to those intended by the processes of participation and conscientisation.

Nevertheless, the contribution of community practices to possible changes in daily life depends on elements related to their internal dynamics, as well as to their relationship with other sectors of the society and the importance attributed to them. In reflecting on the conditions inherent to community work that might make such contributions, four important aspects need to be considered.

The first refers to increasing the number of research or intervention projects related to social issues in the different fields of knowledge production and professional training within universities. However, this has not necessarily generated an increase in the participation of the

population, or a strengthening of the people's belief in the worthiness of participation.

The second aspect refers to the increase of the so-called sector of volunteer work, which has generated within civil society a disposition for it to assume responsibility for the resolution of problems. However, the increasing number of groups with different proposals for community and social action does not imply the construction of a collective political project of long reach, with goals directed to the elimination of the structural determinants of the problems currently suffered by the people.

Thirdly, derived from this, is a type of legitimisation given to different types of assistentialism: sectors such as private enterprise and younger people have carried out large aid campaigns (such as providing benefits and services, or attending to basic needs), and officially become collective social actors with legitimacy to act. It is what we have come to know as 'the Third Sector', 'Entrepreneurs with social responsibility', and more recently, 'Social Protagonism'. This collective action, directed at fast aid for the large contingent of poor, presents three important consequences for critical reflection. First, it gives a minimal guarantee of conditions for survival to those who have few life prospects. Second, it strengthens fatalism, conformism and feelings of impotence, especially in the interpersonal relationships among those who are the recipients of community actions and projects. Third, it has a legitimising effect in that it creates a variety of community actions that come to be seen as the only ones possible, correct and desirable for civil society, independent of what social project they are related to, and of the degree of non-commitment of the State regarding its responsibilities.

Finally, we face some paradoxes in daily life: as a product of technological development there is fast, immediate and superficial access to the globalised world. There is also the confirmation and creation of a type of concrete social loneliness, generating interpersonal repercussions such as the belief that it is possible to ignore the 'concrete social other' in daily relationships. Even though they are only interacting with a technological artefact, this technological and globalised world allows the creation of a dimension in which people feel that they 'are always accompanied'. This dynamic of materialising social loneliness on one hand, and of the feeling of being accompanied on the other, is another way in which the processes and conditions of everyday life,

indeed, of contemporary life, are naturalised. It is in this scenario that community work has great importance: it becomes a compensatory action that recuperates the links of human solidarity and coexistence. It also confronts the imminent 'chaos' of humanity; eliminating the belief that one can do without social coexistence and meaningful social bonds in order to continue being human and having solidarity with humanity.

Objective and subjective dimensions of the psychosocial practice in community

Through the development of practices in community social psychology, what dimensions have been revealed to be crucial in both directing the organisation of community groups, and in developing conscientisation processes? In what way has the quality of community work changed the life of the people? Does community work help promote social transformations or simply social re-arrangements?

Several things may be deduced from a consideration of what is new and having an impact on community practices, and their place on the continuum 'transformation-maintenance' identified.

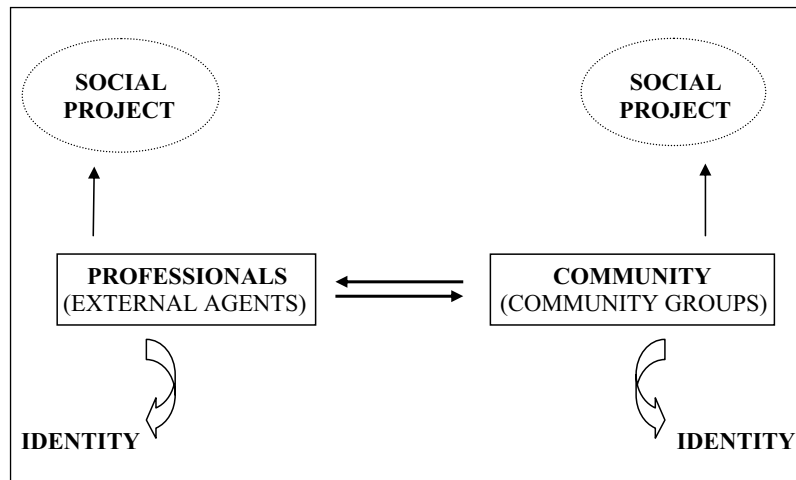
When we talk about psychological practices in the community, we tend to focus on either one or both poles of the existing relationship: that is, the community and the professionals working with the population. What is currently emphasised are the intrinsic aspects of the relationship between the stakeholders and the professional/external agents, and the relationship between the professionals themselves as a work team, and their reflections about producing community practices.

The relationship between professionals and stakeholders (internal agents), whose frequency and identity constitute a crucial and delicate dimension for the daily work, is pertinent to the identification of possibilities for action at each of those poles. Thus, the regularity, the frequency and the manner in which both agents meet, in order to develop interpersonal relationships that will mediate all work to be carried out, become determinants for the construction of new social actors whose identities are intertwined with the re-arrangement or transformation of their life circumstances. In this continuous interaction, one has to consider the degree of success, failure and difficulty that each one sees in the different phases of the work. Further, the manner in which this is shared creates a new web of relationships, which in turn generates new elements in the social context. In this way,

different levels of power, relationships and negotiations may emerge as the work is carried out. Thus, the conceptions that each of us has about the society, and about the viability of a better future, acquire an important weight in this busy network of relationships and interactions.

So, when contacts in the work to be developed are first established, stakeholders and professionals present themselves as distinct social actors, with particular histories in the dynamics of social-political life. They have identities that are founded in social projects that may not always be clearly perceived, or be considered important for the work itself, or to be coherent among themselves, or have any clear explanation about the matter (see graphic 1). Whilst these dimensions are not usually considered, daily community work has shown them to be crucial to the success or failure of the practices.

Community and Professional: Identity and Social Projects

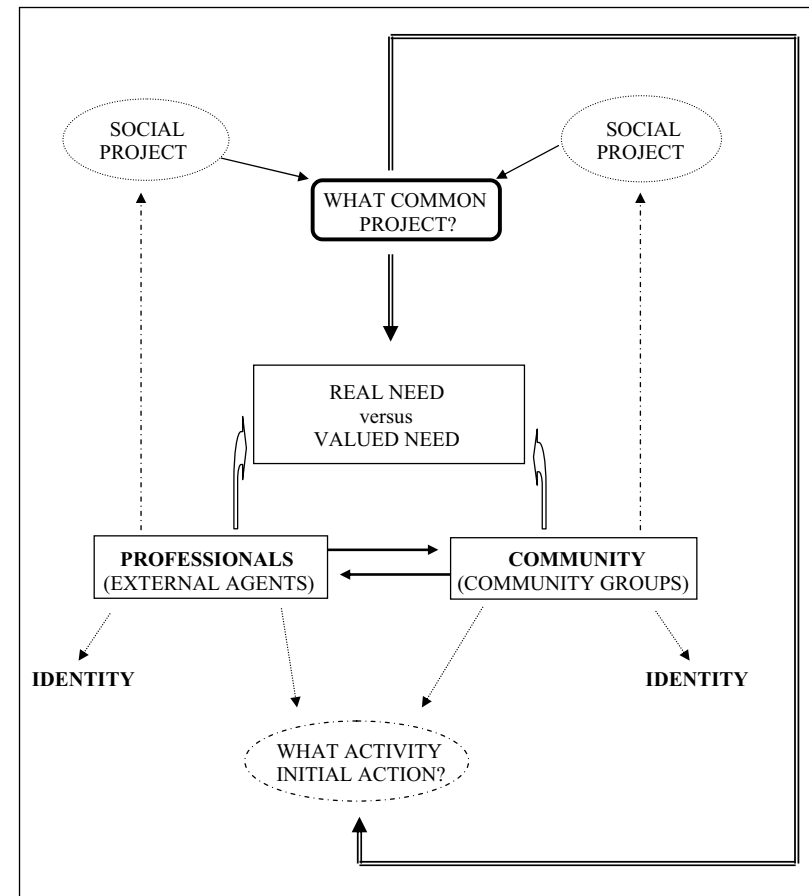


The manner in which each of the actors mentioned conceives society (what project does society have?), and what they consider to be essential to begin the work (initial actions), constitute aspects that delimit *two types of indicators* about the beginning and continuity of community practice.

One refers to the degree of possibility for concrete action, from the perspective of each of the poles of this relationship. This could be called

the *objective dimension* (or *concrete conditions*) for the evaluation of the beginning of the work. The other could be called the *subjective dimension* (or *psychosocial meaning*) of the community practice, and refers to the degree of flexibility or sustainability that each of the involved actors builds when facing the successes or failures of his/her own work in each of its phases, thus revealing their beliefs about what is worth doing and, consequently, about the possibility of continuing the work.

Community and Professional: Needs, Actions and Social Projects



Drawing on my experience in community psychosocial practices, I believe that the phases of insertion and familiarisation with the

community are essential to the delimitation of the type of ontological conception guiding the work (Quintal de Freitas, 1998c, 1999c). In other words, depending on the manner in which the community is approached, and the dynamics and permanence of the professionals presence in the community, practices should be considered from two different aspects; one emphasising their effective participation with the community in all phases of the work, the other implying that the type of approach and permanence of professionals within the community is not fundamental.

At this point, debate about participation, and the ways in which it occurs within community dynamics, is of utmost importance. For instance, as external agents we may make contacts and perform complex data collection, informed by what was considered relevant to our mode of assessing the problems, in ways that were defined and chosen a priori. This approach identifies a specific mode of psychosocial community practice; issues about the work to be performed are, in spite of their engagement with the population, delimited by the professionals *before* (in an *a priori* manner) their engagement begins. Another mode of doing things is to define problems at the same time as the process of insertion and familiarisation occurs, so that the people are part of the process of deciding what is to be done.

In addition to this, there may be, throughout the development of the community work, different ways in which the different conceptions and analyses are made and expressed: individually; by the professional team; within the team composed of leaders and stakeholders; and in the intersections of both teams.

This leads to consideration of two aspects; one, an explanation of role and place that these social actors have within the community relationships; the other, to place such actors in a specific place along the 'maintenance-transformation' continuum of the community living conditions.

It is in the relationship between the importance of, and cost to perform, such activities, and the probable success of the proposed objectives, that we find the interaction of three factors: *the meaning of the community work*, *the sense of community* and *the possibilities for advancement of the work*. It is important to understand the values and meanings attributed to these factors in terms of three considerations: what becomes, on one hand, a lived *need*, and on the other, what is felt and valued as vital; the meanings stakeholders see the *activity or action* as

having in daily life; and the meanings the external agents ascribe to the *activity or action*. In such an analysis of community work, the union of these three possible spheres of interaction, as well as the internal specifications within each of them, highlights the complexity present in the dynamics of that work. This complexity is responsible for the fact that the objectives of the work do not necessarily generate the directions and outcomes intended.

It is in this regard that the psychosocial processes related to interactions between the professional and community need to be considered. This analysis of community work in all its different phases may contribute to the identification, and fuller understanding, of both the objective and subjective realms of everyday life. This in turn informs an understanding of the reasons why the work may stagnate or suffer setbacks, despite both favourable conditions and the commitment of all participants to its success.

There are two important aspects of the relationship between professionals and communities: identification of the analytical categories that may reveal a project's capacity to withstand difficulties and failure; finding alternatives for action from the perspective of both the individual and collective actors. These aspects reveal three interdependent dimensions:

1. the nature and practice of the professionals and the identities of the community agents involved
2. the manner in which the objectives of community practices are delineated and implemented
3. the specific conception of community practice and the of type society envisaged as the outcome of the project.

This may bring a better understanding of the meanings attributed to the psychosocial practices that emerge during community work by the people directly involved; professionals, representatives of social movements or of grassroots organisations, or members of the communities involved. Unveiling such meanings at each phase of the work, and in each type of relationship and interaction established, may contribute to the construction of alternatives in everyday relationships, thus empowering the processes of conscientisation and community participation in the light of explicit explanations about what political project of society and community relationships it is intended be built.

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Notes

1. Itamaraty is the name of the site of the Brazilian Minister of Foreign Affairs.
2. Assistantialism is understood as the practice originated in some institutions, where subjects receiving a service are seen as passive, and the needs and actions to satisfy them are defined within that institution. Clientelism is the practice that generates a relationship of dependency in the people defined as in need, in relation to the external agent or institution (Montero, 2003, in press)

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