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TOWARDS A MODEL OF HUMAN GROWTH

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I. IMPORTANCE AND NEED OF A THEORY OF HUMAN GROWTH OR DEVELOPMENT

Developed Society and Underdeveloped Human Beings

The statesmen, economists, and politicians of our age often proclaim
their anxiety over the development of nations. Phrases such as
"developed," "underdeveloped," "developing," etc. form part of the
language of the day, including popular speech.

In contrast, little is heard of the development or growth of the
human being. Except among small groups of thinkers concerned about
the subject, the problem sounds "exotic," to put it elegantly.

Why does this happen? Why do the well-being of people, their full
growth, the quality of their life, never appear as the protagonist of
the development process? I think this is probably due to two reasons:

1. On the one hand, it is often assumed that when a society is
    developed economically and technologically, an adequate develop-
    ment of its members as human beings takes place automatically —
    in other words, that the material development of a nation is not
    only necessary but also sufficient for full development of its
    population. Real, concrete human beings would thus be the natural
    beneficiaries of this process. In the meantime, however, through-
    out the process — which in fact is prolonged more or less
    indefinitely — they are regarded as inert matter, interchangeable
    and totally malleable parts which can be used as instruments.
    Very few people wonder: "What will happen with the people if this
    or that method is applied to incentivate productivity? What will
    happen with the people if industry is concentrated or dispersed,

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if this or that form of energy is resorted to, etc.? What will
happen with the inhabitants of this neighbourhood if their houses
are demolished to construct a complex highway system?" It is
taken as self-evident that anything will be good for the common
citizen, member of a nation, as long as industries and trade
develop, the GNP increases, and the cities are modernized. . . .[1]

Our culture is not humanist but, rather, technologistic. One of
the proofs of this is the fact that the fundamental centre of
studies and academic research officially supported is applied, to
a much greater extent, to the technological instead of the human
field. The hyper-accelerated development of the machine and
automatization and the technological advances which have been
attained are dazzling and enormously useful both for the state
and private interests. To what extent has this progress helped to
really improve human life? How can technological development be
directed to provide truly greater well-being to all persons and to
improve their possibilities of being happy and becoming fully
realized human beings? To what extent has technological growth
permitted (or will it permit) a radical improvement of the human
species?

These questions sound utopian and abstract; ambitious men with
"practical" minds (who are, in the end, those who almost always
have the political or economic power, or both, and partially the
academic and ideological power as well) cannot qualify such
"trivialities" as being important. Furthermore, studies about
human beings acquire status and respectability to the extent that
they are "useful" because of their concrete application in industry,
offices and workshops, in education, or in the armed forces,
permitting an increase in efficiency, productivity, adaptation of
individuals to their work, etc.

2. Perhaps another reason why so few paople are interested in the
   subject of the full development of persons as human beings is the
   assumption that the maximum degree of growth to which humans can

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aspire has already been reached, the "pinnacle," so to speak, of
their psychic development as a species. Disparaging references
are often made towards other forms of culture as being primitive
or rudimentary manifestations of the human mind.

It is considered that, thanks to the development of science and
technology and the predominance of rationalism and the practical
spirit, primitive forms of thought have now been surpassed (such
as superstition or animism or polytheism, etc.). Guided by
positivism, rationalism, and scientific method, we have been able
to construct THE civilization and from the mountain top we
haughtily regard the deficient, superseded state of people of other
cultures, or earlier ages. Our problems of underdevelopment are,
in the end, only technical and material, but not mental and moral.

We consider that both the assumptions analyzed above are false.
Neither is it true that the rapid economic and technological develop-
ment of society guarantees in itself and independently of the methods
adopted, the full psychic development of the human being, nor is it
true that in our culture and our century men and women have attained
their maximum psychological growth.[2] On the contrary, we believe that
in spite of the immense development achieved in the technological and
material plane, in spite of the enormous power obtained for handling
and transforming matter and for processing information, the majority
of human beings in our culture live in a state of psychic underdevelop-
ment, they are impotent to reach the real unfolding of their
potentialities and latent abilities and therefore they are unable to
attain inner peace and true well-being. The high rate of suicide,
crime, alcoholism, and drug-addiction prevailing in the most developed
countries provide strong evidence for this thesis.

The Model of Growth

Now what do we mean by "development" and "underdevelopment" of the
human being? Very detailed and subtle scales have been constructed

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for measuring the economic and technological development of nations, but we are in a state of great poverty when it comes to evaluating or appraising the development of the human being (or of communities, from the point of view of the integral well-being of the population).

Actually, it is not that our society has no model of psychological development or growth. As in every society, an incorporated model of the "normal" or "mature" adult, which is coherent and functional with its economic structure and institutional system, exists in our society. What I want to point out is the following:

a. In the first place, that model is implicit, it is never analyzed nor discussed, nor is any attempt made to support it; it forms part of the social "fog," of the obvious, of the underlying paradigm which conditions our conduct and our perception of reality without our being aware of it.

b. In the second place, this growth model is poor and distorting, it does not contemplate the possibility of the emergence and development of aptitudes and potentialities which are fundamental for making a person psychologically rich and potent' in his relations with life, with other persons, and with himself.

Statement a does not require much theoretical substantiation. It is easy to see that every society has its implicit model of growth or normal development, its concept of a mature person, and also its beliefs regarding which things a person needs to mature psychically and organically.[3] The education of children, socially patterned, aims at promoting in the young member of the community the type of development which is considered desirable. In the light of sociological and anthropological research, it becomes quite evident that the patterns of normal or desirable development of a human being differ from one culture to another and that what each culture will encourage and repress to make its members mature or develop "normally" will be different.[4]

It is also quite clear that this model is not discussed, that it forms part of the underground layers of social dynamics that are incorporated

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slowly, firmly, and uncritically by people through the socialization process. This implicit existence of a "normal" growth model is demonstrated, in our opinion, by the fact that nearly all adult persons consider themselves capable of educating their children; the majority of adults embark decidedly and unhesitatingly upon the enterprise of forming their children. How could this be explained if it were not by virtue of an internalized model of what normal and desirable human development is, of what a child should be, and what a person should be on reaching adulthood?

Statement b is, on the contrary, highly controversial, since it implies a value judgement; and furthermore, it presupposes another statement also highly controversial: the statement that there exists and "authentic" or "ideal" growth, which in reality would need to be demonstrated.

Does Authentic Growth Exist?

Every living organism needs to develop to its maximum, according to its nature. This appears to be a law of life in general. We could think that in the case of a human being this would also be applicable. The humanist philosophers of all times have postulated that the path of morality is that which leads the person to an authentic development of his potentialities and abilities as such.[5]

The problem, however, becomes very complex since human beings always appear to be modelled by culture. Thus it could be asked: Does authentic growth exist, one which is most suitable for human nature? Or are the models proposed by the different cultures only alternative, equally valid models?

The cultural relativist will answer decidedly that they are alternative models, all equally valid. The thesis we maintain here is that there are models much more suitable for human beings, in which their real, objective needs are satisfied more than in others.[6] In other words,

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according to our point of view, there exists an authentic psychic growth and also other forms of growth that are not authentic but spurious or inadequate forms of development for human beings.

In connection with this, four great tasks need to be undertaken:

a. To make explicit the model of human growth or development prevailing de facto in our culture, the model which feeds and is fed by social dynamics.[7]

b. To draw up a model of authentic growth (and lay its foundations).

c. To compare the prevailing model or models with the model constructed.

d. To analyse the structural conditions (economic, social, political, institutional, and psycho-social) which would permit growth in accordance with the proposed model (conditions of feasibility of the model).[8]

My purpose in this article is to draw a preliminary outline of a model of human growth; this will be undertaken in part II. In part III I shall deal briefly with psycho-social conditions which promote or hinder human growth according to the proposed model.[9] In part IV I shall make a comparison between the model proposed and a model implicit in utilitarian culture.

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II. OUTLINE OF A THEORY OF GROWTH

Primary Growth and Maturity Growth

In the first place it will be useful if, for the sake of analysis, we distinguish between two types of possible growth, which we shall call primary growth and maturity growth respectively.

Primary growth is usually known and studied as growth or development of the child, the process which occurs in infancy and adolescence and which leads to the final mutation of the child into an adult.

During this stage of growth, there occurs an overt, manifest corporal growth and a rapid psychic development which takes place at the same time and closely connected to the corporal development and organic maturation.

This growth leads the child to the achievement of fundamental skills, such as speech and locomotion, makes possible the development of his thinking from the stage of sensory-motor intelligence up to the acquisition of abstract thought, enables him to learn the fundamental time-space notions and a basic conceptual system allowing him to manage the real world, etc.

Primary growth constitutes (at least in part, or in certain aspects) a biological demand upon the organism. It may become imperfect or deficient to the extent that adequate nutriments are not encountered (both organic and psychic),[10] or to the extent that it is openly impaired by some outside agent or cause (traumatisms, illnesses, intense psychological repression) or even to the extent to which

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organic maturing is altered by some congenital cause, but in general (and in a first approach to the subject) it may be said that growth in this period of life responds to internal laws of the organism and will take elements from wherever it can in order to accomplish an inner developmental logic.

Within our culture it is generally considered that growth concludes when what we have here called primary growth ends. Human life is viewed as a process in which there is a period of growth (childhood, adolescence), a period of permanence (adulthood) and a period of decadence (old age, senility) — see figure 1.
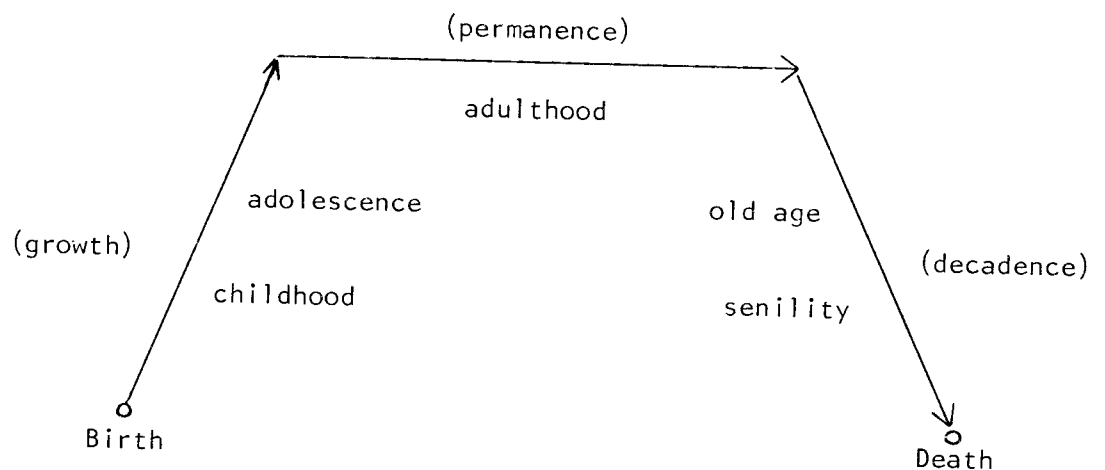
FIG. 1. The Process of Human Life according to the Dominant Conception in Our Culture

The concept of growth is thus defined according to what are considered to be strictly biological limits. "Natural" limits of growth are assigned not only to corporal development, of course, but also to mental functions; thus, for example, reference is made to a "natural" development of intelligence which stops around the second decade of life.[11]

We shall maintain here that in addition to primary growth there exists for a human being the possibility of another type of growth — maturity growth — which does not recognize any limit in time. The intensity

and duration of maturity growth is not determined by the individual's
genetic code as, at least in certain aspects, physical growth or
primary mental growth would appear to be. Rather, it becomes a
reality (or is restricted, as the case may be) on the basis of a
certain type of interaction with a given environment. Maturity growth
is not expressed through an increase in the individual's corporal size
nor through a rapid, evident acquisition of sensory-motor or
intellectual aptitudes; it is slower and less spectacular than primary
growth. Neither does it appear to respond, as we have said, to a
biological exigency, such as primary growth, but instead to a psychic
potency of the human being inserted into a particular type of culture.
Hence it is both very difficult to discover and analyze scientifically
and very easy to frustrate or restrict because of circumstances
connected with the individual's life history and his insertion in the
environment. Since it is made possible by psychosocial interaction,
maturity growth is a function depending as much on the bio-psychic
possibilities of the individual as on the possibilities which the
environment has offered him for his personal realization.

While the potentiality for primary growth seems to recognize a
biological limit and finds its natural culmination in the attainment
of certain stages of physical maturity and certain basic cognitive-
affective structures, the potentiality for maturity growth does not
recognize, at least a priori, an age limit (perhaps with the sole
exception of senile regression produced by strictly biochemical
processes). On this understanding, the potential growth scheme in
the life of a human being would be as shown in figure 2.

Maturity Growth as Psychic Growth

Maturity growth occurs basically in the psychic dimension. It is
closely linked with human beings' learning capacity and with being
open to change and transformations.

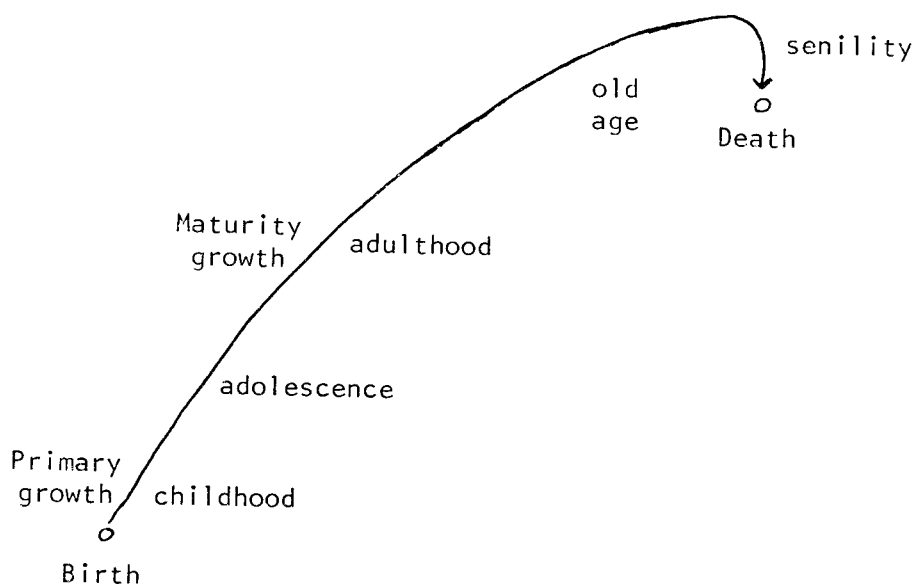Let us pause for a moment over the concept of psychic growth. What

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senility

old
age

Death

Maturity
growth

adulthood

adolescence

Primary
growth

childhood

Birth

FIG. 2.   Ascending Line of Continuous Potential Growth

do we mean by "growth" in this dimension?   Can one "grow" psychologi-
cally?   Obviously, this depends on the use of language and the meaning
we attribute to the word "growth."   In the corporal sense, the idea of
growth seems inseparably connected with the idea of increase in
physical size.   In this limited sense, the expression would not be
suitable.   Nevertheless, even in the sense of physical growth, the
term is by no means reduced to a quantitative increase in corporal
dimension because physical growth involves certain transformations
which produce qualitative changes too.   So it is important to recall
that physical growth implies an increase in the individual's potencies
and a maturing of his whole organic system.   We shall use the term
"growth" in a wide sense which includes but is not limited to physical
growth.   We shall say that growth consists of development of the
psychosomatic powers and aptitudes of the individual and, especially
in the psychic aspect, of a display of new, more complex possibilities
of fruitful interchange between the subject and his environment.   In
this sense, there is growth of intelligence in the child, which passes
from a state of undifferentiated perception to an unfolding of
abstract, logical-conceptual operations.   In the development of
intelligence there is a constant acquisition of new, more complex,

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more powerful tools for knowing reality and for an adequate exchange
with it, which in some way add to or integrate prior stages of the
capacity for adaptation. Each stage thus introduces a perfecting and
a complication of the cognitive structure corresponding to the
previous stage. Psychologists have designed techniques for measuring
degrees of intellectual development and this contributes to make
quite natural the notion of growth as applied to intelligence. But
is is not only as regards intelligence that the child grows
psychologically. He also matures, develops, increases his affectivity,
his perception of himself, his grasp, and structuring of social and
natural reality, etc. Thus, for example, to the extent that the
child passes from a primary, affective symbiosis with his mother to an
incipient structuring of the self which leads him to a primary
egocentrism and from there to his gradual integration in a group of
peers, we can say that he has grown in his adaptation to the
environment, in his possibilities for interacting with the world. An
extreme example of lack of growing in this dimension is the case of
autistic children, closed to communication, blocked in their
possibilities of exchange with the world and, for the same reason,
with themselves. Maturity growth, which characterizes the adult stage
of life, is mainly a certain type or expression of psychological
growth.[12]

Characteristics of Maturity Growth

We have said that in our culture it is taken for granted that
individual growth reaches its peak in adolescence. We must recognize,
however, that in our society it is quite usual to think that a human
being often attains in the course of his life an increasing maturity
in the sense of an increasingly better adaptation to the environment,
a greater mastering of concrete reality. So the importance of
accumulated life experience is stressed. Terms like "mature,"
"centred," "realist," are intended to characterize an adult and
differentiate him from a youth or a child.

Our paradigm of psychological growth differs greatly from what is usually considered to be a process to "maturity." The main feature which characterizes individual maturity according to the usual point of view is the capacity to behave successfully within society; instead, our paradigm of growth is concerned about the whole range of aptitudes and potencies of the human psyche. In our model, maturity growth expresses itself through a strengthening and enriching of personality. It involves a process of construction and consolidation of the self, a development of certain psychic capacities and powers which in adequate conditions, i.e., within a favourable socio-cultural context, should be encountered in a state of active tension or latency in the individual once he has begun to pass through the last stages of primary growth.

Maturity growth reveals itself through the following facets or dimensions of the human being:
a. Profound emotivity.
b. Capacity for communication.
c. Rationality, imaginative capacity, and intuition.
d. Construction of the self and consolidation of personal identity.
e. Sensitivity and experiential openness.
f. Creativity and expressive capacity.
g. Psychosomatic integration (greater security in handling and operating the body).
h. Adult realism.
i. Capacity for constructive work.
j. Impulse towards active social transcendency.

We can say that maturity growth in the individual exists or occurs in some of these aspects in the following cases:

1. There is a consolidation and increase in the capacity to establish authentic profound affective relations with other individuals, the capacity to offer adult love, the capacity for "surrender," and enjoyment in communication; capacity for empathy increases and childish egocentrism recedes. (This implies growth in the

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dimensions we have called "capacity for communication," "profound emotivity," and "impulse towards active social transcendency.")

2. There is consolidation of rational capacity, capacity for integrating knowledge in ever more powerful systems, and capacity for understanding reality; at the same time there is development of imagination, cognoscitive curiosity, capacity for wondering. (This implies growth in the dimensions we call "rationality" and "creativity.")

3. There is a progressive surmounting of the affective dependency bonds (of a symbiotic nature) with the primary parental group and other substitute forms or entities; (real) security in own identity ("ontological" security)[13] is acquired and advance is achieved in the construction of a real or authentic self,[14] abandoning increasingly artificial masks used for the social presentation of the self.[15] Fear of and submission to authority (and other irrational fears)[16] are overcome and a gradual moving away from external, formal rules is achieved; there is progress in self-knowledge and in introspective power; a greater coherence and unity in personality are achieved. (This implies growth in the dimension we have called "construction of the self and consolidation of personal identity.")

4. There is an opening and deepening of capacity for aesthetic and sensorial pleasure and for integral erotic pleasure. (This implies growth in the dimensions we have called "sensitivity and experiential openness" and "psychosomatic integration.")

5. Creative potentiality develops, unfolds, and is consolidated, and new, fruitful ways of personal expression are found (growth in the dimension "creativity and expressive capacity").

6. The harmonious integration of the adult's own body image with personal identity is consolidated; there is an unfolding of corporal powers (as regards movement, elasticity, sensory-motive

co-ordination, strength, etc.) and of the accompanying pleasure in the use of these powers. A more satisfactory and integral operation of the body is achieved (growth in "psychosomatic integration" and in "expressivity" at corporal level).

7. There is an increase in the capacity of understanding and adaptation (creative, critical) to reality, in the capacity to face and solve conflicts at more and more satisfactory levels of integration and equilibrium; the mechanisms of regressive escape recede (search for recovery of "uterine equilibrium") (growth in the dimension "adult realism").

8. There is consolidation of the capacity for constructive work with personal motivation and creativity (non-mercenary, non-bureaucratic, non-prostituted) and with a sense of social transcendency. Perception of the "other person" becomes more acute, and the sentiment of solidarity and zeal for justice become stronger (growth in the dimension "impulse towards an active social transcendency").

III.   IS MATURITY GROWTH POSSIBLE?   (CONDITIONS WHICH HAMPER AND
       CONDITIONS WHICH FOSTER MATURITY GROWTH)

Maturity Growth Is Rooted in Primary Growth

In part II we established the difference between primary and maturity
growth. This difference enables us to see maturity growth as a growth
which occurs in the innermost recesses of the individual's psychic
life, distinguishing it from growth of a somewhat more "natural" or
"biological" nature and emphasizing that it can only happen after
certain basic stages of psychic life have been attained.

It is now time, however, to point out that such a clear-cut distinction
between the two types of growth does not exist and that maturity
growth sink its roots deeply into the primary growth stage. It also
becomes necessary to ask whether primary growth is really universal
and identical in all cultures and even in all individuals from the
same culture and whether this growth is accomplished "innocuously" or
in an axiologically neutral way. Quite the contrary, the way in
which primary growth develops is to a great extent conditioned
culturally. Furthermore, the way in which primary growth develops in
an individual will heavily condition (either negatively or positively)
the possibility of that person's subsequent maturity growth.

In the individual's psychic history the first significant events are
those which concern the satisfaction of basic biological and psychic
demands. As mentioned before, it has been demonstrated that, at the
biological level, deficient nourishment during the first years of life
produces a cerebral underdevelopment which is irreversible and will
obviously hinder all subsequent integral development. It is therefore
clear that as a necessary condition to attain maturity growth, the

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individual must be assured in childhood of a basic level of organic well-being. While this is a necessary condition, it is far from being a sufficient condition. There are many psychic needs which should be satisfied if maturity growth is to be fostered or encouraged from earliest childhood. The period we have called primary growth is strongly determined by the influence which "significant adults" exercise on the modelling of the child's personality. In this first stage of life the possibility for developing or blocking later maturity growth is already being defined. Thus, for example, children must have affection, recognition, and active protection from their primary parental group. They must be stimulated and encouraged in their aptitudes and potentialities. They should not be overwhelmed by the weight of irrational authority.[17] They should be given adequate sensorial, sensory-motive, intellectual, and affective encouragements which foster or stimulate the different stages of their development. They should be able to join in peer groups where solidarity, mutual respect, and self-expression are encouraged. Their curiosity and eagerness to investigate should meet with an attitude of approval and stimulus. These would be some of the ideal or optimum psychic conditions which would pave the way for integral maturity growth.

This is but a compressed list of the variables which come into play in the primary growth process and which affect the subsequent maturity growth. To understand properly the nature of the link between one stage of growth and the other, it would be necessary to develop in detail at least some of these aspects to see how they positively or adversely affect the individual's growth in the different dimensions pointed out in the final section of part II.

Let us take just a few examples as illustration. A child who passes his first years of life in a primary parental group where he is systematically treated with contempt or disdain, where he finds no basic affective support nor recognition or acceptance of his person, will have little probability of developing a positive self-image which would allow him to attain a suitable construction of his self and his

personal identity. Since this latter is a necessary condition for
reaching an adequate level of communication and surrender in human
relations, this person will be handicapped for achieving adequate
maturity growth in several of the indicated dimensions (e.g., in $\underline{b}$,
capacity for communication, and $\underline{d}$, construction of the self; and
very probably in $\underline{f}$, creativity and expressive capacity, and $\underline{g}$,
psychosomatic integration).

Another example could be one referring to rationality. Development of
rational capacity begins in earliest infancy and is the result of a
slow, complex process. If during the education of a child emphasis is
given to shibboleths and dogmatic rules of conduct imposed
authoritarianly, if he receives few sensorial, affective, motive,
verbal, and intellectual stimuli, if his educational training is
limited, for example, to passive mechanical, coercive intake of data,
all this will have a negative effect on the growth of rational
capacity. His cognitive structures will probably remain at a level
of development which will prevent him from attaining full maturity of
rationality.

Moreover, there are also subtle links which interconnect variables
from different fields. For example, up to what point can a weak
self-perception retard development of intellectual capacity? If we
were to explore in what way the different dimensions of maturity
growth are connected with aspects of primary growth and are subordinate
to it, we would have to go deeply into psychological theory and to
follow (no doubt critically) the tracks explored by current
developmental psychology.

Maturity Growth and Culture: Psychosocial Conditioning

The way in which the individual passes through the stage of primary
development is not the only thing which affects the nature of his
subsequent development. The child slowly widens the scope of his
contacts with his environment and integrates into overall society.

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Culture, which in childhood is conditioned and transmitted to the child only by his primary groups, begins to operate more directly on the individual and determine the ways and patterns of his psychological evolution, the mechanisms and facets of his psychic life which can be encouraged and those which must be repressed. There are many psychosocial mechanisms to which the individual will have to adapt himself, which form an unavoidable part of his daily life, which contribute to modelling his character, the type of his aspirations and desires, his expectations as regards his own life and personal evolution. In fact, the general socio-cultural environment is so determinative, it conditions the development of human life to such an extent that there is not much sense in designing a model of human growth without studying closely at the same time which are the psycho-social conditions which make it possible for growth to take the desired direction and which are the ones which restrain, hamper, or deflect it. This means analysing critically a certain social reality and proposing, implicitly or explicitly, "ideal" models of social functioning. A task like this implies an ambitious work project. We shall limit ourselves here to pointing out some lines which we consider significant and important to explore.

1. The Adult and His Work

We believe that in the adult's world there are some "key" elements which have to do with the promotion or mutilation of integral growth. In the first place, his relation to his work. It is difficult for an adult to achieve continuous integral growth if he is conditioned and forced by circumstances to have an alienating kind of work. For an adult, his work is the axis of his life. This is so at least for three reasons: First, because work fills a great part of the waking hours of his life. Second, because through his work he attends to the basic survival needs of himself and his family; the possibility of losing his job or having conflicts in his work generates an enormous anxiety or tension for all that it means in individual life and, above all, in family life. The third reason for which work occupies such an important place in an adult's life is that the opinion or social evaluation made of him will depend heavily upon his kind of job.

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For these reasons the psychosocial conditions in which a person develops his work have a tremendous impact on the way in which his development will take place. In order for maturity growth to be possible, the individual should have the possibility of becoming related maturely and creatively to his work, he should have the possibility of projecting himself, of transcending in his work, of feeling his daily labour as a form of realization and not, as occurs in the majority of cases within societies such as ours, as a painful, oppressive obligation. We can say that the circumstances which surround the world of work within a "utilitarian" society[18] are generally far from being suitable for promoting integral development of persons. Some of these circumstances are:

a. The worker does not participate in the organization or planning activities of his work. He only carries out the small part which has been assigned to him without knowing the whole nor having participated in its planning.

b. He is submitted to an authority which orders and directs him and which he must obey; he must follow instructions without understanding or questioning what they mean.

c. He must comply with rigid timetable and production regulations; his task is often monotonous and hard; there is rarely any opportunity to apply his creativity or ingenuity; he is rarely asked to give an opinion.

d. He has a "mercenary" relation with his work; he works for payment but does not enjoy the product nor can he find pleasure in his work (partly because of conditions a, b, and c).

e. With the inducement of a promotion, the worker is sometimes led to compete with his own companions.

Going over these characteristics, we see that the worker cannot behave really like an adult person in his work; rather, he is obliged to abide by instructions and respect authority like a well-behaved child in order to get his reward (the wages in the case of work; affection and recognition in the case of the child).

Moreover, apart from these characteristics which are more or less

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general, on many occasions the very nature of the work requires great
physical effort and/or psychological violence, which causes serious
impairment to the person (this would be the case with work involving
intense noise, release of noxious gases or substances, very high or
very low temperatures, and involving the transport or manipulation of
very heavy objects, etc.).

If the psycho-social conditions were favourable, the link with his
work should conduct the person towards growth in the dimension we
have called "adult realism" (c in the list in part II), "capacity for
constructive work" (i), "impulse towards active social transcendency"
(j), and "creativity and expressive capacity" (f). At the same
time, it should reinforce other dimensions, such as rationality,
communication capacity, and consolidation of personal identity.

However, given the circumstances we indicate as prevailing in
utilitarian societies, it is difficult for this to occur. On the
contrary, adaptation to the world of work is one of the most frequent
sources of frustration in integral maturity or full growth.

The usually accepted model of maturity is that of a man who can accept
and endure with "fortitude" an "adequate" relation with his work, a
relation which is in fact, because of the circumstances already
pointed out, a source of personal mutilation.

2. The Adult and Public Life

Another aspect to be considered is participation of the individual in
the handling of public affairs. If true maturity growth is to be
obtained, the individual must have the possibility of really
participating in the groups which make decisions that affect the
direction and organization of social life. Real, effective participa-
tion in decision-making which affects the course of the social world
around him and in which he is immersed would give the individual the
possibility of feeling his power, capable of having an effect on the
destiny of his own life and that of his community, and this would
promote his maturity growth in different dimensions. But if an

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individual is obliged to obey and remain as a mere passive observer of decisions which affect society, and therefore his life, his family, and his neighbours, he cannot truly reach a full integral degree of growth. In this case it is our opinion that the maturing of the same facets as in the previous case is thwarted.

3. The Adult and Human Relations

Another fundamental variable, which cuts across the other two in a constant, dynamic interaction, is that of the prevailing model of human relations. This model within a society is generally functional or adapted to the exigency of the society in such a way that the individuals may accomplish "naturally" the roles and take part in necessary forms of interaction which maintain the social institutions. This concept is linked with what Fromm has described as "social character."[19] The model of human relations is generally incorporated at an early stage in the child and then consolidated in his constant interaction with the environment.

The type of human relations which the individual incorporates into the basic structure of his personality and his motivational system will have a strong influence on the scope of dimensions $\underline{a}$ (profound emotivity), $\underline{b}$ (communication capacity), and $\underline{e}$ (sensitivity and experiential opening). It seems fairly obvious that if an individual is socialized within a model of very good human communication, of generosity and sincerity, in a model where sensitivity and affective opening are considered valuable, his world of experience and emotions will become enriched and his communication with others will be open and fluid. If, on the other hand, the model of human relations which arises from institutional play and its structural necessities leads to the isolation of the individual and to a defensive-offensive attitude, the person will be condemned to psychological under-development. If the prevailing ideal is one of competition, of individual competitive success, it is obvious that it is contradictory to postulate sentiments of solidarity or human love. Thus, for example, the relations between the customer and the merchant, between the buyer and the seller, the boss and the worker,

existing in an utilitarian type society, are basically antagonistic relationships which cannot generate (at least systematically) attitudes of affection and mutual support or help.

In this case growth is limited in the dimensions a (profound emotivity), b (communication capacity) and e (sensitivity and experiential opening), while even the development of d (construction of the self and consolidation of personal identity) and of f (creativity and expressive capacity) become difficult, to the extent that the individual must protect and hide himself instead of showing himself and expecting from the other affective and sympathetic approval and a positive support for consolidation of his self-esteem.

4.   Importance of the Groups for Personal Growth Process; the "healthy" groups

Since a large part of the process of socialization and incorporation of culture as well as a large part of the process of construction and consolidation of the personal self become possible through the individual belonging to small human groups, we can categorically state that the groups to which the individual has really belonged throughout his life play a decisive role in the nature of his development. The different ways which an individual's psychological development can follow depend decisively on the small groups to which he has belonged.

Small groups reflect of course the features of their overall society. It is very difficult to make a social "island," at the margin of the rest of the psychosocial mechanisms which dominate a culture. It would therefore not seem to make much sense to analyse a group as if it could generate or mould itself independently of the whole insti- tutional inter-play of the society. In this sense, the study of groups is not unrelated to the study of the aspects we have just introduced in paragraphs 1, 2, and 3, since the human groups are inserted in institutional mechanisms and receive from them their influence and to a certain degree their character.[20] Nevertheless we believe it important to pose the subject as significant on its own for our problem, because direct human contact, loaded with affectivity

and implicit messages, which characterize small groups (whether in the
family, the factory, the office, the neighbourhood, the school, etc.),
has a direct, particular influence on the structure of personality.
Even when culture and overall society penetrate and dominate the
general vision of the members of a given society, the development of
individuals is to a large extent a dependent function of the groups to
which they have really and personally belonged. It is not something
mechanical which derives automatically from the global social structure.
It is a process involving persons who, while they reflect in some way
the social character, also have individual characteristics.[21]

Thus we can state that if a person is to reach full psychic development
it is necessary that he has the possibility of integrating into one or
more human groups which encourage or promote this development. It is
very difficult to be in the process of continuous maturity growth in
solitude. Maturity growth requires the stimulus and support of other
human beings.

Not every small human group, however, encourages or promotes the
integral growth of its members. On the contrary, there are certain
groups which by their characteristics are more likely to atrophy or
mutilate this process (partially or totally).

We shall say that a human group is "healthy" when it promotes or
encourages the maturity growth of all its members, and that it is
"sick" when it tends to atrophy it. In general groups usually have
both "healthy" and "sick" elements or aspects.

Some of the fundamental features of a healthy group would be the
following:
a.   There is no "authoritarian" authority. The authority, if there
     is one, responds to what we could call "rational authority" (see
     note 13). Authority comes from a certain competence or specific
     ability in an area and does not try to expand outside that area.
     It accepts criticism, is willing to give reasons for its rulings,
     does not attempt to impose arbitrary regulations, etc.

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b. The whole group properly respects and values each of its members for himself, not so much for his knowledge, abilities, or aptitudes as for his human condition and for his latent potentialities. No member feels that his personal identity is being harmed or ignored.

c. There is a positive, affective stream among the members of the group; there is faith and confidence in each other.

d. Each member is encouraged to give his best to the group, to create and express himself through the task he carries out in the group.

e. Hidden, underlying values are made explicit and when necessary, if fundamental discrepancies arise, they are discussed. The achievement of coherence in values and regulations is sought, as well as the avoidance of "double" or dual standards.

f. The attitudes of the members are discussed sincerely and openly. There is no hypocrisy or pretences. The members try to be as sincere as possible with each other and they ventilate their criticisms, fears, and doubts as regards the others.

g. There is no rivalry, either for power (since there is no irrational authority), or for respect and consideration from the others (since all the members are appreciated for themselves), or for prestige (which is reduced after all to the previous point), or for the good will of the authority (since there is no irrational authority and moreover each member encounters affective rewards within the whole group).

h. Problems dealing with essentials are considered more important than ritual or ceremonial formal questions (e.g., richness and expressivity of language rank higher than formal requirements).

i. Its members are not concerned about providing an image. They do not worry too much whether the others notice their supposed defects or imperfections. They do not try to hide behind a mask in order to appear more acceptable or worthy of respect.

j. The group as such tries to transcend towards other groups or individuals. It is not a symbolic, self-satisfying group. It does not generate ethnocentrism, nor produce rivalry with other groups, but quite the contrary.

k. Instrumentalization relations among the members do not occur

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within the group (one member does not use another as an "instrument" or "thing"), nor does the group instrumentalize its members, nor do the members of the group instrumentalize each other.

1. There are shared objectives. The group works earnestly and systematically on the achievement of those objectives.

If a person were fortunate enough to be able to join a group with these characteristics, he would reach a certain degree of basic security and would be encouraged to express himself freely, to release his creative powers, and to transcend positively towards the group. It is most certainly true, however, that in a culture where individualist, competitive, and utilitarian attitudes predominate, there is little likelihood of integrating groups which function in accordance with these patterns. Even within the family nucleus where it is supposed that the individual will find his principal affective refuge, some of these conditions are often absent. The adult individual is inclined to place his unconscious hopes of a healthy group in the couple, where a relationship of affective symbiosis often occurs, perhaps by the effect of contrast as regards the outside environment. But symbiosis is a stumbling block in the way of personal growth.

5. The Material Conditions of Life

The material conditions of life must meet fundamental basic requirements if a person is to develop psychically in a complete, adequate manner. Strictly speaking, the maturity growth model may be incomprehensible and even a cruel irony if it is attempted to refer it to human groups whose basic fundamental survival conditions have not been satisfied.

The possibilities of achieving integral, harmonious development will be in fact drastically and dramatically reduced for any person who is undernourished or afflicted by endemic diseases characteristic of poverty, who must dwell in precarious, sub-human conditions, who is obliged to carry out brutalizing work. In this sense the material

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conditions of life are an unavoidable condition which, if not suitably covered, will cruelly retard maturity growth by affecting in the first instance primary growth.[22]

Therefore, a fundamental requirement for dignifying human life is to eliminate social, economic, and political conditions which maintain a large part of the world's population in a state of biological and psychic misery.

The dilemma which arises here is whether the steps to be taken to solve this first priority problem of mankind should face from the very beginning the issue of psychic growth or if it would be better to postpone it for more advanced stages of the social change process. In our opinion, both the analysis of social change and the design of different models of societies must indeed introduce the problem of psychic growth from the start. From this standpoint, authoritarian and paternalistic policies of social transformation have to be rejected.

Now, just as we are convinced that a minimum of well-being and material or biological security is a necessary condition, we are also sure that it is not a sufficient condition. It is not only the bad material conditions of life that limit the possibility of maturity growth. A person can have all his basic needs satisfied and even more, satisfied in excess of his biological needs, but he can be essentially at a standstill in his psychological development. In this sense, he may present the apparent paradox of a socially powerful man who is weak and impotent as regards his own personal growth.

The fact is that it is not only socio-economic factors which limit and condition maturity growth but also cultural patterns, the system of values and the different cogs in the psycho-social mechanism, such as those we have been analysing in the previous paragraphs.[23] In our opinion, therefore, it is not arbitrary or frivolous to introduce this subject when referring to possible ways of overcoming the economic underdevelopment of a nation, because the different styles of social development carry with them different patterns of human growth.

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IV.   THE PRESENTATION OF TWO PARADIGMS: SUCCESS VERSUS MATURITY
      GROWTH

Utilitarian Culture as Opposed to Maturity Growth

It follows from part III that the psycho-social conditions which
characterize a utilitarian, individualist, and competitive society are
not the most favourable for encouraging maturity growth.

We could take as a significant indicator of the social expectations
in this sense the stereotyped figure of the successful man within a
culture of this type. We shall be able to see that a man of "success"
is not precisely one who has experienced a true maturity growth.

The successful man in a society of this kind is one who has amassed
fortune, power, prestige or fame (whether in the sphere of business,
politics, intellect, sports, etc.), or a combination of some of these
attributes. In general (but not necessary always) the man who devotes
his life to the achievement of these goals is one who must neglect
his inner self, whose interior growth is forsaken.

As a paradigmatic example we can take the prosperous businessman, who
has been able to acquire a fortune, who provides his family with an
abundance of goods and solid comfort, who enjoys prestige and
admiration and arouses considerable envy. His main concerns revolve
around his business. He must maintain his prestige and outward
composure, his image of a determined, "aggressive" man. The greater
part of his time has to be devoted to paying attention to his
possessions and his business affairs, under penalty of losing the
position achieved. Since he had to concentrate a large part of his
psychological activity on the effort of making his way in the world,

which has meant overcoming many difficulties, this man was probably
condemned to forget about himself, to amputate certain dimensions of
his psychism which constituted obstacles to adapting well to the
environment.

Now this is one of the alienating mechanisms of the self: the muti-
lation of potential psychism, which hinders and atrophies maturity
growth. The other important way for "good" adaptation is to create
"correct" defensive-offensive mechanisms of the self, to raise solid
barriers to avoid being battered by the medium, to avoid being
destroyed by outside aggression. This leads to the armour-plating of
the self: when the individual feels compelled to act in an essentially
aggressive medium, within which his vital option is to adapt himself
and win or not adapt himself and fail, he becomes obliged to create
impenetrable barriers through which outside aggression cannot
infiltrate. This enables him to offer an image of security and power
that discourages his supposed adversaries and dissimulates his
primordial need of affection, protection, and recognition from his
fellow beings.

The armour-plating of the self almost always reinforces the mutilation
of potential psychism. Constant camouflaging of the inner
tendencies, the dissembling of himself which the man is compelled to
do in front of others to avoid being taken unawares, leads to a
profound self-convincing that the image he presents to others is his
true image. After many years of struggling against himself, this
man will have managed to assimilate himself to the dominating social
model at the price of having atrophied his individual originality and
his potential experiential wealth. We can say that the defensive-
offensive mechanisms of the self which the individual is led to
construct form a castrating armour to the extent that they put a limit
on the possibilities of fundamental communication with the other and
the creative search of his own individual possibilities.

Two Paradigms: Success versus Growth

Within the prevailing conception of what constitutes a successful man,
we can point out a series of typical achievements. It would be
interesting to compare these achievements or acquisitions which are
characteristic of the successful man of utilitarian culture to the
achievements which could be attained by the strong, mature or developed
person who lives out a real, profound process of maturity growth.

This comparison will be made using ideal or pure types, emphasizing
the more significant features. We shall divide the description of
the paradigms according to the different environments or aspects which
come into play in different achievements (e.g., "human relations,"
"power," etc.). It will be interesting to observe the character of
instrumentalization which behaviour adopts in the first paradigm
(subordination of achievements to the ultimate purpose of obtaining
power, prestige, social status, etc.), while in the second paradigm
each achievement has its own value, in itself profoundly satisfying
for the individual.

TABLE 1. Comparison of Two Paradigms (Ideal Types)

Area	Achievements of the successful person, well adapted to utilitarian culture	Achievements of the person who has achieved maturity and strength through his maturity growth
The family	To have a worthy, respectable family, a spouse with good socio-economic and cultural status, well-adapted children who will be future successful citizens	To construct and maintain profound, mutually gratifying, lasting family ties, which allow a real, independent, and personal development of each family member
Human relations	To enjoy social prestige; to be admired and envied for one's social status	To be capable of feeling positive sentiments of love and affection towards other human beings and of arousing these sentiments in others

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Power; social groups	To occupy positions of power; to know how to command; to be able to dominate others firmly and with authority	To integrate in healthy human groups. To have no desire to dominate or be dominated; to have no yearning for power. Not to depend unduly on the opinion of others
Social relations	To maintain social relations of a suitable level, convenient for one's own social promotion	To communicate with other individuals in depth and without a defensive/ offensive mask; to try to understand and value others and create a bond of mutual support with them; to enjoy friendship for its own sake
Work	To have some kind of activity which confers prestige, security, and fortune. To instrumentalize one's working capacity adequately to meet these objectives	To be absorbed in a personal constructive work, directed to making something of one's own creation
Adaptation and realism	To be able to insert oneself into social reality with great realism and capacity for adaptation (instrumental mimicry) in order to be successful, outstanding	To insert oneself into social reality with a critical, non-mimical realism in order to transform it and improve it. To aim at social transcendency and the welfare of the community
Reason, knowledge and research	To understand reality in order to adapt to it; to have original ideas, to discover, to investigate, or invent for winning fame, prominence, success. To create objects, works of art, new techniques, etc., for achieving success, prestige, or money	To think, to meditate creatively and critically, for the intrinsic pleasure of doing so and for the contribution it may mean to the common good. To have creative power, to be able to mould or rebuild aspects of reality, to improve it, to express the inner abundance and bestow it on others
Self-knowledge	To know oneself well enough to act conveniently, to control oneself and project the best possible image	To know oneself as profoundly as possible in order to acquire more coherence, greater psychological openness and capacity for communicating, and a richer psychic life

Sensitivity	To control feelings and emotions adequately so that they suit the medium and to prevent being hurt. To dissimulate and hide emotions which would make one vulnerable. To postpone emotions which complicate the struggle to succeed. To instrumentalize adequately the "aggression-defence" mechanism and the functional concealment of one's true self	To experience intensely feelings and emotions. To keep alive primary sensitivity but enriched and mature, spiritually dense, laden with constructed personal values. To feel empathy and enjoy affective surrender
The body	To use one's body adequately so as to be successful in life; to enjoy good health for working well; to have a strong, well-formed, athletic, elegant body which helps to make a good image. Perhaps to be champion in some sport and thus win fame, prestige, and money. To enjoy physical pleasures. Sexuality lived as a separate domain, unconnected with sensitivity, vitality, communication	To feel one's body as fully integrated with one's psychic life and as a vehicle for communication. To enjoy movement, strength, ability heedless of success or rivalry with others — only as an expression of vitality and one's own potentialities. To link erotic enjoyment with communication and affective surrender and with the sheer thrill of vitality
Learning, beliefs, and changes	To learn enough for work and social adaptation. To change sufficiently for adapting to an objectively changing situation. To avoid becoming passé or out of date. To know what a person of certain status supposedly ought to know. To be able to convince others, by instilling into them ideas or values which suit one's purpose	To have capacity and readiness for change, in order to transform oneself, to learn from experience to incorporate new ideas and emotions, integrating them into one's personal system and possibly reconstructing the system. To maintain psychic malleability. To foster the same malleability and capacity for dynamic learning in others without attempting to impose dogmatisms or rigid beliefs. To acquire abilities and knowledge which enable one to integrate one's

personal system in a
progressively harmonious
manner and to intervene
more efficaciously on
behalf of the medium and
of one's own search for
personal realization

An Antinomy of Utilitarian Culture: Individualism versus Vacuous Individual Life

We have attempted to show that utilitarian culture does not supply, at least at the level of its more generalized mechanisms, stimuli for maturity growth.

Moreover, utilitarian culture generates an irreducible contradiction: while it urges individualism, while it converts individualism into an ethical-anthropological postulate and stimulates the tendency of the individual towards his personal success, it offers as a model of individual realization a paradigm sadly lacking in psychological achievements, limiting on general lines the success of individual life to the obtaining of satisfactions such as economic well-being, social prestige, or power. These achievements, which are pursued as ultimate objectives or goals, do not lead to the increase of individual psychological richness or power but contariwise, as we mentioned earlier, in the struggle to obtain them, the individual impoverishes or dries up the source of his potential psychological growth. Therefore, a culture of this kind tends to create a state of constant anxiety and insatiability in its members. There is a sort of tension or basic anxiety for individual plenitude which is constantly diverted, within a culture such as ours, towards the possession of more and better material goods. This appetence will never be satisfied, because the real need is connected with the capacity or psychological power of the individual to live, to fully experience, to communicate with others, to love other persons intensely and be loved with the same intensity, to thrill with emotions and sensations, to transcend

towards others, and to be projected into a creative activity and constructive work within a community, which enables him to be projected beyond his own fleeting existence.

Many people attribute their disappointment with life to the fact of having been unable to achieve all the comfort, security, or material economic well-being they wish. This mask of material dissatisfaction nevertheless hides a much more radical dissatisfaction: it hides the void of a spiritually mutilated, atrophied life, limited at an early stage in the dynamics of its development.

1. Perhaps what really happens is that the leading protagonists of this process are the economic and political interests which come into play; to the extent that each economic or political group seeks its own advantage, individual people are only useful pawns in this game of power and economic benefit. It could therefore be thought that it is the State which takes care of the well-being of people (the thesis of the Welfare State) but this is also relative, since each government in turn looks for its own objectives, which are related to the consolidation of power, supremacy over other nations, etc.

2. It is essential to clarify that we do not under any circumstances deny the decisive importance of material conditions for a decorous human existence and for full growth of a person. We consider that the satisfaction of the so-called basic needs of all the inhabitants of the world is an absolutely primordial urgent condition, a challenge to the moral conscience of all human beings who enjoy life without fundamental privations. Moreover, the discussion which centres around the question of human development but does not contemplate the incidence of material conditions of life and everyday experience upon people, appears to me unacceptable.

   My point of view regarding the connection between economic development and human growth can be broken down into two aspects: (1) Referring to the so-called developed countries, where the basic needs are covered for the great majority or the whole of the population and where highly sophisticated industries, advanced technologies, etc. have been developed. (2) Referring to the so-called "developing" countries, where an important part of the population suffers penury, malnutrition, endemic diseases, illiteracy, promiscuity, etc.

   As regards 1, the question lies in analysing up to what point technological development has really helped human growth and up to what point it has atrophied or deflected it. Here it is necessary to study what were the real objectives and methods with which the material, industrial, and technological development took place and what results did this development model have on the profound psychic well-being of the population.

   As regards the countries where problems of poverty subsist on a massive scale, the point is to examine what will be the objectives

and methods to encourage the promotion of their economic-technological development since — as demonstrated by the developed countries — this will condition the whole form and quality of life of their inhabitants.

The controversy arises from three different attitudes: (a) It is essential to obtain economic development by any means whatever, because it is a necessary and sufficient condition for attaining well-being, as has been proved by the developed countries. (b) It is necessary to obtain economic development by any means whatever. We do not know if that is a sufficient condition, maybe not, but that is not the important point. What is really important is that economic development is a necessary condition for raising millions of human beings out of misery. The methods do not matter; perhaps it is necessary to sacrifice some generations; the final objectives are what matter (finally well-being will be achieved). (c) It is necessary to attain a form of economic-political-social transformation which, while radically satisfying the basic needs of all the population, lays the foundations for the development of a healthy society which can integrally encourage the growth of its members. The methods do matter because they decisively condition the ends. Furthermore, it is not licit to sacrifice one generation in favour of another. This final attitude is the one which is assumed here.

3. The variety of the organization of the different motivational systems in the different cultures is truly remarkable. By way of example (more picturesque than scientific) we quote below two texts: one describes the expectations and desires of an average North American of the present days, as perceived by Rosser Reeves, a first-class salesman whose work consists precisely of knowing what people want. The other text is taken from the Iliad and shows the motivations and ideals of a great warrior of heroic Troy. Rosser Reeves says: "We know, for example, that we don't want to be fat. We don't want to smell. We want to have children who will have good health and we also want to enjoy good health. We want to have beautiful teeth. We want to dress well. We want people to like us. We don't want to be ugly. We are looking for love and affection. We want money. We like comfort. We hope to have a nicer house. We want honesty, self-respect, and a place in the community. We want to own things that will make us feel proud. We want to be successful in our work. We want to enjoy security in old age." (From G. Miller, Psychology: The Science of Mental Life, New York, 1966.)

In the Iliad, when Hector is about to leave for the war, his wife Andromache tries to hold him back: "Oh Hector! Your bravery will be your undoing. You have no pity for the little child nor for me, unhappy me, who will soon be your widow. Because the Achaeans will all assault you and destroy you. It would be better that the earth swallow me up if I should lose you because if you die there will be no consolation for me, only sorrows. . . . So have pity on me, stay here in the castle. Don't make the child an orphan and your wife a widow." The

great Hector, his helmet plumes waving, replies: "All this worries me, my dear, but how I would blush before the Trojans and the Trojan women in their long dresses if I were to flee from the battle like a coward. Nor does my heart prompt me to do so, I always knew how to be valiant and fight in the front line among the Trojans continuing my father's immense glory and my own. I know this very well and I know it is certain that one day the city of Troy and Priam and the people of the wealthy Priam will perish. But the future misfortune of the Trojans, of Hecuba herself and King Priam . . . do not worry me as much as what you will suffer when one of the Bronze-armoured Aquaeans carries you away weeping, taking you captive. And perhaps someone will exclaim, on seeing you weep: 'That was the wife of Hector, the greatest warrior among the Trojans the horse-breakers, when they were fighting around Ilion. . . .'" And so saying the illustrious Hector stretched out his arms to his son: "Zeus and all ye gods! Grant this child of mine be, like me, illustrious among the Trojans and just as courageous; may he reign powerfully in Ilion; may they say of him when he returns from battle: 'He is more valiant than his father' and that when laden with the bloody remains of the enemy he has killed, he will make his mother's heart rejoice."

4. See, for example, the interesting testimony of a maturity concept quoted by Fromm in The Sane Society: "I define maturity" says Dr. Strecher "as the capacity to persevere in a job, the capacity to yield in an occupation more than is requested of one, truthfulness, persistence in carrying out a plan to the end in spite of the difficulties, capacity for working with other persons within an organized group and under an authority, capacity for taking decisions, the will to live, flexibility, independence, and tolerance."

5. Regarding the tradition of humanistic ethics in this direction, see among others, E. Fromm, Man for Himself, New York, 1947, chap. 2.

6. With regard to what I understand by objective necessity, see my article "Does It Make Sense to Investigate Human Needs?" presented at the Second Latin American Meeting on Research and Human Needs, Montevideo, June 1978.

7. By defining explicitly the prevailing model, the possibility of maintaining double standards and axiological incoherence is reduced. Many times, at the level of declarations, manifestos, or public speeches, an image of the human being is postulated which has nothing to do with the true prevailing model. According to this, there would be something resembling a double standard: an alleged morality and a real morality. On making the real model explicit it would be given a public, controversial character, allowing analysis and polemics, weakening hypocrisy and self-delusion.

8. Our thesis is that a model of ideal human growth underlies not only every society but also the social and human sciences. Some sociological currents, for example, are conformist and naturally adopt the dominating cultural patterns as part of the social fog which also envelops the researcher and his internalized system of values. Something similar occurs with some psychotherapeutic and pedagogical currents. To unfold a desirable human growth model analytically would provide certain epistemological benefits, to the extent that this would permit:
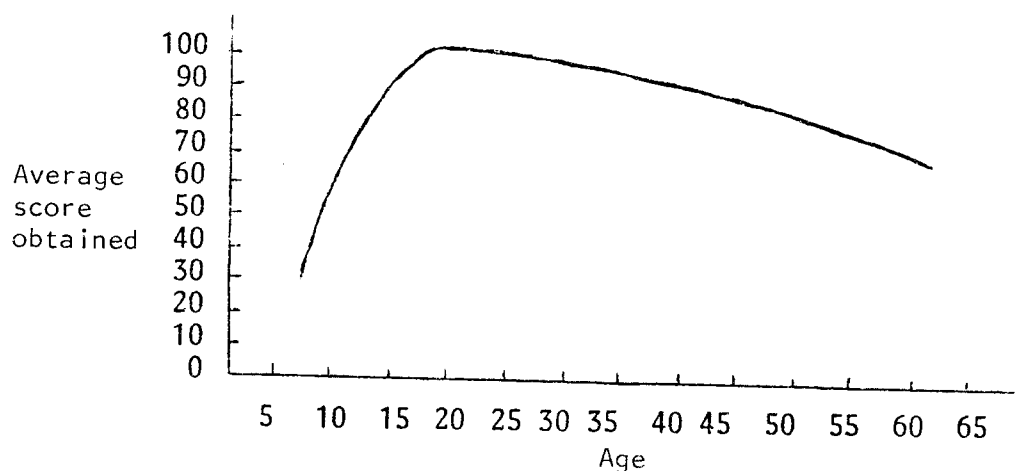   a. Analysing the theory drawn up, from the point of view of its internal coherence (logical analysis).
   b. Attempting to demonstrate it (or refute it) theoretically (theoretical integration attempt).
   c. Attempting to prove it (or refute it) empirically (empirical contrast attempt).
   d. Confronting it with alternative theories and comparing them both from the theoretical and empirical point of view and from their internal coherence.
   e. Analysing whether this model of growth exists in our culture or some other and if so, which.
   f. Analysing the theories of economic development of the nations in light of the theory of development of human beings (for example, to what extent does the strategy of economic and technological development followed by the so-called developed countries contribute to promoting growth as we have defined it?).
   g. To confront the different psychological, psychotherapeutical, and educational theories with this theory of growth.
   h. To study psycho-social factors which may arrest this growth.
   i. To investigate which are the traits or characteristics of a society which would promote such growth.
   j. To evaluate any given historical, real culture in the light of this theory.
   k. To analyse the problem of social sickness (drugs, suicides, murders, sexual violence, alcoholism, etc.) in the light of this theory.
   A theory of growth offers a theoretical framework, an explicit conceptual paradigm within whose limits a psychological, anthropological, education, or sociological hypothesis can be evaluated, integrated, or rejected.
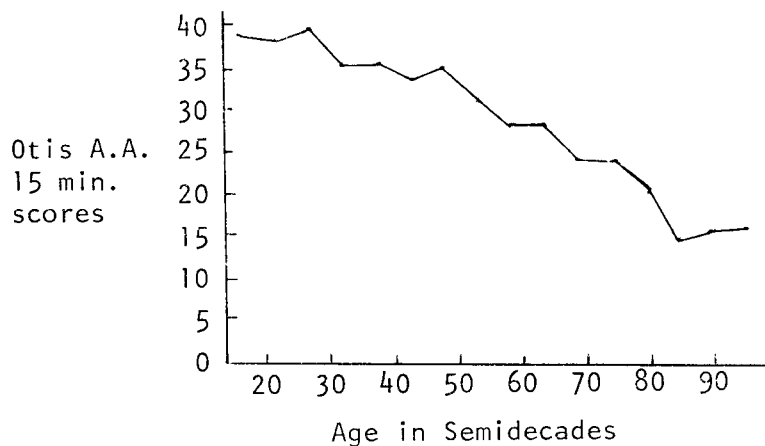
9. One very important point which is not broached in this article is the theoretical and empirical foundation of the proposed model. I am aware that this undoubtedly weakens the presentation of the model and makes it vulnerable. It would also be necessary to deploy each of the facets or dimensions of growth and their mutual interaction with much greater detail so that this enumeration is not something abstract and difficult to visualize in concrete human reality. Another aspect which would require deeper study concerns the types of social structure which encourage or stunt growth according to the model presented. This aspect is crucial for a defense of the model since it would remove it from the merely ideal plane on analysing its structural

and psycho-social conditions of feasibility. All these are in fact different steps of a theoretical work on which I am engaged.

10. The enormous importance both of organic nutrients and of psychological stimuli for the normal development of the organism has been demonstrated by several recent researchers in biology and psychology (for example, the studies by Dobbing and Sands in Manchester, Mark Rosenzweig in Berkeley, etc.). One of the findings was that during the first four years of life the lack of adequate nutrition produces a deterioration in brain development by altering the normal development of the connective nerve tissue and myelinization. According to these studies, children who have been deficiently nourished during their first years of life will suffer an irreversible underdevelopment of the brain which will obviously affect their intellectual yield. With regard to sensorial stimuli, it was possible to prove in experiments with rats that the presence of richer sensorial stimuli fosters a greater development of the cortical zones of the brain. Work has also been done on this subject in psycho-pedagogic experiments known as "compensating programmes" in which it was attempted to provide better educational opportunities to children from a culture which gave them few stimuli and development possibilities. The changes in the levels of development achieved were significant. (See: Herencia, _Medio y Educación_, Ed. Salvat, Buenos Aires, 1974.) In connection with this subject J. Ajuriaguerra says: "It has been demonstrated that stimuli are essential for the maturing of the neuronal systems. When external stimuli do not exist — or are insufficient — the organization of the activity of the cerebral cortex is retarded or functions incorrectly." J. Ajuriaguerra, _Manual de Psiquiatría Infantil_, Barcelona, 1973.

11. See, for example, the following figures taken from H. Garret, _Great Experiments in Psychology_, New York, 1951.

Changes in Mental Capacity with Age

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40
35
30
Otis A.A.    25
15 min.      20
scores       15
             10
              5
              0
                 20  30  40  50  60  70  80  90

                    Age in Semidecades
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Reduction of Score in the Intelligence Test after Puberty

12. Nevertheless, the manifestations of a real integral maturity
    growth also appear at the corporal level (for example, in
    greater plasticity and liberty of movements, enriching of
    expressive possibilities through gestures, facial expressions,
    etc.).

13. For this concept see G. Rapaille, Laing, Paris, 1972.

14. For this concept see A. Janov, The Primal Scream, particularly
    chaps. 2, 3, and 4.

15. In connection with this, see E. Goffman, The Presentation of
    Self in Everyday Life, New York, 1959.

16. On the concept of authoritarian personality see the classical
    work by T.W. Adorno et al., The Authoritarian Personality, New
    York, 1950.

17. On the concept of rational and irrational authority, see E. Fromm,
    Man for Himself, chap. II, paragraph 1.

18. For the concept of utilitarian culture, see A. Gouldner, The
    Coming Crisis of Western Sociology, New York, 1970, first part,
    paragraph 3: Utilitarian Culture and Sociology.

19. E. Fromm, The Sane Society, chap. V.

20. It would be interesting to study the structural conditions
    (economic, political, and institutional) which make possible or
    perturb the existence of what are here described as "healthy
    groups." The structural characteristics of a society mould the
    groups directly or indirectly in some way. A markedly

authoritarian political structure would have the effect of reproducing inside the small groups the domination relationships through the distribution of hierarchical roles. If it should be possible to constitute a healthy group within a culture which does not encourage it naturally, the negative influences of the medium will bombard it continually, sometimes subtly, sometimes more openly.

21. For this reason, the sociologist approach which reduces the problem of psychological conditioning to a series of economic-social constraints is insufficient to explain the different ways that the psychological history of a real, concrete individual may take.

22. See, for example, one of the consequences of an inadequate environment: "When protection against the cold is not obtained by normal means (clothing and comfortable dwelling) the organism resorts to an increase in the production of internal heat by burning up substances received with food or those held in reserve in certain corporal structures. Since the inadequate conditions of housing and clothing of large sectors of the population are generally accompanied by deficient energy-producing diet, the organism loses its capacity for protection against the cold and only the reduction of muscular activity and prolonged periods of repose enables the energy equilibrium of the individual to be relatively maintained. The economic and social consequences originating from this situation, which constitutes a truly vicious circle, have a profound significance. . . . In babies, the physiological needs of nutrients, especially proteins, increase as a result of the frequent bouts of infectious diseases which cause a reduction in ingestion and a greater metabolic deterioration. If this deficiency cannot be compensated with higher than normal ingestion after recovery from the disease, a progressive deficit occurs in each episode. Additionally, parasitic infections and diarrhoeic illnesses diminish the intestinal absorption of nutrients essential to the diet. The combined effect of these factors is a greater need for nutritional sources and/or calories, so that the rations of pre-school age children, especially those from the lowest social levels, ought to be considerably greater than those calculated for a normal situation." (Sabulsky and Battellino, "El Problema de la Alimentación Humana," Ciencia Nueva, 23, Buenos Aires, 1973).

23. As Fromm points out in The Sane Society, it cannot be claimed that the material progress of the developed nations has brought with it true progress in psychological balance and growth: "We see, moreover, that the most democratic, pacific, and prosperous countries of Europe, and the most prosperous country in the world, the United States, present the most serious symptoms of mental disturbance. The objective of all the socio-economic development of the Western world is to have a materially comfortable life, a relatively equitable distribution of wealth and stable democracy and peace. Yet these same countries which

have come closest to that objective show the gravest symptoms of mental unbalance. It is true that these figures in themselves prove nothing, but at all events they are surprising. . . . Is it possible that the life of prosperity which the middle class leads, while satisfying our material needs, should leave us a sensation of profound boredom and that suicide and alcoholism should be the pathological ways of escaping from this boredom? Is it possible that these figures constitute a radical illustration of the truth of that saying 'Man does not live by bread alone' and reveal that modern civilization does not satisfy some profound needs of the human individual?"