

# INTEGRAL REVIEW

A Transdisciplinary and Transcultural Journal For New Thought, Research, and Praxis

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# Editorial

Welcome to another regular issue of *Integral Review*, which launches our ninth year of publishing new thought, research, and praxis. In the coming months we will roll out an upgrade for IR's website, with new features and a new look. We look forward to this upgrade serving readers' interests better with an increase in functionality!

This current issue is comprised of three substantive-length academic articles that are joined by two reviews and an essay. Prominent characteristics of these contributions include the careful deployment of integral and adult development insights in meaningful applications to academic and social analyses as well as research, along with the persistent attention to the vital role of multiple perspectives weaving through all contributions. And finally, each contributor offers distinctive frameworks we believe a wide spectrum of readers may find useful in their thought, research, and praxis.

Henry Lebovic analyzes the work of prominent peace scholar-practitioners John Burton and John Paul Lederach in his master's degree thesis, *Towards a Coherent Unity of Perspectives on Peace: Burton, Lederach and the Philosophy of Ken Wilber*. He investigates how the integral model and Spiral Dynamics serve analyses of the causes and sources of conflict, and the limitations to date of peace theory and practice. In light of that analysis and in reviewing the small body of "integrally-aware" peace scholarship, he suggests how integral theory might emerge as an important tool for analyzing and shaping future peacebuilding initiatives, and demonstrates the value of developmental analysis of scholarship and practice.

In *The Spectrum of Responses to Complex Societal Issues: Reflections on Seven Years of Empirical Inquiry*, Thomas Jordan, Pia Andersson, and Helena Ringnér synthesize learnings from their work in nine empirical studies to offer practical insights and cautions about individual and group capacities for managing complex issues. Analyzing the variability in performances, they offer a preliminary typology of functions—of facilitators and of groups—that may need to be scaffolded for methods to accomplish intended objectives. In reporting on their learning about individual societal change agency, they offer a typology of four types of societal entrepreneurship and a detailed discussion of the properties of dialectical meaning-making in societal change agency.

Elizabeth Ann ("Annie") Wilson Whetmore employs a developmental integral lens to analyze changes in marriage laws and related cultural norms and values in the United States across the last several decades. In *The Dynamics of Marriage Law and Custom in the United States* she builds her analysis of worldview shifts via her own typology of specific domains (which she calls "lines of development") to explain how she correlates traditional, modern, and postmodern worldviews with shifts in law and custom. Her discussion considers the implications of these shifts for ongoing change to US marriage law and custom, and specifically for marriage, sex, pregnancy, and stresses for women.

Michael Schwartz reviews *Integral Sustainable Design: Transformative Perspectives*, edited by Mark DeKay with Susanne Bennett, which he asserts is "the single most important book on



architecture I have ever read.” He recommends the book not only as manual to guide the field of sustainable design, but also well beyond design to “all manner of integralists and meta-theorists.” Notably, judging from his own experience, he suggests the book for general readers because it may “profoundly change one’s day to day experience of the built environments in which we dwell.”

When Thomas Jordan discovered Verna DeLauer’s *The Mental Demands of Marine Ecosystem-Based Management: A Constructive Developmental Lens*, he felt convinced her methods and insights would benefit a wide audience. His review of her dissertation explains why he asserts it as “a very important contribution to our understanding of the preconditions for developing our societies’ capacities for managing complex issues.”

The foregoing contributions shed light on a range of interests, and the final essay by Swasti Vardhan Mishra sheds a light on India’s experience when the lights and power went out in its 2012 blackout. In *The Great Indian Blackout and Elements of Positivity*, he offers a perspective from his lived experience of the event and his observations of positive effects on at least some Indians’ unity, cohesiveness, and equality. His positive orientation is extended to considering how the event’s circumstances and effects may actually be good news about India’s economic and political development, in contrast to critics’ stances. He illuminates how the light of positivity can enable new ways of seeing when we think we’re in the dark.

As always, we hope you enjoy the richness offered by this issue’s diverse contributors, and find ways to benefit from and use their insights, analyses, typologies, and passion for developing our capacities and perspectives to serve our complex world!



Jonathan Reams, Editor in Chief



Sara Ross, Associate Editor

# Towards a Coherent Unity of Perspectives on Peace: Burton, Lederach and the Philosophy of Ken Wilber

Henry Lebovic<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract:** This master's degree dissertation uses the philosophical schema of Ken Wilber, known as the integral model, and the Spiral Dynamics<sup>®</sup> approach based on psychologist Clare Graves' work and promoted by Don Beck and Christopher Cowan, to explore the work of peace scholar-practitioners, John Burton and John Paul Lederach. It asks: Can the Integral model and Spiral Dynamics be utilised in analyses to explore the causes and sources of conflict, and the limitations of peace theory and practice? If so, can these schemas be used prescriptively to help design more effective approaches to peacebuilding? Such an analytical schema reveals that Burton's human needs theory makes claims to holism that ultimately fell short, primarily because of the reduction of culture to behaviour. In addition, his reliance on cognitive approaches and the aspect of assumed neutrality were found to be problematic. In contrast, Lederach's concern with subjective causes and solutions of conflict was closer to the "integral holism" Wilber advocates. Lederach's values, which were made more explicit than Burton's, were also found to be congruent with the second-tier value approach of Spiral Dynamics. Furthermore, research within the peace studies literature, as demonstrated here, lends support to the experimental analyses conducted in this dissertation. Finally, the small body of "integrally-aware" peace scholarship, which is also reviewed, illustrates how integral theory might emerge as an important tool for analysing and shaping future peacebuilding initiatives.

**Keywords:** Conflict resolution, conflict transformation, human needs theory, John W. Burton, John Paul Lederach, peacebuilding, Spiral Dynamics<sup>®</sup>

## Introduction

My own intellectual journey has taken me from science and technology, via almost twenty years spent in the corporate I.T. world, to the study of peace and conflict. Along the way, I discovered the philosophical model of Ken Wilber, a contemporary American writer of the last 30 years and I came to three observations that grow in salience as my journey into the social sciences progresses. These observations form the motivation of this dissertation for my master's degree in peace and conflict studies.

First, theories that are powerful in a particular context seemed to provide only partial answers at best, or are of minimal value at worst, when applied outside the domain defined by their assumptions and core knowledge. This includes many of the "ideas" I encountered in the I.T.

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<sup>1</sup> Henry Lebovic attained a Bachelor of Science in 1984, and worked for 16 years in Information Technology. He recently completed a Masters in Peace and Conflict Studies at the University of Sydney, Australia, where he won the Gordon Rodley prize for 2011.

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This work is dedicated to the memory of Regina Lebovic Nee Weitzenova, 1923-2011.



world concerning human behaviour, as well as much of what I learnt about modern economics such as the construct of “homo economicus” or “economic human.”<sup>2</sup> Second, I came to believe that interdisciplinary approaches may be an antidote to that partiality, because of the variety of perspectives these disciplines span and because the knowledge and understanding that emerges is greater than the sum of the parts that constitute it. I came to understand this concept as holism and discovered it was a purported characteristic of peace and conflict studies. Finally, I observed, both in everyday life and in academia, that ideas and theories were necessarily predicated on a particular worldview or set of values. However, frequently these were not made explicit and in many cases, seemed unconscious to those who espoused them. Those values, it appeared to me, shaped and limited the application of the theory, from how and what data is gathered, through to the way methodologies are constructed, research planned and results evaluated.

The study of conflict and peace and the practice of peacebuilding claims to be far more explicit with respect to its values and actively seeks to employ an interdisciplinary, more holistic approach to research and practice. However, is this really so? If it is, to what extent do those values shape theories? Is there a framework for bringing disciplines together in a coherent way? By utilising Wilber’s model, would it be possible to create a set of lenses through which theories could be tested, both for the limitations outlined above and for their durability and wider application to more complex human problems? To explore these questions, I examine the work of John Burton and John Paul Lederach, in particular. These two theorists have been selected in large part because they are well regarded and remain popular within contemporary peace and conflict studies, and are well documented and widely discussed within the literature. The work of others such as Norwegian peace scholar, Johan Galtung or American peace educator, Betty Reardon would also be a valuable addition to these two theorists for the same reasons I have outlined. However, time and space constraints prevent this here and a future examination along these lines would be an extension of this research.

In this research, then, I ask two questions:

1. Can Wilber’s “AQAL Model” and the related Spiral Dynamics<sup>®3</sup> schema be used in an analytically descriptive manner to explore the causes and sources of conflict, and the utility and limitations of peace theory and practice?
2. Can those schemas be used prescriptively, to help design more effective approaches to peacebuilding? In other words, is the complexity of violent conflict and the challenge of sustainable peacebuilding best dealt with by Wilber’s “integral approach” and Beck and Cowan’s second-tier value systems (“vMemes”)?

Ken Wilber’s AQAL model is not a theory about peace and conflict. Its roots lie in sociology, psychology, the physical sciences, cultural studies, phenomenology, spirituality and religion, amongst others. While it is primarily regarded as a theory of philosophy, its breadth and eclectic roots are likely to remind readers of theories from these other disciplines, including some from peace and conflict studies. Wilber’s model can be described as a map providing a way to view

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<sup>2</sup> This refers to the abstraction of a narrowly self-interested, rational human in pursuit of maximum wealth for minimum effort. The term was coined in reaction to the political economy of John Stuart Mill. See Persky, 1995, pp. 221-231.

<sup>3</sup> “Spiral Dynamics” is a registered trademark. The ® symbol is indicated in only this first use of the trademarked name; hereafter, Spiral Dynamics is used.

and explore other theories and ideas. It is often called a meta-theory (Esbjörn-Hargens, 2009, p. 1) in the sense that it is beyond a theory – it can be thought of as situated above the landscape of specialised theories, providing a view from which one can spot relationships, trajectories and even vacant territory regarding theoretical locations. The word “integral” is key to Wilber’s model. An “integral” approach, by Wilber’s definition, is one that tries to include as many perspectives, styles and methodologies as possible within a coherent view of a topic (as cited in Esbjörn-Hargens, 2009, p. 1). The integral map has five distinct components or elements: (Wilber, 2006, pp. 1-40)

1. Quadrants: encompassing the perspectives of intention, behaviour, culture and society.
2. Lines or streams of development (i.e. intelligences, capacities, e.g. cognitive, emotional, moral, values).
3. The stages through which those lines progress, revealing greater complexity.
4. States of consciousness.
5. Personality types (e.g. gender).

I will be considering only the first three of the above elements because they are the most directly relevant to the three observations stated at the beginning of this section. The term “AQAL,” which stands for All Quadrants, All Lines, is derived from the first two elements above. The term implies that an “integral” approach requires a consideration of all quadrants, all lines, all stages, all states and all types. The use of development lines and stages will focus primarily on the values lines which Wilber identifies and which is developed in more detail by the Spiral Dynamics theory of Graves (1974), Beck and Cowan (1996). The stages within this line of development are also known as “value Memes” or vMemes and they are colour-coded for ease of recollection (see below). The theory identifies particular patterns or types of values as they emerge and matches them to the types of challenges they are best suited to addressing.

This work draws upon academic literature in diverse and germane areas: the philosophical theories of Ken Wilber and what I consider to be subsidiary psychological theories by Clare Graves, Don Beck and Chris Cowan; the published works of John Burton and those of John Paul Lederach; academic articles reflecting on the work of Burton and Lederach and peace theory and practice relevant to the analyses conducted herein; and lastly a small body of work which represents the first steps in integrating Wilberian ideas with peace practice. In the case of the major academics I examine, I focus primarily on their significant and later works, in an attempt to accurately capture their most mature views. In the case of Lederach, the progression of his writings is also of some particular interest.

The first section outlines the three elements of Wilber’s model indicated above in sufficient detail to allow the reader to engage in the analysis that follows. This includes examples, but it does not make any explicit connections to peace and conflict theory. In the following two sections, Burton and Lederach’s work are summarized, drawing out those particular aspects that are to be the subject of the descriptive analysis of the second part of each of those sections. The analysis determines the extent to which they could be considered integral, by Wilber’s definition. This includes a four-quadrant analysis, an examination of various “development lines” and their prominence, and a consideration of the value Meme (vMemes) that are evident in the theories and practices.



The first part of the fourth section compares the observations derived from applying Wilber's model to Burton and Lederach's theories with peace and conflict literature. This analysis finds some striking similarities and starts to paint a picture of the prescriptive value of the AQAL model to peace and conflict theory. Practitioners and theorists in a number of disciplines have begun to develop more complete, holistic approaches to the challenges in their specific fields. The second part of this fourth section considers how this could begin to be undertaken in peacemaking, using Wilber's model as a schema and Burton and Lederach's models as components. A handful of examples are documented by way of illustration.

It is argued here that integral theory could become a valuable tool for the analysis and prescription of peace theory and peacebuilding practice. The analyses undertaken in this dissertation are not only illustrative of how to use integral theory as a set of lenses, but they also suggest how it may be possible to move towards a coherent unity of perspectives on peace. The suggestions for further research in the conclusion advances this goal by expanding both the frame of analysis and the scope of peace theory.

## **Section One: An Introduction to the Integral Model**

Since his first book in 1977, Ken Wilber's ideas have been refined and expanded over a series of books. With a background in the sciences and yet, deeply interested in the spiritual traditions from across the world, Wilber's drive has been to create a synthesis of the wisdoms and insights already available to humanity in a coherent way that can provide a practical map for navigating our future. His sources include the insights of both East and West, from science and religion, and from the perspectives of pre-modern, modern and post-modern.

This section begins by examining the ideas of holism and integralism, as Wilber uses them. These ideas are underpinned by the notions of holons, holarchy, and the existence of non-reducible perspectives, corresponding to domains of knowledge. The domains, which form the four quadrants of the Integral model, are then explained in detail. An inherent aspect of these quadrants is the unfolding of greater depth and complexity, as manifested in the development lines and stages and this is examined here. Particular attention is paid to the development in the subjective quadrants as they relate to human experience. The values line is then explored in more depth, because of its relevance to the examination of Burton and Lederach that is undertaken in the subsequent sections.

### **From Holism to Integral**

But what is really meant by holism? For Wilber, the key underlying concept is that of a holon. In 1995, Wilber formulated his twenty tenets concerning the patterns of existence or tendencies of evolution. In the first of those tenets he asserts that "reality as a whole is not composed of things or processes but of holons. Composed, that is, of wholes that are simultaneously parts of other wholes, with no upward or downward limit" (Wilber, 2000b, p. 43). Thus, he sees reality as a hierarchy of holons – or a holarchy, in which there are an infinity of holons, each of which is a part of a still greater holon.

Wilber warns about two particular dangers that are common in our modern world. The first stems from the assertion that a particular holon is in fact the ultimate “whole,” that is, it is not a part of anything greater or more complete. This leads to repression and domination of higher holons over lower ones, often through the use of force. This can be entrenched in what Eisler calls “domination hierarchies” (as cited in Wilber, 2000b, p. 30). The second danger is what Wilber calls gross reductionism, which is the practice of reducing all material systems to material atoms – often called atomism.

In a sense, Wilber’s Integral framework is his attempt to make holism operational in the totality of human affairs. He understands “integral” in the sense of “comprehensive, inclusive, non-marginalizing, embracing” (as cited in Esbjörn-Hargens, 2009, p. 1). Key to achieving that is the recognition of four fundamental perspectives, which can be summarised as: subjective or intentional, objective or behavioural, inter-subjective or cultural and inter-objective or social (Wilber, 2000a, p. 73).

### **The AQAL Model’s Four Quadrants**

These perspectives are known as the four quadrants and are often shown diagrammatically (such as in Wilber, 2000b, on p. 127). The two axes that divide the whole into four are based on two distinctions: the interior versus the exterior and the individual versus the collective. Thus, the upper-left quadrant corresponds to the internal perspective of an individual. It is concerned with psychology, spirituality, meaning and intentionality. This is characterised in language as the “I” perspective. The upper-right quadrant is the external view of individuals and is concerned with behaviour and observable phenomenon. The pronoun related to it is “IT.” The lower-left is the cultural dimension, or the inside awareness of the group and its worldview, its shared values and meanings, shared feelings and so forth. Its perspective is encapsulated by the pronoun “WE.” Finally, the lower-right is the social dimension (or the exterior forms and behaviours of the group, which are studied by third-person sciences such as systems theory. Characterised by the pronoun “ITS,” it includes the social, institutional, legal and political domains.

One of Wilber’s most compelling insights is that for a view to be considered “integral,” all four quadrants need to be included or considered. Problems emerge when you try to deny, dismiss or reduce any quadrant or perspective to another one (Wilber, 2006, p. 28). In particular, he warns against the attempt to reduce interiors to their exterior correlates, that is, collapsing subjective and inter-subjective realities into their objective aspects. This is known by some as “scientism” and Wilber gives this frame of reference the name “flatland” (Esbjörn-Hargens, 2009, p. 3). In other words, when all “I’s” and all “we’s” are reduced to systems of interwoven “its,” we are engaged in a form of subtle reductionism (Wilber, 2000a, p. 73).

This type of reductionism is widespread. It is practiced, for example, by those neuroscientists who reduce all mind states to brain functions, asserting that consciousness is an epiphenomenon of brain activity. Similarly, it is being practiced by those systems theorists who reduce all culture and collective meaning to systems of interacting, autonomous units. Wilber does not deny the validity claims of science and empiricism, acknowledging that they accurately and importantly report on the exteriors of various phenomena. However, he is critical of an aggressive

imperialism that some scientists engage in when they try to “corner the market on truth” (Wilber, 2001, p. 21).

Reductionism in the opposite direction is also a concern for Wilber. Denial of the objective quadrants is a feature of extreme cultural constructivism. While Wilber supports the validity claim that many ideas are constructed according to various interests (power, sexism, racism etc), he is critical of any who might argue that only the lower-left (cultural) quadrant is “real” and deny the existence of objective truth(s) (Wilber, 2001, p. 23). In analysing the popular constructivists, he in fact finds that they do admit some objective truth and system, including Bataille, Derrida and Foucault (Wilber, 2000b, pp. 45-47).

One way that the four quadrants can be applied to conflict is in the analysis of behaviour. Such an analysis might start with questions such as “how do we behave?” and “why do we behave in the particular way we do?.” The first question is observational and descriptive in nature, so, while important, it is not analytical. The process of answering the second question can lead towards particular quadrants, depending on the analytical perspectives employed. One answer might be “due to socio-political and structural factors,” which leads to the lower-right (social) quadrant. Another answer is “because of brain states and chemistry, genetic characteristics and defects,” which implicates the upper-right (behavioural/empirical) quadrant. Alternatively, we might conclude, “it is a part of our culture and therefore is meaningful to us,” leading directly to the lower-left (cultural) quadrant. Finally, we might conclude, “it is rooted in our intentions, emotions, personal desires and beliefs,” which lands us in the upper-right (intentional) quadrant. Each of these answers may be simultaneously correct, or partially correct. Wilber’s model does not predict or prescribe what the answers to such questions will be in any specific case, but it does encourage a consideration of each of the possible answers as part of the analysis. In this way, an integral (or relatively complete) understanding is possible and derived action is likely to be more robust.

Wilber’s quadrant model not only describes the basic dimensions of our own awareness, available to us at any time, but also a set of (at least) four perspectives with which to analyse and understand any situation in our world (Esbjörn-Hargens, 2009, p.7). However, it is often not enough to just be aware of the quadrants— it is also necessary to work with the depth and complexity within each domain (Esbjörn-Hargens, 2009, p.10).

## **Depth and Complexity: Developmental Lines and Stages**

Since the work of Howard Gardner, educators, parents and the general population have become aware of the idea of diverse human capacities, or “multiple intelligences” that each of us possess. Although inter-related, each one is relatively independent and each one shows different levels of maturity or development within a single person. Gardner’s work builds upon the insights of the developmental structuralists, such as James Mark Baldwin, Jean Piaget, Jean Gebser, Abraham Maslow and numerous others. As Wilber (2007) explains, together they have revealed the nature of stage-like development within human consciousness (p. 55).

Wilber’s own model asserts that such developmental lines or “streams” exist in each of the four quadrants. Within the upper-left quadrant, humans possess approximately a dozen

development lines including cognitive, moral, interpersonal, emotional, psychosexual, kinesthetic, self, values and needs (Wilber, 2007, p. 58). Each of these capacities unfolds in various stages that are usually enduring and stable. They are also referred to as levels, because each represents a level of organization or a level of complexity (Wilber, 2006, p. 7). Each level is also a holon, because a stable, healthy level transcends, yet includes the previous level, building on their predecessors in specific ways which imply that stages or levels cannot be skipped (Wilber, 2006, p. 13).

Examples of the stages of development as they occur in each of the four quadrants can be seen in Wilber (1996, p. 1). There are strong correlates between the subjective and inter-subjective, particularly in the later stages shown. The archaic, magic, mythic and rational cultural stages map quite well onto the stages of psychological development of modern humans, a point that will be explored in more detail below when discussing Spiral Dynamics. By its very nature, development in the objective quadrants is more readily apparent. For example, in the upper-right quadrant, there is an increase in complexity as we follow the stream of development from atoms to molecules to cells to various types of organisms. Significantly, the progressive unfolding of the physical and social spheres is strongly correlated to that in the subjective (left-hand) quadrants. Similarly, in the social quadrant, there is an increase in complexity from foraging tribes, through horticultural and agrarian communities, on to industrial nation states, the modern informational states and a potential, future planetary society. Each of these societal structures is characterised by particular types of cultural holons. Although the correlation has been observed for some time, the causal relationship is not clear. Wilber holds the view that these levels are indications of an expanding, increasing consciousness, becoming more inclusive as you move up the holarchy. He sometimes expresses this as a movement from sub-conscious to self-conscious to super-conscious (Wilber, 2003, time index: 12m 45s). Alternatively, the progression can be described as one from pre-conventional to conventional to post-conventional, with each higher level exhibiting more depth and complexity than its predecessor.

## **Graves and Beyond: Values and vMememes**

But why is the multiplicity of development lines, particularly those related to our subjective experience, important? Wilber proposes that each development line is, in fact, found in the responses we discern to the various questions life poses. For example, the cognitive line, as studied by Jean Piaget, is the response to the question, “what am I aware of?” Similarly, “of the things that I am aware of, what do I need?” is the question at the heart of needs development, as studied by Abraham Maslow. In response to the question, “of the things that I am aware of, what is the right thing to do?” we find the stages of moral intelligence, explored by Lawrence Kohlberg. Finally, the question, “of the things that I am aware of, which do I value most?” is answered in different ways based on one’s value system, first studied by Clare Graves and now a part of the Spiral Dynamics framework (Wilber, 2007, pp. 59-60).

The psychologist, Clare W. Graves, conducted his own research into values and human development from the 1950s through to the 1970s. He concluded that humans moved through various “levels of existence,” each of which was characterised by specific behaviour and values. Each stage was a response to specific life conditions and thus a person’s psychology can change as the conditions of their existence changes. Graves (1974) argued “man is learning that values

and ways of living which were good for him at one period in his development are no longer good because of the changed condition of his existence" (p. 72). Graves saw adult human psychology as an "unfolding, emergent, oscillating, spiralling process" in which humans moved through six "subsistence" levels, whose overall goal was individual survival and dignity (Graves, 1974, p. 73).

Graves' work was expanded by Don E. Beck and Christopher Cowan and named Spiral Dynamics in their 1996 book. They reframed the levels in terms of "memes," a term originating with Richard Dawkins who used it to describe a unit of cultural information. Later, psychologist Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi conceived of them as information units in our collective consciousness – a sort of intellectual virus that reproduces itself, from person to person and generation to generation. Beck and Cowan (1996) coined the term "value meme" or vMeme to describe a meta-meme that binds the smaller memes that had concerned Dawkins and Csikszentmihalyi. In essence, Graves' "levels of existence" became these vMememes, colour-coded for convenience (Beck & Cowan, 1996; also see <http://www.spiraldynamics.net/> and <http://spiraldynamics.org/>).

1. Beige: Semi-Stone Age
2. Purple: Tribal
3. Red: Exploitative
4. Blue: Authoritarian
5. Orange: Entrepreneurial
6. Green: Communitarian
7. Yellow: Systemic
8. Turquoise: Holistic

Beck and Cowan explain vMememes as the basic package of thought, motives and instructions that determine how we make decisions and prioritise our lives. In other words, they are the structure of thoughts, rather than the specific contents of thinking. These vMememes form an ordered spectrum of value systems, divided into two distinct tiers. Beck and Cowan explain that the values we hold are dependent upon both the conditions and circumstances of our lives and the way we respond to those circumstances and conditions (pp. 52-56). Obviously enough, this is the process of how a person grows and changes. The important point is that neither life conditions nor adaptive capacity is fixed: growth and change regularly occur. And the schema outlines how these changes unfold in a more or less ordered sequence. Beck and Cowan assert that higher vMememes increasingly offer more explanatory power and greater freedom to act as life's conditions become more complex (pp. 40-43). Thus, each vMeme is appropriate to the conditions of time and place. Although they emerge in a particular order, their strength can vary, brightening and dimming as these life conditions change. However, it must be mentioned that while vMememes express both healthy and unhealthy qualities, vMememes themselves are neither good nor bad, neither healthy nor unhealthy, neither positive nor negative.

Within the first-tier that Graves observed, the first vMeme was designated Beige by Beck and Cowan. It is the basic survival level, valuing food, water, warmth and safety above all else. It is characteristic of early humans and newborn infants. The Purple vMeme is characterised by animistic thinking, magical beliefs and is common in tribal environments and the Hogwarts School of Harry Potter stories. Kinship is important and powerful spirits rule the physical world. Beyond Purple lies Red, whose thinking is egocentric. There is a belief in the world as a jungle

full of threats and predators. It is impulsive, valuing power and thus it employs exploitative processes often in the pursuit of imperial social structures (pp.44-45).

With the emergence of the Blue vMeme, the thinking becomes absolutistic. Processes are authoritarian in nature. Highest value is placed on order, righteousness and stability. Although fundamentalist religions thrive under this vMeme, it was also responsible for legal and moral systems with an emphasis on retribution (pp. 44, 46). The Orange vMeme became dominant during the Western enlightenment. It values success, rationality and science. It is multiplistic in its thinking and in contrast to its predecessor, more delegative than rigidly authoritarian. Competition, strategic risk-taking and the efficient utilisation of resources are also highly valued. The final vMeme within the first-tier, designated Green, is described as communitarian, egalitarian and pluralistic. The thinking is relativistic and the favoured type of process is consensual. Sensitivity is valued over rationality, diversity over dogma, kindness over kinship, plurality over power (pp. 44, 46).

Significantly, Graves discovered vMememes beyond the first, “subsistence” tier. The “momentous leap” he referred to in the title of his 1974 paper is one in which humans cross “a chasm of unbelievable depth of meaning” (p. 75). Within this second (“being”) tier, Beck and Cowan have documented two levels so far, Yellow and Turquoise, which together they feel are representative of no more than 1% of the human population. Wilber (2000a) describes Yellow as “integrative,” able to grasp natural holarchies. Knowledge and competence is valued over rank, power, status, or group and egalitarianism is complemented with natural degrees of excellence where appropriate (p. 52). Turquoise thinking is global, viewing the world as a single, dynamic entity, sensitive to the deep inter-connectedness of all things, as well as collective mind and intuitive thinking. Beck and Cowan point to both James Lovelock’s Gaia hypothesis and Gandhi’s ideas of pluralistic harmony as examples (p. 47).

vMememes emerge in individual and collective thinking in response to life conditions. More complex problems and challenges initiate the process through which the higher, more complex vMememes emerge. However, each vMeme has its purpose and its time. Orange thinking can solve Orange problems, just as Green thinking can solve Green problems. A naughty toddler is a Blue problem requiring a healthy Blue approach (boundary setting and discipline) rather than an unhealthy Blue approach (violence) or, say, an Orange approach (bribery) or a Green approach (let junior explore his/her feelings of anger). More complex value systems (like Green) are capable of solving more complex problems, but don’t do so well with less complex ones.

A key insight of Spiral Dynamics theory, as Wilber explains it, is the observation that humans whose values and thinking are rooted within the first-tier are often convinced their own values are the “correct ones” for everyone. Whereas second-tier thinking can step back and grasp the big picture, appreciating the necessary role that all of the various vMememes play, first-tier thinking (of any colour) often reacts negatively if challenged and lashes out when threatened using its own tools and strengths (Wilber, 2000a, p. 51). A clue to why this is so may be found in Graves’ own words. He describes the gap between the first and second-tier as that “between deficiency or deficit motivation and growth or abundance motivation.” (Graves, 1974, p. 75)

Although Spiral Dynamics is concerned with only value systems (vMememes), the psychosocial implications are significant, particularly in the peace and conflict domain. It is, however, a

subordinate theory to Wilber's, because it does not address the perspectives represented by the four quadrants, nor does it theorise about other human capacities. Together, though, the integral model and Spiral Dynamics provide a framework for analysing all types of theory and practice. The next two sections demonstrate how this can be done within peace theory and peacebuilding. Far from being mere esoteric, philosophical schemas, these forthcoming sections show how these ideas can be made operational and relevant.

## **Section Two: John Burton and Human Needs Theory**

Section one introduced the key elements of Wilber's integral model that I consider of most relevance to an exploration of peace and conflict theory. This section examines an application of Wilber to the ideas of John W. Burton, exploring both theoretical underpinnings and practical applications. First, the extent to which Wilber's four quadrants are being honoured in Burton's work is explored. This includes a search for any possible reductionism of one quadrant to another. Second, the degree to which Burton preferences one development line over another is determined and the implications of this discussed in terms of how it weakens the problem-solving approach. Finally, an examination of the values evident in Burton's framing of human needs theory and in the problem-solving workshop he advocates is undertaken. Are these values made explicit? What vMeme best characterises his work?

### **Burton's Key Theoretical Ideas: What Motivates Behaviour**

During Burton's many years in international diplomacy, he observed that most efforts to create peace were limited to conflict settlement based on coercion, control and power politics. He concluded that such efforts ultimately fail because of the existence of frustrations and concerns under the surface that were not negotiable and could not be repressed (Burton, 1990, p. 13). Thus, he advocated a process of conflict resolution, which is concerned with root causes, uses a clearly articulated analytical approach and has at its core, human needs theory (Burton, 1990, p. 187).

Human needs theory asserts that it is the frustration of ontological, mostly non-material, human needs that is the major cause of deep-rooted violent conflict. Burton and Sandole (1986) accept those needs as articulated by Paul Sites: response, security, recognition, distributive justice, meaning, rationality and control (p. 338). To Sites' list, Burton (1979) added role defence – the defence of positional goods (pp. 140-156). Unlike material needs, the means for satisfying non-material needs (except role defence) are not necessarily in short supply. While these needs are not subject to negotiation and bargaining, their satisfaction amongst one party can in fact promote their satisfaction in others (Burton, 1990, p. 242). The key lies in finding appropriate satisfiers that achieve this win-win scenario. Sites argues that human needs are grounded in human emotions. He points to Kemper's research concerning the four primary human emotions - fear, anger, depression and satisfaction. Sites (1990) explains how humans strive to avoid suffering caused by negative emotions and move towards enhancing the possibility of satisfaction. All of which is also necessary for healthy survival (p. 16).

Human needs theory challenges the traditional, power political view articulated by authors such as Hans Morgenthau (as cited in Burton, 1997, p. 18). This view assumes that the roots of conflict lie in humans' natural aggression, their use of this aggression to protect material needs

and holds the individual responsible for being evil or unsocialised (Burton, 1990, p. 31). Moreover, it concludes that authoritative power at all levels is the foundation for peace, domestically and internationally (Burton, 1990, p. 31). In order to achieve these goals, it sanctions the use of punishment for any failure to comply in an attempt to ensure future conformity (Burton, 1997, p. 23). This is underpinned by an assumption that behaviour is to a large degree, malleable and therefore humans are wholly capable of being socialised in the manner that authorities deem to be necessary (Burton, 1997, p. 20). This traditional view is responsible for structural systems such as slavery, feudalism, tribal elite rule, majority tribe rule and modifications of these as industrialization developed (Burton and Sandole, 1986, p. 336).

Burton (1997) rejects all of these assumptions. He explains how such approaches are simply ineffective in the modern era and are likely to lead only to more frustration, alienation, anger and social unrest at all levels (p. 11). Burton (1990) believes that the traditional view leads authorities to wrongly conclude that extreme aggressive behaviour must be controlled through power and coercion in order to protect their social systems (p. 241). He argues that ultimately the fault lies with social norms and institutions, which he insists must be adapted to human aspirations and not the other way around (Burton, 1997, p. 26). He concludes that deep-rooted conflict is a problem, not necessarily of the type of socio-political system (e.g. communism, capitalism, fascism etc.) but of the processes within those systems. Specifically, this includes decision-making, goal setting and how decisions are pursued (Burton, 1990, p. 265). The adversarial political process and the protection of elite interests loom large in his critique. For Burton (1990), coercion fails because of the existence of those behaviours that cannot be altered by socialization processes (p. 4).

Burton (1997) advocates holism as part of his philosophy. His critique of the social sciences includes a concern that the whole person has not previously been the subject of study (pp. 20-21). Attributing this in large part to the separation of knowledge into distinct disciplines over one hundred years ago, he uses the analogy of medical specialists and their inability to treat the whole person effectively. Conflict Resolution, according to Burton and Sandole (1986), should be an interdisciplinary study that cuts across all disciplines: a synthesis, a holistic approach to a problem area (p. 333). Burton (1997) defines holism as a philosophy that “recognizes that the whole is greater than, and therefore different from, the sum of its parts” (pp. 127). He further explains that holism requires that we challenge assumptions, address root causes of social problems, use deductive techniques based on theories (particularly those of human behaviour) and find ways to cut across culture and ideology.

The major practical application of Burton’s theories lies in his problem-solving workshop. This analytical, facilitated process has the aim that participants will agree to change their tactics by selecting from many options those satisfiers that are not a threat to others. The assumption is that these options will emerge once relationships have been analysed, perspectives of the other understood and costing of alternatives conducted (Burton, 1990, p. 205). Facilitators need to be experts in human behaviour. They assist participants to learn more about both their conflictual relationships and the cause-and-effect relationship between behaviour and perception. It is clear that their key skills involve analytical and strategic thinking. There is no indication that the process would involve any sort of affective sharing, discussion of meaning and intent, or any direct understanding of culture.



Burton's writings are striking in that they contain very few references to culture. Although he does define culture on more than one occasion, those definitions lack any acknowledgement of collective meaning, as will be discussed in section four.<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, his attempt to make a distinction between "culture" and "cultural values" leaves the reader confused. This is of concern because cultural values are held up as of some importance in the problem-solving process. Burton (1990) concludes that culture is "not an important consideration in a facilitated analytical problem-solving conflict resolution process" (p. 215). He reasons that because many deep-rooted conflicts have a cultural dimension, the problem-solving process must be capable of cutting across all cultures and so it must ultimately be culturally neutral. Having reminded us that many cultural norms with respect to dealing with conflict are often themselves dysfunctional (p. 214), he observes what he considers a tendency to give culture a special status in either analysis or process in ways that are "not relevant and probably dysfunctional" (p. 211).

Burton makes a distinction between human needs, cultural values and culture itself, outlining a hierarchy, from most to least important. However, his distinction between the last two of these is hard to pin down. In Burton (1990), he refers to culture as the concepts, habits, skills and manners of a given people at a given period of development (p. 212). Values are described as the ideas, habits, customs and beliefs that are a characteristic of particular social communities (Burton, 1990, p. 37). Yet in Burton (1996), he simply refers to culture as the total range of activities and ideas of a people including their means of dealing with disputes and conflicts (p. 22). Values (cultural or otherwise) are not explicitly mentioned. In Burton's last book, where his reasons for the primacy of human needs are most explicit, he reiterates that human needs represent goals or objectives that are universal and unchanging, whereas culture is to be grouped together with other sorts of "preconceptions" thus representing only a difference in method and means to those needs (Burton, 1997, p. 130). He describes culture and its associated values as "tactics," ways of satisfying specific goals. Burton (1990) says, for example, that the pursuit of culture is a satisfier of the need for identity and recognition (p. 211) and defence of cultural values is a means of satisfying the human need for personal security and identity (p. 37).

Yet for Burton, values have a greater significance than culture. While still holding that they are a set of acquired behaviours that are subject to change and not held universally, he describes them as only partially negotiable (Burton, 1990, p. 244). In almost all cases, he places them together with needs/goals as the set of things that problem-solving ought to try and satisfy. Of particular concern is Burton's indictment of culture as justification for behaviour or habits seeking to hide behind ethnicity or sub-group membership. He writes, for example, about UN diplomats being late to meetings and the Middle-Eastern penchant for sleeping after lunch and questions the existence (or validity) of sub-cultures (Burton, 1990, p. 212).

### **Burton under Wilber's Microscope: Culture Serving Human Needs and the Orange vMeme**

Burton's advocacy of holism echoes to some extent Wilber's larger critique of modernity. As Wilber (2000a) explains it, modernity's great gift is its necessary differentiation of what Max Weber and Jurgen Habermas called the "value spheres" represented by arts, morals and science

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<sup>4</sup> See, for example, Clark, 1990, pp. 34-59, and Staub, 1989.

(pp. 60). This is evident in the way science and art were disentangled from religion during the enlightenment, allowing both to pursue their own truths, make profound discoveries and flourish without offending prevailing dogma and suffering censorship, and without their exponents fearing imprisonment or death. However, Wilber's critique of modernity is that these "value spheres" did not just peacefully separate; they often flew apart, leading to dissociation, fragmentation and alienation (Wilber, 2000a, pp. 61). A similar fragmentation and alienation is of concern to Burton, particularly as it applies to academia and the various disciplines, which he feels, ought to be brought together in order to create a holistic approach to the problem of violent conflict. However, although Burton envisions conflict resolution as cutting across and transcending disciplines, it is important to note that the type of holism he suggests does not include the subjective domains, such as culture. This, then, is a limited holism because as Wilber (2000a) reiterates, holism must be based on the principle of "transcend and include" (p. 51 and pp. 150-151 at note 3). Burton seeks to transcend disciplines, but not include those that honour the distinct truths of culture.

I would also argue that Burton's writings on culture, limited as they are, demonstrate the reduction of the lower-left (cultural) quadrant to the upper-right (behavioural) quadrant. Alternatively, it could be argued that Burton's view of culture acting as a satisfier of human needs reduces culture instead to the upper-left (intentional) quadrant, based on Sites' argument that the roots of human needs are largely found there. In both cases, this is what Wilber calls subtle reductionism. Wilber (2000b) explicitly warns about subtle reductionism, one form of which occurs when the whole validity of a cultural set of values is converted into a question of whether they promote social cohesion, functional fitness and the integration of the social action system (p. 152). Most significantly, there is no mention in Burton of the concept of culture as collective meaning. The word "meaning" makes no appearance in a slim, six-page section dedicated to the topic, other than as a synonym for "definition" (Burton, 1990, pp. 211-216). Let us remember that Wilber characterises the left-hand quadrants as being concerned with the question "what does it mean?" as opposed to the right-hand, concerned with the question "what does it do?" It is ironic, therefore, that one of the non-material human needs that Burton subscribes to is the need for meaning.

Nevertheless, Burton's explanation of deep-rooted conflict represents a significant shift in thinking away from the traditional, power-political model. This shift engages the discipline of psychology in a more sophisticated way and thus brings the upper-right (behavioural) quadrant into the foreground of thinking on conflict. At the same time, it provides a deeper analysis of the social domain (lower-right quadrant) by rooting a major cause of conflict in structural violence, as defined by Johan Galtung (1969, pp. 167-91), the origins of which, according to Burton (, 1997), lie in the policy and administrative decisions that are made by some and which adversely affect others (p. 32). I also conclude that the upper-left (intentional) quadrant is being considered in Burton's explanation of conflict, albeit indirectly. As Sites explained, intentionality underpins human needs through the existence of universal emotions and drives. Nevertheless, Burton's problem-solving workshop aims only at objective change. The problem-solving approach itself is firmly situated in the right-hand quadrants of the AQAL model. This raises the specific concern that emotion, attitude, direct personal experience, values and meaning may be more causally significant, and have a greater role to play in the set of potential solutions to conflict, than Burton envisions.

In section one, we recall that the AQAL model proposes that human development in the left-hand quadrants is characterised by a set of distinct but inter-dependant capacities. These capacities exhibit a general progression, albeit not always in a linear or predictable way, over the lifetimes of individuals and cultures. The cognitive line in the upper-left quadrant is crucial. Wilber (2007) suggests cognitive development is “necessary but not sufficient” for growth in many other lines (p. 65). Burton’s problem-solving approach relies heavily on these cognitive skills. This is evident, for example, in the way that participants in that process are obligated to be analytical and to cost out the consequences of policies and options (Burton, 1990, p. 271).

Of course, there is no reason to doubt Burton (1990) when he asserts that skills of analysis and thought are common to the human species and cut across cultures and levels of education (p. 214). However, an integral analysis raises the concern about the preferred way of thinking and evaluating costs (and therefore value). Individuals, as a result of either their personal experience or the influence of their culture, may have vastly different world-views or value systems. This leads to a wide variation in the value they place and level of comfort they have in the rational costing demanded by Burton’s workshops. For example, using Beck and Cowans vMeme language, we learn that Blue (Authoritarian) vMeme thinking values a rational, analytical approach only insofar as it does not threaten accepted “truths.” Costing from a Blue perspective places a high value on preservation of traditional ways. In contrast, the Red (Exploitative) vMeme costs the loss of power quite differently to someone whose thinking is centred on the Green (Communitarian) vMeme. Efficiency is of utmost value to Orange (Entrepreneurial) vMeme thinking. Individuals with Purple (Tribal) vMeme thinking will struggle to be understood by those centred on the Orange vMeme and more likely to be viewed as superstitious and pre-modern. Differences such as these raise a number of issues. Burton maintains that ontological human needs “cut across” culture and trump values. Perhaps not. If culture, values and associated world-views are the lenses through which people understand their world, make judgements and define meaning, how is this to be filtered out when diverse people sit down to find their common goals? And how are institutions and governments to formulate policy and processes in light of this diversity of value amongst their populations?

Burton’s problem-solving approach has emerged in a global context that is strongly in the embrace of the Orange (Entrepreneurial) vMeme. It is entirely natural, therefore, that such values are reflected in the approach and particularly in the way it places pre-eminent value on rationality, analysis and outcomes. This also explains why Burton’s ideas are particularly comfortable to Western readers, academics and peace-workers, given that Orange values are stronger in this readership at this time. At the same time, I think it is clear that Burton emphatically rejects Blue (Authoritarian) vMeme approaches that support power politics and coercion as a means of controlling conflict, going to great lengths to explain the failure of this approach throughout his writings. I would argue that his critique of Blue is Orange in its thinking. This is particularly evident in the way he holds that the alternative, conflict resolution approach must find its own justification in terms of efficiency and acceptability to authorities (Burton, 1990, p. 172).

Nevertheless, an ever-increasing proportion of the human population are embracing the Green (Communitarian) vMeme, arguably since the 1960s and particularly so in the developed world (Beck and Cowan, 1996, pp. 303-320). It is not clear to what extent Burton reflects these emerging Green values. Certainly, his writings are peppered with mention of social exclusion and

the omni-presence of inequality in social systems (e.g., “In industrial relations employees still demand to be treated as people” Burton, 1997, p. 24). However, there are few appeals to human rights and appeals to justice are avoided, even pushed aside, in favour of practical concerns for unfavourable social consequences (Burton, 1997, p. 23).

The Burtonian approach aspires to the objectivity of values neutrality. Facilitators engaged in problem-solving are seen as neutral, required to avoid making judgements or to impose their own values or wills and must, in Burton’s (1990) view avoid relating alternate perspectives that do not relate to the participants’ values and experiences (p. 207). In reality, this must be difficult to achieve as facilitators, according to the analysis above, are likely to bring their own Orange values to their work. In stark contrast, the analysis of Lederach’s ideas using Wilber’s model in the next section finds a very different attitude towards the role of subjectivity and the awareness of values in peace work, shaped in large part by social constructionism. Furthermore, the prominent role of culture in Lederach’s writings indicates a very different balance between Wilber’s four quadrants. It also allows us to consider what a second-tier value approach to peace studies might look like, as opposed to Burton’s first-tier values approach.

### **Section Three: John Paul Lederach and Conflict Transformation**

In the previous section, I examined the theories and practical applications of Burton’s work and then used the AQAL model to explore aspects of that work. The degree of holism evident was found to be limited, according to the AQAL model, because, although Burton incorporates behavioural factors (Wilber’s upper-right quadrant), the subjective quadrants, particularly the cultural (lower-left) quadrant was reduced to objective behavioural factors. Wilber’s Integral map highlights the need to consider the full spectrum of human capacities (“development lines”). It was found that Burton’s problem-solving process limits its engagement of these capacities primarily to the cognitive, rational and analytical. Finally, the value system (“vMeme”) employed by Burton was, under Beck and Cowan’s Spiral Dynamics schema, predominately Orange – entrepreneurial, achievement-oriented, rationalistic. Supposed value-neutrality in the problem-solving process was called into question. This section will conduct an analysis of the work of Lederach. In particular, I explore his ideas related to conflict training, his integrated framework and his understanding of the emerging conflict transformation approach to peacebuilding.

#### **Lederach’s Key Theoretical Ideas: Eliciting Culture, Constructionism and Embracing Complexity**

John Paul Lederach’s writings reveal three factors that strongly shape his philosophy to peace and conflict. First, his upbringing as an American Mennonite. As he explains:

This perspective understands peace as embedded in justice. It emphasizes the importance of building right relationships and social structures through a radical respect for human rights and life. It advocates nonviolence as a way of life and work. (Lederach, 2003, p. 4)

Second, his writings reveal a willingness to include the spiritual domain within the set of components that constitute his “integrated approach” to peacebuilding. Third, Lederach (1997) explains that he is an advocate of the social constructionist school when it comes to

understanding conflict. For him the construction of social meaning, as an intersubjective process, lies at the heart of how human conflict is created. This view suggests that people act on the basis of the meaning attributed to actions and events and that social conflict emerges on the basis of these meanings (pp. 8-10).

Like Burton, he criticizes the traditional model of diplomacy that focuses on what are called substantive interests only. Lederach (1997) highlights the psychosocial aspects of conflict and like Burton, explains that when threatened, people seek security in narrower, more localized identity groups (pp. 17-18). While confirming the importance of unmet human needs he also recognizes the structural, economic and socio-political causes of conflict, which of course can also be framed in terms of human needs (Lederach, 2003, p. 25). However, he differentiates himself from Burton when he asserts that the emotive, perceptual, social-psychological and spiritual dimensions are core, not peripheral, concerns (Lederach, 1997, p.29).

Lederach argues for conflict transformation as a movement amongst peace theorists and practitioners. In contrast to conflict resolution, which Lederach (2003) sees as being too narrow, conflict transformation recognises conflict as a natural part of human affairs that can be used as a catalyst for growth in human relationships, rather than simply a problem to be solved (p. 15). This perspective owes a lot to the long-term view of conflict, as outlined by Adam Curle in 1971 (as cited in Lederach, 1997, pp. 64-66). As Lederach explains, Curle suggested that conflicts progress through some typical stages. Often beginning as latent, where power is imbalanced, transformation occurs through education, which raises awareness of this imbalance. Later, advocacy is required to assist those demanding change in the name of justice and this usually leads to confrontation. At this point, when power is more balanced and an awareness of interdependence often emerges, negotiation and mediation can occur. Of course, things are rarely this neat and, much like the progression of vMememes, conflicts can cycle back and forth and be stalled by blockages of various sorts. This perspective helps us understand not only that conflict is a dynamic, transforming process, but also that peace is itself a “process-structure.” By this, Lederach (2003) means it is a structure that is embedded in a dynamic, adaptive process that continuously evolves and develops the quality of relationships in it (p. 20). Thus, the conflict transformation process is envisioned in two directions. We can describe how conflict transforms relationships and structures and we can prescribe how our actions could impact conflict so as to produce a desired transformation. Lederach (2003) explains that these impacts occur in four domains - personally, relationally, structurally and culturally (p. 23).

Lederach (2003) contends that rather than choosing between the need to address episodes of conflict and the need to build long-term structures for sustainable peace, we need to see how those episodes can be used as an opportunity to address the epicentre of conflict (p. 33). This leads to an appreciation of multiple activities in peacebuilding, conducted over multiple time-frames and involving multiple roles. Lederach’s interdependence model (Lederach, 2005, p. 79) further explains that each side in a conflict has a “vertical capacity,” that is, three levels of leadership - high-level or official leadership, community or mid-level, and grass-roots). A common problem is that these levels are often not well connected, undertake activities that are not coordinated, or simply not in the habit of talking to each other. This “interdependence gap” is less well recognised than the need for dialogue and understanding horizontally across the dividing lines of conflict (Lederach, 1999, pp. 29-30).

Lederach feels the focus of peace-building activity should be on the middle-level leaders and actors. In formulating his “integrated approach” to conflict, Lederach (1997) explains that these actors have the greatest potential because they are the most likely to be able to build relationships, both vertically and horizontally (p. 81). The major peacebuilding activities that focus on this level are: problem-solving workshops, conflict resolution training and peace commissions (Lederach, 1997, pp. 45-47). Lederach explains further that in creating the “integrated approach” he became aware of the need to design social change in units of decades, linking crisis management and the long-term. This, in turn, requires us to understand that issues have systemic roots and so we must develop approaches that anchor issues in relationships and sub-systems (Lederach, 1997, p. 81).

In *Preparing for Peace (1995)*, Lederach explains that he was for many years an advocate of what he calls the “prescriptive” approach to training people, particularly in places outside North America. This involved the transfer of techniques considered universal and culturally neutral (pp. 65-66). Cultural differences were an aspect of advanced training, in which practitioners learned how to adjust those techniques to employ the necessary level of sensitivity such differences demanded (pp. 5-6). In time, Lederach became aware that a participant’s own culture, rather than being irrelevant or a challenge to overcome, was a powerful resource. He saw how this knowledge, which included an understanding of what things mean, could be used to help identify needs in context (pp. 56-58). Appropriate training models could then be derived to generate more sustainable peace processes. The key was that by eliciting the insights of this local cultural knowledge, including myths, relationships and language, a more adaptive, long-term platform for generating solutions could be built. Nevertheless, he stopped short of just rejecting the prescriptive approach; instead he developed the conviction “that a convergence of universal and particular with prescriptive and elicitive [processes] was both possible and necessary” (p. 92).

He continued his critique of the prescriptive approach to training in *Building Peace (1997)*. Echoing some of the findings in Section Two of this dissertation, Lederach observed that prescriptive approaches were focussed primarily on the cognitive skills of analysing conflict and the communicative skills of negotiation, with very little recognition of either the “cultural baggage” of these approaches nor the value of local knowledge as a resource (p. 107). As explained above, Lederach does not totally reject the conflict resolution approaches with its problem-solving workshop, as advocated by Burton. He accepts that it does provide a degree of empowerment to those being trained, by presenting concrete ideas which may contain new ways of thinking and specific skills (Lederach, 1995, p. 51). More generally, the conflict transformation approach has a distinct advantage, according to Lederach, due to its capacity to consider multiple avenues of response. At its heart, it incorporates the conflict resolution response; but a narrowly defined conflict resolution approach, according to Lederach, can’t raise the questions that conflict transformation can and therefore does not contain the potential for broader change (Lederach, 2003, p. 68). He does admit, however, that conflict transformation is of limited value when there is no ongoing relationship between the conflicting parties (p. 69).

All of this reflects Lederach’s general rejection of simple either/or solutions and his insistence that peacebuilders must develop the practice of embracing complexity and dilemma. Abiding complexity, he says, requires that we develop the capacity to identify the key energies in a situation and hold them up together as interdependent goals (Lederach, 2003, p. 52). In a section dedicated to the topic of complexity and simplicity in his book, *The Moral Imagination (2005)*,

Lederach explains the role of a paradoxical curiosity in enabling one to rise above dualistic polarities (pp. 31-40). Such a curiosity allows one to suspend immediate judgement, accepting things both at face value and at what he calls “heart value” (the way things are perceived and interpreted; the “home of meaning”). Ultimately this allows us to find a greater whole, a greater truth than could otherwise be perceived (pp. 36-37). This greater truth may indeed represent a type of simplicity, a simplicity beyond conventional understanding, not prior to it. Lederach quotes Oliver Wendell Holmes at the start of this section:

I would not give a fig for the simplicity this side of complexity,  
But I would give my life for the simplicity on the other side of complexity.  
(Oliver Wendell Holmes, quoted in Lederach, 2005, p. 31)

## **Lederach under Wilber’s Microscope: Subjective Meaning and the Yellow vMeme**

As we recall from Section One, Wilber’s AQAL model calls attention to the existence of four separate but interdependent domains, each encompassing particular ways of knowing and understanding that cannot be reduced to another. In the analysis below, I begin by outlining the extent to which Lederach acknowledges and incorporates the truth claims of each of these quadrants. Are there signs of reductionism? Does one or more of the quadrants dominate his theories and practice? I then examine the values evident in Lederach’s work, identifying the nature of any shifts in his value system, as they would be understood by Beck and Cowan’s Spiral Dynamics schema. The implications of such shifts are also examined.

Lederach’s active spirituality and his espousal of social constructionism set him apart from Burton and other peace scholars. These two factors together indicate an inclination towards Wilber’s left-hand (subjective and meaning) quadrants. This is certainly reflected in Lederach’s comments about the central role of emotive, perceptual, social-psychological and spiritual dimensions in the process of reconciliation. Furthermore, conflict resolution as Lederach (1997) points out, has traditionally seen such factors as irrelevant or outside the competency of international diplomats (p. 29). While the socio-psychological dimensions Lederach alludes to are many of the same that concern Burton, straddling both the upper-right (behavioural) and upper-left (intentional) quadrants of the AQAL model, the spiritual and emotive issues Lederach points to are directly concerned with personal subjectivity. This shows a more direct consideration of the upper-left quadrant than Burton’s writings.

But what of this social constructionism? We recall that Wilber is equally critical of both extreme materialists and extreme social constructivists, as discussed in Section One. However, Lederach avoids such critiques because his advocacy of social constructionism (which is closely related to constructivism) does not deny objectivity and its truth claims. I find no evidence of either subtle or gross reductionism in any of his books. Recall also the four domains Lederach (1997) articulated - personal, relational, structural and cultural (p. 82). These domains correspond very closely to Wilber’s four quadrants. The personal domain maps to the upper (individual) quadrants; the relational one maps to the lower quadrants, in large part to the inter-subjective (lower-left); the structural is the lower-right (social) quadrant and its socio-political structures; and the cultural one is precisely the lower-left quadrant.

Lederach's later books, such as *The Moral Imagination* (2005) suggest a similar understanding to that of Wilber's major critiques of modernity. This critique, mentioned in Section Two, concerns the fragmentation of the three spheres of values symbolically found in the arts, morals and science. These spheres are in fact a reframing of the Four Quadrants: arts represent the "I" or subjective (upper-left), morals represents the inter-subjective or "WE" (lower-left) and science corresponds to both the objective quadrants – upper-right and lower-right (Wilber, 2001, p. 18). Although Burton identified the fragmentation of specialisation in modern science and academia, Lederach goes further and takes active steps to incorporate morals (cultural meaning) and art (personal meaning) into peacebuilding practice. Lederach (2005) introduces the novel idea of the aesthetics of social change. He expresses concern that by shifting perspective towards the technical and away from the artistic, peacebuilding processes have become too rigid and fragile. He posits that only by rediscovering the artist's intuition can we get to the "art and soul of the matter" (p.73).

Although Lederach avoids reductionism, can we conclude that his approach is "all quadrant"? Probably, but with some caution. Unlike Burton, who advocates for the bulk of action in the quadrants of objective change, it could be argued that Lederach's strong engagement with the subjective and inter-subjective may over-emphasize skills concerned with relationships, empathy and intuitive breakthroughs. It is possible that Burton's socio-political concerns could be pushed to the background too much in Lederach's schema. Lederach's particular balance may be more appropriate to specific sorts of conflict situations – recall that he himself admits the limited value of conflict transformation when ongoing relationships are not involved. As explained in Section One, Wilber's schema doesn't prescribe absolute equality, only that an appropriate awareness of the dimensions each of the quadrants represents. The degree of complexity and nature if the conflict should determine the balance.

Unlike Burton, who freely acknowledged that cognitive ability was the essential skill required by problem-solving conflict resolution, Lederach's later works question whether this ability is ever sufficient to the greater goal of sustainable peacebuilding. As discussed in Section One, Wilber considers the cognitive line to be just one of a set of separate and inter-dependent human capacities, each with its own growth potential. Lederach (2005) concludes that while current skills training is oriented towards understanding cognitive and behavioural responses in human interaction, there is a strong need to tap other parts of human "being" and "knowing" (p. 175). To this end, he encourages the disciplines of a wide range of the arts, such as journaling, storytelling, poetry, drawing, painting and music. Having incorporated such practices in his own workshops, he is convinced that their value to designing peacebuilding platforms lies not in the products produced, but in the way they unlock creativity and "the moral imagination." Ultimately, he says, they help penetrate complexity with breakthrough insights and nurture attentiveness to intuition (Lederach. 2005, p. 174).

So what does all this suggest about Lederach's values, at least insofar as they are disclosed in his writings? This is where the Spiral Dynamics of Beck and Cowan, as explained in Section One, are helpful. It seems that Lederach has himself progressed through various vMememes. While Blue (Authoritarian) values, such as right authority, sacrifice, rule of law, are not a feature of even his early writing, in his early career he practiced a strongly prescriptive approach to training and this indicates some degree of the Orange (Entrepreneurial) vMeme in its espousal of the universality of rationality. This approach employs a transfer mentality to education (Lederach,



1995, p. 28) – the teacher is the expert, the student is passive - and is driven by the goal of transferring universal knowledge and skills to other settings. Lederach's discovery of theorists like Paulo Freire and his concept of conscientization (i.e., awareness of self in context) resonates strongly with his inclination towards social constructionism (Lederach, 1995, p. 19). These ideas find their zenith within a more complex and contextualised Green (Communitarian) way of thinking. Although how and when these ideas first infused Lederach's thinking is unclear, it is likely that his socially engaged Mennonite upbringing would have given him the capacity for activating a Green value system.

Significantly, Lederach may have begun, if not completed, the journey to a second-tier vMeme approach. Lederach (2003) suggested the practice of developing the capacity to pose the energies of conflict as dilemmas or paradoxes (pp. 51-52). He also asserts that we must "make complexity a friend, not a foe" (p. 53) because it provides multiple options. The key, he says, is to trust that options will be generated, pursue the most promising but not lock rigidly to one idea (p. 54). These are characteristically "second-tier" vMeme attitudes. The end of Lederach's 2005 book contains four mottos that encapsulate much of his writing to that point:

Reach out to those you fear.  
Touch the heart of complexity.  
Imagine beyond what is seen.  
Risk vulnerability one step at a time. (Lederach, 2005, p. 177)

Psychologist Dr. Clare Graves, whose seminal work underpins Beck and Cowan's *Spiral Dynamics*, characterised the second-tier of vMememes as crossing a threshold beyond which fear dropped away -- fear of death, fear of God, fear of technology and fear of fellow humans (Graves, 1974). Beck and Cowan (1996) echo this and add that this helps develop an ability to take a contemplative attitude, with the result that the quantity and quality of good ideas increases dramatically (p. 278). In the transition to second-tier vMememes, ideas become multidimensional. Yellow (Systemic) thinkers, for example, tolerate and even enjoy, paradoxes and uncertainties and are neither intimidated nor cavalier in the face of complexity (Beck and Cowan, 1996, pp. 276-278). An ability to resolve such paradoxes is mentioned as one of the two key competencies of the Yellow problem-solver. The other is related to their comfort, even enthusiasm, for seeking out that complexity. Not only are they drawn to hot spots where evolving crises demand new insights, they have an ability to smooth out blockages between people with different vMeme thinking (Beck and Cowan, 1996, p. 283).

Based on vMeme theory, I suggest there are at least three implications if Lederach is developing a second-tier vMeme capacity. First, his proposals could signal the leading edge of a transformation in peacebuilding. The shape of this is explored in more detail in Section Four. Secondly, Lederach's work may challenge and risk alienating some readers and participants for whom its eclectic synthesis of diverse ideas are either incomprehensible or seem to lack a well-defined core idea. Beck and Cowan suggest this is often the case when those centred on first-tier vMeme thinking encounter the second-tier. For example, to those at Blue (Authoritarian), those at Yellow (Systemic) appear inconsistent, disrespectful and out-of-focus. To Orange (Entrepreneurial), Yellow seem unwilling to commit themselves fully to achieving objectives. From the Green (Communitarian) standpoint, they seem cool and reserved, intellectualising

emotions without joining wholeheartedly into the group experience (Beck and Cowan, 1996, p. 282).

Third, Yellow vMeme approaches are rare, both in academic disciplines and the general community, even 40 years after Clare Graves identified their existence. Second-tier vMeme approaches require second-tier actors to emerge and shepherd them into existence. The estimate of persons at second-tier is only 1% of the population (Beck & Cowan, 1996). Given this, I suggest that the transformational social change which they might be able to bring about will require these actors to be distributed strategically throughout society, in a manner constituting the “critical yeast” that Lederach (2005) does indeed propose (pp. 87-100). This concept suggests that the quality of connections of strategic individuals and the social spaces they inhabit may be of more importance than the quantity of such individuals, an idea also found in Malcolm Gladwell’s notion of “connectors” in his popular book, *The Tipping Point* (2000) (as cited in John Paul Lederach, 2005, p. 90).

Lederach’s concern with subjective causes and solutions of conflict is closer to the “all quadrant” approach Wilber advocates. In contrast to Burton’s primarily Orange (Entrepreneurial) vMeme orientation, Lederach’s probable transition to a second-tier, Yellow (Systemic) value system raises exciting possibilities about this theoretical contribution to peace and conflict study and practice. In the next section, I explore how the peace and conflict studies literature support the integral analysis of Burton and Lederach conducted herein, before sketching out some of the integrally informed scholarship now emerging in the peace and conflict studies domain.

## **Section Four: Towards Integral Peacebuilding**

In sections two and three, Wilber’s AQAL model and Beck and Cowan’s vMeme schema was used to examine the work of the scholar-practitioners, Burton and Lederach. This section begins by outlining some of the peace and conflict literature that reflects the analysis conducted in the previous two sections of this dissertation. These reflections support the argument that Wilber’s AQAL model is a useful analytical tool, both for analysing the cause of conflict and the degree of holism of specific conflict theories. The section ends with a brief exploration of recent attempts to apply integral theory to peacebuilding and addresses the question of whether Wilber et al have provided a valuable prescriptive framework in the context of peacebuilding.

### **Reflections on Burton and Lederach**

Avruch (1998) examines the role of culture in Burton’s problem-solving approach and observes that Burton holds culture to be relatively unimportant and so it assumes no greater role than as a “satisfier” of human needs. While for Avruch, cultural analysis is an irreducible part of the problem-solving process (p. 74), he notes that in their purest form, problem-solving panels aim to help participants “excavate right past culture” down to those human needs (p. 90). Avruch (1998) demonstrates Burton’s acute minimisation of the importance of culture by pointing out that within the highly prescriptive set of 56 rules Burton provides, culture appears on only one occasion (as cited at p. 90).

Further, Avruch questions Burton's assumptions that people everywhere reason the same way and that everyone shares the same cost-benefit calculus. Even in these areas, culture is significant. Avruch (1998) goes on to quote Lederach, whose experience in Central America highlighted the difference between analytical thinking (breaking down stories into components) and holistic thinking (keeping the parts of stories together) (p. 92). Further, Avruch cites research by James F. Hamill, who found that while syllogistic logic ("All Cretians are liars; I am a Cretian; therefore I am a liar") looks the same from culture to culture, propositional reasoning does not, because the semantic elements of the arguments mean different things in different settings. (What is a liar? If you're not a "liar," then are you always "honest"?) He adds, meaning not only structures validity but also defines truth (as cited in Avruch, 1998, p. 93). As explained in Section Two, while Burton never frames culture in terms of meaning, Wilber, in contrast, feels that meaning is the key quality of the subjective quadrants. Scholars such as Ervin Staub (1989), agree, preferring a definition of culture as the shared meanings within a group, specifically the values, rules, norms, customs and life-styles (p. 13). Similarly, Clark (1990), who argues that social bondedness is a crucial human need, suggests that this deep bondedness is based on shared values and worldviews and the sense of a people reciprocally sharing a common fate. She calls this "sacred meaning" (p. 47).

Väyrynen (1998) highlights the medical metaphors that infuse Burton's problem-solving approach. Not only are facilitators, like doctors, expert practitioners who diagnose disease and implement cures but also therapists, who, according to Burton, help participants to "filter out" false assumptions and misconceptions and therefore to perceive reality accurately (as cited Väyrynen, 1998, Purification Through Professional Cure, para, 8). Interestingly, she makes the link between his strong belief and reliance on instrumental rationality and the Enlightenment idea of the universal man who is determined to control both social and natural environments (Social Engineering and Instrumental Rationality section, para. 3). I believe there is no better description of the core values and worldview of the Orange (Entrepreneurial) vMeme than this. Väyrynen (1998) locates Burton's approach within the neobehavioural school, which she describes as based on an uncritical trust in the existence of objective scientific facts and in their value in solving practical problems. This rejection of culture and inter-subjectivity (the lower-left quadrant) is challenged by social constructionism, which asserts that cultural patterns function as unquestioned schemes of reference and condition how the world is represented to a person. As the phenomenological sociologist Alfred Schütz explains, through processes of interaction with people in the social world, we come to see things as types, which he calls "intersubjective "typifications" (as cited in Väyrynen, 1998, Creating a New Reality section). These shared typifications then define common realities. The social constructionist view is that a shared reality, rather than biological human needs, is a pre-requisite for cooperation (Creating a New Reality section, para. 3). Similarly, the Spiral Dynamics' vMememes circumscribe particular ways of thinking that shape our perception of what Burton would describe as purely objective reality.

Nudler (1990), in exploring the nature of conflicts between "worlds" or "frames," comes to a similar conclusion. He notes that William James' notion of "worlds" (selective attention that makes a set of things real) (as cited on p. 177) is similar to Erving Goffman's notion of "frames," which Nudler explains as a set of assumptions or principles which enable us to structure situations and make them real for us. Both ideas are undergirded by a non-reflective, uncritical acceptance of their basic assumptions and as Michael Polanyi says, when we accept these assumptions as our interpretive framework "we may be said to dwell in them as we do our body"

(as cited on pp. 178-79). This brings to mind Wilber's description of stages of development (such as vMememes). Describing the process as one of disidentification with the old and identification with the new, he adds that at each stage, the self "sees a different world: it faces new fears, has different goals, suffers new problems. It has a new set of needs, a new class of morals, a new sense of self" (Wilber, 2000a, p. 38).

Nudler (1990) proposes that the need for meaning is perhaps the most fundamental of all. He defines this "as the need which every human being has for building — and living in — a world (in the subjective sense introduced above)." (p. 187) Nudler contends that conflict resolution through problem-solving techniques has such a strong reliance on analytical skills that it is insufficient to resolve conflicts between worlds or frames. It must be complemented by other procedures, appealing to quite different abilities. The ability to discover and enter dialogue concerning what he calls the "root metaphors" underpinning a particular world or frame is suggested as one of these procedures (Nudler, 1990, pp. 188-196).

In Tom Woodhouse's article entitled 'Conflict resolution and peacekeeping: Critiques and responses' (2000), he responds to three specific critiques of conflict resolution, of which Christopher Clapham's arguments are of most interest here (as cited on pp. 9-11). Clapham's examination of the genocide in Rwanda led him to question two assumptions underlying the prevailing conflict resolution model. First, the failure to recognise the deep-seated differences that caused the conflict reveals, in his view, a "Western" assumption that parties to the process share a common value framework. Second, the assumption that mediation is inherently a good thing, being a neutral action and intended to fulfil humanitarian concerns. To this second point, the Woodhouse response is to explain the approaches of scholar-practitioners like Adam Curle and Lederach. Both acknowledge the limitations of "outsider-neutral" intervention. Curle was eventually convinced of the need to develop local peacemakers' inner resources of wisdom, courage and compassionate non-violence (as cited on p. 20). This is strongly echoed in Lederach's elicitive approach, explained in Section Three, and his discovery of the need for "insider partial" facilitators in Central America, which he wrote about as early as 1991 (as cited in Woodhouse, 2000, p. 22). As the previous sections demonstrate, neither Burton nor Lederach are values-neutral. Like all of us, their worldviews are shaped by value systems (vMememes). In Burton's case, this is not acknowledged, whereas Lederach now seeks to make his own values more explicit in his work.

The issue of worldviews or frames and as proposed here by inference value systems inherent in peace work was the subject of Rachel Goldberg's field research, described in her 2009 article, *How our worldviews shape our practice*. Using narrative and metaphor as analytical techniques, she interviewed 43 conflict resolution professionals, whom she described as pioneers and leaders in either environmental conflict or intercultural conflict. She found that most respondents showed strong, reiterated worldview patterns and from these she derived seven mini-profiles that represented the dominant focus of a particular narrative (Goldberg, 2009, p. 421 and p. 417). Having found that each respondent drew from one or more of these mini-profiles in describing their work, Goldberg was able to place these profiles on a continuum, one end labelled, *realistic*, the other *constructive*. The realistic end was connected with the idea of one, objective truth, individual interests, a belief in the universality of cultural frames; it favoured logic and empirical testing and prioritised task over relationship. The constructive end, representing the inverse, held to the relativity of "truth," focused on relationship over task, and was concerned with

subjectivity. The realistic end she describes bears a strong resemblance both to the right-hand quadrants of the AQAL model and Burton's writings, while the constructive end is located in the left-hand quadrants, being closely related to social constructionism and brings to mind many of the issues prominent in Lederach's writings. Although I would place Burton very close to the far end of the realists ("The Sheriff" or "The Alchemist"), Lederach would, I suggest, be best placed somewhere between midpoint and half way towards the extreme constructive end of this continuum (mixing "The Pastor," "The Radical," and "The Family; see diagram in Goldberg, 2009, p. 419).

Goldberg (2009) frames her work by expressing concern about the hidden worldview of practitioners from mainstream cultures (i.e., middle-class North Americans) (p. 406), and in her conclusion, strongly asserts that neutrality in practice does not exist and therefore the best that we can do, and ought to do, is become self-aware of our worldviews or frames. Noting that the better practitioners, in her view, were able to move back and forth between profiles along the continuum, she points to her future work on the way our worldviews shift and how we might grow to encompass new worldviews (pp. 426-429). Such shifts, I suggest, are precisely what Beck and Cowan describe at length in their Spiral Dynamics schema, as it applies to value systems. The shift to second-tier (Yellow and beyond) vMememes is, I believe, descriptive of the more holistic peacebuilding practices. As explained in Section One, such value systems transcend *and* include the others, unleashing the type of diverse potentials Goldberg describes.

The issue of value differences amongst parties in conflict is taken up by Heidi and Guy Burgess (2006), in which they recapitulate their earlier work on the causes of intractable conflicts (pp. 179-180). Although such conflicts are based on either high-stake distribution issues (e.g. of scarce material goods) and what they call "domination conflicts" - conflicts over power, status and one's position in the social and political hierarchy - there is a third type based on fundamentally conflicting values. This research indicates that what lies at their core are issues of self-worth and moral differences. This is, arguably, a more complex issue than the issue of "outsider neutral" vs. "insider partial" facilitators and incorporates, but is not limited to, issues of cultural difference that Lederach attempts to address. It reflects the concerns in the preceding two sections about the way people cost options, decide value and worth and what they believe about their world. It is an issue better understood by social constructionists like Lederach rather than realists like Burton.

## **Towards an Integral Approach: How is the AQAL Map Being used Today?**

There is a small body of emerging literature outlining practical applications of integral theory for those who are writing and working on peace theory and practice. One such example is provided by the Generative Change Community (GCC), an initiative connected to a private change consultancy called D3 Associates. Launched in 2005, the group is concerned with multi-stakeholder change processes in numerous areas, including conflict. Echoing many of the concerns in the introduction to this dissertation, the group aimed to increase the ability of practitioners to make wise distinctions about which tools and skills to use and when to use them within change processes (D3 Associates, 2008, p. 3). To this end, they have developed a platform for collective learning amongst practitioners. The practice, they explain is based both on Lederach's four domains of conflict transformation, described in Section Three - personally,

relationally, structurally and culturally - and Wilber's four quadrants. The technique, applied in numerous workshops, asks participants to reflect on their work within these four quadrants, which are physically drawn on the floor (see [D3 article, p. 5 online here for elaboration](#)). This is a concrete way to promote reflectivity on peacebuilding practice.

Richard McGuigan and Sylvia McMechan, at the time serving as principals of a private college called the Institute of Conflict Analysis and Management in Canada, utilise Wilber's Four Quadrants in their Diamond Approach, which they describe as a tool of Integral quadrant analysis for organisational conflicts (McGuigan and McMechan, 2005). Motivated in large part by their concern that the frame or worldview that any consultant uses shapes their analysis, they explain, "[the] conflict exists with equivalent legitimacy in all quadrants. If solutions are derived from an integrated analysis, they are more likely to succeed because they take multiple factors into account" (p. 351). The analysis is conducted within teams experiencing conflict and asks participants to explore the factors from each of the four quadrants by asking questions as the following. "What values does the leader embrace?" "What do people need in the workplace?" "What does our organization value?" "How does our team behave?". For example, in the upper-right quadrant – "My Behaviour" – the Diamond Approach employs Burton's needs theory as its major analytical tool. In the upper-left quadrant – "My Leadership" – the approach focuses on self-awareness, especially as it relates to ethics and values and encourages various reflective practices as well as training in emotional intelligence and conflict resolution techniques (pp. 360-361).

Nancy Popp joins Richard McGuigan in a 2007 article in which they turn their attention to the development lines. Extolling the work of Folger and Bush, who espouse the transformational potential of the mediation process, McGuigan and Popp explore practical ways in which the constructive-developmental theory of the developmental psychologist, Robert Kegan, can be used as part of the mediation process. Kegan's theory, as its name suggests, integrates social constructionism and development theory, both of which have featured throughout this dissertation. Challenging the assumptions that parties in mediation have equal capacity to take the other's perspective, they provide examples of how the three adult mindsets that Kegan proposes understand and respond to conflict in very different ways (Table 1).

**Table 1.** Three Mindsets toward Conflict

<b>Content</b>	<b>Instrumental Mindset</b>	<b>Affiliative Mindset</b>	<b>Self-Authoring Mindset</b>
Experience of conflict	"You're wrong, I'm right, and I can't get what I want."	"You have betrayed me."	"Your world view is very different from mine."
Preferred resolution of conflict	"Everybody just follow the rules and do what they're supposed to do and obey the law"	"Let's forget our differences, concentrate on our similarities and where we agree, and join together in the same loyalty to the same side/idea/group."	"Let's come to an understanding of each other's perspective and agree to work together to the best of our ability for the benefit of all."

Note: Excerpted from McGuigan and Popp (2007), p. 234.

While those with the “instrumental” mindset are concrete thinkers with little ability to take another’s perspective, those with the “affiliative” mindset have such capacities but also have a strong group identity and strive to think and feel the same as those they have relationships with (McGuigan and Popp, 2007, pp. 225-229). These are qualitatively different ways of making meaning and require mediators to take different approaches, some of which McGuigan and Popp explore. The most complex adult mindset they discuss, the “self-authoring,” can not only take other’s perspectives, but can integrate more than one into their own, which is motivated by self-integrity, an embrace of complexity and a willingness to engage in conflict constructively (pp. 229-231). They may, however, incorrectly assume that others can and will operate as they do.

Lynn Holaday (2002) takes a very similar approach to McGuigan and Popp. Acknowledging that mediators already adapt their approach based on the parties they encounter, utilising different tools as they see fit, she believes that this unconscious approach can be made more explicit and effective by using a suitable theoretical framework for performing such an analysis. Her five stage developmental model (as shown in Holaday, 2002, p. 194) for use in mediation is adapted from various sources, including Kegan, Jean Piaget and Wilber. Holaday provides examples of tools and approaches mediators can use for clients at each of these stages, emphasizing both the behaviour to expect and the thinking and emotions underpinning the perspective. Holaday feels her approach provides mediators with a meta-perspective - a way of understanding other perspectives - as well as providing a concrete way to promote stage growth (a widening of perspective) in clients, albeit in a limited way. Mediation, she reflects, is itself a product of the higher stages, both the rationalistic (fourth) and integrative (fifth). And this gives her great hope that it can be utilised in an “all-stage” manner, to borrow from Wilber’s “AQAL” idea.

The four approaches outlined in this section provide some illustrative examples of scholars and practitioners beginning to create what Wilber (2000a) calls “integral holism” (p. 72) within the peace and conflict discipline. The need for this movement is made apparent by the critiques outlined in the first section above, which in turn provided support for the analysis of Burton and Lederach conducted in the previous two sections. The analysis in this dissertation used only integral theory and Spiral Dynamics, yet it permitted an exploration of these issues that matched the depth and breadth of those conducted by the peace scholars cited in this section.

## Conclusion

This dissertation argues that Ken Wilber’s integral theory and the related Spiral Dynamics schema can be used as an analytical tool to understand the power and pitfalls of peace and conflict theory and peacebuilding practice. In sections two and three, the theories of Burton and Lederach were located within a philosophical landscape of quadrants, development lines and stages of unfolding complexity. In the process, specific critiques emerged concerning the work of these scholar-practitioners, which were then cross-referenced against the critiques of other peace theorists in the final fourth section. The congruence was significant and included:

- The minimisation of the cultural dimensions of conflict
- The limitations of purely cognitive approaches
- The questioning of the universality of rationality

- The importance of uncovering the value systems inherent in peace interventions, both those of practitioners and the parties engaged in conflict.

This not only indicates that integral theory is very useful in analytically describing the qualities of various peace theories and peacebuilding practices. I believe it also provides evidence that the more convincing theories are multi-quadrant, encompassing more than just one development line, are values-explicit and understand vMeme differences, and therefore are inherently a product of second-tier vMememes.

In order to understand why this is so, it is necessary to examine the nature of Integral theory. Recall that the AQAL model presents four, irreducible perspectives that are an inherent part of nature and consciousness. Being ever-present and ontological, they therefore infuse all human activity. Integral theory also highlights the existence of diverse human capacities in the upper-left (intentional) quadrant. These are an example of the developmental lines within each of the four quadrants and include cognition, emotions, morals, worldviews and values. The last of these is explored in particular detail by the Spiral Dynamics schema as the unfolding, stage-like progression of vMememes and is of particular interest to the values debate within peace and conflict studies. Nevertheless, I must point out that Wilber's AQAL model is itself not values neutral. Rather, it is created from a second-tier value perspective. While it does strive to use multi-quadrant lenses, its origins in developmental structuralism provide it with a sharper focus within the upper-left quadrant, because it seeks to explain both the enduring structures of human thought (structuralism) while honouring and valuing the qualitative experience of being human (phenomenology).

Why is integral theory of prescriptive value? This question has three components. First, why is it necessary to be "all-quadrant"? Put simply, because conflict, both constructive and destructive, exists in each of the quadrants. Moreover, sustainable peace with justice is, I believe, only possible when all four quadrants are appropriately engaged. In the collective-objective quadrant (lower-right), conflict exists in the structures, institutions and power relations of society. This includes Inter-group violence and Galtung's structural violence. At best, it is an engine for reform; at worst, it manifests as war. Peace, too, exists here. It is the peace of strong, adaptive institutions that serve human needs (as per Burton) and it is the "justpeace" (as per Lederach) of mature economies that provide prosperity and quality of life for all. In the individual-objective (upper-right) quadrant, conflict exists due to personal disempowerment, poverty, poor mental and physical health and disability. This can result in violent behaviour, which impacts on relationships. Peace in this quadrant is therefore the peace of autonomous, empowered, highly functional people able to fulfil their potential. In the collective-subjective (lower-left) quadrant, conflict exists in contested meaning, the clash of values (rather than civilisations) and Galtung's cultural violence. At worst, it fragments society and ignites some of the worst forms of violence. At best, conflict can be the engine for diversity and growth. Peace here is either that of a pluralist, harmonious society, or else that of an autonomous, stable, monoculture. In the upper-left, the personal-subjective quadrant, conflict is existential, related to identity, ego, self-worth, emotions and worldviews. At best, conflict drives personal growth and transformation, bringing contentment and fulfilment and occasionally spawns peacemakers. At worst, personal destruction results and it occasionally spawns warmongers.



The integrally informed approaches mentioned in the last part of Section Four recognise the all-quadrant dimensions of peace and conflict (see GCC and McGuigan & McMechan articles). However, they also acknowledge the need for “all-line” and “all-stage” approaches. This is the second component of the prescriptive value of integral theory. Why is this important? Cognition, it was found, is necessary but not sufficient. Logic, Hamill explained, is not universal because what things mean depends on cultural context and can therefore become a contentious issue. Being “all-line” requires one to understand that emotions, ethics, worldviews and values complete the picture of human intentionality and therefore expand the frame that can holistically comprehend the causes of conflict. And what about “all-stage”? Being second-tier (as per Beck and Cowan) implies an ability to “transcend and include” other, first-tier values in both thinking and practice. I believe this is what McGuigan and Popp are trying to encourage within the mediation community, by pointing out the way Kegan’s mindsets explain the challenges mediators face on a day-to-day basis. Lynn Holaday’s five-stage model is very similar and her diagram of concentric circles reminds us that stage development is a process, as Wilber constantly reiterates, that both transcends *and* includes less complex stages, widening one’s circle of care and making objective what one previously held as part of one’s subjectivity.

The third and final component of the prescriptive value of integral theory lies in its framework for holism. Section one began by explaining that for Wilber, holism centres on the idea of a holon that transcends and includes less complex holons, yet is always a part of larger, more complex ones. Holarchies (hierarchies of holons) exist in all four quadrants. However, Wilber (2001) is advocating more than “exterior” holism, a holism of the Right-hand quadrants only, i.e., behavioural and social. Nor is it just “interior” holism, a holism of the Left-hand quadrants. It must include all four quadrants, thus leading to what he calls “integral holism,” one of the central aims of the integral approach (p. 16).

According to Burton, “conflict resolution deals with the total human being, encompassing personality and cultural differences, and deals with this person in the total society, encompassing system differences” (Burton, 1993, p. 29). But this is an exterior holism only (if by “encompass” he means, “transcend”). Burton’s holism does not “include” the subjectivity of culture, but instead reduces it to objective factors. In contrast, Lederach’s own “integrated approach” is as close to an integral holism this writer has yet found from a major peace and conflict theorist. However, Lederach’s holism is not merely an unstructured, “kitchen-sink” approach that includes everything within a framework in a mish-mash of perspectives. A coherent unity of perspectives requires the wise and appropriate choice of tools, interventions, mindsets and frames. If we accept there are at least three major types or causes of violent conflict, then some perspectives will be more valuable than others, depending on the mix of those three causal factors in any particular conflict. Conflicts about power, involving Red or Blue vMememes, require interventions that understand Red and Blue vMeme thinking. Conflicts about material resources require Right-hand quadrant interventions, but nevertheless benefit from an attention to any value-based issues that lurk under the surface. And when vMeme differences are the major explanation, second-tier awareness, with its comfort in complexity and embrace of integral holism, is required.

There is a tremendous opportunity for continued research. The brief summary of Wilber’s AQAL model presented in section one of this work is inadequate to convey the full depth and potential of that body of work. It only presented three of the five core components: quadrants, lines and stages, the other two – states and types – are beyond the scope of this dissertation. An

opportunity for further research in this area could be to include those other two aspects of the AQAL model. In particular, personality types, which would enable an integral analysis of gender issues to be conducted. This would tap into the work of scholars with developmental roots, such as Carol Gilligan and others working towards an “integral feminism,” such as Joyce Nielsen and Elizabeth Debold. Another opportunity for further research could be to conduct an integral theory analysis of other peace and conflict theorists. Johan Galtung and Betty Reardon were mentioned in the introduction. Galtung is, of course, a pioneer in peace and conflict studies and is responsible for a huge and influential body of work. Betty Reardon would provide the peace theory perspective of gender, enabling an exploration of whether and how integral feminism may be incorporated into peace and conflict studies. Finally, a more in-depth exploration of peacebuilding approaches that claim to be holistic could be conducted, whether or not they are aware of integral theory.

Although it strived to be relatively objective, the research conducted in this dissertation is necessarily shaped by the writer’s subjective experience, which in turn is interpreted through a set of values. These values hold violent conflict as abhorrent, while rejecting the structural violence of oppression and marginalisation. I believe that a truly coherent unity of perspectives on peace is imminent. While I accept that this view is based more on intuition than reasoning, I contend that a “critical yeast” of self-aware, integrally informed peacebuilders will be its parents.

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# The Spectrum of Responses to Complex Societal Issues: Reflections on Seven Years of Empirical Inquiry

Thomas Jordan, Pia Andersson & Helena Ringnér<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract:** This article offers conclusions and reflections based on nine empirical studies carried out over the last seven years on how increased capacity to manage complex social issues can be scaffolded. Our focus has been on the role of meaning-making structures and transformations in individual and collective efforts to skillfully manage complex issues. We have studied capacities for managing complex issues both in terms of scaffolding group efforts through structured methods and facilitation and in terms of individual skills. Our action research gave us insights into the variability in scaffolding needs: groups are different in terms of the participants' meaning-making patterns, which means that methods and facilitation techniques should be adapted to the particular conditions in each case. We discuss variables describing group differences and offer a preliminary typology of functions that may need to be scaffolded. In a second major part of the article, we report on our learning about individual societal change agency. We offer a typology of four types of societal entrepreneurship and discuss in more detail the properties of dialectical meaning-making in societal change agency.

**Keywords:** Change agents, complexity awareness, complex issues, dialectical meaning-making, diffusion of social innovations, facilitation, perspective awareness, scaffolding, societal entrepreneurship, wicked issues.

## Introduction

### Capacities to Manage Complex Societal Issues: A Meaningful Field of Inquiry

How can we – the society – become more skillful in managing complex societal issues, such as gang-related crime, deteriorating residential areas, environmental problems, long-term youth unemployment, racist violence, etc.? This question opens a broad and complex field of inquiry that we have been exploring in various ways over a couple of decades. During the last seven years, we have carried out a number of empirical investigations of initiatives that aim at developing a stronger capacity for designing and implementing effective strategies for managing complex societal issues. In this article we will make a review of the most important observations, insights and results from nine different empirical studies. Our orientation has been inductive rather than hypothetico-deductive, i.e. we have been looking for significant patterns in the data in order to develop hypotheses rather than testing assumptions in a stringent way. Rather than reporting findings with empirical details, we will present general conclusions and reflections. Some of these are to be regarded as work in progress requiring further and more dedicated

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investigations. However, we think we have some substantial contributions to offer, for example a discussion of how groups working on complex issues may need different types of scaffolding; an outline of a framework describing functions scaffolding methods can have for group processes; and a typology of four types of societal entrepreneurship.

The general purpose of this article is to contribute to the development of knowledge about and insight into the intricacies of strengthening individual and collective capacities for managing complex societal issues. An additional objective is to tell the story of our own learning process. We were initially in some respects rather naïve when formulating questions and hypotheses, because we had not yet become aware of some of the complexities of the phenomena we wanted to explore. For example, we assumed, in a not particularly reflected way, that people with a strong complexity awareness would be more effective societal change agents than people with a weak complexity awareness. This assumption turned out to be far too simple. We believe it may be instructive for others to read about the insights we gradually developed, sometimes just by starting to reflect about the issues involved.

## The Nature of Complex Societal Issues

Consider the contrast between two very different ways of responding to a particular societal intractable issue, crime and street violence in suburbs of large cities. The first statement comes from a discussion on the Internet forum Flashback in 2009 about a series of car burnings and ensuing stone-throwing attacks on police and rescue service vehicles in suburbs of Gothenburg, Sweden:

The only reason this kind of thing happens is because we live in such a f-g wimp country. Everything and everyone is pampered. If the cops would run in and knock down these individuals with batons and rubber bullets between the eyes, I believe there would be law and order. That's what they do in their native countries, but with real bullets so they naturally laugh at the Swedish cops who shake them a bit and drive them home to their parents who don't care anyway. That violence breeds violence isn't always correct. Meet these brats with violence and they will stop, guaranteed. Difficult to fight with broken joints. [*Translated from Swedish by the present author*]

The second statement summarizes main components of a strategy to engage the problem of gang-related crime at the community level:

The program utilizes the OJJDP Comprehensive Gang Model, or the Spergel model, as it is often called, to engage communities in a systematic gang assessment, consensus building, and program development process. The model involves delivering the following five core strategies through an integrated and team-oriented problem-solving approach:

- *Community mobilization*, including citizens, youth, community groups, and agencies.
- *Provision of academic, economic, and social opportunities*. Special school training and job programs are especially critical for older gang members who are not in school but may be ready to leave the gang or decrease participation in criminal gang activity for many reasons, including maturation and the need to provide for family.

- *Social intervention*, using street outreach workers to engage gang-involved youth.
- *Gang suppression*, including formal and informal social control procedures of the juvenile and criminal justice systems and community agencies and groups. Community-based agencies and local groups must collaborate with juvenile and criminal justice agencies in the surveillance and sharing of information under conditions that protect the community and the civil liberties of youth.
- *Organizational change and development*, that is, the appropriate organization and integration of the above strategies and potential reallocation of resources among involved agencies. [From the website of the National Criminal Justice Reference Service, [www.ncjrs.gov](http://www.ncjrs.gov)]

Both statements offer suggestions about how to deal with the problem of young men who engage in criminal activities that affect public safety in residential areas. However, they are radically different both in tone and in substance and can be thought of as positioned very far apart from each other on a scale ranging from simple to complex.<sup>2</sup> Our experience is that the spectrum of responses to complex and intractable societal issues is indeed very wide. When looking at the actual practice of authorities and other stakeholders in relation to complex societal issues of this kind, we find that there is often a large potential for improvement. We – the society – are not as skillful in managing serious and complex societal issues as we could be.

Our research is based on the premise that some of the societal issues we face are difficult to manage successfully precisely because they are complex in nature. Such issues have been called “wicked problems” or “wicked issues,” because they prove resistant to efforts to resolve them (Rittel & Webber, 1973; Chapman et al., 2009). The nature of “wicked issues” has been described somewhat differently in the literature. Here is a compilation of some salient properties that are often mentioned:

- *Complex causality*. Social, economic, technical, environmental, psychological, cultural, legal and other factors are involved. Conditions interact in complex ways.
- *Require systemic adaptation*: Because societal structures and processes are contributing to the emergence of the issues, isolated measures and quick fixes are ineffectual. Changes in the ways societal systems operate are needed.
- *Many stakeholders* are involved (e.g. authorities, public service organizations, businesses, citizen groups, lobbying organizations, politicians, researchers). Stakeholders have different levels of knowledge, different communication styles, different ways of making decisions, etc.
- Because of the complexity, the *issues cannot be delegated* to one actor. Conventional principles for public management are ineffectual. Cooperation among numerous stakeholders is necessary for achieving significant results.
- There are large, sometimes radical, differences in narratives and interpretive perspectives regarding the issues. There are often *deep-rooted disagreements* on (a) how to describe the issue and (b) what ought to be done, which often leads to difficulties in the decision-making processes.

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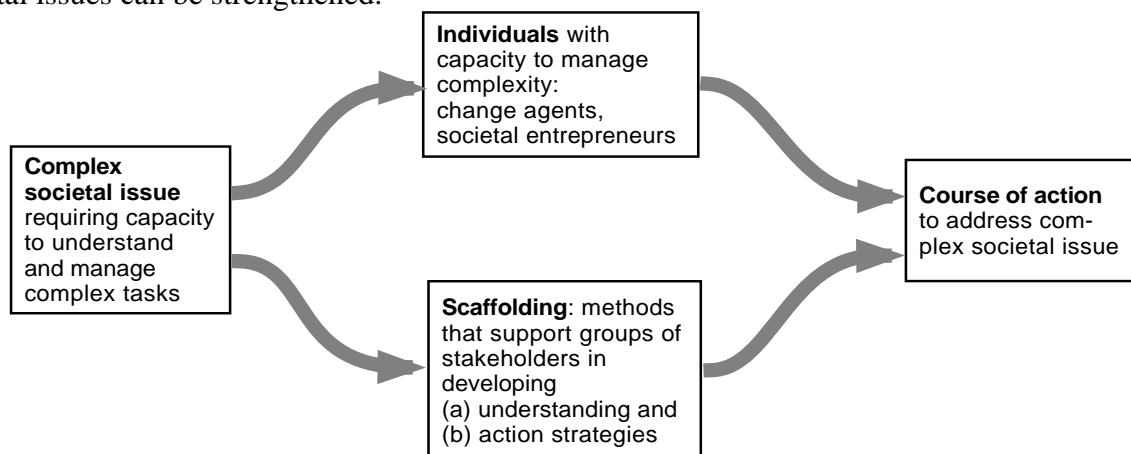
<sup>2</sup> Of course, the relationships between tone and levels of complexity in reasoning are far from straightforward. The examples used here are both extreme.

- *Chronic*: The issues cannot be solved once and for all; they will continue to exist to some extent whatever we do. Therefore there are difficulties in agreeing on how many resources should be devoted to the issues and what standards to apply when assessing outcomes (e.g., is a reduction in the rate of increase of environmental pollution a successful outcome or a failure?).

When societal issues have these characteristics, a considerable capacity for managing complexity seems crucial. In fields where the capacity to manage the serious societal issues is weak, a key concern is how to develop a stronger capacity. This topic has been our core focus for a long time.

## Two Routes to Increased Capacity

We have in various ways explored two different routes to the development of such capacities (see figure 1). The first route relies on *individuals*: people who have competences to notice, understand and manage complex conditions and processes. Such individuals act in our society in different roles, for example as *strategic change leaders* (Brown, 2011; Higgs & Rowland, 2010; Joiner & Josephs, 2007; Vurdelja, 2011), *societal change agents* (Jordan, 2011; Perrini, 2006) or *societal entrepreneurs* (Gawell et al., 2009; Lundqvist & Williams Middleton, 2010; Jordan, 2011; Ross, 2009; Tillmar, 2009).<sup>3</sup> If we focus this route, we will be interested in learning more about the particulars of individual skills to deal with complexity. What skills or other properties of individuals are necessary and useful? What strategies are characteristic of successful change agents and societal entrepreneurs? How do we find people who have those skills? Is it possible to train individuals in the skills needed to manage complex societal issues? What conditions allow skillful change agents to put their skills to effective use? These are some of the questions that are relevant in order to develop more knowledge about how individual capacities to manage complex societal issues can be strengthened.



**Figure 1:** Two routes to more effective strategies for managing complex societal issues

<sup>3</sup> Societal entrepreneurs have been defined by Jordan (2011:49) as “people who (a) are committed to initiate innovative activities aiming at serving the good of the society (on some scale level: local communities, regions, countries, global society); (b) do it by organizing activities in new ways (rather than operating with existing organizations); and (c) seek changes that involve influencing how other actors and/or institutions operate (rather than just, like many *social* entrepreneurs, starting up a non-profit organization offering needed social services).



The second route does not assume that the capacity to manage complexity is necessarily a property of individuals. It instead presumes that most people can become effective managers of complex societal issues, given appropriate support. This is the idea that capacity can be created and strengthened through various forms of scaffolding (further explained below). One particular form of scaffolding highly relevant to our concerns is the many different methods available for structuring group processes with the purpose of supporting the participants to deliberate on how to manage complex issues, such as *The Integral Process for Complex Issues* (Ross, 2006a, 2006b, 2007; Andersson, 2008; Inglis, 2011), *Soft System Methodology* (Checkland & Poulter, 2006), *The Strategic Choice Approach* (Friend & Hickling, 2007), *Open Space Technology* (Owen, 2008) or *Future Search* (Weisbord & Janoff, 2010).<sup>4</sup> In order to follow this route to increased capacity, we need knowledge about what different groups and individuals need support *for*. For example, it is important to understand what meaning-making patterns may stand in the way of entering an effective strategy-development process, as well as what shifts in participants' meaning-making are helpful.<sup>5</sup> We need to understand which properties of methods are effective in supporting groups. We need to know what skills facilitators need in order to assist groups with different characteristics. If effective methods indeed exist, we also need to understand what it takes for such methods to actually become adopted and used among practitioners. It is our impression that few stakeholders realize that there may be a considerable potential for increasing the quality of how groups manage complex tasks through appropriate scaffolding. There appears to be an unreflected assumption that how groups ordinarily deal with such issues is as good as one can expect.

Figure 2 offers a more specified overview of themes we have explored. Some of these have been subject to more systematic and detailed research, while others are topics we have encountered and reflected upon while pursuing our different case studies. In the following, we will in turn comment upon most of these themes.<sup>6</sup> But first we will briefly describe the nine studies that make up the empirical basis for our reflections.

## Overview of Our Empirical Studies

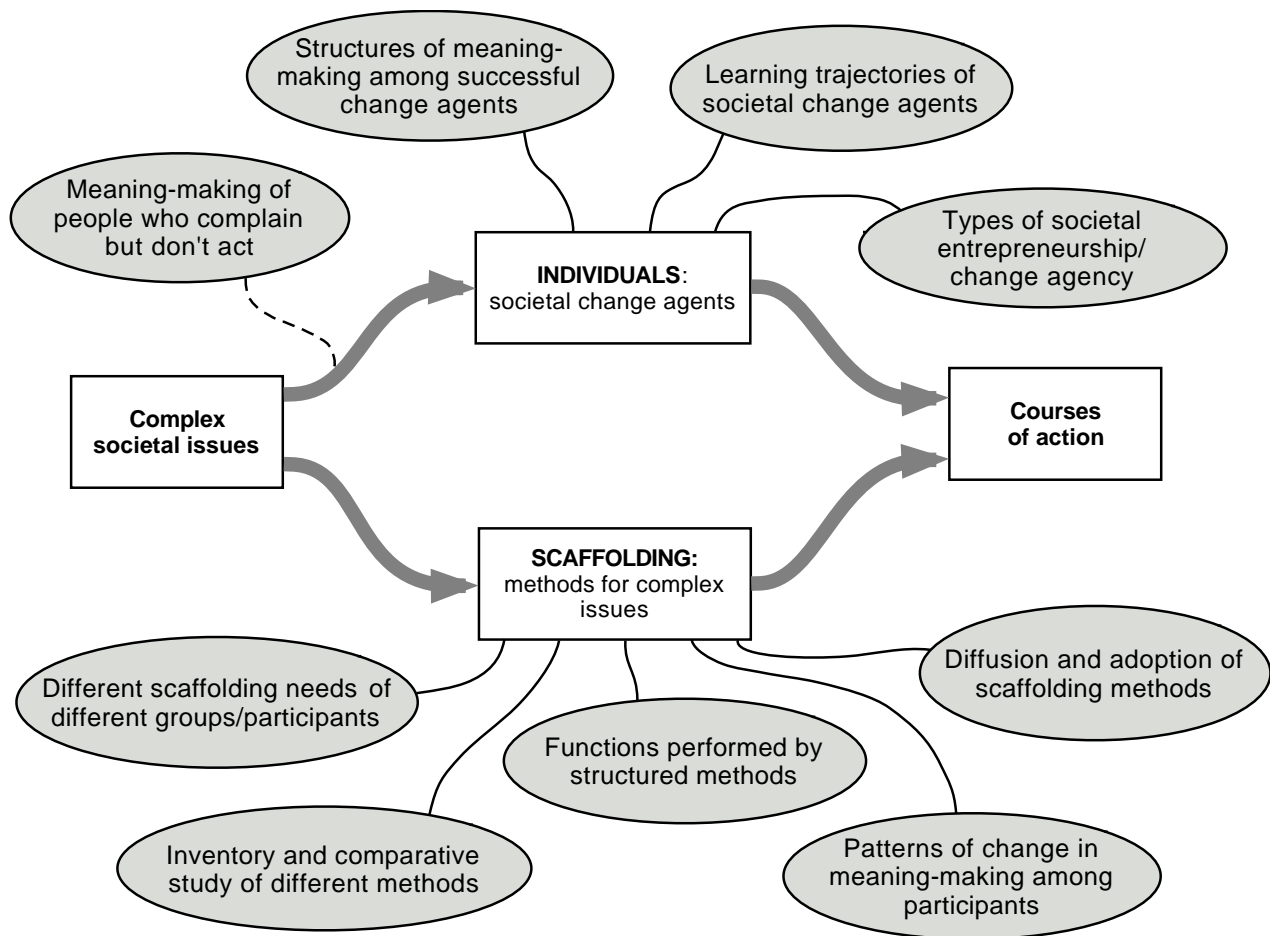
In the early 2000s we started to engage in empirical research on the relationship between meaning-making patterns and action strategies among people engaged in societal change agency (Jordan, 2003, 2006a). Since this work began we have carried out two research projects involving 24 interviews with individual change agents (Jordan, 2006a and ongoing research), one (ongoing) research project on methodology for facilitating strategy development in complex societal issues (a pilot study is reported as Andersson, 2008), and six in-depth case studies of successful societal change agents (Jordan, 2006b; Andersson & Jordan, 2007; Sander & Jordan, 2009; 2011; Emanuelsson, 2011; Tiger, 2012). We will briefly describe these studies, as they form the empirical basis for the reflections in this article.

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<sup>4</sup> Holman et al., 2007, Bunker & Alban, 2006 and Turunen, 2012, offer overviews.

<sup>5</sup> We use the term "meaning-making patterns" to denote the structures of cognitive processing (see Jordan, 2011).

<sup>6</sup> However, an analysis of the important topic of the shifts and transformations in meaning-making that occur among participants in the course of scaffolded strategy-development processes will be left for Pia Andersson's coming doctoral dissertation. Patterns of meaning-making among people who complain, but don't act, have been analysed in a separate forthcoming article by Thomas Jordan.



**Figure 2:** Themes we have worked on

1. In one research project (Jordan, 2006a), one of us studied how individuals with post-conventional meaning-making patterns approached organizational and societal change processes, in particular what kind of strategies they used for dealing with inertia and resistance. Extensive interviews were made with 19 individuals, most of whom worked within larger organizations, such as governmental agencies and ministries, NGOs and regional administrations.<sup>7</sup>

2. In one sub-study in the ongoing research project *From frustrated citizens to effective societal entrepreneurs*, Pia Andersson and Ylva Mühlenbock interviewed 5 carefully chosen persons involved in successful societal entrepreneurship. The purpose of this study was to learn more about the relationships between various types of complexity awareness, strategies used in the initiatives and the outcomes.

3. In the study *Tryggare och mänskligare Göteborg – An innovative approach to urban crime prevention and safety promotion* (Jordan, 2006b), Jordan made an analysis of the meaning-

<sup>7</sup> See also the interview with Thomas Jordan made by Russ Volckmann in Integral Review no 1, 2005 (<http://integral-review.org/>).

making structures and the strategies employed in the office of the Gothenburg council for crime prevention and safety promotion.

4. Andersson and Jordan (2007) made a comprehensive case study of the methodology developed by the youth workers in a youth center in one of Gothenburg's economically disadvantaged suburbs. The approach developed in this center is multidimensional and integral, addressing the developmental needs of individual teenagers, as well as group culture, collaboration between societal actors and neighbourhood fieldwork.

5. In our ongoing research project *From frustrated citizens to effective societal entrepreneurs* Andersson carries out action research using TIP, The Integral Process for Complex Issues, in order to study how the process of developing more effective action strategies can be scaffolded in groups with participants with varying backgrounds. A pilot study was reported as Andersson, 2008.

6. In another comprehensive study Sander and Jordan (2009) analysed a complex project in the city of Gothenburg, aiming at developing an integrative strategy for managing one of the more conflict-ridden issues in the city, graffiti.

7. Sander and Jordan (2011) also made a detailed analysis of the learning trajectory of the key individuals in Fanzingo, a societal entrepreneurial organization with the aim of enabling suburban youth in the Stockholm region to tell their own stories in radio and TV and thereby opening up public service media, traditionally dominated by middle-class, middle-aged ethnic Swedes.

8. Emanuelsson (2011) traced the relationship between meaning-making patterns and action strategies in the work of one woman who has had a considerable impact working with the difficult issue of honour-related threats and violence in a region in Sweden.<sup>8</sup>

9. Tiger (2012) made a detailed case study of the work carried out over more than a decade by a project leader employed by the Swedish tenant organization, who took on the task of developing new strategies for mobilizing residents in a suburb of Gothenburg with a large concentration of war refugees from Somalia, former Yugoslavia and other parts of the world.

Common to these nine studies is an interest in the relationship between (1) patterns of meaning-making, including cognitive obstacles to skillful means and patterns of transformation through increased complexity awareness; (2) scaffolding of learning and strategy development; and (3) action strategies and outcomes.

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<sup>8</sup> Honour-related threats and violence are mostly directed towards young women by family members who believe that the woman has brought dishonour upon the family or community by her life style.

## Some Theoretical Points of Departure

### Theoretical Concepts and Discourse

Our research focus is to gain a deeper understanding of the role differences in and transformations of meaning-making structures plays in developing capacity to manage complex societal issues skillfully. In a previously published article, there is a comprehensive outline of the theoretical framework we have been using (Jordan, 2011). For the purposes of the reflections on lessons learned in this article, we will just make some brief comments on concepts that are necessary for understanding our approach. Our theoretical framework draws heavily on models of adult development, developed by researchers and researcher-practitioners like Loevinger (1976), Fischer, (1980), Kegan (1982, 1994), Basseches (1984), Commons et al. (e.g. 1984, 1998), King & Kitchener (1994, 2004), Torbert et al. (2004) and Joiner & Josephs (2007). We have found two key concepts to be particularly useful in understanding meaning-making regarding complex societal issues: *complexity awareness* and *perspective awareness*.<sup>9</sup>

*Complexity awareness* refers to a person's propensity to notice and expect that phenomena are compounded and variable, depend on varying conditions, are results of causal processes that may be linear, multivariate and systemic, and are embedded in processes that may lead to consequences in several steps. We believe that the strength of a person's complexity awareness conditions the ability to successfully manage complex tasks. Several theoretical models exist for analysing levels of complexity in, for example, reasoning (Fischer, 1980; Commons et al., 1984, 1998; Jaques & Cason, 1994; Dawson & Wilson, 2004). One of the most used models is MHC, the Model of Hierarchical Complexity (Commons, 2008), which defines 14 levels of increasing hierarchical complexity. Five of these levels are highly relevant for analysing meaning-making. At the *Concrete* level, meaning-making is confined to talk about concrete things, people, events, acts and places. At the *Abstract* level, categories are formed and enable people to refer to things in general, rather than exclusively to specific, concrete things. At the *Formal* level, abstractions are coordinated through mental conceptions of how they are related to each other in terms, for example, of linear (unidirectional) causation. At the *Systematic* level, formal relationships are coordinated to form systems of relationships, allowing for reasoning about mutually conditioning relationships and systemic causation. At the *Metasystematic* level, two or more systematic relationships are related to each other, allowing for reflection on properties of whole systems and how systems interact. One of the most significant and useful aspects of the concept complexity awareness concerns the role of an *absence* of complexity awareness in the meaning-making of a person or a collective. If a person does not notice the complexity in which an issue is embedded, he or she will fail to consider many conditions, causes and consequences that may be significant for managing the issue (Kuhn, 1991).

*Perspective awareness* refers to the propensity to notice and operate with properties of one's own and others' perspectives, i.e. whole systems of meaning-making. People with a strong perspective awareness notice that perspectives have properties that strongly influence how events and issues are perceived, interpreted and managed by oneself as well as by others. People with weak or non-existent perspective awareness do not notice that meaning is constructed all the time

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<sup>9</sup> These concepts are discussed in a far more elaborated way in Jordan, 2011.

through the filters of perspectives. They consequently act as if they perceive reality “as it really is.”

Assuming that weak complexity and perspective awareness is a common reason for poorly conceived strategies to deal with complex societal issues, the concept of scaffolding is strategically important. In simple words, the concept scaffolding points to everything that can be done to support individuals or groups to accomplish tasks that would be beyond their reach without external support. The most common use of scaffolding is to refer to support children, adolescents or adults need while they are in the process of acquiring new skills. The scaffolding is then needed only temporary: when the skills have been mastered, the scaffolding can be removed. However, the term is appropriate to use also in cases where individuals or groups need external support in some form in order to accomplish a difficult task, without implying that they will later be able to master the task without scaffolding. Scaffolding may consequently have two different functions. The first is to provide support during a period of skill acquisition, the second is to enable an individual or a group to accomplish a particular task, such as developing a strategy for managing a very complex issue. We are interested in both functions, but here we focus on the latter.<sup>10</sup>

A weak complexity awareness is not only the absence of something, but may also be associated with quite resilient ontological assumptions, i.e. a worldview that seems fully adequate to the actor but which is blind to significant conditions. This means that meaning-making structures may need to be de-stabilized or even disrupted before new insights can become possible.

The volume of previous constructive-developmental research on meaning-making in societal issues is relatively small. Deanna Kuhn (1991) and Shawn Rosenberg and colleagues (1988, 2002; Rosenberg et al. 1988) have made comprehensive analyses of how people with different levels of complexity awareness reason about complex societal issues. Barrett Brown (2011) has studied the meaning-making of societal change agents with late post-conventional worldviews. Little research has been made on methods for scaffolding increases in complexity awareness in groups working together in order to develop more effective strategies (Ross, 2006a, 2006b, 2007; Inglis, 2011; Chapman, 2010). Research on change methods has been relatively limited, with the exception of research on methods developed in the field of operational research, such as Soft System Methodology.<sup>11</sup> In her recent dissertation, van der Zouwen (2011) develops a framework for evaluating methods for participative organisational change, with a focus on “large scale interventions.” The framework points to a large number of factors that are relevant for successful scaffolding of group efforts in complex issues. However, van der Zouwen’s study does not consider scaffolding of complexity awareness or other developmental aspects of scaffolding.

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<sup>10</sup> For further discussions on scaffolding, see e.g. Hlemo et al., 1976; Stone, 1993; and Wood et al., 1976.

<sup>11</sup> See for example the two special issues of *The Journal of the Operational Research Society* on “problem structuring methods” in 2006 and 2007, in particular the overview article of Rosenhead (2006).

## Scaffolding Group Processes

### General Remarks

Over the last couple of decades, a large number of methods/approaches have been developed for assisting groups of stakeholders in developing solutions to complex issues. In our own case, we have used one particular method, The Integral Process for Complex Issues (TIP), in our action research (Ross, 2006c; Andersson, 2008). The principal reason for this choice is that TIP was designed (by Sara Ross) to serve as a scaffolding of a progressive development of awareness of and knowledge about the complexity of a significant issue, thus enabling a group to choose a strategically important element of the problem complex to work with. TIP starts by making an inventory of the participants' concerns. When working with people not trained in analysis, the participants' views may be primarily at MHCs concrete stage of complexity, which means that they have rather unorganized narratives of concrete incidents and problems. In TIP, these narratives are organized into categories (MHC: abstract stage), and then the participants are invited to look for causal relations between different issues, problems and conditions (MHC: formal stage). In the further process, participants are supported in exploring systemic conditions (MHC: systematic stage), and even (at least in some cases) in using the contrast effect of different perspectives that may be applied to understanding and deliberating about action on the issue (MHC: metasystematic stage).

### Different Types of Groups, Different Needs for Scaffolding

We have made direct observations of the dynamics in groups of people working on action strategies in complex issues in a number of different groups. In seven cases, the observations were made as action research where the researcher was a process leader for groups working in a structured process in multiple meetings. In a further ten cases we have worked with different types of groups in less comprehensive settings, sometimes in the role as consultant process leader, sometimes as a part of method-demonstrating workshops.<sup>12</sup> Reviewing the cases in terms of the background of the participants making up the groups, we can discern seven categories:<sup>13</sup>

- *Concerned citizens* (e.g. in a particular neighbourhood) who are reasonably familiar with how organizations and authorities function.
- *Immigrants/refugees*, who are not familiar with practices in a Western democratic state.
- *Officials* for whom the issue belongs to the responsibilities within their job description: civil servants and representatives for different organizations/authorities/administrative units.
- *Employees in service organizations*, such as educational institutions, social services, health care, police.

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<sup>12</sup> These ten cases were not part of systematic studies, but contributed to our pool of experiences of different dynamics.

<sup>13</sup> Commentators of a draft of the article have cautioned us about the risk of lumping people together into categories in this way, because of the risk of stereotyping in an unwarranted way. We hope the reader recognizes that we don't mean to imply that all immigrants, all young people, or all officials are alike . . .

- *Activists*, with an established commitment to engage a certain issue from a certain standpoint.
- *Youth*, with an interest in an issue, but often ephemeral commitment.
- High-ranking *managers* and *politicians* in elected offices.

Working with this variety, we have encountered different types of dynamics both regarding individual participants and groups. These experiences point to a need to adapt the scaffolding as well as the actual facilitation style to the specific needs of specific groups. In order to be able to do this, it is probably useful to have a clear understanding of what functions the scaffolding can serve in a group process, and how groups vary in their needs for support.

In the following, we will first discuss some variables we have found to be relevant in describing how individual participants and groups are different from one another. In the second step we will outline our preliminary formulation about what functions various change methods are supposed to fulfill.

Participants and groups can differ in very many ways, of course. When looking for variations, we are particularly interested in gaining a clearer understanding of differences in participants' meaning-making structures and how such differences might lead to a need for adapting the scaffolding.

An overview of the variables we have identified as relevant so far is given in Table 1. These variables are particularly significant when they present obstacles or challenges for an effective group process. Some methods developed in order to scaffold strategy-development processes are probably more sensitive to some of these variables than others. This is a topic we have not explored deeper yet.

We will not here discuss each of the variables in Table 1, as some of them are rather self-explanatory. However, in our work with some of the groups, we encountered challenges that led to new insights into the craft of scaffolding processes, and we will here focus on these.

**Table 1:** Variables describing different scaffolding needs in groups

<b>Variable</b>	<b>The variable is particularly relevant when ...</b>	<b>Examples of participants for whom the variable may be particularly relevant</b>	<b>Scaffolding needs</b>
Motivation to engage personally	... participants' personal motivation to engage is weak	Frustrated citizens; Officials	Mobilize motivation and issue ownership
Perseverance	... motivation is momentary strong, but capacity for perseverance is weak	Youth	Capture volatile interest, focus on actions that lead to rapid outcomes

<b>Variable</b>	<b>The variable is particularly relevant when ...</b>	<b>Examples of participants for whom the variable may be particularly relevant</b>	<b>Scaffolding needs</b>
Cultural competence	... participants have very limited knowledge about and skills in interacting with organizations and societal functions	Immigrants from countries with a very different type of society; Participants without experience in organizational practices	Build bridges between very different life-worlds. Needs-initiated learning about how the society functions and about effective behaviours in different situation.
Complexity awareness	... participants believe that the problem is easily resolved (e.g. if other actors do what they ought to do)	(Relevant for many groups)	Support inquiry into relevant conditions, causes and consequences
Perspective awareness	... participants are aware that the issue is complex and requires systemic adaptation, but have closed views about effective strategies	Activists; Politicians	Open up interpretive perspectives; Focus on a manageable but strategic part of the problem complex
Maturity of problem formulation	... (a) it is unclear which part of the issue complex the groups should focus on; ... (b) participants want to work with issues that are too abstract or broad in relation to the group's capacities or authority	(Relevant for many groups)	Support the process of mapping the issue complex in a systematic way, so that a strategic and manageable issue can be chosen for focussed action
Experience of powerlessness and self-confidence	... participants see themselves as outsiders and/or have low confidence in their own possibility to influence the issue ... participants expect that others will fulfill their interests	Immigrants; Citizens with limited experience of self-organization	Support insight into realistic possibilities to exert influence; create experiences of success in influencing issues



<b>Variable</b>	<b>The variable is particularly relevant when ...</b>	<b>Examples of participants for whom the variable may be particularly relevant</b>	<b>Scaffolding needs</b>
Collective identities	... participants have a strong identification with a particular collective and are concerned with advocating the interests and identity of their own group	Managers at high levels; Employees and specialists with strong professional identities; Politicians; Individuals who identify themselves as members of ethnic groups.	Recognizing the legitimacy of identities while expanding focus to a holistic perspective on the system

The groups we have worked with differed greatly in the extent to which the participants had developed more complex interpretations of the causes and conditions relevant to the issue and its systemic properties. In one of the groups we found that the scaffolding we used seemed to work against the group's own sense of where they wanted to go with their topics of concern. Although the end result to some degree was satisfactory to the group participants, the experience caused us to reflect on how groups' needs for scaffolding differ and how we can understand and explain those differences.

In the particular group mentioned above, three characteristics stand out. First, the participants' understanding of their area of interest (local economies) was well developed. Many of them had spent a lot of time gathering knowledge and building a systemic understanding of this field. Secondly, many of the participants also had elaborated views on what ought to be done, namely fundamental changes in the way the society operates (e.g., local sourcing of consumer goods; introduction of a local currency). These views were often rather "congealed," i.e. these participants felt that they had valid reasons for their positions and they were not inclined to inquire into and reassess their own assumptions and convictions. Thirdly, when approaching the matter of choosing a common focus for action, there were substantial differences regarding participants' priorities.

At first sight, one might have expected such a group to be rather well suited for working with TIP. The participants already had an awareness of systemic properties that could be built on, and there was an explicit intention to converge around a manageable part of the whole problem complex. In practice, however, the process did not turn out to be so smooth.

As noted above, TIP proceeds in a structured fashion, intending to build participants' awareness of the complexity of the chosen issue in focus. Creating an inventory of participants' concerns and then looking for causal relations between the different concerns listed is a process well suited for scaffolding the emergence of complexity awareness, particularly when the concerns listed initially are of a more concrete nature. This group, on the other hand, primarily brought up concerns of a systemic nature (for example the role of growth in modern industrial economies, the development of the relation between housing costs and wages over time) in the initial inventory, and were already well aware of the many links of mutual causation between these concerns.

Early in the process we could thus say there was a mismatch between the scaffolding's level of complexity and the group's experienced need for help to work on their issue of concern, with the group's meaning-making actually being more complex than the structure of the first scaffolding step. This affected the process in several ways and the first session with the group did not yield the type of insights other groups had had in the mapping phase. In all other groups that we had worked with so far the outcome of this initial step had resulted in increased clarity about the interrelated topics of concern, new insights and a more defined directions forward with enhanced motivation to continue together. In this case however, some participants felt that we as facilitators were superimposing a structure that pushed them to abandon their systemic understanding. For some of them, their insight into the problem's embeddedness in complex systemic societal properties led them to think that they necessarily had to find ways of transforming those systemic properties. The TIP procedure of creating a map of the territory of their concerns in order to choose a manageable strategic part of the problem complex seemed counterintuitive, and more like a matter of enforced simplification than one of strategic choice. This did not facilitate a re-examination of the group's assumptions about problem causes and solutions – if anything it made participants' views more congealed.

The lack of fit between the scaffolding and the group's meaning-making made the participants struggle to understand the method itself, rather than focus on their own process of making actionable decisions, integrating their different views on what ought to be done. Reflecting back on the experience, we can see that in this sense the process we used in fact prevented the participants from working constructively on their significant differences and conflicts regarding the topic of interest that had initially brought them together. Had we had more focus on this work, the exploration of different perspectives present in the group may in itself have had a decongealing effect.

Our suggestion is that scaffolding needs to be adapted in relation to the complexity level of the group's meaning-making, even if the method used is designed to handle different levels of complexity. In a group that has developed the capacity to see systemic issue-properties, but may also have a fairly congealed view on solutions, we suggest that a focus on exploring different perspectives on the issues' solutions as well as causes would yield more learning and create a platform for choosing a strategic part of the problem complex that seems manageable in terms of the group's resources.

Our experience has also shown us that some groups, like the one above, have a deep need to understand the process steps and their functions before starting, whereas other groups would rather just get into the work and find out where it leads. In both cases, it is important to pay keen attention to the group's intentions and experienced needs so that the process can evolve organically. A simple table might be helpful in sorting out some different scaffolding needs (Table 2).

**Table 2:** Varying scaffolding needs depending on meaning-making structures

<b>View</b>	<b>Weak complexity awareness + weak perspective awareness</b>	<b>Strong complexity awareness + weak perspective awareness</b>	<b>Strong complexity awareness + strong perspective awareness</b>
Uncongealed view	Scaffolding can focus on a stepwise and not too hurried exploration of complexity. It might be too demanding to scaffold perspective awareness.	Scaffolding can proceed rapidly in mapping complexity and may focus on supporting development of perspective awareness.	Only light scaffolding is needed.
Congeaed view	Participants may believe the problem is simple, and may have fixed opinions about solutions. Facilitators may need to be very explicit about explaining and getting agreement about the process steps.	Participants may have strong convictions about causes and solutions. What needs to be scaffolded is a reexamination of assumptions about causes and solutions and an insight into the usefulness of exploring different perspectives on the issue.	<i>Not a likely combination</i>

The matrix in Table 2 suggests that it is easier to scaffold a strategy-development process when participants do not have congealed views about the issues, causes and solutions. If participants have congealed views, it might be necessary to devote a lot of attention to “decongeal” perspectives, so that an exploration of a broader spectrum of causal relations and possible measures becomes possible. The design of the scaffolding is also dependent on the levels of awareness among the participants. Of course this becomes a complex matter when the participants’ structures of meaning-making are very different, i.e. when some participants have very weak complexity and perspective awareness, while others have strong levels of awareness. In the groups we have worked with, there certainly were such differences among the participants; no group was completely homogeneous. Participants with stronger complexity awareness may become impatient with the tendency of participants with weaker complexity awareness to go on talking about one concrete example of an issue after another. The latter feel that they add new material to the conversation, whereas the former feel that they keep repeating essentially the same thing. Participants with stronger complexity awareness may want to proceed to talk about the problematic on a higher level of complexity: the general category of the problematic, its causes and consequences, or even problematic properties of the system sustaining the existence of the problematic. The facilitator may here assist participants talking at concrete and abstract levels in their storytelling in order to arrive at a more general formulation of the essential patterns of the issues they are concerned about. A participant with stronger complexity awareness may be offered tasks in the process that makes productive use of their capacities, so as to make the process more interesting to him or her. Such a task may, for example, be to write up summary descriptions of the group’s work for review and for communication with other stakeholders.

## Functions of Scaffolding Methods

Reviewing the literature on change methodologies, which is small in volume, we conclude that the field is poorly conceptualized in terms of an analytical framework for comparing and analysing what the methodologies really do and how.<sup>14</sup>

In her doctoral dissertation, van der Zouwen (2011) analysed the conditions for successful use of change methodologies, including discussing the design properties of the methods themselves. However, the general impression is that much remains to be done in order to gain insight into what functions scaffolding methodologies actually fulfill and in particular what elements of the methodologies are helpful in assisting groups to work effectively together on complex issues.

We have started to explore this issue by compiling an inventory of the functions different methods are supposed to fulfill. Sources for the items in this inventory are our reading of manuals, articles and books, as well as our own observations and inferences in action research and in conversations with experienced facilitators. The list presented in Table 3 should be regarded as work in progress: we expect to investigate these functions more systematically in the near future.

We have organized the functions in six categories. The first is called *Attentional support*, and comprises the functions that cater to the needs of individual participants and the group as a collective to focus, structure and strengthen attention so that effective work on significant issues become possible. The second category is *Relationships*, relating to the need to support the establishment of contact and trust between participants, thus paving the way for openness in communication. The third category is *Attitudes/Feelings*, involves supporting, if necessary, a shift in the attitudes and feelings among the participants toward a sense of ownership, motivation and hope regarding the issues at hand. The fourth category, *Understanding*, is of course a major one,

**Table 3:** Functions of change methodologies

Function	Objectives of Methods
<b>I. Attentional support</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Focus the attention of the participants on the same issue/topic in order to enable a group to work together.</li> <li>• Structure the attention of the participants on one task at a time, e.g.: make inventory of relevant issues, formulate goals, analyse issues, develop of action plan, coordinate implementation, plan assessment.</li> <li>• Making unreflected assumptions and interpretations visible and opening up (even disrupt) the participants' mental frames in order to open space for new approaches and ideas.</li> </ul>

<sup>14</sup> Some discussion of the characteristics of change methods are, however, offered in Holman et al. (2007).

Function	Objectives of Methods
<b>II. Relationships</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Create safe space: a sense of being welcome and establishment of basic trust that lowers the threshold to engage in conversation and collaboration.</li> <li>• Create propitious conditions for establishing rapport and personal relationships between people who did not know each other personally before.</li> <li>• Release energy locked in conflictual relationships in order to enable a sense of community to emerge and to enable creative and productive use of differences in perspectives and interests.</li> </ul>
<b>III: Attitudes/Feelings</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mobilize commitment, energy, hope that common efforts might lead to meaningful outcomes.</li> <li>• Shift focus from obstacles, frustration and blaming towards possibilities.</li> <li>• Strengthen the participants' feeling of accountability for actions and outcomes.</li> </ul>
<b>IV. Understanding</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Clarify and formulate the participants' interests and needs so that these can be communicated and understood by decision-makers and/or other stakeholders.</li> <li>• Share relevant information so that participants can see and understand the conditions, causal principles and possibilities of the larger system the issues are embedded in.</li> <li>• Arrive at a shared narrative of the situation and a common strategy.</li> <li>• Increase awareness of the properties of diverse perspectives, enabling the participants to make creative use of the tensions between different perspectives on causality, values and desirable measures.</li> </ul>
<b>V. Empowerment</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Create propitious conditions for mobilization and activation of the participants' knowledge, skills, creativity and other resources.</li> <li>• Neutralize asymmetrical power relations that obstruct effective collaboration.</li> </ul>
<b>VI. Coordination of action</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Coordinate implementation of a strategy through planning, management and evaluation.</li> </ul>

because participants need to educate themselves about the different conditions, possibilities, potential consequences, etc., involved in managing complex societal issues. The fifth category, *Empowerment* is about supporting the development of the participants' self-image and feelings so that they feel they have the potential to significantly influence the complex issue they are concerned about. The sixth and last category, *Coordination of action*, involves supporting the process of planning the implementation of the ideas the group has developed in their strategy-finding process.

Our experiences through six years of investigating and putting TIP into practice - as well as coming into contact with other change methodologies through our research and networks - have shown us that most of the above functions are somehow central to most methodologies. Yet when speaking to practitioners of different methods, we have found that different functions have been emphasized, depending on both the context the method is designed for, and the underlying values and theories that were central to the development of the methodology itself. Also, the way in which they seek to scaffold the functions may differ significantly. For example, as regards *Attentional support*, one method may emphasize the importance of following participants'

evolving interest and reasoning, continually setting and resetting the focus for discussions, and use only minimal facilitation to structure the exchange. Others may be much stricter, with facilitators making sure all attend to the specified topics in a given order. As regards supporting a group's growing *Understanding*, some methods' designs show a bias towards facilitating the emergence of innate creativity of the participants, and assume that understanding emerges organically from this process. Again, other methods are firmly structured and facilitated so as to make the issue-complexity visible in order for the participants to understand the deep levels of cause and effect, before creative solutions are at all considered. As regards how to establish and work with conflict in the field of *Relationships*, some methodologies may actively focus on and intervene in existing conflicts between (groups of) participants, whereas others may actively marginalize symptoms of conflict by focussing on a common task. More research is needed to further elucidate such differences. We believe that a clearer understanding of what functions various forms of scaffolding actually perform for groups engaged in strategy development can lead to more skillful design of methods, as well as more skillful in-process facilitation on the part of facilitators.

## Facilitation Dilemmas

A challenge for the study of the functions of methodologies is that while a method itself may be structurally designed to support certain functions, through its step-wise design, rules and/or specific techniques, other functions may be scaffolded more implicitly, through the facilitator's skills. These functions are not static. In real time, "situational polarities" emerge through the process, leaving it up to the facilitator to make moment-to-moment choices. "*How long shall I let this one person that keeps repeating the same point continue? Shall I openly acknowledge the conflicting camps in the room, when they themselves do not mention these? Can we take the next step now so we do not run out of time towards the end?*" In our experience, even with a very structured method such as TIP, there are still times when hard, in-the-moment choices surface during the process itself; demanding skills of timing, how to tailor the method-steps to fit the specific actors, as well as in-process conflict management; skills that depend on the meaning-making of the facilitator in the moment, of how she or he understands the context, the function of each part of the method and what emerges in the group processes. It must also be noted that while some facilitator techniques may be well in line with the explicitly stated goals and principles of the methodology, others may be of a more sensitive nature and not explicitly acknowledged. An example would be when a facilitator actively seeks to marginalize a talkative participant who is perceived to be obstructing the process, without this being openly discussed. When it comes to the sensitive issues of voice and power, there are many such questions of an in-process nature left to explore.

## A Note on the Issue of Power

It is important at this juncture to raise the issue of power since methods and philosophies for structuring group work on complex issues, especially in the fields of deliberative democracy and conflict management, are sometimes criticized for being ignorant of or blind to power issues.<sup>15</sup> A

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<sup>15</sup> See e.g. the discussion in Kadlec & Friedman, 2007. Some of these critical comments seem to address the critics' poorly informed assumptions about how these methods function rather than the how the methods are actually practiced. This is, however, a too complex topic for this article.

closer look at the contents of the critical comments reveal that there are several different concerns involved, which may lead to confusion if the perspectives generating the comments are not articulated clearly. Two examples of conversations we have had may be instructive. On one occasion, in a method demonstration seminar, we worked on the issue of how to deal with unrest in classrooms. One seminar participant was quite upset that we as facilitators did not take the initiative to raise the gender dimension of the problematic. The participant felt that a failure on the part of the facilitators to actively address that boys and girls may play very different parts and be affected in different ways by classroom disorder would make the facilitators part of the structures that maintain a gender blindness in our society. Her position was that the facilitator has a moral obligation to advocate a power perspective, even if the members of the group in question would not voice such concerns. On another occasion, a participant in a seminar criticized the absence of a power perspective in our presentation. On further inquiry, it turned out that this person was concerned about the problem of group members who feel powerless and have low self-confidence and therefore don't speak up or engage actively when the group talks about issues they are concerned about.

There are many possible perspectives on power. In table 4 we outline four approaches relevant to scaffolding in work on complex issues, drawing on Ken Wilber's quadrant model for classifying perspectives (Wilber, 1995; 2006). The first column comprises perspectives that stress the subjectively experienced meaning of identities, relationships and other relevant constructs. The second column represents perspectives that look at phenomena from the outside and stress patterns that can be objectively described and evaluated.

**Table 4:** Four perspectives on power relevant to scaffolding of group processes

	<b>Interior focus</b>	<b>Exterior focus</b>
Individual focus	<p><i>Construction of power:</i> The subjectively experienced sense of being able to exert influence in significant issues; the sense of external or internal locus of control.</p> <p><i>Adherents' prescription:</i> Focus on empowering individuals through strategies that assist transformation of self-image and internalizing locus of control.</p>	<p><i>Construction of power:</i> Interpersonal behaviours that create unequal or equal relationships; e.g. behaviours that aim at dominating/subordinating others.</p> <p><i>Adherents' prescription:</i> Focus on neutralizing domination behaviours by exposing them and by using countertactics. Support use of behaviours that lead to fair interactions.</p>
Collective focus	<p><i>Construction of power:</i> Socially constructed attributions and identities that create power differentials between people due to their ascribed identity.</p> <p><i>Adherents' prescription:</i> Focus on exposing and transforming social constructions and attitudes that attribute high/low rank/status to certain categories of people (men/women, white/black, people with lower or higher education, etc.).</p>	<p><i>Construction of power:</i> Structural power differentials determined by positions in unequal social systems, unevenly distributed power resources, etc. which create unfair conditions.</p> <p><i>Adherents' prescription:</i> Focus on exposing structural inequalities and power differentials in order to stop or prevent abuse of power and to contribute to structural changes towards more equality.</p>

All four power perspectives raise tricky ideological, moral and/or ethical questions regarding the roles of facilitators. A power-sensitive approach means that the facilitator has to ask hard questions about whose best interests he or she serves, and how these interests are constructed. Should the facilitator only offer the services that the group asks for, irrespective of the facilitator's own value system? What if the facilitator notices behaviours and conditions that he or she feels are unfair, but none of the group members seems to be aware of what is going on? Does the facilitator have a moral obligation to point out, expose and counteract domination behaviours, social constructions that create an unequal power distribution or structurally determined injustices? These are, of course, questions that cannot be answered in the abstract, but must be responded to in a contextualized way.

When the existence of injustice and inequality due to an uneven distribution of power in societies, in organizations and in interpersonal relationships is the main preoccupation, it is quite natural to be highly sceptical towards the whole business of methods and approaches that aim at involving stakeholders in a common, collaborative process on how to manage controversial societal issues. One is then more inclined to either take on the role of advocating certain views or, particularly if one happens to be an academic researcher, to be careful to keep an outsider position in order to stand free from the establishment and critically analyse societal conditions and processes. These critical observers of course play a very important role by pointing out problematic phenomena.

### **A Note on the Issue of Problem Ownership and Implementation**

Methods for scaffolding deliberative processes may be very powerful in creating favourable conditions for the development of well-designed strategies. However, these methods cannot in themselves guarantee that the measures proposed would actually be implemented, if crucial decisions have to be made by decision-makers who did not participate in the process. Our experience, which is echoed by several practitioners, is that the participation in deliberative processes often leads to deep insights into the needs of a problematic as well as to a commitment to take certain actions. The participants really own their issue and the strategies they have developed. However, this understanding of the issue and the commitment to act is not easily transferable to decision-makers and other stakeholders who did not participate in the deliberative process themselves. Using a deliberative process for issues where crucial resources are controlled by non-participants is a risky venture, because hopes may be raised through the process that are later squashed by disinterest, lack of understanding or obstruction on the part of decision-makers. Not only is there a considerable risk that good plans will be disregarded, but also that the lack of implementation will leave participants feeling more disillusioned and powerless than if they had not engaged in the process at all.

### **Diffusion of Social Innovations**

It seems evident that the society indeed faces a number of complex societal issues where the need to develop more effective strategies for managing serious problems is very strong. It also seems evident that there *are* forms of scaffolding that might contribute to a better capability to manage complexity. However, the existence of methods that fit needs does not automatically mean that those who have the needs actually make use of the methods' approaches. If we think of



new forms of scaffolding, such as TIP and similar methods, as social innovations, the diffusion of such innovations becomes a key topic for study. In a much-cited article, Akrich, Callon and Latour (2002), outlined a non-linear approach to the study of innovation and innovation diffusion. They contrasted their own perspective with a more traditional, linear, explanatory framework as follows:

[...] the success of an innovation may be explained in two different ways, one emphasising the innovation's intrinsic qualities, the other on its capacity to create adhesion between numerous allies (users, intermediaries, etc.). In the first case, we use the term "diffusion model" (the innovation becomes widespread due to its intrinsic properties); in the second case, we use the term "model of interressement" (the fate of the innovation depends on the active participation of all those who have decided to develop it). (Akrich et al., 2002: 208)  
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Akrich et al. view successful innovation processes (including the widespread adoption of the innovation) as results of an alignment of the interests of many stakeholders around the innovation, often by means of adapting the original form of the innovation to fit the different interests stakeholders have. Only when an innovator succeeds in attracting interest in the innovation among many different actors, playing different roles in relation to the innovation, can the innovation become adopted among potential users.

When a social innovation has been made, it is still uncertain if it is useful in other settings than the original one. It has to be tried out, adapted to local conditions and evaluated. Obviously, a process of diffusion of a social innovation involves many steps and is dependent on different types of conditions. Information about the innovation must reach potential users, they must understand the potential of the innovation, they must become convinced about the desirability in trying out the innovation and they must allocate the necessary resources (time, work, money) in order to start making practical experiments with the innovation. Our efforts to find suitable research-based analytical frameworks for studying diffusion processes of social innovations have not been very fruitful, the field seems to be under-researched.<sup>17</sup>

Our experiences suggest that social innovations, because they are embedded in social systems and deal with social interactions, face considerable resistance to diffusion and adoption. It may be easier to evaluate the potential benefits of technical product and process innovations, while the effectiveness of social innovations are more difficult to assess. However, we believe that the resistance to diffusion and adoption may be strongly reduced along certain paths, namely in networks of preexistent trustful relationships between people. It seems that the propensity of potential users of social innovations to devote attention to learning more about social innovations and start experimenting with them is far higher when the champions of the innovations are already known and trusted through previous contacts unrelated to the present innovation.

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<sup>16</sup> The French concept "interressement" has been left untranslated by authors writing in English, because of difficulties in finding an appropriate translation.

<sup>17</sup> Everett Roger's (1962) classical book *Diffusion of innovations* discussed such an analytical framework, but subsequent work seems to be focussed on case studies rather than theory-building.

The story of how TIP, a method that can be regarded as a social innovation, was introduced in Sweden may be instructive in this regard. TIP was developed in the USA by Sara Ross, in the context of her research with deliberative democracy processes at the Kettering Foundation and then independently. One of us, Thomas Jordan (based in Sweden), got acquainted with Sara in 2000 through an Internet forum for people interested in the work of Ken Wilber, integral philosopher. We corresponded through e-mail on the basis of shared interests in applying adult development and integral theory to political/societal issues. The main reason TIP caught Thomas Jordan's interest at the time, was the ingenuous way in which the method scaffolds the participants' awareness of and possibilities of utilizing different perspectives on complex societal issues. Thomas read up on the method descriptions Sara sent over, and started on a tentative scale to experiment with the method, mainly the part that assists groups in looking at an issue and developing an action strategy through formulating a number of fundamentally different perspectives that could be applied to the issue. At first, these experiments were made with participants in workshops and students at the university of Gothenburg, and not in "live" settings with participants who really were engaged in developing strategies to deal with an issue they were concerned about. The experiments were encouraging: the method seemed to have a considerable effect on participants' views on the issue, as well as on their attitudes towards perspectives quite dissimilar from their own. Four former students who shared Thomas interest in conflict management and adult development gradually developed interest in learning how to facilitate TIP. At this point in time, about 2006, TIP had a feeble foothold in Sweden, in the form of a small group of people who believed in the potential of the method, had started to develop necessary facilitation skills and were in the process of becoming ambassadors for the model.

We then started to think about how to draw attention to the potential of TIP among actors who really need support in developing action plans regarding difficult societal issues: officials in public administration, politicians, NGOs and residents in communities with different kinds of problems. We wrote introductory texts about TIP in Swedish, trying to find a language that would make sense to prospective stakeholders. However, we did not have any readily available channels for reaching decision-makers or other actors who might be in a position to want to try out working with TIP.

The first real opportunity came up when one of us made a presentation of a commissioned report for the board of Gothenburg's crime prevention council. The discussion happened to present an opportunity to mention some aspects of the TIP method. The mayor and some other board members got interested, and asked us to make a demonstration of the methodology at a full-day board meeting already scheduled a few weeks further on. This demonstration convinced the board members that this was a methodology worth more experimentation, and we were asked to do a pilot project in one or two Gothenburg suburbs. This pilot project eventually resulted in Pia Andersson's comprehensive study *Perspektivvandringar (Perspective walks, Andersson, 2008)*. Apart from reporting on the pilot groups, the study was written in the form of a manual on how to facilitate TIP and thus the intended readership was mostly potential facilitators. So at this time a well-written and comprehensive Swedish text on TIP was available.

TIP was developed as an approach to deliberative democracy. It was designed to support citizens in developing strategies to address issues they were concerned about in their communities. TIP has been shown to be effective in mobilizing stakeholders' engagement and in facilitating a process that leads to more integrative, more effective strategies for addressing

complex issues (Ross, 2007; Andersson, 2008; Inglis, 2011). When we started to plan a research project, we got in touch with an organization that seemed to need exactly what TIP had set out to provide. The Swedish Union of Tenants (hereafter SUT) had a national project called “Uppdrag M,” which aimed at developing strategies for involving tenants in the renewal processes in the large metropolitan suburbs in Sweden, comprising high-rise apartment buildings constructed in the 1960s and 1970s. Over time, these suburbs have deteriorated in both physical appearance and in social status. In many of these suburbs a large proportion of the residents are immigrants from troubled parts of the world, for example former Yugoslavia, Kurdistan, the Middle East, Somalia and other parts of Africa. SUT saw a need to develop methods for mobilizing tenants, many of whom lack previous experience in Western-style non-governmental organizations, to advocate their own interests in relation to large property managers and authorities.

At a workshop connected to Pia Andersson’s pilot study in a Gothenburg suburb, we met representatives of SUT who were interested in exploring the possibilities of using TIP in their work. We had further conversations with a couple of officials at the regional branch of SUT who proved to be sufficiently interested in our approach to be willing to enter a partnership with us in the form of a joint research grant application. There was at the time (in 2008) an opening for applying for research grants at the Swedish Knowledge Foundation in a special programme supporting research about “societal entrepreneurship.” Our application was successful and the project was formally started in the beginning of 2009.

However, even though the fit seemed extremely good between our ambition to use TIP and SUT’s need for more effective ways of mobilizing residents in suburbs with a high proportion of immigrants, TIP did not take root in SUT. There were several reasons for this. One was that it turned out that only a minority of the officials of SUT were in favour of working actively with mobilization of suburban residents through presence in the neighbourhoods. The majority favoured a more focussed role for SUT as advocating tenants’ interests in relation to landlords. Another reason was that several of the managers and key persons in SUT who supported the endeavour got long-term sick, transferred to other positions or left SUT to work elsewhere. A third reason was that some local representatives of SUT were involved in their own approach to working with residents, and (so is our interpretation) regarded TIP as a competing approach, “not invented here.” Looking back it seems we didn’t succeed in alleviating these concerns or sufficiently aligning with the work already being done. We spent a considerable time in meetings with stakeholders and the local project leaders in “Uppdrag M,” but our approach didn’t seem to appeal sufficiently. Thus, we did not succeed in arranging for the action research groups through SUT on the scale originally planned and SUT did not engage in experimentation with TIP as we had expected they would be keen to do. However, through two officials in SUT, not involved in “Uppdrag M,” who were involved with projects in other suburbs, we eventually got the opportunity to work with two groups using TIP. These officials could easily tailor the TIP process to suit theirs and our purposes, while focusing on some very concrete topics of concern that had already been voiced in these neighborhoods and which they were looking to engage.

While working hard and spending many hours in meetings with SUT officials with little concrete results in terms of interest in using TIP, another actor turned out to be a more receptive channel for the TIP approach. A group of organizational consultants at a large Swedish organization managing insurance capital on behalf of employers and trade unions, AFA, was in 2009 in the process of starting a three-year project on methods for preventing threats and violence

in workplaces. One of the consultants knew Thomas Jordan through participation in a series of training workshops on conflict management and through collaboration in a two-year project on strategies for developing robust collaboration cultures in workplaces. She was somewhat familiar with TIP through participation in a workshop some years earlier and was interested in exploring the potential of the methodology after having read Pia Andersson's report *Perspektivvandringar*. She felt that TIP might be a suitable method for the new project. A series of meetings and workshops eventually lead to AFA adopting TIP as a method in the project, which involved training several of AFA's consultants in facilitation skills. The project had significant good results that have been documented (in Swedish) and are now disseminated through AFA's contact network (which is very large in Sweden). What will come of this we cannot know, of course, the innovation diffusion process is still in an incipient phase.

The story of how TIP was introduced in Sweden fits well into the *interesement* perspective of Akrich et al. Even though there seems to be a good fit between what the innovation has to offer and the needs certain actors have, the adoption process is dependent on the alignment of the interests of many individuals and organizational entities, who are always embedded in their own particular lifeworlds, concerns and trajectories. One conclusion from this story is that it is probably not a successful strategy to look for the best fit between need and innovation and then proceed to try to convince the most "needy" stakeholders that the innovation is what they need. It is more likely that a social innovation will be adopted if champions of innovations use already established contact networks where there is a preexisting trust in competence and motives, even if the fit between the need and innovation is not the strongest possible. We think it is a useful metaphor to think of networks of relationships characterized by a high level of trust as a system of wires with a low level of resistance. Ideas can flow easily back and forth along the wires. Where no previous trustful relationships exist, there are no wires, and hence there is a considerable resistance to be overcome before a flow can start. This means that reaching outside preexisting networks places particular demands on those who set out to spread a social innovation, in terms of acting skillfully to make possible an alignment of different stakeholders' interests. When there are a few keen actors in an organization with many internal dilemmas and conflicts, it is important to carefully gauge the likeliness of a broader interest in the innovation in that context. In our case, we found it was easier to initiate a TIP-process within SUT when there were concrete issues that needed to be resolved and they were actively looking for ways to work on these. It seems important to listen with a keen ear for such issues, which may serve as entry points for the innovation, provided that its sponsors are responsive enough to the needs expressed by the stakeholders. In practice, looking at the example of innovations in the field of scaffolding, this might mean that sponsors/process leaders would arrange a meeting where all relevant stakeholders are present, and instead of presenting the method as such, ask the stakeholders what their dilemmas and goals are, and have an open discussion about which kind of scaffolding might serve those ends. Had we approached SUT in such a way (i.e. used what we below describe as "dialectical meaning-making"), we may have either been more successful in spreading the innovation, or much earlier looked elsewhere for a good fit.

## Change Agents Working with Complex Societal Issues

### Studying Individual Change Agents/Societal Entrepreneurs

One of the ideas we had when we started our research project on societal entrepreneurship was to search out and interview a limited number of successful societal entrepreneurs in order to analyse their meaning-making structures. This was a minor part of the research project, intended to offer some comparative material. The main study aimed at analysing the transformations of meaning-making among people who were quite inexperienced in developing action strategies for complex societal issues. The interviews with successful societal entrepreneurs could, we thought, provide us with some insight into characteristics of meaning-making that contribute to desired outcomes. We spent quite a lot of time to discuss various criteria for the target group. We wanted to find societal entrepreneurs with documented successful outcomes regarding complex societal issues. We came up with the following criteria:

- Successful. The societal entrepreneurships should be successful in a convincing way, i.e. having resulted in sustainable operations or other substantial outcomes.
- Constructive collaboration. The initiatives should be of the kind where it is necessary to establish a constructive collaboration or at least secure support from stakeholders with dissimilar perspectives and/or interests.
- Key persons. There should be a limited number of key individuals who have played decisive roles in the achievements of the initiative.
- Access. The operation or project should be open to the public in the sense that a target group can benefit from the initiative irrespectively of religious affiliation, ideology or resources.
- Innovative. The initiative should have significant innovative elements rather than replicate already existing operations.

When we started to look for initiatives that fitted our criteria, we discovered that individuals that could clearly be seen as successful societal entrepreneurs were actually quite hard to find. This is in itself an interesting result. It seemed there were few individuals, at least in Sweden, who had been successful in achieving significant positive outcomes in complex societal issues.

Reviewing the cases we studied through our series of interviews, as well as our other case studies, we learned that the relationships among meaning-making structures, goal construction, action strategies and outcomes in societal change agency are more complex than we were initially aware of. We realized that it is mostly not possible or meaningful to try to compare how successful are the change agents or societal entrepreneurs with different levels of complexity awareness. A major reason for this is that a person with rather weak complexity awareness will engage in different types of initiatives than a person with a strong complexity awareness. They will find different types of goals and projects compelling, which means that a comparison of their respective strategies and rate of success becomes inappropriate. Someone with weak complexity awareness may be very successful in an initiative that does not require advanced capacities for managing complexity. On the other hand, people with weak complexity awareness will mostly not formulate goals and tasks around influencing complex societal systems or initiating transformative processes among major institutional actors. Similarly, a person with strong complexity awareness is not necessarily more likely to be more successful than a person with

weak complexity awareness with an initiative that does not really require an advanced capacity to manage complexity.

We can probably expect that people who on a voluntary basis seek out the role of being a societal change agent will construct their goals and initiatives in a way that is congruent with the level of complexity of their meaning-making structure. However, not all individuals who find themselves in a role where they have responsibility for dealing with a complex societal issue have sought out the role themselves. They may be officials in a public administration or organization, for example, where they have been appointed to be in charge of a task that involves responsibility for managing a complex issue. In such cases, we would expect that individuals with weak complexity awareness will be less successful in achieving significant outcomes than individuals with strong complexity awareness.

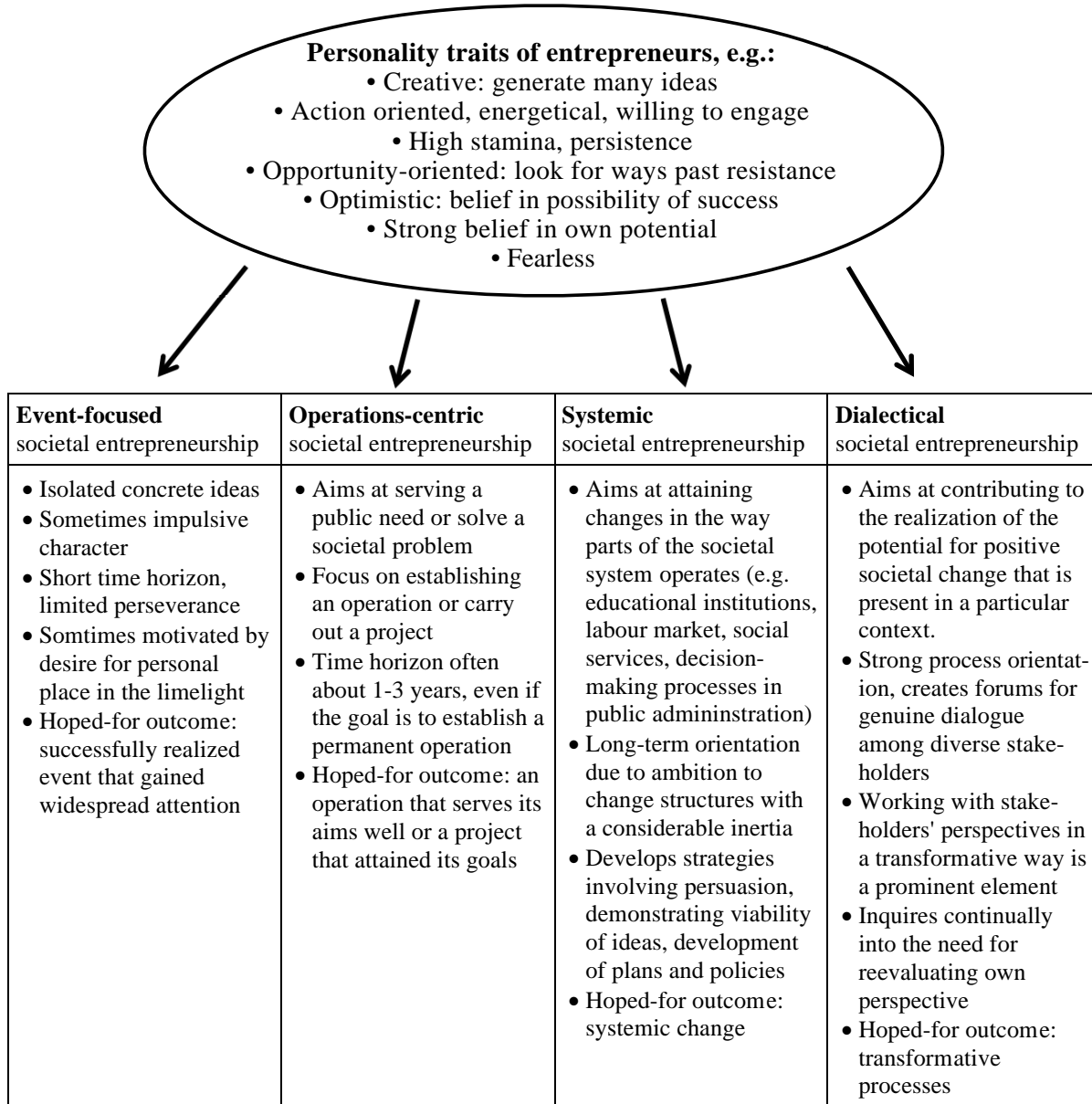
## Four Types of Societal Entrepreneurship

During the course of analysing the case studies, three distinctions emerged as potentially significant for classifying types of societal entrepreneurship. The first distinction that seemed relevant to make was between entrepreneurship that aimed at establishing a new operation or carrying out a particular project that serves perceived societal needs on the one hand, and entrepreneurship that aimed at influencing how *other* institutions or established networks operate to serve societal needs. In the first case, the entrepreneurs have a large amount of control over the organization, operation or project they are establishing. They are usually dependent on external stakeholders in issues like funding or permissions, but otherwise they can design and develop their own system. Examples of this kind of entrepreneurship could be starting up a cooperative for reintegrating former drug abusers in the labour market, or carrying out a project for restoring a natural habitat for endangered animals. In the second case, the entrepreneurs' aims can only be attained if they succeed in influencing established systems to change in significant ways, e.g. to get the police to develop better routines for working with honour-related crime, or influencing businesses to develop more environmental awareness in their purchasing strategies.

The second distinction was between entrepreneurs who develop visions about what they want to happen and then proceed to realize those visions on the one hand, and entrepreneurs who are genuinely process-oriented in the sense of focussing on creating favourable conditions for involving diverse stakeholders in co-creation of strategies that inquire into and exploit the room to maneuver that the actual situation offers. This distinction seemed important in order to pinpoint typical patterns of some societal entrepreneurs' approach to their work, and not least to explain the shifts over time that we could see in some of our case studies (Sander & Jordan, 2009, 2011; Emanuelsson, 2011).

The third distinction emerged rather as an afterthought that seemed necessary in order to cover the "lower" end of the spectrum. This distinction is between entrepreneurs whose activities are confined to separate, sometimes spectacular, events on the one hand, and entrepreneurs aiming at developing operations or attaining systemic changes in a more long-run perspective on the other hand.

These three distinctions lead us to define four types of societal entrepreneurship: *event-focused*, *operations-centered*,<sup>18</sup> *systemic* and *dialectical* (Figure 3). Note that societal entrepreneurs may share the same personality traits, i.e., a typical entrepreneurial personality, but nevertheless practice quite different types of societal entrepreneurship because they operate from different structures of meaning-making (mainly different levels of complexity awareness and perspective awareness, according to this model).



**Figure 3:** Four types of societal entrepreneurship

<sup>18</sup> Operations-centered societal entrepreneurship as a concept overlaps almost completely with the more commonly used term “social entrepreneurship,” even if the aspiration is to contribute to societal betterment by building a particular operation. It is a bit awkward to coin a new concept here, but we think the juxtaposition of the four subtypes of entrepreneurship aspiring to contribute to the social/societal good is clarifying.

*Event-focused societal entrepreneurship* is characterized by the focus on staging single events. One type of event-focused societal entrepreneurship involves spectacular events, where the motivation driving the entrepreneur is to have fun, do something personally satisfying and possibly place him- or herself in the limelight. A person has an exciting idea about something that could be done, and proceeds immediately to try to realize the idea. The idea usually involves something quite concrete that can be staged in a near future with resources that happen to be available or can be mobilized quickly. The societal utility of the idea is in this case more a necessity for earning acclaim from the public, rather than the actual driving motive of the initiative. Another, more common type of event-focused societal entrepreneurship is when individuals or groups arrange single events, like a fund-raising concert for charity. Event-focused societal entrepreneurship has a short time horizon and does not involve complex work building an organization or planning a long-term project with different phases. The strategies used often involve arousing enthusiasm among others for a stimulating idea, cajoling decision-makers to make resources available and using trial-and-error experimentation to develop a way to realize the vision. Event-focused entrepreneurship is often fragmentary, focused on realizing single events that are not part of a long-term plan, and the results are seldom lasting.

*Operations-centered societal entrepreneurship* (= social entrepreneurship) involves people who have perceived a problem or need in the society that ought to be solved/served or have developed a vision about an operation or a project that would enrich the society in some way. Focus is on realizing the idea by establishing and managing one or several operations that serve the needs of a particular group or by carrying out a project that results in certain events, plans or artefacts. In order to attain the goals, the societal entrepreneur needs to mobilize resources, get necessary permits and establish an operation or project organization. However, operations-centered societal entrepreneurship involves developing a new operation or a project, relatively independent of already existing institutions and structures, which means that there is a large measure of autonomy in designing and managing the operation. These types of initiatives often have a certain linear character: an idea is formed, plans are developed, resources are mobilized, an operation or a project is established, which result in more or less successful outcomes. The time horizon is often one to a couple of years. Some operations-centered societal entrepreneurship initiatives are pure projects: when the plans have been realized, the project is completed and the entrepreneur starts to develop a new project. In other cases the initiative is intended to create a long-lived operation, such as a cooperative.

*Systemic societal entrepreneurship* is distinguished by its ambition to influence how *other* actors and systems operate, e.g. administrations, authorities, businesses and networks of different entities. The societal entrepreneur has identified some type of unsatisfactory state of affairs or a lack of something that ought to exist, or has a vision about how the society could be better if established societal institutions or systems change in terms of priorities, methods of working or structures. The systemic societal entrepreneur usually has a rather elaborated narrative about what is wrong or wanting in society and what needs to happen and how. The strategies used involve formulating visions, persuading decision-makers about the desirability of one's own ideas, and trying to prove, e.g. by pilot projects, the viability and desirability on doing things differently and better.

*Dialectical societal entrepreneurship* is characterized by a strong process orientation, involving not only strategies and actions, but also goal formulating. The foundation is a



commitment to a certain problematic or to certain values, but the dialectical societal entrepreneur is careful in not going too far in specifying goals, visions and strategies. Focus is on establishing good working relationships with relevant stakeholders, and invite them to participate in genuine dialogues with a large measure of openness to the ideas, learning, needs and possible synergies that are discovered and developed when different points of view and interests meet and interact in a creative process. The worldview of dialectical societal entrepreneurs is based on a keen awareness of the complexity of the context one operates in, which has its own structures, conditions and ongoing processes that present both restrictions and opportunities that need to be discovered in order to find a navigable course. Strategies used involve reviewing and revising one's own perspective, visions and conceptions about desirable goals, as well as creating forums for creative and integrative meetings between different perspectives.<sup>19</sup>

Dialectical societal entrepreneurship is different from the other three types in one significant way: it has a genuinely dialogical orientation, whereas the other three can be described as *monological*. "Monological" here means that the actors are embedded in *one* perspective, their own. This perspective is perceived as the most correct, most relevant perspective. The environment is perceived and evaluated from within one's perspective. Issues and events are given meaning in terms of one particular narrative, one set of values and beliefs. Goals and strategies are formulated in the terms and conceptions of this point of view, and therefore get a monological rather than dialogical character. A monological worldview leads to a dualistic approach: my/our perspective is pitted against other perspectives, which are viewed as opposing or at least as obstacles to the implementation of already formed and elaborated goals, measures and strategies. A monological mindset is monological because of a weak awareness of perspectives as variables. One does not perceive one's own perspective as variable, as a system that is likely to change through the insight gained when comparing and possibly integrating different perspectives. A dialogical approach is a natural outcome of strong perspective awareness, where there is an awareness of the properties of different perspectives and of how these properties have consequences for perception, interpretation and evaluation of different issues. If one has a monological mindset, one often has a tendency to try to convince others of the correctness of one's own views, prove to them that they have to change their mind, or put pressure on them to accept one's own ideas. With a dialogical mindset, the natural approach is to have an inquiring and openended attitude, curious about what will emerge when all parties have gained a deeper understanding of each others' conditions, views and interests. The dialectical characteristic shows up in the routine expectation of the necessity for multiple parties to articulate, reflect on and then to coordinate their multiple perspectives into some kind of synthesis appropriate for the matter at hand.

It might be in place to point out that there is no straightforward relationship between types of societal entrepreneurship and the likelihood of successful outcomes. Societal entrepreneurs in all four types can be very successful, but the *character* of the initiatives they engage in tend to be quite different. It is consequently unlikely that an event-focused societal entrepreneur would even engage in initiatives that aim at achieving significant systemic changes or contributing to transformations of the perspectives of stakeholders in different organizations.

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<sup>19</sup> See the next section for a more comprehensive discussion of dialectical meaning-making.

## Dialectical Meaning-making and its Consequences for Entrepreneurial Action

In this section we will take a closer look at the characteristics of dialectical societal entrepreneurship. First we need to give a little background by relating how our present conception evolved. The case studies we made presented a number of examples of a certain pattern of meaning-making and action that took different forms in different cases, but seemed to share a common underlying logic. One of the more obvious pointers to such a pattern was that a number of the change agents Jordan interviewed in one of the earlier research projects (Jordan, 2006a) used quite similar words for describing their own role in the change processes: *catalyst*, *enzyme*, *match-maker*, *midwife*. These words/metaphors seem to have in common that they point to a worldview where the self is seen as an active agent in a complex environment which has already a lot of structure and processes going on that one maybe can influence, but not unilaterally control or program. We sought descriptors that fit the pattern we intuited was there. We found that Michael Basseches's framework (1984) for describing dialectical thinking is very helpful for pinpointing and explaining the observable patterns in the case studies.<sup>20</sup> Basseches identified a large number of dialectical "schemata," or "thought forms" in interview transcripts. He organized them into three categories: motion (or process), form (or context) and relationships.<sup>21</sup> Drawing on both theoretical frameworks (see Jordan, 2011) and our case material, we have adapted Basseches's framework somewhat in order to point out salient features of the worldview that generates dialectical societal entrepreneurship. According to this conceptualization, five types of awareness characterize dialectical meaning-making.

A person with strong ...

... *complexity awareness* expects (has a pre-understanding) that phenomena usually are caused by complex conditions and causal relationships (linear, mutually conditioning factors and systemic) and that it is often very useful to inquire into and gain knowledge about causal relations and possible consequences. People with strong complexity awareness therefore actively engage in seeking out knowledge and insight about issues relevant to their aspirations. This propensity to expect that there are significant things to be learned and to start looking for a deeper understanding of underlying causal relations is, according to our experience, often absent among people with a weak complexity awareness.

... *process awareness* notices and seeks understanding of the character of ongoing change processes. Everything is seen as embedded in processes that change conditions over time. There is also a strong process orientation, in the sense of expecting that the process of dialoguing and acting will lead to new insights, ideas, assessments and intentions. There is an openness and even positive expectations regarding testing and transforming own assumptions and views. People with strong process awareness often find it important to create spaces where inquiry, discovery and generative dialogues become possible.

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<sup>20</sup> Later Barrett Brown's (2011) doctoral dissertation confirmed many of these patterns, even though Brown used a different investigation strategy and a somewhat different conceptual framework for analysing societal change agents.

<sup>21</sup> A fourth category, transformation, comprised those schemata that combined several schemata from the other three categories.

... *relationship awareness* notices properties and processes in relationships, in relations between people as well as relations among phenomena of other kinds. Someone with strong relationship awareness actively engages in establishing relationships and influencing their qualities in order to make constructive interaction possible. This includes taking care to act with an attitude that invites contact, trust and respect.

... *context awareness* reflects on how particular issues are embedded in a larger context that has its own properties and processes. No phenomenon exists separately, but is in sometimes insidious ways conditioned by the properties of the context in which it is embedded. Systemic qualities, such as organizational structures and their consequences, culturally constructed norms and behaviour patterns, economic mechanisms and power structures are noticed and considered. People with a strong context awareness often develop strategies that either exploit the room to manoeuvre present in an otherwise constraining context, or aim at influencing and changing how that context is structured and operates.

... *perspective awareness* notices and seeks insight into the properties of the perspectives different actors use in order to make sense of themselves and their environment. The meaning of events and issues is dependent on the properties of the perspectives used to perceive and interpret them. Perspectives are seen as a variable that can potentially be influenced and transformed, which goes both for oneself and others. A person with a strong perspective awareness therefore often seek ways to make the properties of perspectives conscious and to create favourable conditions for developing perspectives, not least by *using* the tension between different perspectives for new insight and integrative strategizing.

We found that this framework captures many significant qualities among several of the societal entrepreneurs we studied. In some cases where we could trace development over a longer time, we could discern a movement towards a more dialectical way of meaning-making and acting (Sander & Jordan, 2009; 2011; Emanuelsson, 2011). However, it also became apparent that a person might make use of a dialectical approach in one or a couple of domains, while not applying the same sophisticated approach in other domains. We have begun, tentatively, to identify different domains that are relevant to societal entrepreneurship. Doing this, it is apparent that very different time frames are involved. Some people have a strong dialectical orientation in their way of engaging in conversations, for example with clients, stakeholders or in meetings. Here the time frame is from seconds to hours. Other domains, with a longer time frame, can be problem-solving processes (minutes/hours/days), team leadership and project management (weeks/years), establishing an operation or organization (years), or managing a systemic change initiative (months/years). Another type of domain is the relationship with oneself, where the time frame varies from seconds to decades.

In Table 5, we have outlined the consequences dialectical meaning-making can have in three different domains: conversations, systemic change initiatives and oneself. We believe this is a promising field for inquiry through future case studies.

**Table 5:** Dialectical meaning-making in three domains

	<b>In conversations</b>	<b>In systemic change initiatives</b>	<b>In relation to oneself</b>
<b>Complexity awareness</b>	Expects that there are conditions and causal relations that one has no insight into yet. Uses conversations to elicit information and develop knowledge.	Knows that organizations and change processes are so complex that it is unrealistic to expect that one can make detailed plans and then proceed to implement a fixed solution. Engages change initiatives with an inquiring approach, where development of knowledge and insights is a key ingredient.	Regards oneself as a complex being with many unknown or vaguely known aspects. Uses experiences actively to develop more self-knowledge.
<b>Context awareness</b>	Keenly aware that the person one has the conversation with is part of a larger context with its own structures, norms, rules, narratives, culture and larger ongoing processes.	Aware that the context has its own structures and processes that both present constraints and creates opportunities. Standard solutions not adapted to the specific state of the actual context are not regarded as particularly helpful.	Seeks understanding of how one's own reactions and actions are conditioned by the properties of the context one is embedded in: organizational structures, cultural patterns, position in a complex system.
<b>Process awareness</b>	Regards the conversation as a genuinely opened process. No fixed conceptions of what is to be the outcome, but has an open attitude to what might come out of a dialogue. Wants to toss around thoughts and ideas and see what emerges.	Expects change processes to be genuinely opened processes that cannot be program-med in a detailed way in advance. Has a long-term perspective and seeks understanding of the nature of various long-term change processes and their possible consequences.	Thinks of oneself in the present moment as embedded in ongoing processes of change: where do I come from, in what direction am I heading. Identifies oneself <i>as</i> a process rather than in terms of a number of fixed properties or a fixed personality.
<b>Relationship awareness</b>	Keenly aware that the conversation is embedded in a relationship that is created and changed through the conversation itself. Acts consciously to create an appropriate relationship, e.g. by working on establishing trust.	Reflects on how different elements of complex systems and processes are mutually dependent and shaped by the character of the relationships they have with each other. Searches for stakeholders with whom it is possible to establish productive relationships. Acts consciously to influence the properties of relationships, among people as well as among different parts of systems.	Experiences the own self and own reactions as embedded in and conditioned by the properties of the relationship one has with others. Takes responsibility for own role in the development of relationships with others.

	<b>In conversations</b>	<b>In systemic change initiatives</b>	<b>In relation to oneself</b>
<b>Perspective awareness</b>	Seeks understanding of the perspective, reasoning patterns and narratives of the other. Uses the conversation to test the relevance and properties of one's own perspective and narrative. Makes efforts to create a conversation that opens up the potential for mutual transformation of perspectives.	Strongly aware that different perspectives generate different views on goals, strategies, priorities, etc. Seeks to create forums and processes where different perspectives can be constructively articulated and their differences can be mobilized for greater insight and creativity. Seeks to create processes that facilitate insight into and transformation of perspectives.	Uses experiences actively in order to become more aware of, test and transform one's own perspective. Develops strategies to develop one's own perspective. Seeks out challenging feedback in the interest of becoming aware of blind spots and alternative points of view.

## Trajectories of Development of Awareness

In three of our case studies, we have been able to follow or retrospectively reconstruct the change agents' processes of learning and development of awareness over 5-10 years. While we have just a few cases to rely on, the analysis points to some patterns that are suggestive and certainly worth further inquiry.

One of the thoughts we had when we started exploring the relationship between meaning-making, patterns of action and outcomes among societal change agents was that a strong complexity awareness would *lead* to a process orientation, to interest in inquiry and learning and to an interest in working towards systemic change, whereas a weak complexity awareness would lead to a more limited conception of aims and strategies and a propensity to develop own ideas and visions and then try to implement them, rather than co-develop ideas and strategies in interaction with a broad set of stakeholders. However, we have had to revise this assumption in the light of the case studies we have made. It seems that our own complexity awareness regarding the relationship between complexity awareness and an inquiring orientation was rather weak. The relationship is certainly not linear and unidirectional, but more complex. In some cases it seems that a basic inquiring orientation came first, and the complexity awareness increased as a result of reflecting on experiences, which in turn strengthened the commitment to a process orientation, and so on.

In one particular case study (Emanuelsson, 2011), it is apparent that the societal change agent we interviewed started out with a strong sense of urgency regarding a particular issue: violence and abuse among school children and youth. The engagement with this issue later evolved into a focus on developing better strategies for preventing and managing honour-related violence towards immigrant youth and adults. Our interviewee describes her own propensity to even think about underlying causal mechanisms as very weak in the beginning. She and her colleagues didn't reflect very much about the complex causes and conditions behind youth violence, but rather started to initiate meetings and initiatives without having a very clear understanding of the problem complex. However, she could describe three key experiences where she was exposed to

systemic explanatory frameworks relating to different types of violence as well as to the resistance among stakeholders to engage the issue. These experiences had a profound impact on her meaning-making, in the sense that she felt that new levels of understanding of the underlying logic behind the problematic phenomena opened up for her. The new insights lead to experimenting with other kinds of action strategies as well as redefining goals in accordance with what she now felt was more important to strive for. In this particular case, it seems reasonable to see the change agent's basic openness to learn from experience and her receptiveness to explanatory frameworks as the key factor in developing a more comprehensive and sophisticated strategy for societal change agency.

In the beginning of our project, the project leader had a more static perspective on the role of meaning-making structures for variations in societal change agency, focussing on the relationship between the level of complexity awareness on the one hand, and the type of action strategies on the other hand. But it seems that complexity awareness may rather be the consequence of an openness to learning, than an independent variable explaining variations in goal construction and action strategies.

## Conclusion

Reviewing our learning over the last seven years, we feel that we have only begun to explore a number of arguably very important issues. The potential for further and more systematic research in this field seems very large indeed. We believe we could benefit from a better understanding of how people participating in efforts to address complex issues differ from one another in their needs for scaffolding, as well as how facilitators can be effective when working with groups where participants have very different scaffolding needs. A better understanding of what functions various change methods actually serve might give us more clarity about the differences and similarities among methods, techniques and more general approaches and thus allow us to choose and adapt scaffolding elements more skillfully. In the course of our explorations, we have come to respect the difficulties involved in facilitating group processes. Not much empirical research seems to have been done on actual moment-to-moment facilitation of groups working on complex issues (one example is Papamichail et al., 2007). We do hope to see more of such research in the future.

Regarding individual change agency, there is a lot to explore about the roles complexity awareness and perspective awareness play when engaging complex issues and visions. We have little to say so far about the question of to what extent individual skills necessary for change agency in complex processes can be acquired by anyone interested in the task, and what kind of scaffolding is effective in supporting such skill development. The typology of four types of societal entrepreneurship presented here should be regarded as tentative, and further empirical studies will show whether the distinctions are fruitful for understanding the diversity and learning trajectories of societal change agents.

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# The Dynamics of Marriage Law and Custom in the United States

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**Abstract:** This article examines changes in marriage laws and related cultural norms and values in the United States across the last several decades, and discusses correlating worldview shifts. It appears that the “traditional” worldview produced earlier laws, cultural norms and values, and changes to these have corresponded with a cultural worldview shift, first into “modernism” and then towards “postmodernism.” The implications of these worldview shifts for ongoing change to marriage law and custom are also analyzed.

**Keywords:** Cultural lines of development, feminism, gay marriage, integral, law, marriage custom, marriage worldview, modernist, postmodern, teen pregnancy, traditional, worldview paradigm.

## Introduction

Over the last several decades, marriage laws and customs within the United States have changed dramatically. For example, not long ago, it was relatively common for females to marry in their mid-teen years (Moss, 1964).<sup>2</sup> Now, most states do not allow couples to marry without parental consent until both are at least eighteen (USLegal, 2012). Additionally, only a couple of decades ago, it was both common and socially acceptable for males in their twenties to date females who were between 16 and 18 years of age. Now, statutory rape laws in several states make it possible for a man as young as 18 to be prosecuted for having consensual sexual relations with his girlfriend if she is less than 18, with penalties being harsher if she is more than two years his junior.<sup>3</sup> At the same time, “dating” as a form of courtship for young people, has

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<sup>2</sup> Also, although prior to the 1950s the average age that females married was older, my own grandmother and great-grandmother were both married at the age of 16. In the 1950s, teenage marriage numbers spiked. Although the numbers soon lowered again, as late as the 1970s I knew of several girls between 15 and 17 years old who were getting married. In the rural area where I grew up, this was still an accepted practice at that time.

<sup>3</sup> For most states, the statutory “age of consent” falls between 16 and 18, but laws vary state to state. For example, in both California and Mississippi, it is against the law for any person who is 18 or older to have



begun to disappear. Today, both males and females in the U.S. are more likely to have casual sexual relationships, with partners close to their own age and without an intent for commitment, well into their twenties (Wilson, 2009). Because women tend to marry men who are older than them, and because males have, in the history of the U.S., been more likely than females to wait until their mid to late twenties to marry for the first time, these new dating norms may have helped to push the average age at time of first marriage higher for American women.<sup>4</sup> Not long ago, many young women encountered family and social pressure to marry young. Now, teenage marriage is largely seen as scandalous and damaging to youths, particularly to young women.<sup>5</sup>

In addition to these age-related changes, the legal structure of marriage has changed as well. Over the last several decades, as the nation's cultural attitudes have shifted, marriage laws that had once perpetuated a male-over-female hierarchy were re-written to give women rights more comparable to those enjoyed by their husbands. Marriage laws were also changed to make it easier for couples to seek divorce.<sup>6</sup> In the meantime, part of the dialectic force behind these changes may have helped to bring about a partial cultural rejection of marriage itself. That is, during the mid-twentieth century, many feminist writers demonized the institution of marriage as being inherently demeaning to women (for examples, see Firestone, 1970 and Dworkin, 2002). With so many cultural and legal forces in play, the direct impact of this dialogue is impossible to

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sexual contact with anyone who is not yet 18. However, in California, the crime may be reduced to misdemeanor status if the distance in age is less than three years, yet in Mississippi, age difference does not matter. Similarly, in Connecticut, a person can be charged with a felony for having sexual contact with someone who is less than 16 years old only if the offender is more than two years older than the victim. Yet in Kansas, where the age of consent for sexual conduct is also 16, distance of age does not matter. Although most state's laws refer to "any person" rather than "any male" over 18 who has sexual relations with a younger person as being guilty of committing a crime, the U.S. Supreme Court, in *Michael M v Superior Court*, 450 U.S. 464, 1981, upheld the Constitutionality of state laws which hold stricter rules for males than females, on the grounds that females can get pregnant while males cannot. See Richard Posner and Katharine Silbaugh, *A guide to America's sex laws*, 1996.

<sup>4</sup> The average age of first marriage has not changed much across the last century for males. In 1890, the average age at first marriage for males was 26. This number declined slowly in the early twentieth century, to reach an all-time low in the 1950s and 1960s of an average age just shy of 23. By 1990, it was back up to 26, and today stands at 28. For women, the average age at first marriage, in 1890, was 22. This number declined slowly in the early twentieth century, to reach an all-time low in the 1950s and 1960s of an average age just over 20. By 1980, it was back up to 22, and has steadily risen since. Today the average age for women at first marriage is 26. Tables may be viewed online at the "Info Please" database compiled by Pearson Education, 2011. Also see National Public Radio's (NPR) online chart titled "Marriage in the U.S.," 2011.

<sup>5</sup> Recall the scandal, played out in the media, over the fundamentalist Mormon families that were taken into state custody in Texas in 2008. It was not only the notion of polygamy that appalled people, but the worry that some of the wives might be "underage." In fact, this concern was touted as why Texas placed some of the children and young women into state custody. See R. Owens, "Polygamist sect marks first anniversary of Texas ranch raid," 2009.

<sup>6</sup> For discussion of divorce law prior to and during the mid-twentieth century, see Weitzman, "Women and children last: The social and economic consequences of divorce law reforms," 1988, and Okin, *Justice, gender, and the family*, 1989. A discussion of the Family Law Act of 1996 and contemporary divorce law can be found in Douglas et al, "Safeguarding children's welfare in non-contentious divorce: Towards a new conception of the legal process?" 2000. See also Baer, *Women in American law: The struggle toward equality from the New Deal to the present*, 2002.

measure. Nonetheless, a general attitudinal change is evident. A few decades ago in the U.S., marriage was culturally exalted by both men and women of all ages.<sup>7</sup> Today it enjoys far less social prestige. A growing percentage of heterosexual couples cohabit before or instead of getting married, and since the 1950s, the rate of divorce has increased almost steadily, while the likelihood that women will remarry has declined (Bramlett & Mosher, 2002). Meanwhile, a majority of U.S. women still become mothers.<sup>8</sup> This has increased the number of single-parent families and contributed to what economists call the “feminization of poverty” (Pearce, 1978) – the fact that most poor, single-parent families are headed by never-married or divorced women has left them with less social power and economic security than they might have otherwise enjoyed.

At the same time, however, the increasing numbers of unmarried men and women helped to drive a further cultural shift as society as a whole began to respond to this new social phenomenon with greater awareness of and toleration for, lifestyles that had once been shunned. Single mothers, for example, are no longer cut off from social power simply because they are single. Cultural and legal acceptance of marriages that do not conform to old social restrictions have also expanded. For example, in the U.S. today, the idea that a couple could be denied the right to marry simply because they are not both of the same race seems unthinkable to most people.<sup>9</sup> And, while it is still against the law in most states for gay couples to marry, acceptance of homosexuality and gay rights in general has broadened (Brewer, 2003; Brumbaugh, 2008). Now, all states grant gay couples domestic partnership rights, and an increasing number of states allow them to legally marry.

These many rapid shifts in predominant cultural values and in marriage law have resulted in worldview clashes, individual confusions, and political fireworks as pressure mounts to either further or reverse the changes. In an attempt to facilitate improved understanding of these dynamics, I will discuss what I refer to as the three predominant worldview paradigms evident in the United States today. Using a holistic approach, I weave together findings from other scholars’ empirical research, various philosophical and theoretical ideas, including my own, and meta-ethics concepts.<sup>10</sup> I then distill some of these ideas into simple charts, which can, hopefully,

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<sup>7</sup> For example, in the mid-1950s, less than 10 percent of American’s believed that a single person could be happy. See Stephanie Coontz, *The way we never were: American families and the nostalgia trap*, 1992.

<sup>8</sup> For example, a 2005 vital statistics study found that only 42 percent of women ages 15 to 44 were childless, and the majority of those considered themselves to be “temporarily childless,” that is, they planned to have one or more children in the future. See Chandra et al, “Fertility, family planning, and reproductive health of U.S. women: Data from the 2002 National Survey of Family Growth,” 2005. In addition, during the last two decades of the twentieth century, while the birthrate among teens of color dropped, the birthrate among white, single, middle-class women increased. In 1990 more than 170,000 single women older than 30 gave birth. See Bock, “Doing the right thing? Single mothers by choice and the struggle for legitimacy,” 2000. Finally, in the last decade, births to unmarried teens have remained close to constant, while births to unmarried women twenty and older have continued to steadily rise. In 2007, nearly four in ten births in the U.S. were to unmarried women. See Ventura, “Changing patterns of nonmarital childbearing in the United States,” 2009.

<sup>9</sup> For example, in a 2001 survey, biracial couples reported widespread tolerance and even acceptance of their relationships. See Fears and Deane, “Biracial couples report tolerance: Survey finds most are accepted by families,” 2001.

<sup>10</sup> For a definition of and operational concepts for “meta-ethics” see Ting-Toomey and Chung (2005).

allow for better understanding of how some integral theorists' concepts and meta-ethics concepts intersect with what feminist theorists have claimed, what political scientists have empirically measured and what anecdotal evidence suggests. This, in turn, can open new areas of study as we are able to pinpoint areas where knowledge is lacking. It may also help political activists and policy-makers to better understand the populations they attempt to lead.

## Previous Research and Theory – Marriage

In the United States, literature about marriage has tended mostly to follow one of three threads. The first thread, forwarded in earnest by mid-twentieth century feminists (see below), argues that marriage was instituted by male-led society to coerce female sexual and caregiving behavior in ways that are desirable only to males. The second thread, forwarded by political conservatives and various religious groups, predominantly argues that marriage is a moral necessity for heterosexual couples and a societal necessity for the raising of children in stable households (see Feld et al, 2002; Wilson, 2002). The third thread, often embraced by those arguing legal cases in favor of legalizing same-sex marriage, follows the popular societal notion that marriage is a desirable “expression of romantic love,” decisions about which must be left to individual choice if citizens are to be free to pursue their own happiness in life (Murray, 2012, p. 3). Few attempts have been made to reconcile these disparate views about marriage, ask what effects they have had on American law and culture, or even ask why we have three contradictory views about marriage in the first place. Yet to do so seems vital to an understanding of the rapid changes in marriage law and custom that this article addresses. My first steps in that direction, then, will begin with a brief review of feminist literature about marriage.

Radical feminists argued that marriage was little more than a license for men to sexually abuse their wives (Brownmiller, 1975; Dworkin, 2002). Other feminists argued that “mothering,” and caregiving in general, was bad for women, and charged that the traditional mother-child relationship created and maintained male dominant societies (Chodorow, 1979; Meyers, Ed., 1997; Trebilcot, 1984). They therefore opposed the traditional husband/wife/children family unit, and encouraged women to remove themselves as far as possible from their stereotypical roles. Liberal feminists also argued that marriage and divorce law strongly favored men, and that women must be legally recognized as autonomous individuals even when married, rather than as simply under the legal jurisdiction of their husbands (Brennan & Pateman, 1979; Pateman, 1988).

Feminists also criticized the family economic unit that traditional U.S. marriage established. Marriage in the U.S., as it existed prior to relatively recent legal changes, afforded the male political and economic authority as the legal “head” of the family. In this assumed role, the male entered the political world as part of a “new economic unit,” separate from previously existing families ((Brennan & Pateman, 1979, p. 186). No equal privilege was granted to the married female. In fact, wives were expected to become economically dependent upon their husbands if the family units' finances allowed for them to do so. And, if both husband and wife had to work to support the family, the wages earned by both were usually considered to be “pooled resources” (Okin, 1989, p. 140), which were then controlled by the husband. Similarly, Judy Baer (1978) addressed male-favoritism in the market, which was supported and enhanced by laws that purported to “protect” women while actually limiting their ability to compete with

males in the workforce. According to Baer (1978; also Eisenstein, 1984), these laws limited women's public-sphere liberties without affording them any real benefits in exchange. In sum, these feminists argued that U.S. law had *coerced women into caring for others* by blocking their access to the "public sphere"<sup>11</sup> (also see Okin, 1979 and Elshtain, 1981) and, therefore, to economic independence.

More recently, feminist critique of American laws, while quieted to some degree, have nonetheless continued. For example, in spite of the legal changes that occurred during the second half of the twentieth century, most of which favored women, Baer (2002) commented that, while some important legal strides had been made, women in general were no better off now than they had been decades before. Similarly, Josephson (2005) compares feminist views about marriage to contemporary argument about same-sex marriage. She acknowledges that much has changed over the last few decades, but asks how much women have really benefitted from this change. She argues that "social change is a double-edged sword" (p. 276) because changes in marriage law and custom have both helped and hindered women. Finally, in her article which follows legal arguments in favor of marriage rights for same-sex couples, Murray (2012) reminds us that marriage has historically been used as a coercive tool and even as punishment for "the crime of seduction" (p. 5). She states that "recognizing and acknowledging marriage's disciplinary qualities" allows for "a more accurate depiction of marriage" (p. 65).

Josephson (2005) also argues that we need "extensive discussions regarding the public purposes of marriage" (p. 277). Her primary thesis, though, is about citizenship and how it is affected by the right to marry, the lack of the right to marry, or by the form and intent of marriage law. My project, on the other hand, examines the dynamic interaction between changing marriage law and changing social norms, and how these manifest within what I call shifting "worldview paradigms."

## Previous Research and Theory – Worldviews

According to contemporary research and theory, there are multiple stages of worldview development that individuals pass through (Manners and Durkin, 2001; see also Cook-Greuter, 1990 and Kegan, 1982). Clare Graves, whose work was published by Don Beck and Christopher Cowan (1996), believed that cultures followed a similar pattern of worldview change and development, although much more slowly. This would occur because, as individuals move through their own stages of development, "they find points of commonality and mutual understanding that manifest as distinct cultural structures" (Brown & Riedy, 2006, p. 5). The integral framework, as articulated by Ken Wilber through numerous books (e.g. Wilber, 1995, 1996, 2000, and 2006), indicates that development occurs in all four quadrants of human experience (Table 1). These quadrants are the "interior individual" or "intentional" quadrant (upper left), the "interior-collective" or "cultural" quadrant (lower left), the "exterior-collective" or "systems" quadrant (lower right), and the "external, singular" or "behavioral" quadrant (upper right). If Wilber is correct, an examination of development and change as it occurs within all four quadrants is essential to a holistic understanding of human interrelational dynamics. In this

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<sup>11</sup> For explanations of the "public/private split," see Arendt, *The human condition*, 1958, and Davidoff, "Regarding some 'old husbands' tales': Public and private in feminist history" 1998, p. 165.

context, clearer understanding of cultural worldview shift within the U.S is needed if we wish to understand the nation's ongoing changes to marriage law and its ever-present political dynamics.

**Table 1.** Four Quadrants of Human Experience

Interior-Individual Intentional: Thoughts, emotions, etc.	Exterior-Individual Behavioral (physical), & the biological body
Interior-Collective Cultural: customs, social mores, etc.	Exterior-Collective Social & Political Systems

Certainly, worldviews within cultures can be graphed, revealing cultural-majorities who primarily adhere to given worldviews at that particular point in time. For example, Evans (1997) challenged the “culture wars” notion (Hunter, 1992) that there were only two major worldview value-systems within the United States and that these two formed the roots of all groups' social and political values. While Evans did find evidence of two worldviews, those two could not explain all of the variance that he found in values with his extensive surveys. The introduction of a third worldview, along with an understanding that these three overlap each other and that most individuals draw from more than just one, could explain the discrepancy that he found in the data. The extensive research performed by Ray and Anderson (2000) supports this notion that a third worldview value-system exists. That there is a majority “center” group (“moderns” according to Ray and Anderson) continues to be supported by extensive research (see Fiorina, 2011), although the worldview values of this center group have thus far been difficult to pinpoint.<sup>12</sup>

According to Ray and Anderson (2000), in the 1990s, approximately 25 percent of Americans could be classified as “traditional,” 51 percent were “moderns,” and 24 percent were “cultural creatives,” herein referred to as “postmoderns” (also see McIntosh, 2007, p. 67). I refer to these three as “traditional,” “modernist” and “postmodern.” I borrow these terms from Steve McIntosh (2007). Beck and Cowan (1996) referred to these worldviews as “truth-force,” “strive-drive,” and “human-bond.”<sup>13</sup> Western political theorists know the terms for these worldview paradigms as ancient, modern and postmodern. However, “traditional” is the term used by some right-of-center politicians in the U.S. today to describe their own ideology.<sup>14</sup> It also seems to be a better descriptor than “ancient” for a set of views that in many ways parallels those of the ancient philosophers but has nonetheless developed and changed across time. For example, some “ancient” ideas, such as that slavery is both natural and morally acceptable, have been rejected. Yet other ancient ideas, such as that, within marriage, a male over female power

<sup>12</sup> Modernist values are difficult to pinpoint in much of this research because survey questions tend to gauge left-right political positions, which do not effectively measure modernist values. As the predominant worldview paradigms in the U.S. become more understood, survey questions could be developed which do a better job of measuring percentages of adherents to particular value sets and of tracking paradigmatic worldview shifts.

<sup>13</sup> In Beck and Cowan's color chart, traditional is blue (“truth-force”), modernist is orange (strive-drive) and postmodern is green (human-bond). Wilber uses amber instead of blue, but orange for modernist and green for postmodern are the same in the Wilber model.

<sup>14</sup> For example, Sarah Palin describes herself as a “traditional.” For discussion of her use of this term, see Talbot's “Red sex, blue sex,” 2008.

hierarchy is natural, biblically ordained and unavoidable, is still embraced within the traditional paradigm. Finally, the term “modernist” is borrowed from Steve McIntosh, who has written about these worldviews before, and uses the term “modernist” rather than “modern” as this helps to establish the term as distinct from “contemporary.”<sup>15</sup>

While this work by Evans (1997), Ray and Anderson (2000), and Fiorina (2011) does not cover a long enough time span to empirically measure more than a small a snapshot in time, various theoretical models have tried to map what appears to be lasting change, or development, that has occurred across time. Beck and Cowan (1996), McIntosh (2007) and White (2010), for example, have referred to a “spiral” of socio-political development. Beck and Cowan (1996) refer to the cyclical nature of the development as “life cycles,” and each new, distinct or “higher” level of development as another “vMeme” (value meme). McIntosh (2007) refers to the cyclical nature of development as one of differentiation, integration, differentiation. He refers to each new, distinct or “higher” level of development as another “worldview.” White (2010) describes a two-dimensional “crisis cycle” model, and argues that we need to add a developmental model to this in order to understand political change in America. White refers to the new levels as “higher keys” (as with musical notes). I refer to each new level as a worldview paradigm. Duckitt and Fisher (2003) define “worldviews” as individual’s “beliefs about the nature of their social environments” (p. 201). I prefer the term “worldview” because it not only is used widely in integral theory, but also has recently seen common usage in popular American political dialogue. I use the term “paradigm” for reasons explained below.

I acknowledge that use of the term “paradigm” to describe worldviews may seem odd to some researchers and theorists, particularly because the way any given individual views the world at any particular time usually encompasses more than just one of these sets of belief. Further, individuals will draw upon differing worldviews according to the location of their predominant views along the various lines of development (to be explained later in this article).<sup>16</sup> Individuals may also vary their worldviews according to situational context. For example they may hold traditional views when it comes to their own homes and families, but modernist or postmodern views when it comes to their workplaces or government. The same is also true for tendencies that we can see across cultures and sub-cultural groups. Therefore, the use of worldview paradigm models to explain differences between political groups may seem like a gross over-simplification. However, it is also true that whichever worldview one draws on to make a value-judgment about any given occurrence or interaction, the notions found within that particular worldview tend, at least for that particular situation, to be considered as universal truth rather than as debatable assumption.

Anecdotal evidence suggests that when the basic tenants of a worldview paradigm are entrenched within cultural understandings and norms, it is difficult for individuals of that culture or sub-culture to fathom the reasoning behind any other view. If this notion about worldview paradigms is correct, the paradigms function in a way that is similar to the function of “mental models” (Jones et al, 2011). In fact, worldview paradigms could help to explain how and why mental models function the way that they do, in that “people tend to filter new information

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<sup>15</sup> Explained in an email to me from McIntosh, received August 27, 2010.

<sup>16</sup> For example, an individual may express traditional views within the power distribution line of development but modernist views within the recognized authority line of development.



according to its congruence or otherwise with their existing understandings, beliefs, and values" (Jones et al, 2011). Individuals may not even realize that worldviews other than their own exist, which greatly limits their ability to understand or effectively communicate with others whose worldview paradigms are different. This produces frustration, particularly when people with conflicting values view each other as irrational or nonsensical.<sup>17</sup> When failing to recognize paradigmatic worldview differences, people may talk past one another, so that no one really hears or understands anyone else. This is why examination of a culture's predominant worldview paradigms is vital to an understanding of its shifts in law and custom and of the social and political dynamics which accompany those shifts.

## **My Own Theory of Worldview “Paradigms” and “Cultural Lines of Development”**

Loosely speaking, a paradigm may be defined as that which helps us make sense of the world around us. It is a set of general rules or guidelines that people use to interpret the world, sometimes on a subconscious or ‘automatic’ level. Thomas Kuhn (1962) used the term “paradigm” to refer to scientific understanding, but his ideas concerning the parameters of a paradigm lend well to an understanding of the function of worldviews. Kuhn tells us that when new discoveries disturb our old understandings, they cause a sort of chaos in the accepted paradigmatic frames. If the new discoveries cause too much chaos, that is, if they are too “far out” to be accepted by the larger culture of the time, they will be buried and forgotten. But if those discoveries are accurate, eventually they will be rediscovered. This means that, sooner or later, the paradigm engulfing the larger scientific community will fracture and expand into a larger one that allows for the reality of the previously shunned discoveries. This is how science, and our understanding of the physical world we live in, expands over time.

I posit that, similarly, the worldviews that construct the values which are at the very core of how we interpret, judge and interact with the vast world of information and life all around us (see Beck and Cowan, 1996; McIntosh, 2007; Wilber, 1996) are paradigmatic. Cultural worldviews within a given populace can shift, as they have done over the last few decades in the United States. As long as the older views are predominant, newer ways of seeing things will be suppressed. However, once a large enough section of the populace has begun to embrace the new ideas and values, laws and norms will begin to change (Williams, 1997). This, in turn, invites a push-back from those holding the old value sets, which creates a sort of chaos in the political system and in social networks. Eventually acceptance expands and the new worldviews become part of the overall norm. This would explain how societies change, and become more inclusive, over time.

Some theorists claim that worldviews develop and spread sequentially (Beck & Cowan, 1996; Brown & Riedy, 2006; McIntosh, 2007; Wilber, 1996). I argue that, at least within the

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<sup>17</sup> That people with differing worldview paradigms may see each other's actions or ideas as nonsensical is evident in current American politics. For example, Mitt Romney said that Obama's plan to withdraw troops from Afghanistan "makes... no sense" (Boxer, 2012), Donald Trump said that Obama's speech about Libya made "no sense" (Reisner, 2011), and Obama said that the Republican blocking of his Cordray nomination made "no sense" (Brower and Runningen, 2011).

U.S., this certainly appears to have been true. When the United States was first established, most of the culture was centered in the traditional paradigm,<sup>18</sup> even though the founding fathers themselves promoted various elements of the modernist paradigm through their written ideas and in the Constitution they created. These modernist ideas had been gleaned from 17th and 18th century philosophers such as John Locke and Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and were written into the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States (see Locke, 1689/1993 and Rousseau, 1782/1998). Nonetheless, we did not see majority cultural embrace of the modernist paradigm within the United States of America until the twentieth century.<sup>19</sup> Finally, although tiny beginnings of the postmodern worldview paradigm began to appear before the modernist worldview took center stage in this country, it did not enjoy significant cultural expression until the 1960s (Wilber, 1995, 1996).

Theorists also stress that the developmental change of worldview paradigms is not rigid or exactly linear (see Wilber, 2006; McIntosh, 2007). Instead, it is fluid, more like waves than straight lines (Wilber, 2006), particularly as views and sentiments shift back and forth with various social and political stressors, such as emergencies and perceived threats. Also, the elements of a given worldview paradigm change as they bridge across to new worldview paradigms unfolding within the culture. These changing elements are called “lines of development” (Esbjörn-Hargens, 2009; Wilber, 1995, 1996) because they exhibit growth and change across time which, on average, tends to be in a particular direction. I prefer to use this “lines” of development terminology rather than the term “domains” of development as is often used in academic literature about child development. This is because I believe “lines” is a better descriptor for what I am attempting to explain. Anna Freud (1966–1980) used the term “lines of development” to describe six areas of developmental progression that occur from infancy to adulthood. These lines occur within, and thread through, the cognitive and social/emotional developmental domains. Similarly, worldview developmental lines occur within, and thread through, worldview domains, such as political ideology, sustainability awareness, and so forth. I borrow the worldview descriptions from other writers, as I have shown. Charting these lines, and explaining their political attributes and some of their social manifestations, is my unique contribution to this field. Charting them allows for clarity and, perhaps more importantly, allows us to determine their healthy and unhealthy attributes and manifestations, as I will explain later.

A culture’s average paradigmatic worldview across multiple developmental lines can be called its “center of gravity.”<sup>20</sup> Although individual viewpoints vary widely across issues, I nonetheless argue that, currently, the majority of Americans can be classified as cultural “modernists,” and the current paradigmatic worldview “center of gravity” for the U.S. is also “modernist.” I reach

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<sup>18</sup> This is why, for example, the founding fathers were unable to abolish slavery, which was still accepted within the traditional paradigm at that time.

<sup>19</sup> Among other things, the abolition of slavery and subsequent push for equal rights for blacks, the industrial revolution, women’s enfranchisement, increased educational levels, and the ever-expanding influence of technology in the lives of common people combined over time to increase the embrace of the modernist paradigm.

<sup>20</sup> An individual’s “center of gravity,” as coined by Wilber, is the average level of attainment across identifiable developmental lines. Cultures also have developmental “centers of gravity,” as can be identified by majority worldviews held across multiple lines of cultural development (Wilber, *Sex, ecology, spirituality*, 1995).

this conclusion by identifying some of the theorist-described elements of the modernist paradigm within the majority's dialectical frames and cultural narratives, as demonstrated below. However, even an individual who can be classified as a cultural modernist is likely to also have some views and values that are either traditional or postmodern, as the views of few individuals today are completely grounded in only one worldview paradigm.

### **The Developmental Lines**

Because both cultures and individuals have multiple lines of development, they are likely to be at different stages on different lines simultaneously. Also, in spite of seemingly closed-system, paradigm-like qualities, no worldview value-system stands alone or untouched by others, particularly in the contemporary United States with its wide cultural diversity. Therefore, a group whose worldview center of gravity is modernist may nonetheless espouse collective traditional or postmodern views on some topics. This phenomenon is additionally complicated by the fact that cultural worldview paradigms are constantly, if slowly, shifting.<sup>21</sup> However, it is possible to make some sense of this complication. Making use of well-established theoretical descriptions of each of the aforementioned worldviews (see, for example, Beck and Cowan, 1996; Esbjörn-Hargens, 2009; McIntosh, 2007; and Wilber, multiple publications), I identify five lines of cultural worldview development. I have labeled these five lines of development the “social receptivity” line, the “power distribution” line, the “religious/spirituality” line, the “recognized authority” line and the “science/discovery” line. For simplicity's sake, I discuss only five lines of cultural worldview development as they appear across the three worldview paradigms predominant within the United States today. These explanations are not intended to stereotype individuals or groups, but rather to explain how worldview paradigms align with and complicate socio-political movements, cultural norms and individual perception of each. The labels of the lines are mine, and are intended only to be simplistic descriptors of the types of change that we see across time within each line.

Once the defining elements of these lines, as they bridge across the three worldviews, are demarcated, they can be traced within populations by noticing expressed and implied perceptions of reality, notions concerning how government should work, and views about how we should live. This exercise can do much to explain the identifiable changes in law and cultural attitude about marriage that have appeared as the nation's worldview center of gravity has shifted, as well as the ensuing cultural clashes and individual confusions. For example, using this nuanced understanding of paradigmatic worldview perception, we can see that it was the traditional worldview paradigm that produced earlier marriage and dating norms and laws, and the changes over the last century have corresponded with a cultural worldview shift, first into the modernist paradigm, and then towards postmodernism. Cultural strongholds of traditionalism still exist in the U.S., at somewhere between 20 and 35 percent of the population.<sup>22</sup> This is likely why there is

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<sup>21</sup> Paradigmatic shifts in the population are difficult to demonstrate empirically, in part because change occurs relatively slowly, and in part due to a lack of survey data utilizing questions which could accurately measure these. Nonetheless, we can observe gradual, long term trends, as discussed throughout this paper.

<sup>22</sup> For example, religious fundamentalism and biblical literalism, hallmarks of traditionalism (religious-spirituality line of development) remained constant from 1996 to 2000 at approximately 22 or 23 percent of the U.S. population. Surveys in 2004 and 2005 place this number somewhere between 20 and 37

always political push-back against so-called “progressive” or “liberal” ideals which are mostly forwarded by postmoderns. Although a relatively small percentage of the population,<sup>23</sup> it is predominantly postmoderns who forward and embrace the newest laws and norms, such as legal acceptance of gay marriage and cultural acceptance of the gay lifestyle.

Note that when I refer to the “tendencies” of any worldview group, it is not my intent to stereotype the group or to suggest that all “postmoderns,” for example, would follow those tendencies. The generalizations are intended to broadly describe the worldviews in keeping with the way that other theorists have described them, and to simplify understanding of each worldview paradigm. I acknowledge that actual views of individuals vary widely. But it is also helpful to understand that when, for example, a self-described “modernist” disagrees with a particular description of a “modernist” paradigmatic view, what this actually means is that the individual does not actually hold what is the most common “modernist” view on the subject in question. It may be that the individual has some variation of the modernist view, or may instead mean that the individual actually holds a traditional or postmodern view on that particular subject.

### **The Social Receptivity Line of Development**

Scrutiny of the “social receptivity” line of development reveals that the traditional paradigm is communal, but the focus of that communalism tends to be relatively small. Care for one’s family and one’s neighbor is of paramount importance, but full acceptance of others tends to be limited to one’s own family and neighbors, or to the members of one’s church or religious community. Loving families and peaceful neighborhoods are healthy expressions of traditionalism. Unfortunately, the same social norms which ensure the functional mechanisms of these families and neighborhoods can have unintentional side-effects, such as ethnocentrism, intolerance, and racism. This is partly because traditionalist groups tend to use the threat of being humiliated, shunned or ostracized as coercion to ensure that most individuals within the culture will follow the accepted set of rules and norms. Once this threat is imbedded within a culture, individuals born into the culture may fear being perceived as different or, as they mature into adulthood, as failing to completely and properly assimilate with the culture. These fears are then projected onto to others, and become the basis for gossip, shunning, and even violence against

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percent, depending on how questions are phrased and how combined question results are interpreted (see Alwin, et al, “Measuring religious identities in surveys,” 2006, and Hoffmann and Bartkowski, “Gender, religious tradition and biblical literalism,” 2008). Also, a percentage of people who tend to be largely intolerant of people perceived to be very different from themselves has remained fairly constant for awhile at between 25 and 33 percent (traditionalism, social receptivity line of development). See Schafer and Shaw, “Trends: Tolerance in the United States,” 2009.

<sup>23</sup> In 2010 and 2011, between 18 and 22 percent of Americans considered themselves to be either “liberal” or “progressive,” political values which somewhat align with postmodernism (see “Doing what works survey,” 2010, and “CNN/Opinion research corporation poll,” 2011, both retrieved from the Roper Center for Public Opinion Research’s ipoll databank). However, these numbers may be slightly depressed due to the negative connotations that have been attached to these terms in recent decades. Interestingly, in 2008, 24 percent of Americans said that they would be more likely to vote for a presidential candidate who celebrates the wide diversity of Americans than one who celebrates the shared values of Americans. This also is likely a reflection of postmodern values (social receptivity line). See “FOX News/Opinion dynamics poll,” 2008, retrieved from the Roper Center for Public Opinion Research’s ipoll databank.

anyone labeled as “different.” Concepts of “good” versus “bad” behaviors can evolve into perception of an “us” versus “them” conflict. “We” are the ones who adhere to particular social expectations, and “they” are the ones who do not. To make matters worse, expectations concerning physical appearances can be tangled into the mix, such that those who look “like us,” have the same skin color as “us,” dress “like us,” or wear their hair the way “we” do are seen as “good,” and those who are different in some way are labeled as “bad.”

We can also see this ethnocentrism in the “us against them” attitude that surfaces any time resources appear to be scarce. For example, when employment opportunities in the U.S. appear to be scarce, traditionalists tend to blame recent immigrants, especially illegal immigrants, because these “others” are easily perceived as “not us” and therefore in competition against “us” for the limited resources. Another example of cultural ethnocentrism’s response to perceived scarcity is the hoarding of rights by power-elite groups. This occurs because of a perceived scarcity of rights, which is in part created by a belief in “natural and necessary”<sup>24</sup> hierarchy. This notion of “natural and necessary” hierarchy occurs within the “power distribution” line of development at the traditionalism juncture. The result is that those traditionalists who are at the powerful top of a legal or social hierarchy tend to believe that the granting of rights to other groups must mean the taking of rights from the currently powerful, because they believe that no two groups can ever really equally coexist.<sup>25</sup> This reinforces the “us against them” attitude so often seen in the “social receptivity” line of development at the traditionalism stage (Table 2). Fortunately, these tendencies lessen as later worldview paradigms emerge. Also, such problems do not *necessarily* manifest within traditionalism. Rather, these are unhealthy aspects which have a potential to manifest, and which, unfortunately, often do.

**Table 2.** Social receptivity line of development – Traditional paradigm juncture

	<b>Healthy aspects</b>	<b>Possible unhealthy manifestations</b>
Family	Individuals are attentive to family members; family relations are considered a priority over other aspects of life.	Individuals within family may be controlling of one another. For women, relationships and goals or work beyond caring for family may be denied.
Community	Individuals are taught to be strongly community oriented and to care about their neighbors.	One's own community or group may be considered to be superior to others, causing racism and ethnocentrism.
Socialization	Norms and expectations taught to children include items intended to ensure family and community well-being: honesty, trust, kindness, care-giving, sharing, respect, etc.	Those who do not adhere to expected roles may be branded as evil and ostracized. Possible phobia of those who are “different,” such as homophobia.

<sup>24</sup> This notion of natural and necessary hierarchy was perhaps first documented in Aristotle’s Politics.

<sup>25</sup> I discuss this concept more fully under the “Power distribution line of development,” section of this article.

The modernist paradigm, on the other hand, tends to forward toleration as a social good or patriotic duty within democratic societies which are multicultural, multiracial and multi-religious. Toleration for difference is emphasized, but to varying degrees according to one's distance from traditionalism. Whereas traditionalism tends to shun differences rather than to accept them, modernism sees its toleration as a reason for pride. In fact, some modernist philosophy stakes out toleration as the only basis for peace and democracy (for example, see Rawls, 1971 and Popper, 1945).

The modernist paradigm is also highly individualistically focused (Table 3). This seems to explain why one argument that feminism has had with traditionalism is that, in the name of "taking care of the family," women could be coerced into forsaking their own goals and individuality. The difficulty for women was that they were the expected caretakers of their children and of the home (Baer, 1999), and this role, coupled with their exclusion from the public realm, placed them largely into dependency upon males and left them unable to pursue *meaningful choices of their own*.

**Table 3.** Social receptivity line of development – Modernist paradigm juncture

	<b>Healthy aspects</b>	<b>Possible unhealthy manifestations</b>
Family	Individuality of all family members is respected. All individuals are allowed to seek their own goals and happiness.	Hyper-individualism can manifest, wherein family and close ties are forsaken as being "too much responsibility"
Community	Democratic and tolerant of differences.	Common good can be forgotten in the pursuit of personal desires.
Socialization	Personal strength and care of oneself is emphasized. Children are taught to believe in and stand up for themselves, and to seek out the realization of their own dreams and goals.	Traditionalism's integrity, trust and honesty can be lost if individuals are taught to always "look out for number one" and to be wary of the motives of others.

Postmodernism, on the other hand, brings a return to communalism, but as large-group, or global, communalism (Beck & Cowan, 1996; McIntosh, 2007). A shift into the postmodern paradigm means that individualism can be once again dampened, this time in deference to a greater common good. For example, in the U.S., postmodern liberals and progressives, likely because they tend to think in global terms, tend to favor governmental regulation of business which can guarantee consumer safety and the preservation of the natural environment. For the same reason, they tend to believe in universal healthcare and free higher education for all. They also tend to be concerned with the well-being of individuals all around the globe (for example, see Lakoff, 2002).

Postmoderns in the U.S. also tend to push for *group* rights beyond what modernists are generally ready to extend (Table 4). For example, “Affirmative Action”<sup>26</sup> is a postmodern concept, in that it seeks to promote the well-being of minority groups, which is also why modernists tend to dislike it. People whose values are centered in the modernist paradigm tend, instead, to see “Affirmative Action” as an affront to *individual* effort and merit. Further, toleration, as it is usually defined, is fairly unique to the modernist paradigm. Individuals embracing the postmodern paradigm can be offended by the notion of “toleration,”<sup>27</sup> as it suggests that something or someone is not liked, but nonetheless must be “put up with.” Postmodernism instead tends to embrace diversity as a universal good and much needed commodity (Beck & Cowan, 1999; McIntosh, 2007). It is also from postmodernism that we get “politically correct” language, which is encouraged so as to avoid demeaning other individuals and groups.

**Table 4.** Social receptivity line of development – Postmodern paradigm juncture

	<b>Healthy aspects</b>	<b>Possible unhealthy manifestations</b>
Family	Embracing of the “global village” concept, postmoderns seek to eradicate poverty, world hunger and discrimination against all groups worldwide.	Can unintentionally suppress individual drive. Postmodernists can also sometimes forget to take care of those closest to themselves or may engage in extreme self-sacrifice.
Community	Embracing of diversity as a social good. There is a tendency to revel in individual and group differences as life-enriching.	Can be <i>extremely</i> relativistic, refusing to <i>evaluate</i> customs, behaviors or claims.
Socialization	Children are taught to be accepting and embracing of others regardless of differences. Sharing, giving, and care-giving are once again emphasized.	The modernist paradigm’s individualism can be lost if <i>too</i> much emphasis is again placed on communal efforts.

### The Power Distribution Line of Development

The power distribution line of development at the traditional juncture reveals an interesting phenomenon. Here there is a strong although arguably false perception that there is among humans a *scarcity of rights*, which manifests repeatedly throughout American history. For example, when women were struggling to gain the right to vote, a common fear-based argument emphasized by some men was that if women gained the right to vote, men would lose their political power. John Adams told his wife Abigail that women should not have the right to vote because if they did, men would be subject to “the despotism of the petticoat.”<sup>28</sup> In other words, if

<sup>26</sup> “Affirmative action” refers to deliberate attempts to increase the representation of minorities in employment, education, and business (see the *Stanford encyclopedia of philosophy*, 2009).

<sup>27</sup> See discussion of types of toleration in Walzer’s *On toleration*, 1997.

<sup>28</sup> John Adams said this in spite of being marginally tolerant of his wife’s feminist views. See his letter to Abigail, dated March 31, 1776.

women were allowed to vote, they would end up with total rule over men. This suggests a notion that it is impossible for men and women to have equal political power. Adams appears to have assumed that either men could have political power or women could, but that both could not have it at the same time. Similarly, white men historically argued that blacks should not be given rights equal to their own because, given some measure of political power, blacks would “take over the country.”<sup>29</sup> Heterosexuals have likewise been guilty of arguing that if homosexuals are given the right to legally marry, heterosexual married couples will somehow lose their own political and social power.<sup>30</sup>

This notion of a scarcity of rights permeates much of American society, often appearing as an argument for why rights should not be extended to groups who have not previously had them. Yet no reason exists why basic “inalienable” rights must be rationed across groups. The notion is inextricably bound to the hierarchical structures of social and political power found within the traditional paradigm. For example, according to Hobbes (1660/2011), hierarchies arose as a response to widespread violence, as well as to aid man’s opposition to nature as he struggled to survive. Hobbes argued that groups of people would choose one person to rule them, because of a belief that this person could ensure the safety of the entire group. According to this Hobbesian theory, men, for this reason, were willing to swear fealty to their kings. Although the accuracy of Hobbes’ descriptions of early human existence are debatable, his tale of people desperately seeking a king to rule over them and protect them is echoed in the Old Testament of the Bible, and is also seen in similar explanations of hierarchical societal organizations explained by both Aristotle and Plato. Embedded within all of these stories is an assumption that hierarchy is both natural and *necessary for the survival of mankind*.

In medieval Europe, hierarchies could be seen everywhere within social and political structures. Kings were over lords, lord were over commoners. Clergy typically held high political positions in addition to being the religious leaders. Men always held higher station than women. Skilled craftsmen held higher station than farmers, land owners held higher station than tenants. Those who were wealthy held higher station than those who were poor. For much of human history, these power hierarchies have been extreme, such that there were kings and lords who held most of the power, but also slaves and drudges who lacked any personal power at all. Kingdoms and other hierarchical socio-political structures could be found across as much of world as was known by the writers of history, for thousands of years. It is not surprising, then, to find within the traditional paradigmatic worldview a notion that hierarchy is unavoidable.

Today, however, many of the old forms of power hierarchies have collapsed, and more are starting to break down. Although a number of totalitarian governments still exist, legal slavery has been abolished almost everywhere in the world. Even the Indian caste system is at long last

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<sup>29</sup> I heard this one from my own family, and have much more recently heard it said as a “reason” why a Black man should not become president of the United States. For an example, see the video “Misconceptions of Obama fuel Republican campaign,” online at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zRqcfqiXCX0> (accessed 8-12-2011).

<sup>30</sup> Homosexuals and their advocates argue that marriage is a basic human right that should not be denied to anyone. One of the counter arguments from the Christian right has been that gay marriage impinges on the rights of heterosexuals. For example, this is the primary argument used by The National Campaign to Protect Marriage (NCPM). See NCPM “Colorado for family values,” 1996.



beginning to erode.<sup>31</sup> Nonetheless, power hierarchies continue to exist, and as long as they do, there will always be those who enjoy more power, and thus more rights, than others. This is why these hierarchical power structures come with a notion that, no matter what happens, someone will always be on “top” and someone else will always be on “bottom.” This promotes the notion that there is a scarcity of rights, that the number of people who can have any given set of rights at any given time is somehow limited. Whoever is struggling for rights understandably points a finger of accusation at whoever already enjoys those rights, but the real culprit is this notion of scarcity of rights, because so long as this notion exists, any group that has rights will have members who resist expanding the scope of those rights to others. This is because they do not see it as an expansion, they see it as a shift of a finite number of rights from themselves to some other group.

We can see a weaker form of power hierarchy within the traditional family structure. Within the traditional paradigm, men are designated as the heads-of-households, the family breadwinners, and the religious leaders. Women are designated as wives, mothers, and the primary caregivers of children, the elderly and the infirmed. Further, patriarchal religions tend to define women as the “weaker vessels”<sup>32</sup> who must look to their husbands and fathers for protection and support. The same structure defines many traditional households across America. Children are expected to “honor and obey” their parents, wives are expected to “honor and obey” their husbands.<sup>33</sup> Husbands, in turn, must accept responsibility as head of the household, and as such must make sure that the family's basic needs are met, or in other words, he must financially support them.

Feminists for several decades have charged that this patriarchal family structure promoted family violence and was unfair to women (for examples, see Firestone, 1970 and Dworkin, 2002). However, in its healthiest form, this structure is not as much about power as it is about function. Husbands financially take care of their wives, who are seen as the most logical caregivers for the children, but the wives are loved, honored and respected. Also, in these arrangements, women usually have the last word of authority when it comes to decisions about the children, and also often about the household in general. In its unhealthy form, though, there can be a manifestation of possessiveness instead of love, and a desire for control instead of honor and respect. Coupled with poor emotional control, this becomes the catalyst for family violence, and men, being at the top of the household hierarchy, are statistically most often the culprits (NCADV, 2007). Nonetheless, patriarchy itself is more to blame for the oppression many women have suffered under this hierarchal structure than the men are to blame simply for being at the top of it. This patriarchal structure is no longer useful in most family situations today. But it served a purpose during a time of human history when hierarchical structures were the only

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<sup>31</sup> The caste system has been outlawed in India. However, because of long embedded social norms, many elements of it continue to survive throughout that nation. See Bayly, *Caste, society and politics in India from the eighteenth century to the modern age*, 1999.

<sup>32</sup> For example, the Amish religion defines women as the “weaker vessels” who look to their husbands and fathers for protection and support. See documentary by Lucy Walker, 2002.

<sup>33</sup> Many people interpret the admonition in the Ten Commandments that children should “honor” their parents to also mean that they should obey them. The idea that wives should obey their husbands, which is still used by some Christians in their wedding vows, comes mostly from an interpretation of Ephesians 5, which has been translated to read, “Let women be subject to their husbands, as to the Lord.”

available or understood structures of social and political organization. Further, in their healthiest form, these structures were functional, ensuring that women, who spent many years of their adult lives pregnant, nursing and otherwise tending to young children, had husbands who believed it was their duty to protect them and to provide sustenance for them.

On the other hand, modernism as it manifests within the capitalistic and democratic republic of the United States grants power and social prestige to those who manage to become financially successful. Perhaps because of the challenges pioneers in the American frontier faced, so-called “rugged individualism” is also highly valued.<sup>34</sup> This is the notion that all individuals can and should take care of themselves, without requiring aid or assistance from others. It also forwards a notion that everyone is capable of “success,” but that it takes individual will and action to accomplish it. Because the United States has a capitalistic economy, success tends to be measured by financial wealth. This is where we find political “internalism.”<sup>35</sup> That is, when an individual fails to accomplish economic success, modernist groups tend to accuse that individual of laziness or of failing to take ample advantage of available opportunities. Those who are seen as deserving are rewarded with higher incomes than those who are not so perceived, and those with higher incomes are awarded greater social respect and political power than those who earn less. As a result, escape from poverty is difficult but at least theoretically not impossible, and all individuals, male and female, young and old, are judged, at least to some degree, according to how much financial wealth each has managed to accumulate. And, this “rugged individualism,” coupled with a correlation between attainment of wealth and social prestige, appears to be directly responsible for the fact that traditional interdependent marriage relationships could not well survive beyond modernism’s breakdown of the sexual division of roles predominant in traditional households. A brief look at what happens when traditional sex roles run afoul of modernist demands explains this phenomenon.

Sexual division of roles necessitates interdependence. For example, in the mid-twentieth century, the husband in a traditional, middle-class American household was responsible for ensuring his family’s financial security. His wife, who was either not employed outside of the home or only worked part-time at a relatively low-paying job, necessarily depended on him for all or most of her financial resources. At the same time though, he depended on her for a number of other necessities. She kept their shared home clean and organized, cooked their meals, and was the primary care-giver for their children and perhaps even for aging parents. Depending on the decade and their level of wealth, she might also be responsible for making or obtaining, and repairing or replacing their clothing and other needed household items. The traditional woman generally is also responsible for caring for any ill or disabled members of the family, including her husband should illness or disability occur. Without his wife available to tend to these matters, the traditional husband would have to pay someone else to provide these necessities.

These sexual role-divisions, however, were discouraged and viewed as repressive by modernist feminism in the U.S. For example, Heidi Hartmann (1976, p. 137) declares that

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<sup>34</sup> Coined by Herbert Hoover in a campaign speech dated October 22, 1928.

<sup>35</sup> See Ken Wilber’s explanation of views concerning “internal” versus “external” causes of suffering in *Up from Eden*, 1983.

“[N]ot only must the hierarchal nature of the division of labor between the sexes be eliminated, but the very division of labor between the sexes itself must be eliminated if women are to attain equal social status with men and if women and men are to attain the full development of their human potential.”<sup>36</sup>

Further, most feminists declared that empowerment of women entails an equal-opportunity chance for women to be employed in the public sphere of work in jobs equal to the jobs men hold, and for equal pay (Herd, 2003). However, once women are equally employed outside of the home, “independent” individuals must earn enough money to pay for whatever necessary home and care labor they are unable or unwilling to perform. Full “independence” is an illusion, because the individual is then dependent upon his or her income, and a decrease in this income or an increase in expenses for whatever reason can leave the individual without needed help. Nonetheless, this illusion of independence is necessary within the “rugged individual” ideology of American-style modernism. Thus, both independence and life “success” is measured according to degree of financial attainment. The greater one’s earnings, the greater the perceived independence, because of the ability to purchase labor and care that one would otherwise have to depend on someone else to provide or would have to perform for oneself.

This social pressure for financial success applies to both men and women within the modernist worldview as it manifests within the United States. According to traditionalism, work outside of the home is only or at least primarily for men, because they must support their families as heads-of-household at the top of the family hierarchy. Partly as a result of this view, it was until recently common practice for businesses to pay women less than men. Also partly because of this view, discrimination against women in education and at work was common. This problem was made worse by the notion of scarcity of resources that tends to correlate with traditional paradigmatic views. Yet a woman suddenly taken out of her traditional role as home-laborer and caregiver or who has no marital partner must somehow provide her own financial resources, which can be extremely difficult especially if she has previously held the traditional role for an expanded time-frame. On the other hand, a man suddenly taken out of his traditional role as sole financial provider for his wife and family can simply shift his financial outlay from direct support of others to purchase of what he lacks. This can occur with little or no change to his financial lifestyle. This simple equation helps to explain the imbalance that we have seen between the financial well-being of the average single, widowed or divorced male and the financial well-being of the average single, widowed or divorced female in the United States (see Weitzman, 1988 and Okin, 1989). Worldview shift in the U.S. may have compounded this problem for many women. Nonetheless, this problem, as it manifested for a number of less-lucky traditional women, helped to produce the worldview shift in the first place. That is, traditionalism’s women are vulnerable to financial ruin should loss of spouse occur, particularly if children are involved. That this was passionately pointed out by feminists is part of what spread the cultural belief that women should be as gainfully employed as men (see Davies, 1974 and Hartmann, 1976; see also Wilson, 2007).

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<sup>36</sup> See also Dworkin, *Woman hating*, 1974, and Brownmiller, *Against our will: Men, women and rape*, 1984, both of which characterized sexual roles within traditional marriage as being oppressive to women although empowering to men.

Of course, this need to have comparable income necessitated other cultural changes. A woman who wishes to have the level of income once afforded only to men must be competitive in the job market. This necessitates that she be as educated as her male counterparts and that she begin her career pursuits as early in life as her male counterparts, because earning power, savings and credit all accumulate over time. Somewhat less obvious but equally necessary is that she not lessen her employment availability by pregnancy or the need to spend large blocks of time caring for children. These factors are at least partially responsible for modernism's changes to marriage and childbirth customs. If a woman must be highly educated and launch her career as a young adult, she must postpone marriage and child birth as long as possible. Failure to do so is a quick road to either financial dependence on her husband or at least temporary poverty (Ladd-Taylor, 1994; see also Lewis, 1991). It is no accident, then, that the median age at which young women in the U.S. marry has risen steadily over the last several decades.

Wage earning power, however, is not the sole reason for this shift. The notion of individual independence and freedom-of-choice as it applies to women also necessitates a shift away from traditionalism's male over female hierarchy. Because traditions relevant to marriage were for so long, and across so many cultures as well as the world's predominant religions, rooted in this notion of God-ordained and necessary hierarchy, men held almost all power over marital decisions, leaving young women particularly vulnerable to male infatuation and whim. Modern laws which increase the minimum marriage age protect young women from being coerced into marriage before they are culturally perceived to be adults capable of making marriage-related decisions for themselves. These laws, along with statutory "age of consent" laws are all part of modernism's attempt to level the "power-distribution" playing field between the sexes.

Meanwhile, as the modernist struggle for women's rights was heating up during the mid-twentieth century, the postmodern paradigm also began to have a cultural presence in the U.S., particularly among the then young-adult "baby-boom" generation. Postmodernism expanded the notion of equality universally. Within the postmodern paradigm, hierarchies are never allowed. There is no perceived scarcity of rights, and often no perceived scarcity of resources. Any resources which are scarce will tend to be equally rationed, because no group is seen as more deserving of or having more right to any given resource than any other group. For example, postmoderns tend to defend modern-day immigrants, legal or not, as being as equally deserving of all available rights and benefits as anyone else in the United States (for example, see ACLU, 2000). Often, postmoderns favor socialistic governmental systems and are offended by the modernist paradigm's wealth-based meritocracy.<sup>37</sup> In business and academic organizations, postmoderns may prefer decision-making committees as a replacement for top-down administrative structures. Even at the family level, postmoderns may be egalitarian, with parents often involving their children in their decision-making processes. Believing in broad equality for all, it is also the postmoderns who have led the fight for gay marital rights in America. These contrasts are summarized in Table 5.

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<sup>37</sup> For offense at the notion of wealth-based "meritocracy," see Horwitz, "The dangers of the myth of merit," 2009, as well as the comments posted below his online article. For discussion of whether "merit," as measured primarily by work-ethic, actually leads to the gaining of wealth in America, see McNamee and Miller, "The meritocracy myth," 2004, and Toch, "The meritocracy's caste system: What's good and bad about the SAT," 1999.

**Table 5.** Lines of Development Manifestations at Worldview Paradigmatic Junctures

Lines of Development	Predominant cultural worldview paradigms within the United States		
	Traditionalism	Modernist Paradigm	Postmodernism
Social Receptivity	Small-group communalism, family oriented, ethnocentric. Potential problem: “us against them” mentality	Expended Ethnocentrism; <i>toleration</i> is key. It is a patriotic duty to get along with others who are different. Potential problems: hyper-individualism, failure to acknowledge human interdependency	Worldcentric, large-group communalism. Embraces diversity as a social <i>good</i> . Potential problem: extreme relativism.
Power Distribution	Rigid social and political hierarchies and strict role assignments. Potential problems: suppression of individuality; family violence; elitism.	Rugged Individualism: opportunity for individuals to climb up the ladder of success, meritocracy. Potential problems: harm to the common good due to narrowly-focused goals, blaming of poverty on the poor without consideration of circumstance	Egalitarian: no power hierarchies allowed; everyone deserves equal rights, equal status, equal quality of life. Potential problems: suppression of individual drive; evaluation systems which fail to differentiate between intent and achievement.

**Religious/Spirituality, Scientific Discovery, and Recognized Authority Lines**

The next three lines of development are closely intertwined with the “social acceptance” and “power distribution” lines and with each other. Examining the “religious/spirituality” line of development, we see that traditional cultures tend to adhere to religious fundamentalism. That is, any given religious group within the culture is likely to believe that its own religion is “the one true way,” and that all other belief systems are wrong and perhaps even evil. As a result, followers of the religion are not likely to want to listen to anyone who has a different belief system, and may work feverishly to keep views that disagree with their own from being heard. Their “understood reality” and “allowed realm of scientific discovery” is likewise constricted according to their faith. This is why, for example, most Evangelical Christians in the U.S. think the science of evolution is heretical and strive to keep its concepts from being taught to their children. It almost goes without saying, then, that the “recognized authority” for traditionalists is their holy book and/or religious leaders. For U.S. Christians, then, the recognized authority becomes some particular interpretation of the Bible, which they then consider to be the only accurate interpretation and therefore the definitive “word of God.”

Depending upon the culture involved, the modern worldview can bring about a wide departure from traditionalism along these lines of development, and this is what has occurred in the U.S. At the “entering phase,”<sup>38</sup> of course, modernist thinking will be similar to traditional thinking. However, with the huge advance of science in the modern age, culturally diverse, relatively wealthy and technologically advanced countries like the U.S. can see a dramatic change in their primary value systems, in a relatively short span of time, and all within the modernist worldview paradigm. This begins with the idea that beliefs which are similar enough to one’s own are tolerable after all. With the new acceptance comes the opportunity for even a little more acceptance and then even a little more and so on. Further, the modernist paradigm values science and discovery. Scientific knowledge builds upon itself and therefore expands exponentially. The more rapidly scientific knowledge expands, the faster the worldview expands and evolves.

In addition, the modernist worldview as it manifests within the United States has a uniquely American belief in the winner-take-all system that goes hand in hand with near absolute “rule by the majority.” The winner-take-all system unfortunately breeds a notion that “winning” is more important than holding to any ethical guidelines, which is why we see so many unethical tactics employed in the political realm and even in the business world. Strict rule by the majority ensures that a slight majority of relatively uninformed people can slow the cultural progress of a nation that once allowed its sometimes inspired leaders to shape its destiny. Yet it is also likely true that it is in part the majority’s tendency to trample on the rights of the minority that eventually gave birth to the postmodern worldview paradigm.

Postmoderns in the U.S. tend to believe at least philosophically in the total equality of all peoples and in the importance of consensus decisions (Beck and Cowan, 1996). Because of this, some postmodernists may tend to view strict rule by the majority as an oppressive political system that systematically violates the basic “inalienable” human rights of the minority (see, for example, Alfaro, 2012). This may also be why some postmodernists within the U.S. strive to create a “deliberative democracy” (Chambers, 2003; Dryzek, 2005) whereby issues are discussed at length with all concerned groups until a consensus can be reached. This ideal that some postmoderns hope for would give the greatest amount of freedom to the largest number of people. In fact, in the U.S., many young postmodern-worldview individuals believe that anarchy is the only true solution to oppression.

The postmodernism paradigm also tends to be relativistic, which forwards the notion that beliefs and, for some, even most forms of “knowledge” can be equated with opinions that have no factual support one way or the other. From within this view, it is suggested that, because everyone has a viewpoint, no one is any more right or wrong than anyone else. As might be expected, this tendency also causes a number of individuals and groups holding postmodern worldviews to question modern science and to point out that we learn and discover only within the frames of what we already perceive or are at least willing to accept as possible. This skepticism concerning the rigorous confines of modern science has allowed the so-called “fringe sciences,” such as attempts to electronically record “ghosts” and forays into the “5<sup>th</sup> dimension,” to at least make a public showing in the contemporary United States. It is ironic that this same skepticism and relativism lends momentum to the traditionalists’ attacks on modern science, and

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<sup>38</sup> Phrase borrowed from Beck and Cowan, *Spiral dynamics*, 1996.

even to some degree bolsters traditionalism's assertion that it has a "right" to be intolerant of both scientific data and cultural movements which disagree with its basic tenants. These contrasts are summarized in Table 6.

**Table 6.** Lines of Development Manifestations at Worldview Paradigmatic Junctures

Lines of Development	Predominant cultural worldview paradigms within the United States		
	Traditionalism	Modernist Paradigm	Postmodernism
Religious/ Spirituality	Fundamentalist, biblical literalists	Expanded belief systems, religious toleration	Relativistic: all beliefs are equally accepted as coming from various perspectives
Science/ Discovery	Understanding of the world is derived from religious beliefs and mythology	Understanding of the world is defined by scientific/empirical observation	Current understandings of the objective world are criticized and questioned due to concern that they may be colored by biases or misinterpretations
Recognized Authority	Believed-in God, holy book or some accepted "mouthpiece" of God, such as a preacher or prophet	Majority always wins: whoever/ whatever is most popular/accepted or who/what a majority selects/ votes for must be accepted by all	Consensus on any rules, with as few personal restraints (to allow civil society) as possible. Total equality among citizens desired - no recognized elite authority. Minority views and rights always protected

## Worldview Paradigms and Changing Views about Marriage, Sex and Pregnancy

With some basic understanding of these worldview lines and stages, we can begin to understand the concept of marriage as it uniquely manifests within each paradigm. For example, traditional fundamentalist Christians in the U.S. often believe that the Bible defines marriage as only between a man and a woman, assigns the role of "protector and provider" to the male, decrees that the woman must obey her husband – thereby establishing a male-over-female power hierarchy, and declares that sex outside of marriage – and for some, for purposes other than procreation – is evil. Given all of these factors, one can see why traditionalism within the U.S. adheres to a very specific and narrow view of what "marriage" must mean. Marriage, to a traditionalist, can only be between a man and a woman largely because its biblically stated purpose is procreation. Traditionalists encourage young adults to marry. The human instinct to procreate is strong and not restricted to a "mating season" as with other mammals. As a result, sexual urges are strong and near constant, particularly in young adults, yet, according to traditionalism, sex outside of marriage is a sin. That traditionalism believes that "true" marriage is described in the Bible, a relatively ancient document, explains why traditionalists in the U.S.

claim that marriage law and custom has been unchanged since antiquity and therefore extending marital rights to gays violates this “true” marriage tradition. No documenting of changes in marriage law and custom as it has occurred across millennia or even as it has occurred over recent decades in the U.S. can shake the traditionalist’s sense that it has remained nonetheless essentially “unchanged” for eons, all because of this notion of Biblically defined parameters.<sup>39</sup>

Further, the statistical changes that have occurred in the U.S. are considered by traditionalists to be an unfortunate degradation of marriage values. Couples are waiting until a later age to marry, and hence the number of couples who cohabit and are sexually active long before they get married, if they ever do, increases steadily. Divorce has also been on the rise for decades (US Census Bureau, 2000). Religious Right traditionalists blame this change on what they call “loose morals” or the lack of a “moral compass.” Women in unmarried sexually active relationships are referred to in a derogative manner as sexually “loose,” as adulterers or as simply making “poor choices.” The men in these relationships are usually thought to be “players” who do not really love or respect the women they are with. This is all part of traditionalism’s shunning of those who do not conform to traditional cultural norms.

Traditionalists’ religious beliefs concerning birth-control vary somewhat, but at best they see birth-control as a “necessary evil.” Some believe that everyone is supposed to “be fruitful and multiply” as much as possible, using birth-control only when it is necessary, within marriage of course, to preserve the woman’s health.<sup>40</sup> Some believe that sex at any age and even within marriage should only occur if pregnancy is intended, and therefore birth-control should be completely unnecessary.<sup>41</sup> These groups therefore believe that birth-control can only encourage immoral behavior, no matter whether the couples in question are married or not. Finally, there are the groups that push for “abstinence-only” education for teenagers who believe that birth-control should not be readily available or taught as an option to teenagers because they are simply not yet morally developed enough to make wise choices when actually given choices when it comes to sex and marriage. According to this view, teenagers should be coerced to obey their parents, and parents should make it clear that they should neither have sex before they marry nor get married before they are legal adults, period. When teenagers go against their parents’ wishes and sin by way of sexual intercourse, teenage girls become pregnant. Traditionalists tend to believe that when this happens, the best solution is marriage.<sup>42</sup> If marriage is not an option, then the teen must give birth and give the child up for adoption to a more mature and religiously obedient couple. It is also important to remember that within the traditional worldview paradigm, religious faith trumps scientific fact. No amount of teen pregnancy statistics will convince a traditionalist that contraception is a more realistic goal than abstinence.

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<sup>39</sup> Many websites today attest to this belief. For a few examples, see <http://www.ropens.com/marriage>, <http://www.bibletruths.net/Archives/BTAROO3.htm>, and <http://www.answersingenesis.org> (accessed 7-31-2011).

<sup>40</sup> For example, this is the belief held by members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (Mormons).

<sup>41</sup> The Catholic Church is still officially against even married women using any form of birth control other than abstinence.

<sup>42</sup> This is likely why Sarah Palin told reporters during her campaign for the vice-presidency that her pregnant daughter, Bristol, would marry Bristol’s boyfriend. This is the “solution” to the unplanned, teen-pregnancy that would be accepted by her constituency.



However, the gap between the age that young people begin to have strong romantic-love centered emotions and sexual urges as well as a self-perception of autonomous adulthood and the age at which society recognizes them as legal adults capable of making their own rational decisions can leave some young couples in very difficult situations. The high instance of teenage pregnancy in the U.S. bears witness to society's failure, so far, to adequately address this problem. A teen, faced with hormonal drives and also a drive to assert oneself as an individual independent of one's parents – which usually manifests as some form of “teenage rebellion,” will almost inevitably engage in sexual intercourse by his or her mid-teens. In the U.S., 46% of teenagers between the ages of 15 and 19 report that they have engaged in sexual intercourse at least once. Seven out of ten teenagers have sexual intercourse at least by the age of 19 (Amba, 2004). This occurs regardless of religious affiliation or worldview center-of-gravity. For example, in spite of “chastity pledges” intended to help girls wait until marriage for sexual activity, the average age of the sexual debut of Evangelical teen girls is still only 16 (Talbot, 2008). Further, in spite of the trend towards increased age at first marriage (Hurt, 2010), about 30 percent of young women in the U.S. today get pregnant at least once before age 20 (National Campaign, 2012).

In traditional America, it is the young woman's responsibility to wisely choose a good lifetime mate, to be innocent – which translates to unprepared for sex (Talbot, 2008), and to obey her chosen once she has decided. When we follow to its conclusion the reasoning within the “power distribution” and “recognized authority” lines of development at the traditionalism level, we can see the dilemma faced by these young women in the contemporary world. Confused by her simultaneously powerful and powerless position, her hormones, her inexperience and her hormonal boyfriend's likely pressure for sex, the teenage girl who has “fallen in love” – i.e. in her young mind already “chosen” her mate – is likely to succumb to her boyfriend's will but without contraceptive protection. If she becomes pregnant, traditional marriage may be eminent, whether she or her boyfriend are ready, due to pressure from their religious families.

All of this is why the modernist paradigm tends to dislike, and postmodernism tends to be intolerant, of the traditional view when it comes to the problem of teen pregnancy. Modernism's answer to the teenage pregnancy problem is birth-control and reproductive-system education for teens. Birth control not only frees older women from endless pregnancies, but it gives teenagers a safety-net in the event that they do not abstain from sex until marriage. Further, modernism's biological science and teenage-pregnancy statistics suggest the hope that most teens will abstain from sex is simply unrealistic. Modernists also tend not to like the idea of young marriage, particularly if it is followed by early-marriage childbirth, because it restricts employment opportunity for the female and increases financial responsibility, and therefore likely decreases educational opportunity, for the male. As a result, segments of the culture that have a modernist worldview will push for sexual education in public schools that includes teaching teenagers about contraceptive alternatives.

Believing in the full equality of men and women and also believing that traditional sexual roles are oppressive to women, modernism and postmodernism both assert that individual women must be afforded the right to never have children or to never get married if they so choose, regardless of their sexual activities. Further, sexual “experimentation” among teens seems inevitable and therefore modernism believes that teaching teenagers about contraceptive

options is an absolute necessity (for example, see National Campaign, 2009). Postmoderns also tend to want contraception to be readily available to teenagers as well as older women, and also tend to believe in abortion rights. The concern, of course, is unplanned pregnancy that may cause emotional upheaval for the teens at best and restrict their life opportunities at worst. To both modernists and postmoderns, young marriage, especially if in reaction to an unplanned pregnancy, is almost never a good idea.<sup>43</sup>

## As Worldviews Shift, New Stresses for Women

Obviously, the values of each of these worldview paradigms clash at least somewhat with the others. Many misunderstandings and stresses currently attributed to gender difference or oppression of women can be better explained by the collision of worldviews. That is also not to suggest, however, that gender differences or the oppression of women are nonexistent. Traditional belief in hierarchy facilitates abuse by those on the top of those on the bottom. Oppression does not therefore become universal, but can occur with greater frequency. The more pronounced the power differential, the more likely and the more severe the abuse, as is evidenced by the treatment of women in Afghanistan today. Nonetheless, this hierarchy induced oppression should not be mistaken for gender-induced oppression. Males of the human species landed on top of traditionalism's hierarchy likely because of their relative size and physical strength as well as their less physically intrusive reproductive systems, which would have afforded them an amount of survive-alone ability during prehistoric times that females would not have enjoyed.<sup>44</sup> But it is the hierarchy itself that gave men power over women in traditional society, and the power which tempted abuse. Movement of a culture into the modernist worldview begins a productive push against such abuses. In addition to protecting teenage women from marriage to or pregnancy by older men, modern U.S. law also forbids once legal spousal abuse and gives married and divorced women rights that were nonexistent for them only a few decades ago.

Modernism, though, removes some customs that once helped to facilitate the raising of children, such as the household that always had one parent home to care for them. Modernism also brings its own set of rules to marriage customs, and while solving some of traditionalism's problems also, of course, creates its own. For example, modern women will often postpone childbirth because they must be financially "independent." After postponing childbirth, many U.S. women have found that becoming pregnant in their thirties or later can be difficult or impossible (Hewlett, 2002). Yes, the postmodern paradigm, with its acceptance of role-reversals, has brought men who spend time caring for children and helping with household chores. However, when women in modernist households do have children, they often find themselves working "double shifts" – one to earn a living and one to take care of children and household necessities (Hochschild, 1989).

Further, with the paradigmatic shift to modernism, the birth of postmodernism, and the corresponding feminist-led blame of men and marriage as causing much of society's ills,<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> For examples, see discussions online at <http://www.prochoiceamerica.org/issues/> (accessed 8-28-09).

<sup>44</sup> For discussions of this topic, see Brownmiller, *Against our will*, 1975, Firestone, *The dialectic of sex*, 1970, and Pateman, "Hobbes, patriarchy and conjugal right," 1998.

<sup>45</sup> There was a tendency for second-wave feminists to treat unhealthy, dysfunctional families as though they were the universal norm for all traditional families, but they were not.

marriage in the U.S. has become less popular. Yet while there is far less social pressure for men to marry the women who love them, women often still prefer marriage, especially if they wish to have children or a stable lifelong relationship. This statistical propensity for women to desire marriage (Baber & Allen, 1992) is likely linked to age old survival-of-the-species instincts that manifest differently in women than they do in men. As mentioned previously, men in ancient times could survive alone easier than women. Further, because women who bare children spend nine months pregnant and then, with the absence of modern breast milk substitutes, must also breast feed for at least an additional year, a woman without a helpful partner could have a very difficult time keeping herself and her child alive.<sup>46</sup> Even in the modern world, single women are more likely to be poor than single men, and are also more likely than men to have serious health complications related to reproduction (Muller, 1990). Lifetime partnerships, when healthy, can simply make life easier and more pleasant for women, especially when children are involved. Further, research shows that healthy lifetime partnerships enhance life and wellbeing for both partners (Willitts et al, 2004). These are all likely reasons why traditionalism promoted marriage in the first place, and why traditionalism's women fought against feminism's attack on marriage customs. Nonetheless, men are more likely than women to be avoiding of marriage when it is not religiously or culturally mandated, such as within the modernist and postmodern paradigms in the United States.

In spite of this, women, according to prevailing custom in the U.S., cannot propose marriage. As a result, if they wish to marry, they can find themselves mired in emotionally difficult situations. This can be particularly painful for women with extended traditionalist families, regardless of their own paradigmic worldview. The punishment for women who do not follow traditionalism's marriage and courtship guidelines is severe to varying degrees depending upon the religion and culture in question. In the U.S., women are not stoned or physically tortured, as in some countries, for sexual activity outside of marriage. However, the wish to have her actions and choices accepted by her family and friends can increase a woman's desire for marriage, especially if she is in a sexual relationship with the man she loves. This is because, if the marriage proposal is not forthcoming, these women will often find themselves at best somewhat disgraced and at worst completely shunned by their families. Yet, because worldviews are little understood by the majority of people, a woman in love with a modernist or postmodern man may never understand why his marriage proposal is delayed or never forthcoming.

Of course, the same can be said for a man who desires marriage and children but falls in love with a woman who prefers to wait until her career is strong, or who believes that marriage necessarily comes with oppressive male-over-female hierarchy. The difference, though, is that the power of marital decision still socially lies first with the male, while females are more likely both to desire marriage and to endure shame because of their relationship choices. Culturally, most women in the U.S. are still pressured to marry, and often counseled not to engage in long-term, sexually active relationships unless marriage is certain to be forthcoming. This leads some women to end otherwise happy relationships, and leads some to resort to pressuring or manipulating their partners in attempts to elicit proposals from them. A smaller percentage of women will decide, for the sake of preserving the relationship, to more or less silently endure

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<sup>46</sup> For further discussion of this topic, see Firestone, *The dialectic of sex: The case for feminist revolution*, 1970, Whitbeck, "The maternal instinct," 1983, and Pateman, "Hobbes, patriarchy and conjugal right," 1998.

embarrassment or shame as they wait for proposals that may never be forthcoming. This may be why many women still assert that they feel “powerless” in their romantic relationships, even while they find it difficult to explain why (NPR, 1998). There are a plethora of books, newsletters, websites and other businesses<sup>47</sup> devoted to helping women solve this newest “problem with no name.”<sup>48</sup> It is clear that neither the so-called battle “between the sexes”<sup>49</sup> nor the battle between the paradigms has given women all of the empowerment that they once sought, and some of the changes they managed to secure seem, at least for now, to have made matters worse instead of better.

## Worldview Paradigms and Marriage Rights

Meanwhile, as an increasing number of heterosexual people are trying to decide whether or not the institution of marriage has any real merit after all, gay and lesbian couples are trying to secure the right to make that decision for themselves. Modernism, partly because it finds fault with traditionalism’s rules, has allowed a cultural movement in that direction. This is partly because the modernist paradigm is more tolerant of deviance from the established social norms than traditionalism. This applies to all aspects of marriage custom, from the delay of marriage, to single parenthood, to gay marriage. However, modernists may be convinced that gay marriage matters, as a personal right, only if they are convinced that being homosexual is not a matter of choice (Craig et al, 2005; Haider-Markel and Joslyn, 2005). For the modernist paradigm, if homosexuality is as predetermined as race, then to define marriage as only between a man and a woman is as offensive as to define marriage as only between two people of the same race. If, on the other hand, one can choose to be homosexual or not, then the “free choice” is in the choosing of the sex of one’s lifetime mate in the first place. Modernists can be swayed on this issue by the relevant scientific evidence. Traditionalism is not swayed by this evidence, though, because it does not recognize the authority of science in the first place. In the traditional view, homosexuality is a sin, and “sin” implies choice, therefore to be homosexual must be by choice. No amount of scientific evidence changes this view so long as the traditional worldview paradigm holds sway. Further, because of traditionalism’s belief in the scarcity of rights, a common U.S. traditionalist argument against gay marriage is that making it legal will take marriage rights away from Christians. Traditionalist whites did not easily embrace interracial marriage either, because they feared dilution of the white race. For example, in 1958 a couple in Virginia was arrested for violating the state’s “racial integrity” law that prohibited interracial marriage. It was not until 1967 that the Supreme Court ruled such laws unconstitutional.<sup>50</sup> However, because of their belief in hierarchy, traditionalists tend to respect elite political authority as legitimate. Therefore, when the U.S. law declares something to be legal, traditionalists will usually *eventually* come to accept it rather than to continually fight for reversal of the law.

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<sup>47</sup> For example, Christian Carter and Rori Raye each have several websites, newsletters, videos and books dedicated to this subject.

<sup>48</sup> A reference to Betty Freidan’s *The feminine mystique*, 1963, which refers to a pervasive unhappiness among middle-class housewives, which no one seemed to be able to clearly explain at the time.

<sup>49</sup> For examples of uses of this term, see Mitchell, “Hostility and aggression toward males in female joke telling,” 1978, and Herron and Kipnis, “Ending the battle between the sexes,” 2005.

<sup>50</sup> 1967 Supreme Court case, *Loving v. Virginia*.

While modernism is often tolerant of traditional views in spite of lack of agreement, postmodernism ironically often is not, particularly when it comes to the legality of gay marriage. From within the postmodern worldview paradigm, marriage is seen as a matter about which the ability to make one's own decision becomes necessary for personal happiness and life fulfillment. To deny the right of this choice to anyone is seen as a gross violation of inalienable rights and as discrimination against all homosexuals as a minority group. Also, showing up as a cultural worldview only where modernism, with its promotion of science, has been strong, the postmodern paradigm accepts homosexuality as likely being a biological given. Further, in the postmodern view, there is no "universal" or even long-standing definition of marriage. Rather, the diversity of various marriage customs from around the world, as well as changes in marriage laws and customs in the U.S. over the last century, are proof to the postmodern that the term "marriage" has no single definition. Finally, that which is defined as "sin" is seen to vary based on religion and on personal view, and therefore not as something which should ever be defined by or policed by a democratic government. This is likely why even heterosexual postmodernists tend to actively participate in the push to legalize gay marriage.

The argument that rights are being violated by government definition of marriage, though, does not as easily convince moderns. Because within the modernist paradigm majority strictly rules, legal changes tend to only be forthcoming as the majority of the mainstream comes to embrace them. For example, in California the recent passage of Proposition Eight, which constitutionally limits marriage to opposite sex partners, may have had as much to do with modernism's notion that the "will of the people" should win out over judgment by the Supreme Court as with traditionalism's declaration that Biblical parameters must continue to be imposed. The hope for gays that their marriages will someday be legalized lies in the continuing shift of the worldview majority as well as in modernism's toleration for difference. However, modernism is as tolerant of religious fundamentalism as it is of other worldviews, and will only accept legal changes away from fundamentalist doctrine when it perceives those changes to be the will of the majority. It tends to be taken for granted by modernists that not all laws are fair and that minority groups will be less than satisfied with the rules that majorities make. This, however, is seen as necessary in a democratic society. The responsibility of citizens is to obey the rules, but they always have the right to try to win the majority over to their own way of seeing things. This becomes the competitive political game of trying to sway public opinion, and the winning majority "takes all," or rather makes all rules. Traditionalists, on the other hand, tend to see a struggle against evil rather than a political game. From within the traditional paradigm, vigilance against the tendency of civil society to "slide towards evil" is a constant and necessary duty. That is why the argument that homosexuals deserve rights does not persuade traditionalists to change their views concerning gay marriage. Traditionalists, seeing a scarcity of rights in the first place, see granting rights to homosexuals as a taking of rights away from traditional, fundamentalist Christians. They further tend to see it as a partial triumph for evil, something which they cannot easily accept. Therefore, for those who wish to see the legalization of gay marriage, the best hope is likely in winning over the majority of modernists to the inalienable rights cause. However, because traditionalism is small-group communal and very family oriented, videos currently distributed on the internet by the ACLU, GetToKnowUsFirst.org and other advocates may well prove to be effective.<sup>51</sup> These videos feature gay and lesbian couples with their

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<sup>51</sup> For examples, see the "Get to know us first" series of videos on YouTube.com, the ACLU "Freedom files: Freedom to marry" videos, and the "10 Couples" videos distributed by WhatIsGay.net.

children and invite heterosexual individuals to speak lovingly about their gay or lesbian friends or family members. In fact, according to polls, when it comes to heterosexuals' attitudes towards gays and lesbians, familiarity actually breeds acceptance (CBS News, 2010).

## Toward Understanding

Traditionalism held the center of gravity majority of the western world for millennia. The modernist paradigm has claimed center of gravity majority for a relatively short time, yet in the U.S., postmodernism is already strong on the scene. Understanding how worldview paradigms evolve can help explain not only why changes have occurred in law and custom, but why some individuals are frustrated by the change even as those who desire additional change are frustrated by its slow pace. Such understanding can also help people who wish to improve their own lives and the lives of others to further their goals. For example, those who advocate for ongoing progress in the gay rights movement can more quickly accomplish their goals if they understand worldview paradigm developmental lines. Such understanding could also help individuals who wish to find life-partners with goals and values similar to their own know what to look for. Understanding also has the potential to ease the tension between the sexes that has been evident in the U.S. since the advent of modern feminism, while at the same time explaining some of the reasons why today's U.S. women often still feel powerless. It could also allow for the avoidance of unpleasant and unexpected worldview clashes if dating couples realized soon enough that their worldview paradigms did not match. The choice of life partner is undoubtedly a very important decision. Such knowledge would empower individuals to make better choices as well as find more success in their relationships, because, while relationship stress must be as old as humankind, the added worldview paradigm clash is relatively new and unique in the contemporary world. Ideally, a working knowledge of worldview paradigms would also allow for an understanding of what is dysfunctional versus what is healthy about the norms produced by each paradigm. Finally, such understanding may help to promote the development of a new worldview paradigm, one that recognizes and promotes the healthy laws, customs and norms of each previous paradigm, while rejecting those that cause oppression, isolation, or other social dysfunctions. Hopefully, understanding will also help those with differing worldviews become increasingly kinder to one another.

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# Integral Sustainable Design: Transformative Perspectives

Edited by Mark DeKay with Susanne Bennett. (2011). London: Routledge, Earthscan Publishing.

**Reviewed by Michael Schwartz<sup>1</sup>**

Keywords: Architecture, Integral Theory, Nature, Sustainable Design.

Mark DeKay, Professor of Architecture and Director of Graduate Studies in the College of Architecture at the University of Tennessee, a prominent scholar-practitioner in the field of sustainable design, opens his latest book with the explicit intention that the volume “help create a breakthrough in the effectiveness of the Sustainable Design movement such that it is transformed to greater power, relevance, meaning and positive effect on people and Nature” (p. xxi). His approach is thoroughly integral, taking up Wilber’s classic integral theory, more or less a version of “Wilber-4,” clarifying and extending this meta-theory in service of creating and advancing sustainable design as discipline and practice.

The book is divided into four parts. Part 1 introduces the four quadrant perspectives of the AQAL model with careful reference to and relevance for the existing field of sustainable design. Indeed, one of the hallmarks to DeKay’s book is its deftness in weaving introductory accounts of integral theory, including novel adaptations and extensions of Wilber’s version, with the content and concerns of the current state of the sustainable design field, yielding an organic interplay and marriage of the two. Summarizing and approximating what are much more complex and multi-faceted presentations, let us say that the perspective for sustainable design is centered in aesthetic experience; that of the intersubjective (lower left quadrant in AQAL) in ethical concern for nature and shared stories about nature and place; that of the objective (upper right quadrant in AQAL) in the performance of individual design features (like heating); and that of the interobjective (lower right quadrant in AQAL) in the ecological nesting of natural and socio-cultural systems in which a building is situated.

DeKay reviews a number of leading edge green measurement standards, like those of USGBC’s LEED and WBGD, as well as number of the most prominent sustainable design theorists, demonstrating that on the whole the field tends to neglect or downplay the left-hand quadrants—an imbalance that AQAL is able to redress. This section of the book also includes an overview of Abigail Houssen’s research model of five developmental stages in the responsive interpretation of visual works of art, with DeKay extrapolating a persuasive four stage model of increasing depth and complexity in aesthetic competency proper to sustainable design.

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Part 2 extends these prior reflections on development to all four quadrants as regards the design process, yielding four levels for each quadrant, hence sixteen distinctive perspectives or what the author calls “prospects.” DeKay never lapses into abstractions, but always grounds his claims in actual design processes and with reference to actual buildings.

Part 3, perhaps my favorite section of the volume, proposes six perceptual shifts that matter for integral sustainable design, each shift moving through stages from modernist to postmodernist to more integral modes of perceiving. The first of these is the shift from *object* to *relationships* to *subject-object relations*: (1) the object as object; (2) the object partially dissolving into its network of inter-objective relationships (as Mondrian’s abstractions would so instruct us); (3a) the recovering of the object as determinate while retaining sense of its constitutive relational networks (in line with philosopher John Sallis’ post-deconstructive phenomenology); and (3b) the subjective sense attending what is perceived coming forward and folding into the objective moment. These six perceptual shifts, overlapping and co-constituting, are not merely cognitive, but embody cognition as perception – a topic underexplored in integral circles.

Part 4 broaches the issue of the nature of nature, five developmental levels in the understanding of nature that come to inform and underwrite design processes. This section extends and advances for sustainable design the groundbreaking work of the earlier 2009 volume on *Integral Ecology* by Sean Esbjörn-Hargens and Michael Zimmerman.

The conclusion of the book lists the basic issues that an integral sustainable design is to address, announcing rather than hiding this new approach’s ethical commitments, while also reflecting on the limits of the project as it has just been presented, noting the need for a transformative yoga for sustainable designers as well as increased clarity on the relationship between design and the fostering of states of consciousness. This conclusion’s spirit is rare in forwarding a ramified ethical stance while offering an auto-critique of the project’s own limits—in line with Bernard Lonergan’s rarely enacted consciousness level of rational judgment as presented in his magisterial volumes *Insight* and in *Method in Theology*.

In engaging this wonderful book, my direct cognition and perception of the built environment has become transfigured. I now am able to see any building I inhabit in a much more integral manner, bringing that structure to life in ways I had not suspected were possible, even as part of my professional university responsibility is to teach architectural history to undergraduate studio art majors. Indeed, my approach to teaching architectural history, as I now see, had been heavily slanted on the left-quadrant sides of the AQAL matrix, with not enough explicit consideration of waves of development/complexity proper to a fuller tetra-disclosing and inhabiting of architectural place.

In the remainder of this review, I shall explore three themes in the mood of complement (and compliment). The first is DeKay’s discussion of matters proper to the lower-left quadrant of cultural. The second is to bring to light the book’s deepest ethical commitment and its intuition of the situation today facing the implementation of a more integral sustainable design. The third is the theme of states of consciousness proper to architectural space and design.

With regard to the lower left cultural quadrant, DeKay stresses ethical views of nature and the stories associated with a given building or building style. What I would add is the cultural consideration of meaningful practices enacted within and coordinated by architectural space. Such practices are embodied (hence involve upper-right objective considerations): they are the concrete forms of life proper to and shaped by the design site. For example, the Starbucks in which I am now sitting and writing is in part structured so that the interior space coordinates and conducts specific normative practices: food and coffee are prepared in a spot that is separated and yet visible from the rest of the open floor; money is exchanged not at the front door but at a specific place with a physical division between those enacting the exchange; the seating arrangements, flexible in offering diverse options, sustain some but not all senses and modes of social interactions amongst clients, while being inclusive of non-customers in constituting a kind of a public space. And so on. With this view in mind, the styling of the interior and the branding of the products being sold can be seen to combine with this coordination of normative practices to evince a sense of story proper to one's being in this space with others, this storied-cum-practical environment having embedded norms and mores.

Second is the theme that goes to the heart of the study: that of sustainable design's relationship to nature, with Part 4 of the book dedicated to this topic. Here I want to call attention to a basic method of Derridean textual interpretation called double reading ("*clôtural* interpretation"), explicated by among others Simon Critchley (in his study *The Ethics of Deconstruction*): a first moment of close and meticulous reading of the general coherence and argument of the text; and a second layered moment that points to fissures in that coherence. These fissures are, to be sure, neither mistakes, authorial errors, logical contradictions, nor due alone to semiological drift, but are the evitable rifts within the textual fabric that enable the breaking through of the ethical call. These textual ruptures are like placeholders, the ethical's disruption of the text's apparent "good sense" as promise-of-justice-to-come (hence, justice as undeconstructable). Here I want to suggest that the main fissure within the current study to which I shall point is not only, in Derridean high style, an opening for an infinite and general call of the ethical that can never be fulfilled (sure as that is), but also has a finite and specific content as symptom and expression of a problematic that lies at the center of sustainable design, a problem that as such can in principle be redressed.

DeKay is aware on the one hand that in classic integral theory the noosphere transcends and embraces the biosphere; that nature is in culture. This means that there are emergents proper to the noosphere not found in the biosphere (like class relationships within economic systems). And yet the text calls repeatedly for sustainable design to find its ecological models in nature, even as nature is a lower holonic evolutionary unfolding—the lower as model for higher orders of complexity and depth. This is not a mistake or contradiction, but the expression of the tacit insight that at some point in human history and building there occurred a decisive dissociation of the noosphere from the biosphere; an alienation of culture from nature and even from humanity's self-nature, as in the classic critical-theoric allegorical tale about Odysseus in Adorno and Horkheimer's *Dialectic of the Enlightenment*. What shines through so decisively in the present volume is the imperative to heal the nature/culture, biosphere/noosphere dissociation inherent within the domain of architecture. The necessary first moment of an emergent integral sustainable design is not more cultural Eros, which would intensify the dissociation, but a creative Agape to heal the wound and rift.

Third is the topic of architecture and its fostering of expanded states of consciousness. DeKay is clear in his Conclusion that this is a theme requiring further investigation. In his using an integral model centered more or less in Wilber-4, he stacks a transpersonal design stage above that of second-tier/integral stage. In light of Wilber-5 (more complex than the AQAL version used by the author, as DeKay intentionally avoids such meta-theoretical intricacies in this initial integral presentation for the discipline of sustainable design), one can distinguish within the category of the transpersonal states from third-tier stages. Transpersonal states can be experienced at more or less any stage; while third tier stage-structures are constructed over time through the taking up of states which are folded, like materials, into the increasing the complexity of perspective cognition. There are a few buildings cited by DeKay that perhaps correlate with something like the expression of a third-tier stage-structure of consciousness (e.g., figure 24.5, top); but it is not necessary that design move past an integral stage to nurture expanded states. Chartres Cathedral is, within the scheme presented in the book, a pre-modern design; yet it famously engenders expanded state experiences. How the fostering of states can be intentionally folded into design considerations is an open question within integral circles, preliminarily explored in the work of Jessica Weigley and Kevin Hackett (of Siol Studios in San Francisco), whose presentation at the 2010 Integral Theory Conference reflected on architectural design's relation to the gross, subtle, and causal bodies.

Finally, it must be noted that the design of the book is integral. The volume has a running narrative divided into parts, chapters, sub-sections, etc., inserting blocks of questions that activate cognition, key phrases boxed off and inserted at key junctures, photographs of sites and buildings with running commentary, diagrams, tables, various types of lists, cumulative bibliographies at the end of each section, a comprehensive bibliography organized by general theme at the books' end, and an Appendix with summary of the volume's argument and additional questions to activate the readers' ongoing engagement with the topic. Woven together through an innovative graphic design, the interrelationships amongst these materials move past post-modern montage into a dynamic, sliding, open integral whole. The design enables a given reader to enter effectively into engagement with the book in a wide variety of manners and scales of complexity/depth, depending on one's time constraints, interests, and disciplinary competency. The book's organization performs its tenet message.

*Integral Sustainable Design* has been for me the single most important book on architecture I have ever read. It will be of interest to all manner of integralists and meta-theorists, will serve the world of sustainable design as a guiding manual, and for the non-expert can profoundly change one's day to day experience of the built environments in which we dwell.



# The Mental Demands of Marine Ecosystem-Based Management: A Constructive Developmental Lens

Verna G. DeLauer (2009). Proquest, Doctoral dissertation, University of New Hampshire, UMI Dissertation Publishing.

**Reviewed by Thomas Jordan<sup>1</sup>**

Our societies face a number of challenging issues that are both important, because of their impact on the wellbeing of people and nature, and complex, because many causal and conditioning factors and diverse stakeholders are involved. We find such issues in many areas, such as climate change, biodiversity, environmental pollution, intractable conflicts, crime, unhealthy lifestyles, drug abuse, mobbing, etc. Arguably, building capacities to skillfully manage complex societal issues should be a central concern for many of us. I believe most readers of this journal share a belief that the field of adult development sits on a treasure of insight that could contribute very significantly to our understanding of how we could build such capacities. However, the number of solid empirical studies using a developmental perspective on meaning-making among people with crucial roles in organizations and initiatives working on issues of great societal significance is still small. I was therefore very satisfied, not to say thrilled, when I stumbled upon Verna DeLauer's doctoral dissertation *The Mental Demands of Marine Ecosystem-Based Management: A Constructive Developmental Lens*. DeLauer has, in my view, written a doctoral dissertation that is a very important contribution to our understanding of the preconditions for developing our societies' capacities for managing complex issues.

The dissertation is the result of a case study of an initiative to develop an integrative strategy for "ecosystem-based management" of marine resources in the state of Massachusetts, USA. DeLauer's theoretical lens is Robert Kegan's constructive-developmental framework describing stages of ego development among adults.

In 2008, legislation was passed in Massachusetts with the aim of pursuing "ecosystem management of offshore waters through federal, regional, and state coordination and cooperation." The Massachusetts Ocean Partnership (later renamed SeaPlan) was created by inviting 41 representatives of stakeholders with interests in coastal development to work together to develop a strategy for ecosystem-based management in Massachusetts. Stakeholders represented such interests and roles as fishing, businesses, NGOs, federal, state and municipal authorities, research institutions, and consultants.

I will cite here the first part of DeLauer's problem statement, which gives a clear introduction to the challenge involved.

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Marine ecosystems are complex mosaics of ecological, chemical, biological, geophysical, and human interactions. They are valued for the services they provide for humans such as recreation, food, pharmaceuticals, shoreline protection, climate regulation, and tourism. Human disturbance specifically threatens these interactions and services through destruction of habitat, pollution, and displacement of native fauna and flora. These impacts result from decisions made by private citizens, businesses, and municipal, state and federal governments. Ecosystems may only be sustained through protection of ecological structure, functioning, and key processes [...]. The current single-sector, single resource approach to management attends to human activities such as coastal development, fisheries and transportation, each in isolation from the others. This single sector approach fails to address, much less maintain, the integrity of the interactions between the sectors, leading to a loss of valued ecosystem goods and services, and ultimately to a diminishment in potential human well-being. (p. 1)

As the first part of the title of the dissertation, "The mental demands ...", suggests, DeLauer is interested in developing a deeper insight into the capacities needed when taking on these types of challenges, and understanding to what extent people who participate in such initiatives actually have these capacities. Early in the dissertation, DeLauer lists a number of capacities she believes are needed in the process.

- Capacity to conceptually understand complex, multiple variables
- Capacity to acknowledge personal responsibility and ownership
- Capacity for empathy for competing sectors and the individuals that comprise them
- Capacity to attend to multiple perspectives at once
- Comfort with ambiguity
- Capacity to reflect on and differentiate among management implications

It is not clear how DeLauer arrived at this list, but it points out the general direction of the further investigation.

DeLauer collected three sets of data for her study. She invited all 41 representatives to participate in the study, of which 22 agreed. She conducted two different types of interviews with these 22 individuals. The first one was a subject-object interview according to the format developed by Robert Kegan and his colleagues as a method for assessing the stage of ego development of a person (Lahey et al., 1988). The second interview was semi-structured and focused the respondents' views on ecosystem-based management and on the MOP process they participated in. These interviews were transcribed and analyzed. The third set of data was participating observations and recordings of 11 MOP meetings over a period of about two years.

Kegan's framework (Kegan, 1994; Lahey et al., 1988) defines three adult "orders of consciousness" (and two stages before adult age). Most adults, however, show signs of being in transition between two of the orders, and the coding manual for the subject-object interview offers instructions for identifying four transitional steps between each full stage. The analysis of subject-object interviews of DeLauer's 22 respondents yielded the following distribution: 5 participants were coded as predominantly at the 3rd stage, the socialized mind; 5 were in transition between the socialized and the self-transforming mind; 8 were coded as predominantly

at the self-authoring stage; and 4 were mainly at the self-authoring stage, but with some elements of the self-transforming stage.

The analysis of the ecosystem-based management interviews was made with a preunderstanding rooted in Kegan's framework, but DeLauer also looked for themes that emerged in the conversations. Eventually, she identified eight "analytical distinctions," i.e., themes where significant differences could be seen regarding how persons embedded in different stages of ego development made meaning and acted in their roles as participants in the MOP process.

1. Connection to affiliation
2. Reactive or self-authoring
3. Capacity for self-reflection
4. Perception of other
5. Responsibility and change
6. Change in decision-making
7. Understanding the process
8. Individual roles

DeLauer organized her empirical analysis theme by theme, for each theme describing the characteristic patterns found among the individuals coded in the four levels of ego development described above. It is not possible in the context of this review to try to do justice to the detailed analysis of developmental differences offered in the main chapters of the dissertation, I will just hint at some of the most central observations. DeLauer found that people coded at the socialized mind saw themselves as advocates of the interests of the stakeholder group they represented and were primarily concerned with protecting those interests against possible changes coming from the outside. They were primarily reactive rather than proactive and while sometimes offering ideas, they not did generally contribute suggestions on how to build a system that could coordinate and integrate the diverse interests involved. They had difficulties in dealing cognitively with the exposure to several different perspectives, feeling that recognizing the legitimacy of certain aspects of other stakeholders' perspectives might imply disloyalty to their own affiliation. They also tended to assume that the power to really change things resided elsewhere, with legislators and other high-ranking decision-makers.

The participants belonging to the self-authoring group had a far more independent attitude to the process. They had no difficulty differentiating between their roles as representatives of a certain interest on the one hand, and their own personal, self-authored, perspectives on the other hand. They took for granted that different stakeholders have different interests for which they advocate, and that the task of the initiative was to develop a strategy that could accommodate different interests. These participants wanted to understand the nature of differences and felt that the success of the process was dependent upon a recognition, understanding, and consideration of different stakeholder interests. A most important aspect of this group was a strong sense of agency: they gave themselves and the group the mandate to develop and lobby for proposals that grew out of the new understanding that emerged in the deliberative process.

Only four participants belonged to the group self-authoring with elements of self-transforming. Significant for them was a strong process orientation, with less emphasis on developing a certain product and more on developing new types of processes. They felt comfortable with uncertainty and ambivalence and regarded the transformation of perspectives through inquiry into the complexity of the issues as a central task of the initiative.

In the dissertation, DeLauer offers far more detailed observations of patterns of meaning-making and action, and she discusses the implications for the design and facilitation of similar processes. I think DeLauer made a wise choice in staying with one particular analytical framework, Kegan's subject-object theory. This allowed for a coherent research strategy with penetrating observations. However, after reading and rereading the dissertation, I sometimes wished that more effort had been made to analyze the cognitive complexity in the respondents' constructions of the issues and of the group process. It would certainly have been meaningful to use either the dialectical thinking framework (of Michael Basseches and Otto Laske), or one of the models of hierarchical complexity (Michael Commons, Theo Dawson or even Elliott Jaques) to look into the differences in complexity awareness and the consequences of such differences for the ways participants took on their roles in the process.

The dissertation is well organized and well written, with only a few blemishes. The latter include a number of missing and erroneous references. I also find it unfortunate that DeLauer is inconsistent in the naming of Kegan's stages, using two stage names from Kegan's first book (interpersonal and interindividual) and one from his second book (self-authoring), rather than keeping to one set of stage names (as I chose to do above).

I recommend this dissertation not only to researchers interested in developmental aspects of meaning-making in societal contexts, but also to facilitators, project leaders, change agents, managers, activists and other people who are seriously concerned with contributing to more skillful management of complex issues. DeLauer's observations and conclusions regarding fundamental differences in meaning-making and action logics is knowledge that ought to be very useful in designing methods and in real-time facilitation. In particular, group members with significant elements of the "socialized mind" in their meaning-making may need careful scaffolding in order to be able to contribute fully in groups working on complex issues.

Well done, Verna! My congratulations to a very meaningful contribution to knowledge and understanding of a field that I feel is sorely underresearched so far. I do hope that your dissertation will be read by people who are in a position to work as change agents in public issues. I found the reading profoundly inspiring and I certainly can see how your analytical framework can enrich research strategies in future empirical studies.

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# The Great Indian Blackout and Elements of Positivity

Swasti Vardhan Mishra<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract:** Though much criticized, the Indian blackout in July 2012 also possesses another side of a coin: the extent to which the blackout has served on the fronts of unity, cohesiveness, and equality is highly explicit. The currently ill-functioning Indian administration is identified as being at an intersection of a transition, a transition to more administrative efficiency. The ideas proposed in the essay are intended to perpetuate thoughts of optimism and faith through a constructively-framed perspective.

## Introduction

My recent preoccupation with the ideas of postmodernism and much contemplated cultural turn in humanities and social science influenced my mind to mull over one of the recent crises the country of India has come across. 620 million people are estimated to have suffered from the greatest blackout the world has seen (30 and 31 July 2012), which has become a topic of much criticism and contestation. Eminent thinkers, analysts, and experts have criticised the act with huge chunk of pessimistic attitude (Bedi & Crilly, 2012; Einhorn & Mehrotra, 2012; Puri, 2012). They have reasoned that such a blackout is detrimental to the growth of a country and its aspiration to become a developed economy.

Business experts worldwide are saying that India cannot be a safe investment destination for at least another decade. They say this not because of the government's attitude to foreign investment but because of India's power situation which renders future industrial enterprise hazardous.... India is in a deep fundamental systemic crisis.... From the early permissive attitude of the past has mushroomed the gigantic horrendous corruption of today. (Puri, 2012, p. 6)

Taking much from the special article by Rajinder Puri on the blackout, my view takes a somewhat antithetical path toward that interpretation, and I intend to focus on the positive elements that this event has entailed. The contemplation that follows will emphasize the latent ideas of society and human solidarity, and must not be viewed as denigrating any other idea. The idea that such an event delivers positive effects on social fronts is not rooted in the gamut of development studies or economics, which tend to be the foundation of a large array of published and unpublished views. As indicated above, these views interpret the blackout based on economics and development studies, which cling to the idea that such an event is deleterious for economic growth and development. My ideas can be assumed as a transgression from the same and at times also opposing.

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The blackout, according to my perception, has ignited such endangered qualities of the human race as, to name a few, brotherhood, bonding, altruism and egalitarianism. Though utmost micro in occurrence and influence, I would like to focus on three of such positive qualities, which this chaos crystallized during my personal observations. My objective in this essay is to make the point that there is something beyond economic prosperity and the negative aspects of any event. To foster attention to the prosperity of human values, values of cohesiveness, and observing the positive aspect of any event is the rationale behind this essay. The three positive qualities during and from the blackout that I focus on here are altruism, social amalgamation, and egalitarianism.

## **Altruism**

Firstly, from the onset of the blackout, altruism flourished. The onward journey to home after a day's labouring brought me to a disaster-like situation; a flood of homeward going people were flocking on roads and railway stations and the bustling and chaos spread at an unusual level. Nevertheless, the chaos illuminated something positive in it: people helping each other out with solutions, the routine tussle among different groups metamorphosed into each asking others the rationale behind the blackout and probing about its rectification. This technical failure invoked the feeling of oneness, the feeling of same genesis, the feeling of prioritizing others' vulnerability despite being vulnerable. This feeling of attachment to one another, though of short duration, infused me with optimistic thoughts about human cohesiveness. Puri's emphasis on corruption of Indian bureaucracy and Indian mind is a lived fact and has also become a cliché to a large extent. Notwithstanding, the idea of solidarity as reflected here traverses a path, much strayed from our routinely lived life, where we fight over being a Brahmin or a Dalit or a Hindu or a Muslim.

## **Social Amalgamation**

Secondly, I saw heightened social amalgamation. On a community level of observation there erupted a day of festival; paradoxically speaking, a festival of dark. The modernised approach of caging oneself in one's apartment at the onset of day's end reflected itself in the localities of my city. The streets, which hitherto glorified themselves with mere presence of lamp posts, remained congested on the day. The crowded galis<sup>2</sup> and age-wise segregation of community residents was conspicuous and quite different from the religiously motivated festival we usually delve into. The adda<sup>3</sup> sessions consisted of myriad topics: the piled up topics of curiosity and apprehensions about the blackout, the dwindling economy of the country, and the worsening condition of the Indian cricket team. At least, I could not differentiate the corrupt and the people who are axed by the corrupt among the cheerful crowd disregarding and unperturbed by the lightlessness. Coming to the finest example of human gregariousness, I saw family, which I experienced as more inspiring: the offspring of the family, irrespective of age, were clustered and tied to their parents, to their siblings, who otherwise would have remained hooked to a plethora of human inventions like televisions, personal computers and other such gadgets. I believe the greatest of all human hazards is loneliness, much more painful than any human physiological disorder. The event of lightlessness helped in curbing this loneliness, albeit momentarily.

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<sup>2</sup> Galis: A short narrow street in Indian habitations.

<sup>3</sup> Adda: A communal get together.

## Egalitarianism

Thirdly, a boundary-breaking egalitarianism was imposed on us. India is home to a large number of homeless and squatter people. Nighttime aerial photographs of the country highlight, without ambiguity, the clusters of the light and the dark. Schemes like Gramin Vidyutikaran Yojana<sup>4</sup> have definitely borne fruits but have not yet wiped out the rural-urban divide. Besides, there exists a second shade of inequality which is intra-urban in character: the lightlessness situation of squatters and homeless beings. The idea of inequality and social justice is eclectic and pluralistic in nature; being highlighted in works ranging from theories of socialism to action network theory. The thoughts may seem cynical and dystopian but it is another form of representing the notion of equality, an idea that will retrofit the bigger domain of forms of *Equality*. For a couple of hours the stark differentiation between spatiality of the light and the dark among different human habitations got wiped out. A squatter valued as much as a palatial abode: the difference vanished. The thought may sound radical but must be seen as an eruption of anguish and pain to live an everyday life of disparities and prejudices and are definitely based on the ideas of social justice and equality.

## My Conclusions

I agree to the problems cited by the bench of experts and thinkers rooted in economic growth and development grounds; in fact I second it. But when observed from a much bigger horizon, India is developing by jumping along a transition which I must name as *transition of administrative efficiency*, a transition from worst governance to that of the best. The failure of the North-Grid<sup>5</sup> (the reason behind the blackout) must not be exemplified as India's failed instances rather the positive aspect must be dug out. In spite of having such diverse, if I am not wrong, *the* most diverse physical terrain, India successfully installed a nationwide grid which functions flawlessly. Isn't it an angle of rejoicing? Yes, it is true, that it is the resident Indian who moves up to the highest chair of Indian polity and it is this same Indian who gets corrupted, a much-criticised reality. And perhaps for that very reason, the idea of belongingness and a resultant sense of accountability must be inculcated and sustained among the Indian mass population—much before sustaining a growth of 9%<sup>6</sup>. Prior to any development step, what must be modified is the human consciousness, the consciousness of belonging to a same hearth, the consciousness of solidarity and sharing of shoulders.

In the given political economic milieu of India, it is imperative to visualise a situation in its entirety rather than magnifying the gaps: the gaps between what goal India, as an economy or as

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<sup>4</sup> Rajiv Gandhi Grameen Vidyutikaran Yojana (RGGVY) was launched in April 2005 by merging all ongoing schemes. The RGGVY aims at: Electrifying all villages and habitations as per new definition, providing access to electricity to all rural households and providing electricity Connection to Below Poverty Line (BPL) families free of charge. (<http://rggvvy.gov.in/rggvvy/rggvvyportal/index.html>)

<sup>5</sup> Indian power system is divided into five regional sectors: Northern, Eastern, Western, North Eastern and Southern region

<sup>6</sup> The Eleventh Plan aims at achieving a radical transformation in this aspect of our development. It sets a target for 9% growth in the five year period 2007–08 to 2011–12 with acceleration during the period to reach 10% by the end of the Plan. (Eleventh Five year plan, India)



a nation-state, must achieve and what it actually has achieved. India is definitely lagging behind vis-à-vis the goal set; however, the way she has handled the 1.2 billion-plus population through efficient governance and multiple flagship programmes is highly commendable. The gaps can be bridged once we are habituated with identifying the elements of positivity. I offer this essay, with the help of an optimistic thought over an event that is detrimental to our economic growth, to reflect the idea that the unconformities are not the only achievement India sustained. We must try to internalize the fact that every coin has two sides, which despite being contrasting, give an holistic view of any event.

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