

# Theory and practice for a critical community psychology in the UK

## Teoría y práctica para una psicología comunitaria crítica en el Reino Unido

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### ABSTRACT

Over the last 30 years we have developed an approach to "Critical Community Psychology", that aims to be locally focussed but globally aware. Characteristics that distinguish it from other approaches in community and critical psychology include 1) the concept of prefigurative action, which relates work with local projects and initiatives to a wider project of principled social change, 2) an understanding of community that reflects its contested

nature and lived diversity, 3) a priority for working with those most oppressed or excluded by dominant power systems, 4) ecological and systems thinking which includes our own distinctive use of boundary, edge and the ethic of stewardship, 5) use of a wide repertoire of methods and theories adequate to the variety of problem contexts community psychologists can encounter. We also offer critical reflections on our approach.

**Keywords:** Community psychology; Prefigurative action; Contested community; Ecological metaphor

## RESUMEN

A lo largo de los últimos 30 años hemos desarrollado un enfoque de “La Psicología Comunitaria Crítica”, enfocada en lo local pero consciente al nivel global. Sus características que se distingue de otros enfoques en la psicología comunitaria y crítica incluyen, 1) el concepto de la acción prefigurativa, que hace vinculación entre proyectos e iniciativas locales y un proyecto más amplia de cambio social ético, 2) un entendimiento de comunidad que refleja su naturaleza contestada y su diversidad vivida, 3)

una prioridad de trabajar para ellos quienes son lo más oprimidos y excluidos por sistemas de poder dominantes, 4) conceptualización ecológica y sistémica que incluye nuestro uso distintivo de los conceptos de frontera y borde y la ética de “stewardship”, 5) el uso de un repertorio amplio de métodos y teorías apropiadas a la diversidad de problemas encontrados por psicólogos comunitarios. Ofrecemos también unas reflexiones críticas sobre nuestro enfoque.

**Palabras clave:** Psicología comunitaria; Acción prefigurativa; Comunidad contestada; Metáfora ecológica.

## Introduction

This article is based on a paper presented at Birzeit University, Palestine, in 2013 at an international conference on Community Psychology. There we reflected that our own context is very different from that of colonial occupation in Palestine. It is similarly different from the multiple contexts of Latin America, yet we learn and draw inspiration from the struggles of people in those far away places, not with a view to copying praxis, but on the basis of understanding, adapting it to our own context. At the same time, as this article shows, we also use other concepts and methods in our own approach to what we have called critical community psychology. Unlike much “critical psychology”, “critical community psychology” also has a practical orientation, aiming for both the amelioration of social ills and transformative action in relation to their causes. Its critical nature stems from the attempt to understand the wider context of community, embedded as it is in society, with its politics and economy. Moreover, it seeks to

uncover those hidden and ideological aspects of social relations and especially the power relations that constitute them.

We live and work in Manchester, the world's first industrial city, now largely de-industrialised and a centre for finance, science, technology and media (and of course, football and music). While the city has boomed in recent years there are areas of great, relative disadvantage, and as many as 25 percent of children are growing up in conditions of poverty. Average life expectancy is 10 years lower than in the South of England. There are strong traditions of collective struggle, and a diverse population comprising communities with roots around the world, as well as traditional white communities.

Over the last 30 years we have developed an approach to working in community contexts that is the framework set out more fully in our book, *"Critical Community Psychology"* (Kagan, Burton, Duckett, Lawthom, & Siddiquee, 2011). We have done this through working both separately and together, forename2 from the University and forename1 from health and social services, and with a variety of collaborators. Our focus has included people who are disabled, people living in conditions of poverty and marginalisation, people with mental health difficulties, children, older people and migrants. We have worked with individual activists, small groups, community organisations, NGOs and government departments and agencies. We have worked on practice, policy, research and evaluation as well as on theory. Our approach has been both *practical* - orientated to principled social change and liberation from oppression and disadvantage, and *critical* - questioning assumptions in dominant ideology and policy, in communities and their practice, and in psychology and allied disciplines. To illustrate our approach we will take five aspects and explore them. Each of them in turn reveals other dimensions and issues in the construction and critique of community psychologies. Figure 1 illustrates their relationships with one another and the overall goal of social justice.

**1) The concept of prefigurative action.**

Our critical community psychology tries to be about more than ameliorative change ('asistencialismo' in the Spanish language literature), aspiring to transformational change for people and communities that are disadvantaged or oppressed. We see this in terms of social justice. But it is so much easier to aspire to transformational practice than to engage in it: indeed, much of the work of critical community psychologists is, in reality, small scale and time-limited. Why? Among the reasons, we highlight four.

1. Social life is shaped by forces outside the boundaries of both the community contexts and the projects that community psychologists and others are typically involved with. Those forces act as constraints on locally based social change yet can be relatively invisible (in the case of dominant ideology) and inaccessible to interventions at a local level.
2. Even though they might want to facilitate transformational change, community psychologists and their work are often disconnected from social movements that do work on society level change. The self image of scientist or professional can contribute to this isolation.
3. Methods deriving largely from social psychology, that are used in local action projects, do not contain either analytic or action frameworks for the societal level.
4. Community psychology, despite its emphasis on units of analysis that are greater than the individual and the immediate interpersonal context, has produced relatively little theory for the societal level, either in terms of the societal construction of the individual and the group, or in terms of action frameworks for systemic, macro, or societal level change.

So how can the connection be made between the local, project-based working typical of community psychology and a broader agenda or programme of principled social

change? We have addressed this question elsewhere (Kagan, & Burton, 2000) through combining the model of action research (especially the idea of understanding social reality by attempting to change it) with Antonio Gramsci's concept of 'prefigurative struggle' (Gramsci, 1968). Gramsci pointed to the importance in struggle of exploring, defining and anticipating the new social forms that the social movement seeks. So, as we work in ways that develop innovations, anticipating a better world, we will not be immediately creating it: instead we are experimenting (in partnership and solidarity) with change and learning from the process in a systematic way, while also collectively learning about what it is we are struggling for.

Prefigurative praxis, then, has two concerns, the immediate, identifying the limits of reform and hence the need for transformation, and the programmatic, the utopian horizon that gives meaning to a social movement. Prefigurative praxis is not a methodology in itself but an orientation that guides our roles as allies and co-learners within complex social environments.

The learning that always arises in one form or another from pre-figurative work can be released into the wider society, and into community psychological praxis in a variety of ways, including through the lived experiences of those that participated, were challenged, grew or benefited in some way. Sometimes the new learning is stabilised (Ray, 1993) in new social institutions, and sometimes not. Sometimes the new learning emerges later in ways that cannot be predicted: even apparently failed social projects can contribute to the wider programme and movements for principled change.

So through our emphasis on prefigurative praxis we seek to help community psychology and the people it works with to avoid fragmentation and repetition of effort, and link the local to the societal, the social psychological to the political.

**2) *An understanding of community that reflects lived diversity and the contested nature of the concept.***

In our explorations of community psychology with people from other contexts we find that there are differences in the way that community is understood. This is not really surprising since communities themselves differ, even in this increasingly globalised world. It is therefore worth setting out our understanding of community.

Firstly 'community' is a contested concept (Kagan et al., 2011; Williams, 1976). It is used ideologically, for example by politicians to gain support for their policies and programmes. For example, in the developed West, the cutting of welfare spending on children, disabled people, older people, has sometimes been presented in terms of increasing community inclusion, while often the sub-text is that families, and especially women will have to do more (Coote, 2014).

Paradoxically, such policy shifts have also opened up opportunities for genuine inclusion of the excluded and a context for principled community psychological work (Kagan, Lawthom, Duckett, & Burton 2006). Even here, though, we need to take care: part of the recent government rhetoric in the UK is to urge people to participate in their communities. Such participation is seen to be the badge of being a good citizen, thus revealing its ideological base and hiding the complex realities that mean many people are unable to participate in direct ways.

Secondly, 'community' is not necessarily defined in terms of place but in terms of common interests. So in Manchester, there is a community of mothers of disabled children, dispersed across the city so not located in any particular neighbourhood. There is a community of ecological activists and there are communities of people with common ethnic or cultural characteristics. Some of these may correspond to localities but there will also be other communities in those localities, and each community is likely to have connections beyond the neighbourhood.

At the same time sense of place contributes to identity and the uprooting of people from one place to another creates fractures in identity. These fractures are experienced differently by different groups, and here, too, we need to take care to not assume homogeneity in the meanings that place has for identity.

Given the above, it is not surprising that communities do not necessarily have clear or fixed boundaries – both the physical and psychological bases of community may change over time as people move and as the social, economic and political context changes, which may at times destroy communities or lead to their redefinition or re-creation.

Manchester's industrial history has been one cause of such change as has the imperialist past and present of our country. And our present government's austerity policies, in the context of a neglect of public housing policy over decades, with the reliance on house price boom to fuel economic expansion, are creating a situation where many people can no longer afford to live in London, the capital city.

This leads us to a third characteristic, linked to lack of homogeneity. Communities are often sites of conflict with different social interests interacting within and beyond the community. Allied to this the community is the object of intervention from dominant social interests, another source of internal and external conflict. The community (as location) is not necessarily a pleasant place to live, for example for sexual minorities in traditional communities, or ethnic or religious minorities within a xenophobic community context. So interventions to strengthen a community can sometimes unwittingly make matters worse for some community members. The stronger the connections between community members, sometimes the worse it is for those who are not connected. Similarly, whilst some communities are characterised by ties of affiliation, others are held together through ties of coercion – and it proves impossible for people to leave, should they want to.

It is therefore important to see communities for what they are, rather than having an idealised, romantic picture of them. Despite this, communities are a large part of our social context and they can be sources of great good – so one key task of community psychologists is help maximise solidarity, cohesion and inclusiveness.

All the above points to a fourth characteristic, that communities do not exist in a vacuum, but within concrete, contradictory and changing societal contexts, defined politically, economically, culturally and ecologically.

This complex understanding of community necessarily requires a critical, inquiring, and humble stance, where the psychologist seeks not to impose solutions but to understand while increasing understanding.

### ***3) A priority for working with those most oppressed or excluded by dominant power systems.***

For us, an absolutely central element of critical community psychology is the ethical commitment to social justice. This stems from a recognition that the world is characterised by unjust inequalities on the international and the local scale, and by oppression and exclusion. Moreover, psychological knowledge and expertise is relatively unavailable to those most oppressed or excluded. Prioritising in this way our relative knowledge and influence is thereby a small contribution to countering the dominant and damaging interests that cause and perpetuate oppression.

In making this emphasis we do not have illusions that psychological knowledge is necessarily something that helps – we are very aware of the frequent complicity of psychologists, psychology and the psychological establishment with various kinds of oppressive ideologies, actions and structures (Burton, & Kagan, 2007). So our praxis is necessarily reflexive, reflective, and self-critical, alert to unintended consequences. But we do not take the post-modern, relativist position that psychology is necessarily an oppressive body of ideology and practice.

In part what we are talking about is a question of efficient and effective resource use. Making the scarce resource of community psychology available to communities that have relatively few problems will contribute to the solution of relatively few problems. A greater impact can be made by adoption of a preference for working with the most in need.

This idea is similar to the concept of the 'preferential option for the poor,' or for the oppressed, in the Latin American innovation of Liberation Psychology (Burton, & Gómez, 2015), itself part of a bigger tradition covering the disciplines of theology, philosophy, economics, education and so on, but more than this, with roots in the popular struggles and social movements of the region (Burton, 2013).

Liberatory approaches are also distinct from the merely technical interventions of more orthodox psychologies, and indeed with the preventative model that underpinned the development of North American community psychology.

#### ***4) An emphasis on ecological and systems thinking.***

Another key emphasis of standard community psychology is the use of the ecological metaphor. We are very comfortable with this both as a resource for understanding people in context, and as a source of ideas for the design of interventions, but have our own way of conceptualising it. Despite frequent mentions of the metaphor in community psychology, there has been surprisingly little systematic exploration of it. One exception was the work of Trickett, Barone and Watts (2000) who identified four concepts: 1) Adaptation, 2) Cycling of Resources, 3) Interdependence, and 4) Succession. We add four more: 5) Unintended consequences, 6) Non-linearity, 7) Ecological fields and edges, 8) Nesting of ecosystems and 9) Ecological design (Kagan et al., 2011).

We will briefly explore one of these, fields and edges (Kagan, 2007), because it is the one we ourselves have used most, and we have not seen its application in other works on community psychology.

An ecosystem is both a system and a field of interacting activities. As a field we are considering a terrain that has a boundary and within which interactions happen. Field concepts have been used in psychology from time to time (although generally outside the mainstream Kantor, 1959; Lewin, 1939). Interactions within any field of activity have a structure and complexity that cannot simply be reduced to the sum of those interactions. Furthermore, fields do not have fixed boundaries, they interact with and influence adjacent fields or ecosystems. The area where two ecosystems meet is called the 'ecotone' or ecological 'edge', and contains elements of both contributing fields. As the 'edge' has characteristics of both ecosystems, it results in a richness of natural resources – both species and energy transactions.

The edge concept is used extensively in permaculture (a framework for the ecological design of food systems and living spaces) as a design principle to maximise yield. It can also be applied to social systems to maximise resources. We have found it helpful to use the concept of 'edge' to think about how to maximise available resources for social change. Strategies for increasing 'edge' include the creation of settings (temporary, for example workshop events, or longer-lasting, for example a series of events or the construction of a new organisation or gathering space), the facilitation of interactions between different groups (for example by identifying projects or campaigns where there is a common interest), or by maximising the time that different groups are in contact (for example by situating projects and events at the physical edge between distinct neighbourhoods).

'Edge' is also arguably an ethical principle – looking to work with and to maximise 'edge' between social groups facilitates contact, interaction, learning and respect between them. Thinking about ways of maximising the 'edge', as a strategy for

maximising the use of community resources, can increase people's prospects for making sustained changes. It should be noted, however, that increasing the 'edge' does not automatically lead to desirable interactions (e.g. Haddad et al., 2015): the specific interactions have to be understood and worked with. See Burton and Kagan (2000), Choudhury and Kagan (2000), Kagan (2007, 2011), for elaboration of the application of the edge effect.

The concept of 'edge' is both an analytic and an ethical one. Another ethical concept closely related to ecology is that of stewardship.

Stewardship means being careful about the use of resources, natural resources, economic resources, as well as people's time and effort. While the concept is understood in the fields of ecological design and permaculture (e.g. Holmgren, 2007), it is not usually mentioned explicitly in connection with Community Psychology. Nevertheless, for us it is a crucial element. If we are serious about stewardship as a value, we are serious about our duties to look after our world and the people in it; to enable people to make a contribution and gain a sense of social belonging; not to waste things, people's lives, or time, to think long-term, make things last longer than us and to do things as right as we can. That means making the best use of resources, working as efficiently as possible, maximising both human and material resources while working in ways that will lead to long lasting sustainable change and not just short term fixes. It demands that we involve other people as fully as possible in innovation, sharing our expertise but not privileging it. The emphasis is on helping people change the context of their lives, valuing and deploying their creativity, strengths and potential. Finally it requires a continual cycle of doing, learning and reflection (Kagan, & Burton, 2005).

Ecological thinking, as we have noted, also makes use of systems ideas, and systems thinking is again important in all variants of community psychology. Elsewhere, we

have outlined the central premises of systems thinking (Burton, 2003; Kagan et al., 2011):

1) Complex systems involve interconnected parts. 2) The organisation of complex systems can be understood in terms of a series of levels, where elements of one level can be dependent on the superior and inferior levels, yet simultaneously show a relative autonomy from adjacent levels. 3) The properties of systems are emergent, that is they cannot be predicted from the properties of individual elements in themselves. 4) Systems are characterised by feedback, recursion, boundaries, nested subsystems, and responsiveness to the environment in which the system is located.

Moreover, the kinds of systems that we are concerned with in critical community psychology have some further typical properties. 5) They are open – that is they are subject to outside influences and they themselves affect other systems. 6) They are ‘soft’ rather than hard, which means that they can not be understood in terms of mechanical-like processes of input – output and prediction: they involve people and people have ideas, beliefs and attitudes and these enter into the system as properties. 7) These open and soft aspects come together when we consider that community social systems have boundaries that are flexible, permeable, and changeable. 8) The actors in human systems do not necessarily have the same interests, so conflict and the exercise of power are inherent.

We therefore require a particular kind of systems thinking to appreciate and work with the kinds of systems that we meet in critical community psychology, and this has been variously described as soft (Checkland, & Scholes, 1999) and critical systems thinking (Flood, & Jackson, 1991). From critical systems thinking we take what we regard as a really important idea, that of *boundary critique* (Kagan, Caton, Amin, & Choudry, 2004; Midgley, Munlo, & Brown, 1998; Ulrich, 1994). In any social intervention a number of decisions are made, many of them hidden, that define the context and content of the intervention and those involved in it.

An example might be helpful here. Suppose you were approached to help plan the design of a healthy eating programme designed to reduce the incidence of diabetes amongst middle aged people. You might ask who is going to be involved in the planning – people with diabetes? The person responsible for cooking in the household? Family members? People living in communities where diabetes incidence is high and so are at risk of contracting diabetes? What about the children in families where there is diabetes? But they are quite young, so you need to consider what planning methods could be used to include their ideas, and/or to ensure that their needs and interests are understood. In asking those questions you are asking about the boundary between those included in planning and those excluded.

But there are other boundaries to consider: why focus on people with or at risk of diabetes? What need is this meant to meet? Why prioritise healthy eating and people's behaviour in the first place? What assumptions have gone unquestioned in the task you are presented with from the start? Why not examine the socio-economic circumstances of those with diabetes and ensure good educational opportunities and well paid jobs are available to all? Why not examine the availability of healthy foods and processed foods and intervene with shopkeepers rather than those with diabetes? What and whose needs are individual behaviour change programmes for health designed to meet? Why prioritise these for intervention and not others? What other solutions have been considered (other than trying to get people to eat a healthier diet), or could be? And so on. Boundary critique, then, opens up a variety of issues that are of great relevance to the ethical and effective practice of community psychology.

***5) Use of a wide repertoire of methods and theories both "psychological " and "non-psychological".***

The last characteristic of critical community psychology highlighted here is the need for flexibility, creativity and competence with a variety of different methods. This is

necessary because community psychologists can encounter a wide variety of problem contexts. Reliance on one methodology, or even a restricted range of methods (for example community diagnosis, or participative inquiry) is insufficient for this variety.

The necessary knowledge and skills come from a variety of disciplines, including politics, policy, ecology, management, system theory and practice, as well as psychology (organisational, clinical, social, etc.) including the use of research methods. They also emerge from the dilemmas of work in community contexts – we often find ourselves inventing or synthesising an approach that draws on other methods, and from our background knowledge as social scientists.

This emphasis on a wide repertoire probably sounds obvious, almost not worth mentioning, yet it is interesting to see how different groups of community psychologists have tended to settle on particular, and restricted, sets of tools to use in their work. Look for example at the pages of the (US) American Journal of Community Psychology to see how often multiple regression is used to try and understand community processes. Although it is surely driven by the real problem of finding effective ways to capture the real complexity of real social processes, to us this also looks suspiciously like a retreat from direct engagement with the community, a hiding behind questionnaires and other instruments. And this is only one example of the unnecessary and uncreative restriction of method. We are similarly critical of the “retreat to the text”, whereby qualitative method becomes synonymous with the analysis of the written or spoken word, with a consequent loss of focus on action in concrete social contexts.

### **Common Threads**

It is worth drawing out some of the implications that we have found in our work, for this kind of critical community psychological practice.

Firstly the importance of commitment. Putting into practice those features of practice that we have outlined generally requires a long term commitment to the people we work with and their shifting interests and concerns. Community psychology is sometimes described as a “way of life” as much as a professional discipline. Yet there is a tension between this implicit long-termism and the short-termism of the project-based orientation that typically dominates government, NGOs and university research and extension activities. The kind of work we outline is difficult to do with short term projects or, working from a university with projects that meet the continually changing agendas of those who will fund the work. It can be really difficult to retain long term relationships and work to our community partners’ priorities, rather than those imposed from the outside.

In some ways this has been easier to address from a human services base (initials1) (whose purpose is to provide long term supports for disabled people who cannot manage without them) than from a University one (initials2). However, different kinds of tensions arise with the coming of cuts to budgets and service transformations imposed from outside the service. These different interests suggest that commitment is hard to maintain wherever one is placed.

It would not be possible to work in the ways we have described without working in alliance with other groups, projects, organisations. Indeed, the very creation of ‘edges’ we have talked about is often to be found in the development of strategic links with other organisations working for social justice. This requires a disposition and a set of skills that is about sharing methods and knowledge and the ownership of “success”, and a clear analysis of and use of power in the interests of the people. Certainly, in the UK, these skills are not normally part of the repertoire of skills for psychology graduates.

One common thread throughout the different features of our critical community psychology, whether this is at a theoretical or practical level, is that of taking the

perspective of the 'other' (Martín-Baró, 1986). At a theoretical level this means interrogating ideas, theories and practices from the perspective of some other coherent knowledge framework that also tries to follow a social justice agenda, and then where possible integrating these alternative perspectives into community psychology training, thinking and practice (Kagan et al., 2011). Examples of such bodies of thought might include feminist thought; anti-racist and de-colonial thought; Marxist thought; environmental and cultural studies; critical disability studies; liberation ethics. We hesitate to give references here, since these are inevitably selective and could misrepresent diverse fields, but the interested reader could consult the following: Butler, 2006; Evans, 1997; Fanon, 1965; Quijano, 2000; Escobar, 2003; Hayes, 2004; Odum, 1971; Shiva, 1989; Williams, 1988; Swain, Finkelstein and Oliver, 1998; Dussel, 2013.

At a practical level taking the perspective of the other suggests a stance of listening, a readiness to understand and not jump prematurely to offer solutions, and the ability to critically reflect upon self – one's feelings, motivations, preferences, actions.

### **A Stance and Practice of Critical Self Awareness and Reflection**

It is impossible to pursue the themes we have been discussing without critical self awareness and reflection, and this forms a cornerstone of our approach, borne from many years of experience. This stance requires sound understanding of our own positionality as researcher or practitioner, and the power matrix and web of relationships of which we are part. This includes multi-dimensional self awareness – behaviour, historical and cultural influences, role, networks, style, attitudes, future aspirations and so on, not only at an intellectual level but also at emotional and relational levels. Communities are sometimes 'other'; they are also sometimes 'we'. We suggest it is as important to know the limitations as well as the possibilities of our work

– whether there are some people we cannot work with or prefer not to work with, why might this be and what can be done about it. This knowledge has implications for working together in teams, where there is a need to include external agents (community partners) and professionals with relevant specialist knowledge: individual practitioners will rarely have all the skills, attributes and relationships necessary to work effectively with the people and issues in question.

Only with such critical self reflection can we work prefiguratively, understand the complexity of communities with which we are embedded, prioritise who it is that we work with on what issue, maximise the ecological ‘edges’ and work with complex systems of which we are a part, widen our repertoire of methods or challenge the boundaries of our work.

### **Auto-Critique**

In considering the key features of a UK based critical community psychology, we would like to finish with some critical reflections on our approach. We know how difficult it is to define with certainty what a critical community psychology would look like, so we will share some of our uncertainties in the form of questions we ask our selves, with our tentative responses:

1. Is it reasonable to combine different methodologies, each with differing philosophical assumptions (Burton & Kagan, 1998). We think it is, but are aware that in doing that we may be violating the epistemological assumptions associated with certain approaches. The question then is whether this actually matters: perhaps this is the way methodological innovation occurs.
2. Is it idealistic to assume that it is possible to challenge boundaries that are strongly connected to values and ethics, often imposed by dominant interests in an issue? We think not, since the very act of challenging such boundaries is an

act of challenging dominant interests, but it would indeed be naïve to believe that mounting a challenge is all that is required to overturn oppressive power structures and practices.

3. As we claim a critical psychological stance, are we always able to be clear what alternative knowledge frameworks we might use to view our practice? By definition, the straight answer will be “no”, in that the full universe of possibilities is never knowable. But the only way to address the problem is by consciously striving to widen the repertoire of theory and practice beyond that derived from traditional, individualistic psychology.
4. Are the features we have suggested unique to a discipline calling itself community psychology and does it matter if they are not? They are not, at least in their separate forms. It is possible that the particular combination of features is unique: this might not be a particularly important issue however.
5. Is the approach specific to the situation of rich Western countries who have, themselves been colonisers? Our view is that coloniality, as co-constitutive of modernity (Dussel, 2000; Quijano, 2000), is also a decisive factor in shaping structures and practices of social administration, including the governmental management of communities, in colonising countries too. Many of the issues that we deal with in terms of disadvantage and devaluation of subaltern groups can be understood that way. We strive to escape that legacy in our theory and practice so that such praxis is not reproduced in critical community psychology. but we are not the best judges of our success.

Given these uncertainties, and in the spirit of the participative approach inherent to community psychology, rather than write a conclusion we invite the reader to construct their own.

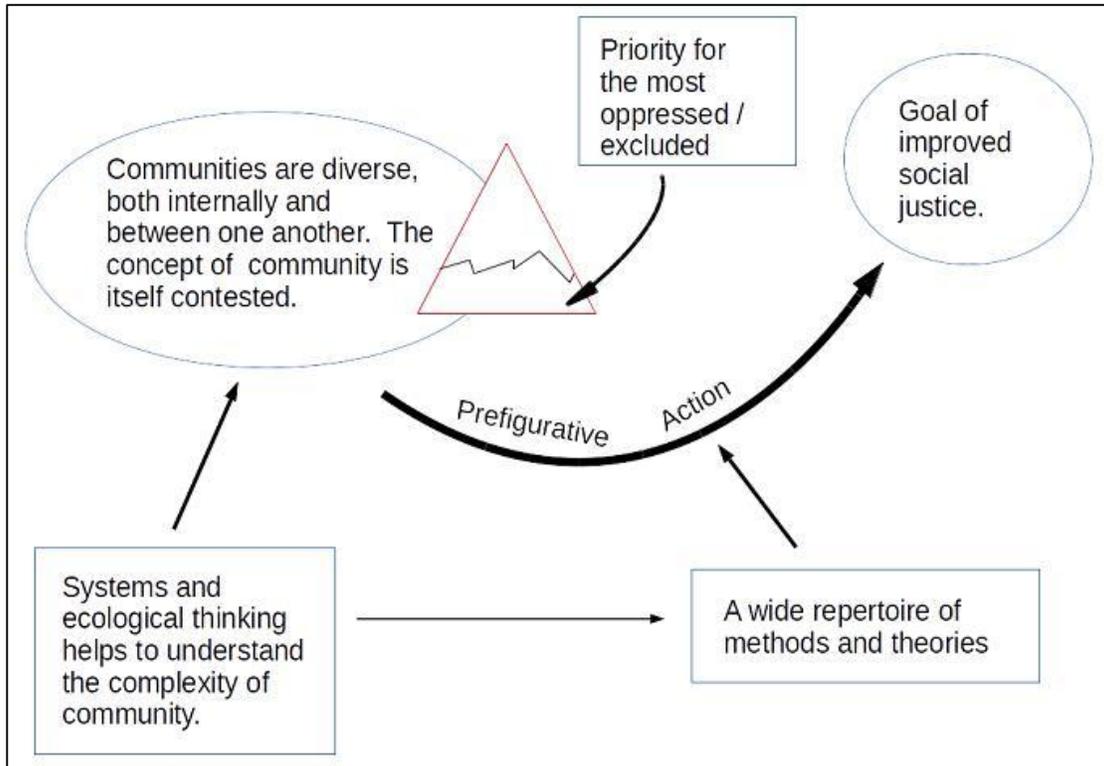


Figure 1. Diagram showing relationships among the key emphases of critical community psychology in relation to the pursuit of social justice in communities.

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