Rubén Ardila *Editor*

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## Current Status, Challenges and Perspectives

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# Foreword

A measure of the progress, indeed stability, of any country can be gauged from the status of the discipline of psychology as a science and its myriad applications. Prosperity, security, and development in society often tend to mirror the role and visibility of and the reliance and value placed on the psychological underpinnings and understanding of behavior. There is an undeniable nexus between the level of development of psychology and the stage of national development of a country.

Although firmly rooted in the positive ethic, psychology's roots can be traced to most cultural and intellectual traditions, predating its beginnings as a science in 1879, and its establishment as a distinct profession after the end of the Second World War. Psychology has burgeoned and flourished since then and it is the Latin American growth path of psychology that is accurately reflected in this timely volume, edited by a doyen in the field with whom I have enjoyed a collegial relationship for two decades.

Bruiting the significant contributions of psychology in Latin America to national and regional development and connecting these to the discipline historically and internationally is a *leit motif* of a rich and immensely useful scholarly work that ought to grace any academic and practitioner's bookshelf. Importantly, the roots of Latin American psychology can be traced to indigenous native populations which expressed ideas that are currently referenced as psychological topics. History records that Inca and Aztec codes of conduct and justice in the third century CE display propriety and justice, as well as ways of tending to the health and welfare of their members. These early ruminations need more study, especially the propensity for tolerance and forbearance in the face of colonial onslaught and the assimilation and extinction that implacably ensued.

Latin American psychology boasts a positive upwardly mobile growth trajectory that is outstripping its colonial linkages, with a critical mass that will soon overtake its Spanish and Portuguese European past.[1] Psychology internationally has benefitted enormously from the important contributions in research and practice that have

[1] Only China—aided by its massive population and direct state enablement—can possibly surpass this achievement.

emerged from this critical and indelible part of our world. With growing numbers of creditable undergraduate, master's, and doctoral programs, Latin American psychology has taken full advantage of the living laboratories that exist in their countries to better understand, impact, and transform rapidly unfurling sociopolitical contexts. Providing enormous insights and making significant contributions to the discipline, the attempts to rely on psychology in the quest for improving people's lives can also prove useful beyond the confines of the region.

I am pleased that the International Union of Psychological Science (IUPsyS) has gained traction through the involvement of notable psychologists of the caliber of Rubén Ardila, Rolando Díaz-Loving, Germán Gutierrez, Laura Hernández-Guzmán, Maria Cristina Richaud de Minzi, Juan José Sánchez-Sosa, and others in its leadership. Then too, the renowned contributions of the likes of A. L. Angelini, R. Díaz-Guerrero, R. Bethancourt, Ignacio Martín-Baró, Maritza Montero, Emilio Ribes-Iñesta, and Horacio J. Rimoldi deserve due recognition.

The isolation that characterized psychology in this part of the world at the turn of the century has become effete in a shared and instantly connected world where language, national, and regional barriers are quickly being positively eroded. Visionary leadership from the region is making significant strides in the discipline the world over. Determined that psychology will break historic vestiges that have created artificial barriers thus ensuring that we revel in a universal psychology that strives to serve all of humanity, this leadership is seeking to reduce uncertainty and insecurity in a fragile world, which will be poorer if their work is ignored.

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# Preface

Psychology in Latin America is practically unknown to the international psychological community. The intention of this book is to play a role in overcoming this information gap. Latin American psychology as a science and as a profession has been isolated from international development during the larger part of its history. Psychology in Latin America is a discipline with many active research centers, university training programs at the undergraduate and graduate levels, journals, practical applications, professional developments, social impact, and original work carried out in many of the countries of the region. The first psychology training programs in Latin America began in 1946 (Chile) and in 1947 (Colombia), and a few years later in other countries. However, Latin American psychology has been isolated from mainstream psychology, with scarce participation in International Congresses of Psychology (IUPsyS), International Congresses of Applied Psychology (IAAP), APA conventions, etc. Few international events have been held in the region.

This present book consists of 11 chapters. After the prologue written by Saths Cooper, current president of the International Union of Psychological Science (IUPsyS), the first chapter presents a panoramic vision of psychology in Latin America. It includes historical and conceptual aspects of the training at the undergraduate and graduate level. It affirms that psychology in Latin America has been previously characterized by scientific orientation, dependency, lack of sufficient originality, a conflict between social relevance and political activism, emphasis on applied issues, and emphasis on work with human beings.

The next chapter, devoted to scientific studies, shows the main trends in basic and applied research, the methods used, and the most important advances and limitations of research. It refers to the need to consolidate programs nationally and internationally and increase funding for research projects and institutions. The main areas of work are pointed out along with the most outstanding contributions to psychology as a science, made by psychologists from several countries, but without overlooking the applications of psychology, which for developing countries are of fundamental importance.

Professional concerns have been key in psychology for several decades. Chapter 3, "The long road to the profession of psychologist," describes and analyzes the training of psychologists in different countries, their conceptual foundation, the social needs, and the developments of the discipline that led to the creation of the career of psychologist, the insertion of the profession in society, and other related matters.

Clinical psychology is the area with the greatest number of practitioners, both in the United States and in Western Europe, as well as in Latin America. In more recent decades, health psychology has also become very important. The chapter by Fernández-Álvarez and Bregman presents a detailed view of this psychology field. During the first half of the twentieth century, the study of clinical phenomena focused on the mental ability diagnosis field and on the evaluation of individual differences. There was a great emphasis on the development of psychological tests and their application to specific contexts. Later, during the 1970s and 1980s, clinical psychology in Latin America developed other fields besides diagnosis, such as psychotherapy, research on abnormal behavior, and the promotion of mental health. The methodological controversies among various paradigms such as psychoanalysis, experimental analysis of behavior, humanistic psychology, systemic psychology, and Gestalt were very intense. Today there is in general a scientific and professional emphasis in clinical and health psychology in Latin America. On the other hand, there are centers dedicated to a specific approach to clinical and health issues, and there are notable differences among some countries.

Human development is an area with numerous research studies and fields of application. Koller and De Morais in their work present a perceptive overview of the subject in Latin America. Their chapter centers on recent advances with special emphasis on the last 30 years. The review of the field is organized in three sections. The first contains a brief update on the recent history of developmental psychology in Latin American countries. The second describes the main areas of research in some nations (Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Paraguay, Perú, Uruguay, and Venezuela). Lastly, the last section focuses on developmental psychology in Brazil, present authors' country of origin, and includes a discussion of the main research groups affiliated with the National Association for Research and Graduate Studies in Psychology. Future directions in research and practice are suggested at the end of the chapter.

The relationship between educational and school psychology with developmental psychology is well recognized. The field of education was fertile ground for the emergence of psychology, both in Europe and in the Americas. Maluf and Sargiani present the context of the bond between education and psychology, their advances in Latin America, and the perspectives of this field.

One of the fastest growing areas of psychology in Latin America is work/organizational psychology (WOP), formerly called industrial psychology, occupational psychology, or labor psychology, as indicated by Borges-Andrade, Pérez, and Toro. With the social advances, technological developments, globalization, and economic and political changes, this area of psychology has been vibrant and wide-ranging. Today it is a field of great professional growth and not only in the

area of human resources but also throughout the work and organization world. Its relationships with social psychology and with economic psychology have been very fruitful. The authors point out that in Latin America a large proportion of people historically worked in the informal economy, even in the illegal economy, affecting the world of work in a more global way. The broad concept of WOP is more relevant because it recognizes not only the classical organizational relationships employed but also other forms and modalities of work that were consolidated in the twenty-first century and that should be the object of study and intervention.

The chapter by Díaz-Loving and Cruz del Castillo on social psychology analyzes the role of psychological, anthropological, and social processes in human behavior. They point out the differences between psychological social psychology and sociological social psychology in the Latin American context. They review the basic and applied research that has been carried out in this subcontinent, which studies problems related to Latin America and its culture.

Community psychology is one of the most well-known fields of Latin American psychology, mainly because of the efforts of Ignacio Martín-Baró. Also, in her chapter, Maritza Montero analyzes the reasons why community psychology emerges, its originality, and its place in the psychology of the subcontinent. According to her, Latin America strives for a psychology that responds to its needs. She also states that community psychology is here to stay.

Legal and forensic psychology has been an area of recent development in Latin America, although it had its origins in the first decades of the twentieth century. In her chapter, Tapias studies the law-psychology relationship, the training of forensic and legal psychologists at the undergraduate and graduate levels, the roles of the psychologist, the relationships with other professionals such as lawyers and psychiatrists, the organizations related to justice in Latin America, and the associations of legal and forensic psychologists and their role in the development of the profession. She includes in her analysis a wide range of Latin American countries: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Cuba, Costa Rica, Colombia, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Mexico, Panama, Paraguay, and Uruguay.

In the closing chapter, Alarcón points out the trends and perspectives of psychology in Latin America. He shows its dual scientific and applied nature, indicates that original theories and research are being proposed, points out the different methodologies in process, and touches on other related topics. No doubt psychology in this part of the world is more focused on human beings than on other species and places more emphasis on applications than in basic research. It seeks to be a recognized science and profession and be valued in the twenty-first century society.

Bogota, Colombia Rubén Ardila

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# About the Authors

**Reynaldo Alarcón** received his undergraduate and doctoral training at the San Marcos University (Lima, Perú). He has worked in psychological research, psychometrics, psychology of poverty, and history of psychology in Perú and in Latin America. At present he is working in positive psychology. Among his published books are *Métodos y diseños de investigación del comportamiento* (Methods and designs in behavioral research), *El pensamiento psicológico de Walter Blumenfeld* (The psychological thinking of Walter Blumenfeld), *Psicología, pobreza y desarrollo* (Psychology, poverty and development), *Historia de la psicología en el Perú* (History of psychology in Perú), and *Psicología de la felicidad* (Psychology of happiness). Reynaldo Alarcón is a member of national and international psychological associations and has received awards and recognitions from Perú and abroad.

**Rubén Ardila** received his undergraduate training at the National University of Colombia and his Ph.D. at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln. He has done research in experimental psychology, history of psychology, and social issues. He has published 32 psychology books and more than 300 scientific papers and book chapters, in several countries. He has been interested in building bridges between Latin American psychology and the global discipline. He is the current president of the Division of History of Applied Psychology of the International Association of Applied Psychology (IAAP).

**Jairo Eduardo Borges-Andrade** received his Ph.D. in instructional systems from Florida State University in 1979. He was executive member of professional local and federal boards of psychology in Brazil (1980s). He became coordinator of planning and evaluation activities, in the area of psychology, at two Brazilian federal agencies that promote research and graduate courses (1990s and early 2000s). He was past president of the National Association of Research and Postgraduate Studies and of the Brazilian Association for Organizational and Work Psychology. He is full professor at the University of Brasília, where he investigates workplace learning and teaches work and organizational psychology at the undergraduate, master, and doctoral levels.

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**Saths Cooper** is the current president of the International Union of Psychological Science (IUPsyS), the main global association of psychology. He has been the leader of psychology in the "majority" world and worked for international psychology for decades. As a South African young man in the apartheid times, he engaged in political activism and spent years in jail. He studied psychology while in prison, taking courses by correspondence from the University of South Africa. Later on he earned a master's degree from the University of the Witwatersrand. He was awarded a Fulbright Scholarship and went to Boston University for a Ph.D. in clinical/community psychology, which he received in 1989. He remained for some time in the United States before returning to South Africa. In his home country he worked in applied psychology and in academic institutions. His contributions to organized psychology, to human rights, and to international psychology have been widely recognized.

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**Ángela Tapias** received her degree in psychology from the National University of Colombia, and graduate training in legal and forensic psychology. She was the founder of the Latin American Association of Legal and Forensic Psychology (ALPJF). She has been university professor and legal adviser for more than 15 years, and invited lecturer in 11 countries. She is co-author of seven books and more than 30 scientific articles and book chapters. Dr. Tapias is the scientific director of the web place www.psicologiajuridica.org. She is an expert and advisor to legal organizations, academic institutions, and professional associations.

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# Chapter 1
# Panorama of Psychology in Latin America


**Rubén Ardila**

**Abstract** This introductory chapter presents a panoramic vision of psychology in Latin America. It includes historical and conceptual aspects of the training at the undergraduate and graduate level. It affirms that psychology in Latin America has been previously characterized by scientific orientation, dependency, lack of sufficient originality, a conflict between social relevance and political activism, emphasis on applied issues, and emphasis on work with human beings. Latin-American psychology as a science and as a profession has been isolated from international developments during the larger part of its history. Psychology in Latin America is a discipline with many active research centers, university training programs at the undergraduate and graduate level, journals, practical applications, professional developments, social impact, and original work carried out in many of the countries of the region. The first psychology training programs in Latin America began in 1946 (Chile) and in 1947 (Colombia) and a few year latter in other countries. However, Latin-American psychology has been isolated, with scarce participation in International Congresses of Psychology (IUPsyS), International Association of Applied Psychology (IAAP), APA conventions, etc. Few international psychological events have been held in the region. Reasons will be presented to explain that isolation and possible solutions will be suggested.

## Latin America

Psychology in Latin America has a long history, beginning with the ideas that the native inhabitants had about what we consider today psychological topics, such as the way of knowing the world, education of children, family relationships, sexuality, human development, aging, wisdom, what is considered normal and abnormal, the meaning of life, and similar topics. The study of indigenous psychologies is a relevant research field in psychology in Latin America, particularly in Mexico and Peru.

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With the arrival of the Europeans beginning in 1492, the philosophical ideas of St. Thomas Aquinas became central. At the universities of the New World, the "psychology of the faculties" (derived from St. Thomas' philosophy) predominated. This colonial period lasted until the second decade of the nineteenth century.

Psychological work carried out by physicians, philosophers, and educators during the nineteenth and the twentieth century was the foundations of psychology as a discipline. The professionalization of psychology began in 1946 with the first psychology training programs (Chile, 1946, Colombia, 1947; Brazil, 1953; Argentina, 1955; Mexico, 1958).

At the present time, psychology is a well-established discipline at the university level. It is taught in practically all Latin-American countries. Undergraduate programs exist in the great majority of the nations and also master and doctoral programs in many of the Latin-American countries (see Ardila, 1986).

Let's make clear that in strictus sense, there is no such a thing as "Latin-American psychology." There is psychology *in* Latin America, meaning research and application of psychological principles in a particular context, in this case the Latin-American subcontinent. On the other hand, the geographical area known as "Latin America" or "Latin America and the Caribbean" is varied and heterogeneous, with more than 35 nations and more than 600 million inhabitants. Countries are in different stages of sociocultural development. People speak Spanish, Portuguese, English, French, and other languages including native languages, and they belong to different ethnic groups—Caucasian, Native American, African American, Chinese, and many combinations of the above ethnic groups. This heterogeneous assembly of nations shares some traditions and has some common features that facilitate their identification.

From its origins in philosophy, education, and medicine, psychology in Latin America has evolved into a science and a profession that follows international standards and is contributing to the improvement of the quality of life in the region. The development of psychology in Latin America is varied and heterogeneous, as it is the region. In countries with a strong philosophical tradition such as Mexico, Peru, and Argentina, psychology began as a part of philosophy taught at the universities of the colonial period based on ideas of Aristotle and St. Thomas. In countries with less philosophical tradition, psychology was at the beginning a discipline that helped medicine and education in the handling of behavioral problems.

From the scientific perspective, it is important to indicate that the earliest experimental psychology laboratory in Latin America was founded in 1898 at the Colegio Nacional de Buenos Aires by Horacio Piñero. Wundt has established the first psychological laboratory only 19 years earlier, and Stanley Hall had started the first laboratory on the American continent (at the Johns Hopkins University, in the USA), only 15 years before the Latin-American laboratory.

Today there are approximately 300.000 professional psychologists in Latin America. They work in all the areas of psychology as a science and as a profession. The leading countries are Brazil and Mexico, but important developments are also

carried out in other nations (Peru, Chile, Colombia, Argentina, Venezuela, Cuba, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, and others). Doctoral training programs have been established in several Latin-American countries, mainly in Mexico, Brazil, and Argentina but also in other nations.

The current trends of psychology in Latin America can be said to be the following ones (see also Alarcón, 2002):

1. *Scientific orientation*. There is a great interest among psychologists in the scientific approach. The pioneers of psychology in Latin America founded laboratories, did experimental research, and tried to organize psychology following the standards of natural sciences. Today psychology in Latin America is predominately empirical, objective, and quantitative.
2. *Dependency*. The use of "imported" models has characterized psychology, especially in the early stages. Rationalism (Descartes), empiricism (Locke), and vitalism (Bergson) were doctrines imported by Latin-American psychologists.
3. *Lack of originality*. During the formative period, a number of imported ideas, instrument, and tests were at the core of Latin-American psychology. Only in the last 30 or 40 years, original work has been produced by Latin-American psychologists (see, for instance, Díaz-Guerrero, 1972).
4. *Between social relevance and political activism*. Psychologists were very aware of social issues, worked in relevant social topics, and in some cases proposed politically oriented alternatives (see Aron, Corne, & Martín-Baró, 1994 on Martin-Baró's liberation psychology).
5. *Emphasis on applied psychology*. Latin-American psychology gives special importance to practical work, usefulness, and short-term applications.
6. *Human beings at the center*. Psychologists in Latin America work more with human participants than with nonhuman animals. They are interested in describing human behavior, understanding it, and explaining it. Although there is important research work in comparative psychology and psychobiology, the emphasis is on work with human participants.

These characteristics of psychology in Latin America are indicative of current trends. *Applied* research, using *quantitative* methods, is more frequent than basic research or that qualitative methodology. *Socially relevant* work is highly valued. Although all areas of psychology are cultivated—from neuropsychology to community psychology and from experimental analysis of behavior to cognitive science—probably clinical work in varied settings is more frequent than other areas.

One of the negative aspects of Latin-American psychology is its isolation, its limited participation in international congresses, the scarcity of publications in English, etc. At the present time, international participation is improving, but there is still a long way to go.

## Isolation

Latin-American psychology has not been internationalized enough. It might even be said that it has been kept isolated from the global context. This can be demonstrated by the following facts:

1. Little participation of Latin-American psychologists in international scientific events, including the International Congress of Psychology, the International Congress of Applied Psychology, cross-cultural congresses, and European Congresses of Psychology, among others.
2. The scanty organizing of international congresses in Latin America, the XXIII International Congress of Psychology (Acapulco, Mexico, 1984) being the only one held in a Latin-American country in all its history. No other International Psychology Congress or Applied Psychology Congress has been carried out, despite the great development of Latin-American psychology in the last few decades.
3. The handful of publications by Latin-American authors in the mainstream journals, such as the APA journals, the IUPsyS, the IAAP, or the IACCP. Recently, some Latin-American psychologists have published in journals from Spain available worldwide and in some journals of the United States and other nations.
4. The slight—almost nonexistent—presence of Latin-American psychologists on the editorial committees of the main scientific journals in the world.
5. The small number of exchange programs offered at a formal level between Latin America and the main psychology centers of the world.

All this could be considered as a problem of growth, as a consequence of the relative "youth" of psychology in Latin America. But this is probably not the reason, and the "youth" of psychology in this part of the world is more a myth than a reality. The psychology discipline has existed for many decades in Latin America, longer than in some other cultures or regions of the world, and isolation is a reality; it doesn't depend on maturity or recency of this field of knowledge.

## Proposals for Solutions

The advantages of two-way communication (south-north, north-south, and also south-south) are numerous and well-known. Modern science is international, universal, and not restricted to a country, a culture, a linguistic context, or a social system. To find a solution to the isolation of Latin-American psychology in order to include ourselves into the world at large of these first decades of the twenty-first century, we propose the following:

1. To organize exchange programs similar to those that are beginning to be implemented, but broadening their field of action and increasing the number of people that are participating. Create assistantships, research and internship trips,

student and professor exchange programs, and visits to laboratories and practicum centers, among others. These exchanges should be bidirectional, with participants from the great centers of psychology that come to Latin America and Latin-American participants that go to such centers. The relationship should be reciprocal; we have a great deal to learn and also a lot to teach.

2. Creation of research networks which can be established through the use of the Internet and other means of communication, which do not require personal or physical contact. Concerning the present-day issue that exists in psychology between universality and contextualized particularity and between the etic and emic approaches, Latin America is an appropriate continent to put the psychological laws or their cultural determination to the test. With so many cultures and subcultures, so many human groups, and so many social organizations (and what's more, so many animal species and biodiversity for the case of research in comparative psychology), Latin America is a great laboratory for psychology. Are Piaget's stages of development universal? Are Kohlberg's moral stages universal? Do all human beings learn, feel, and love equally? Is the "theory of mind" of chimpanzees and of the monkeys of the Amazon similar?
3. Another important point is to foster the participation of Latin-American psychologists in the major global events of the discipline.
4. Emphasize the learning of English, which has become the language of science, including psychology.
5. Holding large congresses in Latin America is an imminent task, and we hope that it will come true soon.
6. Involve ourselves with the important research and development centers, with psychologists of many countries, and with professionals of other fields and in the most advanced research contexts. Experience has demonstrated that the training of Latin-American psychologists has a well-deserved reputation of high quality and that the doctorates of Brazil, México, Chile, and other nations are more than a match for the countries of the First (developed) World.

Probably Latin-American psychologists will be able to attain that delicate balance between etic and emic and between universal validity and local relevance. This will be a very important end result of current trends.

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# Chapter 2
# Psychological Research in Latin America: Current and Future Perspectives


**Germán Gutiérrez and Jesús Landeira-Fernández**

**Abstract** This chapter, devoted to psychological scientific investigation in Latin America, shows the main trends in basic and applied research, the methods used, and the most important advances and limitations of research. It refers to the need to consolidate programs nationally and internationally and increase funding for research projects and institutions. The main areas of work are pointed out along with the most outstanding contributions to psychology as a science, made by psychologists from several countries, without overlooking the applications of psychology, which for developing countries are of fundamental importance.

## Historical Context

Latin America is a region that includes countries from continental America between Mexico and Argentina and the Caribbean. Its denomination is based on the linguistic origin of the European countries (i.e., Spain, Portugal, and France) that colonized these territories on the American continent. It is a diverse region in demographic, cultural, political, social, and economic terms. This diversity is often observed in structural, educational, scientific, and other social variables. When referring to Latin America, making generalizations is not easy, but certain historical, geographical, and cultural commonalities allow for the possibility to talk about a single region, despite some large differences among countries.

The development of psychology in the region between the end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth century was strongly associated with the fields of medicine, education, philosophy, and law. The first psychology classes were taught in these colleges, and the first developments, laboratories, and

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publications frequently originated in academic settings. A high level of cultural dependence from Europe and the search for a national identity that was associated with European culture provide an explanation for the role of a number of Europeans who migrated to Latin America and became "pioneers" of psychology in the region. Among them, the best known are W. Radecki (Polish; worked in Brazil, Argentina, and Uruguay), W. Blumenfeld (German; worked in Perú), B. Szekely (Hungarian; worked in Argentina, Brazil, and Chile), E. Mira y López (Cuban-Spaniard; worked in Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil), and M. Rodrigo (Spaniard; worked in Colombia and Puerto Rico). A group of native Latin Americans is also considered "pioneers", including E. A. Chávez (México), J. Ingenieros (Argentina), and E. Mouchet (Argentina). They often (but not always) taught the first classes on psychology. They founded journals, training programs, laboratories, and research institutes. In many ways, they promoted development of the discipline and the profession of psychology (see Ardila, 1986; Díaz-Guerrero, 1994).

In recent years, historians of psychology have rediscovered other native and immigrant academics who contributed to the establishment of psychology in the region but whose work was largely ignored. They were naturalists, educators, physicians, and priests who introduced others' and their own ideas to further our understanding of human and animal behavior. For example, a group of naturalists during colonial times made contributions to animal behavior and the behavior of human native populations. They were often recognized by academia in other latitudes before academia in our region. Among them were Fray Juan de Santa Gertrudis in Colombia and Perú (Pérez, Segura, & Gutiérrez, 2014), Félix de Azara in Paraguay (Ramírez & Gutiérrez, 2010), and José Celestino Mutis in Colombia (Wilson & Gómez Durán, 2010), among others. Similarly, other pioneers who were previously unrecognized have been studied, including Juan Serapio Lois (Salas, 2013) and Amanda Labarca (Winkler & Reyes, 2014) in Chile, among others.

There has also been a growth of historical studies of the development of psychology in individual countries (e.g., Ardila, 2013; Arias, 2014; Balarezo & Velástegui, 2014; García, 2014a; Jacó-Vilela, 2014; Klappenbach, 2006; Portillo, 2006; Schulmeyer, 2014) and the region as a whole (e.g., Alarcón, 2002; García, 2014b; Klappenbach & Pavesi, 1994; Sanchez Sosa & Valderrama-Iturbe, 2001), based on analytical refinements of historical work, better access to documents and other sources, and a renewed interest in understanding the history of the discipline in the Latin American region.

Around the turn of the twentieth century, a number of accomplished intellectuals founded laboratories in Argentina (Victor Mercante in 1891; Horacio Piñero in 1898), Brazil (Mauricio de Madeiros in 1899; Waclaw Radecki in 1924), Chile (Rómulo Peña in 1905–1907; Guillermo Mann in 1908), Perú (Joseph MacKnight in 1912?; Hermilio Valdizán in 1919), and México (Enrique Aragón in 1916) (see Díaz-Guerrero, 1994; Orbegozo Galarza, 2015; Salas, 2012; Sanchez Sosa & Valderrama-Iturbe, 2001). These and other early laboratories were founded in the tradition of European psychology, with a focus on psychophysiology, psychophysics, cognition, and psychometrics. Their common goal was to contribute to education (García, 2014b; Salas, 2012). Similar laboratories were founded in other

countries in the 1930s (e.g., Uruguay), 1950s (e.g., Paraguay), and 1960s (e.g., Colombia). Their main contribution was to the training of psychologists rather than to the production of new knowledge.

Later on, the influence of North American behaviorism during the 1960s and 1970s stimulated the foundation of laboratories of behavior analysis in Brazil, Mexico, Colombia, and other countries. In many cases, these replaced the previous laboratories in terms of training psychologists, but they also made important contributions to research (Gutiérrez, 1999; Schulmeyer, 2014; Todorov, 2006). More recently, the development of scientific research in the region has been accompanied by the creation of new, better equipped, and more active laboratories in many areas of psychology that are associated with graduate programs, transdisciplinary work, and international research groups.

Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, we have adopted ideas, theories, methods, and evidence from research that is produced in other regions of the world but in some cases with little or no scrutiny or adaptation to local or regional issues or particulars. Nonetheless, there have been exceptions to this view that deserve mention (see Salas, 2012). The research problems were also adopted from European and North American psychology quite frequently. Although many of them are universal in nature, they often reflected the societal interests and needs from their countries of origin and not those of our region. For example, psychological factors that are related to poverty, political conflict, migration, and the relationship between humans and nature are all universal issues. In many cases, however, they require a local view to be adequately understood. Given that the knowledge transfer approach was not critical, it was often perceived as irrelevant or subservient to the interests of other groups, societies, nations, or ideologies. This simplistic view did not entirely lack support, but neither was showing an understanding of the nature of scientific communities, and scientific knowledge, which resulted in political debates that paralyzed the academic communities, instead of moving them to productivity. Dependence on Europe and the United States in scientific production is not exclusive to Latin America. Other regions (e.g., Asia) exhibited a similar situation as a result of historical events. For example, Japanese psychology has been moving from dependence before and after World War II to a more interdependent approach in recent years, developing local areas of interest, expertise, and prospection (Imada & Tanaka-Matsumi, 2016; Oyama, Sato, & Suzuki, 2001). Similar movements have been observed in Latin America, particularly in social psychology, animal behavior, developmental psychology, and other areas.

## Recent Changes in Training Behavioral Scientists

Psychology was initially taught in schools of medicine, education, and philosophy before the foundation of specific psychology schools. The first training program was at the graduate level, founded in Mexico in 1938 (Díaz-Guerrero, 1994). Over the next decade, undergraduate programs were founded in Chile in 1946 and

Colombia in 1947 (based on Ardila, 1986, 2013, 2014; Díaz-Guerrero, 1994; Salas, 2014; Sanchez Sosa & Valderrama-Iturbe, 2001). Historians have debated over the exact dates of the beginning of psychology training in the region, based on the dates of founding administrative entities (e.g., departments, institutes), the approval of a program at a university, or the admission of the first students. Perhaps what is important is that by the early 1950s, psychologists who trained locally began their work in such areas as education, evaluation, clinical psychology, criminology, work psychology, and others, and research was part of the curriculum.

Training in all countries in the region has been shaped by the *Bogotá Training Model* or *Latin American Training Model.* In 1974, Rubén Ardila at the end of the XV Interamerican Congress of Psychology (Bogotá, Colombia), with support from the International Union of Psychological Science, hosted over 30 psychologists from Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, El Salvador, México, Nicaragua, Panamá, Paraguay, and Venezuela to discuss and agree on a training model for students of psychology in the region. Inspired by the Boulder Conference (1947) that helped shape clinical psychology training in the United States, the participants at the Bogotá Conference discussed different areas that should be included in the training of psychologists in Latin America. Like the scientist-practitioner model (Boulder Model), the Latin American Training Model was based on the idea that high-quality training in applied psychology should be rooted in solid training in the science of psychology, its research methods, and capacity to properly evaluate and translate the literature on basic psychological science to concrete social problems. The result was a training model that included a basic cycle (basic behavioral processes, theoretical approaches to psychology, and methodological skills), a professional cycle (heavily oriented toward clinical knowledge and abilities and including other areas of application), a thesis (the culmination of science-based training), and a practicum (the culmination of applied psychology training) (see Gallegos, 2010). All of this was to be packed into a 5-year program, with little space for cross-disciplinary work or for curriculum flexibility.

Most countries expect undergraduate training to be general, but some variability is seen in theoretical approaches and areas of application. Theoretical orientation was a source of much confrontation among psychologists in academic settings between the 1960s and 1990s. Aside from conceptual issues, particular theories were identified with political views, so the theoretical discussion was often a mix of intellectual and ideological conflicts. Given the social and political dynamics in Latin America during the second half of the twentieth century (including dictatorships in many countries in the region), it may be unsurprising that psychology training programs were at the center of confrontation, political discussion and recruitment, and especially the arena where relationships between professions and society were defined (for the Brazilian case, see Jacó-Vilela, 2014).

Unlike the scientist-practitioner model, the Latin American Training Model organized professional titles and training around the undergraduate title of psychologist, and graduate programs were seen as important but optional in this model. Although a short-lived graduate program had been founded in Mexico in 1937, most countries began their graduate programs after 1970. Thus, most of the psychologists

who wanted to receive training at the graduate level had to travel abroad to work toward a Master's degree or a Doctoral degree. The most common destinations were (and continue to be) Spain, México, and Brazil, perhaps because of the language affinity. Additionally, economic barriers have been difficult to overcome for many students who come from countries with relatively weak economies. Countries with stronger science and technology systems, such as México and Brazil, have had many more trained psychologists at the doctoral level, which has important implications for training at home, research development, and research output. Other common destinations for graduate training have been the United States, the Soviet Union (1960s to 1980s), France, Belgium, the United Kingdom, and more recently Germany and Canada.

Graduate students from Latin America are quite successful in training programs around the globe. This is likely the result of the intensive training model and a strong selection process that is related to social, academic, and motivational variables. How this might be changing as a result of greater access to international educational systems and general globalization processes should be of interest for Latin American countries and the region as a whole. Moreover, studies should seek to understand the ways in which science is affected by migration and the adaptation processes of those who return to their countries of origin after graduate studies abroad. An increasing number of psychologists from Latin America are developing their scientific and professional careers away from their own countries. At the same time, an increasing number of psychologists from other regions are migrating to Latin American countries to seek career opportunities. We have very little research that helps us understand the psychological processes that are involved in these vital decisions and the impact they have on individuals, their families, and their communities.

During the 1970s, 1980s, and even 1990s, much of the research production in the region was closely related to the thesis at the undergraduate level. However, the growth of graduate programs promoted the production of research, collaborations, and scientific publications at both the national and international levels. Master's programs in the region are mostly training programs for applied psychology. However, in certain countries, Master's programs can consist of intermediate level training for researchers. Given that the entry-level title to the profession is the undergraduate title, graduate training is still aspirational rather than mandatory for professional development. Doctoral programs in Latin America are 3–4-year programs with low class requirements, and they are heavily invested in the development of a research project. Like doctoral programs in the United States and Europe, they are open to professionals other than psychologists. The quality of certain doctoral programs in the region is a concern for the academic communities. Many virtual and part-time programs have been opened in some of the most common destinations, and they can hardly guarantee the quality of training. Given the needs for education at the graduate level and the cultural bias toward foreign titles and certifications, there is very little social or market control for the quality of these programs, and some exploitation is bound to happen. Greater access to comparative

information, educational and cultural changes, and regulation at the government level might improve program selection by applicants in the future.

## Scientific Research

All countries in the region have a science and technology system and financing and policy-making organizations. A number of countries have a Ministry of Science and Technology. In other countries, a Science or Technology Department depends on the Ministry of Education (Gutiérrez & Ardila, 1992). Changes in the administrative status of the organization that is responsible for science and technology are expected to improve financing and influence national policy. In some cases, however, they become the arena for political infighting and even sources of corruption. Structural changes that occur without cultural and systemic changes may not be sufficient to drive improvements in scientific training and productivity.

As in other regions of the world, psychology in Latin America is often included in the areas of social science for planning and financing purposes, but such areas as neuroscience and experimental psychology might be included in the natural sciences or in health sciences. Similarly, other areas, such as school psychology, counseling, and developmental psychology, might be included in the area of education. This may represent an advantage for psychology because different sources of research financing might be attained.

Research financing for psychology also comes from university funds and external organizations, often related to applied psychology projects. In these projects, investigators often include a research component and are able to make a connection between research and application.

Latin America is a region with *fast growth in research*, measured by publications, collaborations, and the development of doctoral programs. However, the investment of countries in the region in research is less than in North America, Europe, and Asia. Latin America has 8% of the world's population and 8.3% of the global gross domestic product (GDP), but it comprises only 5.1% of scientific publications, 3.6% of global researchers, and 3.4% of global spending. Aside from Brazil, all countries in the region spend less than 1% of GDP on science and technology. Women in Latin America are making great strides in increasing their share as researchers. Nearly half (45%) of scientific researchers in the region are women, well above the global mean (28%). Latin America is experiencing tremendous growth in scientific production compared with many regions around the world. This appears to be the case for psychology as well (UNESCO, 2016).

Despite these encouraging measures of scientific growth, the production of scientific knowledge in psychology continues to be low in most countries. Cultural, political, and economic problems might be some of the reasons for the relatively poor production of scientific knowledge. Thus, Latin American countries have been traditionally consumers and not producers of science. In spite of these governmental problems, some countries in Latin America have shown important growth in science

(UNESCO, 2016). Indeed, Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, and Mexico are developing solid research in many areas of psychology. Costa Rica, Cuba, Perú, Puerto Rico, and Venezuela are also showing important growth. Research communities make efforts to thrive in university settings, thanks to support from international cooperation, local grants, personal sacrifice, and, in a few countries, organized and adequately funded research systems. Open-access publication has provided much needed information, but at the same time, the democratization of knowledge is still an idealistic goal as a result of a shift in financing from the reader to the writer of scientific publications.

Historically, the majority of research in Latin America has centered on social psychology, school psychology, developmental psychology, behavior analysis, cognitive psychology, and health psychology (Gutiérrez & Ardila, 1992). Certain areas, such as cross-cultural psychology, represent an extraordinary opportunity to make contributions to psychology as a whole. However, with the exception of Mexico and some other countries, little cross-cultural psychology has been done in Latin America (see Alarcón, 2010; Sanchez Sosa & Valderrama-Iturbe, 2001). As in other areas, an emerging trend to study indigenous knowledge is reaching psychology in the form of community psychology, social psychology, cultural psychology, health psychology, and other topical areas. It is still too soon to assess the reach of this trend, but we will be able to follow it in the future. Similarly, comparative psychology offers great opportunities for research given the biodiversity that is found in the region. This area has experienced great progress, and a number of researchers in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, and Mexico work in this area, often in research that might be classified as experimental psychology, behavior analysis, or behavioral neuroscience (Ardila, 1987; Papini, 1987). All of these areas are strong in the region and have a long tradition of cooperation and international publications.

As mentioned earlier, historical and scientometric studies of psychology have become fruitful areas of research. A number of researchers in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Colombia have performed detailed analyses of the development of the discipline by following national, regional, and international publications and indices. They have clearly made an impact on the academic communities in those countries and the region as a whole. Improved access to historical information and more powerful tools to evaluate large amounts of data will likely encourage these groups of researchers to continue and refine their assessment of the discipline in the region.

An increasing amount of published work is *empirically based*. Experimental, quasi-experimental, and correlational studies are common and well supported by data. A large influence continues to be United States and European psychology. Literature reviews are often based on researchers from those regions and mainstream journals. However, psychology is increasingly an international endeavor, promoting a wider reference base and a wider readership and increasing the impact of psychology that is produced in Latin America. Applied work by far exceeds basic research, reflecting a strong applied and social emphasis of psychology during the last century. A vast majority of studies use human subjects; studies that use animal models are of great quality but are much less common.

## Social Research: From Irrelevance and Political Action to Social Impact

Science provides us with a worldview and a strategy to understand nature beyond other views that are rooted in history and culture. Thanks to scientific knowledge, humans have been able to understand nature at some level and at times predict it, control it, and modify it. Humans' capacity to control and modify nature is not in itself the main objective of science, although in many cases scientific knowledge is the basis for technological development. At the same time, an important technological base does not necessarily derive from scientific knowledge. Humans learned to design and use tools or use elements from nature long before understanding why they were effective or even what the mechanisms were that supported them. Similarly, many scientific advances have not clearly contributed to technological applications, which can be a source of societal discontent. This shows that science and technology are related but independent enterprises, and this is true of psychology as well.

Relationships between science and technology are complex and permeated by social needs and interests. Technology is more clearly related to social interests, whereas science struggles to demonstrate its importance to society, except when it is demonstrated through technological advances. There are differences among societies in their understanding of the role of science, resulting in differential effects on financing, the use of scientific knowledge to evaluate social phenomena, and policy-making in response to social demands.

Both scientific knowledge and technology have limitations that are the source of arguments that question the trust that is placed on them by society. Basic research is questioned for its relevance, public understanding, and the use of public resources. Technology is questioned for its empirical support, proper evaluation of its results, relationships with groups of interest (economic and otherwise), and ethical standards that are associated with those interests. One of the most common criticisms of science is related to its relevance to human well-being. The argument suggests that human and financial resources that are directed toward understanding any problem in nature would be better employed in solving immediate problems of the population at any given time in history. The degree of social retribution in response to investments in science is difficult to calculate, but public policy groups around the world are currently developing models to measure such effects. Researchers have argued for many decades that the relationship is positive, but there is skepticism among the public, legislators, and others, most likely associated with a misunderstanding of the nature of scientific knowledge and its relationship with the development of technological solutions to social problems.

Psychology researchers in Latin America are often required to make explicit assertions about the social implication of their work. This might be easier for certain areas than others. However, this requirement sometimes results in speculation, and in the end, little or no results to show. The relationship between science and technology has adopted several forms throughout history. The ways in which they are

related to each other and to society have varied according to financing, the social understanding of science and technology, and societal organization, including its political model. Centralized societies with a vertical power structure may produce short-term results but are more limited in their reach, scope, and innovation. Decentralized societies are slower in knowledge production but are more innovative, and their results are set in society over the long term.

The model of development for science and technology in Latin America generally follows the US model that was developed by Vannevar Bush (1945), called the "reservoir model." However, there has always been an emphasis on social applications, and so there is ambiguity about the real model that is used in the region. It is never a consistent model—it oscillates between the reservoir model and a technology-driven model. There are differences in financial support for science among countries. Brazil and Mexico have the most robust financial support, and other countries showing large variations over time.

It may be argued that the interaction between scientists and technologists in Latin America does not promote optimal development. In psychology, a large body of knowledge on animal and human behavior is not used for the development of applications to specific social problems. At the same time, many problems that should be addressed by proper technologies are treated by means of intuitive approaches, with little or no scientific support. In recent years, there has been a growing consensus on the need to use evidence-based treatments in all areas of application (Mustaca, 2004). This results mostly from changes in accountability in the health systems, but it extends to other areas as well.

Translational research has no tradition in the region, except perhaps in the medical sciences. Some of the principles of *translational research* might be very productive in the region as a way to promote the social recognition of scientific research. Combining groups of basic and applied researchers and specialized policy-makers might be very productive for improving the output of scientific research, the standards of treatments, and the acknowledgment of the importance of science for society. Psychologists in a growing number of countries are increasingly asked to participate in public policy, from writing concepts on social programs to offering their expertise in the development of new policy. This is encouraging and is accompanied by better training, more productive research, and changes in the status of the discipline and profession.

## The Structure of Research and Financing

Psychological research in Latin America is predominantly performed in universities at the level of graduate programs. Faculties and students associated with these programs represent the main force in psychological research. A structure to accommodate these groups is necessary for generating high-quality research in the field. Almost all universities in Latin America have several problems in their research structures, such as lack of technical support, minimal administrative capabilities,

and less-than-optimal working conditions. The minimum level of infrastructure that is needed to conduct research is gradually growing but at different rates, based on the intrinsic characteristics of each country. Middle-income countries, such as Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, México, Puerto Rico, and Venezuela, have been able to systematically develop research structures, as opposed to lower-income countries, where identifying structured research systems is difficult.

Improvements in research structures in these countries strengthen higher education in psychology, increase the number of publications, and foster psychological information flow between developing and developed countries. Highlighting the major structural steps that have been taken in psychological research is very important, mainly in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, and Mexico (Zorzetto, Razzouk, Dubugras, Gerolin, & Mari, 2007), but the positions of these countries are still very fragile. Although research in Latin America has grown substantially over the years, most higher education institutions do not perform any research at all and are only engaged in teaching activities (UNESCO, 2016). More than two-thirds of all graduate programs in the social sciences are offered in Brazil and Mexico (Vessuri & López, 2010).

One of the main reasons for this poor scenario is the cost of conducting research. Therefore, funding psychological research is crucial. As in many places in the world, research in Latin America is mainly sponsored by governmental agencies. On average, Latin American countries invest only 0.6% of their GDP in research, which is far behind the 2–3% that is devoted by most economically developed nations. In Latin America, Brazil spends 1.15%, followed by Argentina at 0.6%, Mexico at 0.56%, and Chile at 0.34% (Kalergis et al., 2016). The scarcity of research funding makes the fund allocation process, through peer-reviewed grant proposals, extremely competitive. When approved, the grants are generally subjected to substantial restrictions, with all-too-common delays in the release of funds.

Governments are the main funding agencies, and political and economic instability threatens research funding in Latin America. Countries with political problems often face interference with such funding, depending on who controls the funding agencies. Consequently, there might be a lack of clarity in the funding process. Countries with economic problems might impose significant budgetary cuts for scientific research funding. Therefore, one of the main challenges of investing in research is the ability of governmental agencies to provide stable, long-term funding to academic research groups, thus minimizing the threats that are imposed by political and economic instability.

## Collaboration

Science is a complex social activity, and collaboration is a key element of its growth and excellence. Scientific collaboration reflects a joint project of a working group. It encompasses different aspects of an academic event, such as research training, investigating research questions, organizing congresses, and editing scientific

journals to produce, discuss, and publish new scientific findings (Chinchilla-Rodríguez, Vargas-Quesada, Hassan-Montero, González-Molina, & Moya-Anegón, 2009; Katz & Martin, 1997). Several mutual benefits can be achieved through this type of collaborative work, including the access to and learning of new research methods, the division of responsibilities, the increase in competitive research funding, improvements in research productivity, better research visibility, and higher scientific quality.

Collaboration can occur at different levels, including research interactions between colleagues at the same institution, interinstitutional peer collaborations within the same country, and international collaborations among countries. At the international level, collaboration can occur between Latin American countries, developing countries, and developed countries in Europe and the United States. The dynamics of collaborations typically begin informally through cultural proximity and become stronger as a result of greater productivity (Jeong, Choi, & Kim, 2011). Publication co-authorship is one of the most concrete forms of evaluating scientific collaboration across academic fields (Katz & Martin, 1997).

Collaborations among psychological researchers in Latin America are one of the most effective ways to deal with research difficulties and limitations in these countries. Scientific collaborations among Latin American researchers have increased over the years, but it still lags compared with collaborations among European and North American countries (Kliegl & Bates, 2011; López-López, de Moya Anegón, Acevedo-Triana, Garcia, & Silva, 2015).

Participation in a Latin American research group appears to be the usual form of collaboration, and a common language is a convenient facilitator of the collaboration process (Garcia, López-López, Acevedo-Triana, & Pereira, 2017; López-López et al., 2015). For this reason, collaborations between Brazil, the primary language of which is Portuguese, and other Latin American countries are not as common as Latin American research group collaborations among Spanish-speaking countries (López-López et al., 2015; Nunes, 1993).

Writing research reports is one the main difficulties of Latin American scientific collaborations (Garcia, López-López, Acevedo-Triana, & Bucher-Maluschke, 2016). For this reason, publication and visibility of the research, which is quantified by the number of citations of this collaborative work, or by the impact factor of Latin American psychological scientific journals, is still incipient (Quevedo-Blasco & López-Lopez, 2011; VandenBos & Winkler, 2015). One way to overcome these negative impacts of writing difficulties is to employ English as the main language of science and increase collaborations with native English-speaking scholars (Fradkin, 2017; Hogan & Vaccaro, 2007).

Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Mexico, and Perú generate the most published collaborative work among Latin American countries (Garcia et al., 2017; López-López et al., 2015). As discussed in the previous section, these middle-income countries have the best research structure in Latin America (Zorzetto et al., 2007). Therefore, the availability of a research environment, even if minimal, represents an important aspect to stimulate collaboration. Another characteristic of these Latin American countries is the presence of governmental research funding agencies.

Despite funding instability, these agencies support a good number of fellowships for psychology graduate training abroad, including training for those interested in pursuing international education in traditional research groups. This is part of the process of the internationalization of Latin American higher education (Gacel-Ávila, 2007) and contributes to cooperation among different research groups in psychology worldwide.

Spain, the United States, and the United Kingdom are the main scientific partners with Latin American countries (Garcia, Acevedo-Triana, & López-López, 2014). France and Germany also have collaborations with Brazil (Vanz, 2009). This suggests that international collaboration involves multiple interactions among lower-, middle-, and higher-income countries for the development and exchange of contextually and culturally sensitive psychological knowledge. Increasing international collaborations is a critical issue for psychology as a global discipline because it allows people to share theoretical, empirical, and applied research while considering regional disparities with regard to knowledge that is produced and disseminated in different Latin American countries.

## Scientific Communication

The most important psychology conference in Latin America is the Interamerican Congress of Psychology, organized by the Interamerican Society of Psychology (SIP). The first Congress was held in the Dominican Republic in 1953. The most recent ones took place in Brasilia, Brazil (2013); in Lima, Perú (2015); and in Mérida, México (2017). The 37th Interamerican Congress of Psychology will be held in Habana, Cuba (2019). Since 2004, SIP has also scheduled the Regional Congresses of Psychology. They have been held in Guatemala (2004), Cuba (2006), Paraguay (2010), Bolivia (2012), El Salvador (2014), and Argentina (2016). Many national psychological associations and many academic societies organize their own conferences on a regular basis. International psychological societies periodically organize academic events in the region. The most common destinations are Argentina, Brazil, and Mexico, but many other countries also host international conferences.

The International Union of Psychological Science (IUPsyS) first organized the International Congress of Psychology (ICP) in Paris in 1889. This important event has been organized in Latin America only once (Acapulco, México, 1984). The 33rd ICP will be held in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, in 2024. It is expected that this event will be an opportunity to show the tremendous development of psychology in the Latin American region and also an opportunity for integration with the psychological community around the world.

During the first half of the twentieth century, a variety of general academic journals and magazines published articles on psychological issues. The first psychology journal was *Anales de Psicología de la Sociedad de Psicología* (1910) that was published in Argentina, followed by *Anales del Instituto de Psicología de la*

*Universidad de Buenos Aires* (1935), edited by Enrique Mouchet. In Brazil, Waclaw Radecki published *Trabalhos de Psicologia* (1928–1929). It was followed by *Arquivos Brasileiros de Psicotécnica*, later named *Arquivos Brasileiros de Psicologia Aplicada* and currently published as *Arquivos Brasileiros de Psicologia*, founded by Emilio Mira y López (1949). Then came *Acta Psiquiátrica y Psicológica de América Latina*, edited by Guillermo Vidal in Argentina (1954), and *Revista de Psicología*, directed by Luis Jaime Sánchez at the Universidad Nacional de Colombia (1956). *Revista Interamericana de Psicología/Interamerican Journal of Psychology* was founded in 1967, and its first editor was Carl R. Hereford. *Revista Latinoamericana de Psicología* was founded by Rubén Ardila in 1969. These last two journals played an important role in promoting communication among psychologists in the region. In the 1980s, a number of quality journals were founded. Among them were *Interdisciplinaria*, edited by Horacio J. A. Rimoldi in Argentina (1980); *Avances en Psicología Clínica Latinoamericana*, also founded by Ardila (1982); and *Revista Mexicana de Psicología*, edited initially by Juan Lafarga (1984) (Ardila, 1986; Centofanti, 1982; Gutiérrez, Pérez-Acosta, & Plata-Caviedes, 2009; Jacó-Vilela, 1999; Polanco-Carrasco, Salas, Gallegos, & López-López, 2017). At the turn of the twenty-first century, many other journals were founded. A detailed registry is necessary but difficult to compile. Many of these journals make efforts to be included in regional (e.g., Redalyc, SciELO) and international (e.g., Web of Science, Scopus) databases, but not all of them are included, making them invisible beyond their immediate context.

Scientific journals in the region have also grown in volume and quality. Since the publication of the books *Scientific Publications in Latin America* (Cetto & Hillerud, 1995) and *Scientific Journals in Latin America* (Cetto & Alonso, 1999), in which many authors showed the limitations and problems of scientific communication in the region, there has been a change in understanding at many organizational levels on the need for a more ambitious policy on research communication. Despite persisting differences among countries, there has been an improvement in the editorial quality of scientific journals, including peer review, indexing, and publication in international journals (Cardoso Sampaio, 2008; Cardoso Sampaio & Zoqui Paulovic, 2012; Nature, 2004). Some countries have established policies to improve the quality of journals. Brazil (Vessuri, 1995), Colombia (Gómez, 1999), and México (Bazdresch, 1999; Vessuri, 1995) have obtained positive results and the inclusion of a number of their scientific journals in Web of Science, Scopus, and other indexing systems and databases.

There has been a large increase in the number of electronic scientific journals. Additionally, many journals that previously had only print versions have changed their format to electronic or now have both formats. This change has important implications for financing, the evaluation process, the time of publication, and public access, among others. Rapid changes in the way researchers are interacting with the literature have been observed. Most researchers report reading scientific literature (especially journal articles) from their computers and other electronic devices, but electronic books are spreading at a slower pace. Why this is the case and how it

is different in Latin America from other regions of the world are not well understood.

Journals in Latin America face problems at different levels. They are affected by institutional instability. Although most journals worldwide are published by academic or professional organizations, most psychology journals in Latin America are published by universities. A concerning trend is that many universities want to publish a journal, but in many cases they do so solely to promote the publications of their faculty. This only offers an initial boost and can bring great risk in terms of endogamy, low quality, small readership, low impact, limited submissions, and limited growth for the journal. The role of the editor becomes one of dependence on institutional authorities, whose interests may be different from those of the editorial board.

Psychological journals in Latin America also face financial problems. A few journals are able to include their published material in databases and receive royalties for their publications. This, however, is not the norm. Most journals in the region are open access, which forces them to find financial support from academic organizations and in a few cases from the authors themselves, thus shifting the burden of support from the consumer to the producer of knowledge (Cockerill, 2006). This change in the financing model is likely to impose further difficulties for authors in weak systems and favor authors in countries with better financing. Unfortunately, such effects will only be evident in time, when bibliometric analyses are able to explore trends of publications in regional journals.

Journals that charge the authors a fee for publication do not publicly present their financial structure or financial results, so it is difficult to evaluate whether this model is effective in promoting better scientific communication in the region. Publication policy is not quite clear for journals in the region, beyond trying to conform to the standards of developed countries and publishing conglomerates. Publication policy that adapts to regional needs appears to be confined to specific psychology journals but is not sufficiently general to impact psychological research.

A number of countries in the region (e.g., Colombia and Mexico) have established a policy to incentivize research production. As a result, output has increased in a positive way, but certain areas of research that emphasize local and regional issues have been negatively affected, most likely because they are not well received in international journals, on which the best incentives are often assigned. The effect extends to research grants, policy-making, and training. The incentive system also increases the risk of promoting low-quality publications, paid publications in predatory journals, honorary authorship, power authorship, plagiarism, and other unethical behaviors (see Carneiro, Cangussú, & Fernandes, 2007). This is a cause for concern, and perhaps the system will have to be refined in the future to promote ethical, high-quality scientific production that also has an impact on academia and society.

Finally, a very important issue for serial publications in the region is *impact*. The ultimate purpose of measuring impact is evaluating the return of social investment in scientific research. Impact is not easy to measure. It sometimes has been measured in terms of technological results, but this type of measurement is clearly

limited because many scientific and academic products do not have a technological output in the short term. Other factors that influence impact include cultural change, social policy, and training, among others (for a multifactor model, see Godin & Doré, 2004). Scientometrics has developed a set of impact measures that are mostly related to research output or yield. They are also based on the level of acknowledgment of the product (or author) by the scientific community. This type of measure is easier to obtain and standardize but is only an indirect measure of the impact of research on society. Scientometric logics of impact have been so widely accepted in academia that it is now difficult to know what we really want to measure. We have accepted those measures as the only way to evaluate research impact, but they respond more to the interests of the international publishing industry than to those of society. We need to develop more refined measures of research impact and eventually use them as the basis for scientific research planning. For now, we are likely to continue hiring consultants from the international publishing and indexing conglomerates, not quite understanding where their loyalties lie.

Serial publications and books that are produced in developing countries (including Latin America) have traditionally had a low impact on the development of scientific knowledge worldwide. This is the result of various factors, such as the language of publication, the quality of publication, and cultural discrimination, among others.

The *language of science at this point in history is English*, as it was Latin, French, and German at other times. Even after facing the difficulties of learning a second language at the appropriate level for scientific publication, authors in these countries face additional dilemmas. If they publish their articles in English, then the impact of their work in their international academic communities will increase. If they publish in local languages (e.g., Spanish and Portuguese), then they will inform their local academic communities and support their national or regional journal, but their overall impact will be much lower. It is perhaps unsurprising that a growing number of journals in non-English-speaking countries publish their material either partially or totally in English. This might contribute to access to the research that is published in those journals, inclusion in databases, and overall acknowledgment of the research that is produced in those countries. Additionally, improvements in translation applications might also make the language barrier less important in the future as an obstacle to gaining access to research from around the globe.

Finally, journals in the region face problems that are associated with the implementation of peer-review as the standard of quality for scientific publication. There is a growing critical mass of psychology researchers in the region, which improves the quality of article reviews. However, the evaluation turnover is still slow, and the quality of evaluation is uneven. Overall, scientific communication in psychology has greatly improved in the region, but there is still room for growth and consolidation. A concerted effort by editors and the scientific community is under way, and a cultural change toward improving the quality of published research is occurring.

## Future Challenges

Psychology in Latin American countries has become a highly regarded profession. Society has high expectations with regard to its contributions to solving pressing social issues. Given historical and cultural roots that are related to knowledge dependency and low levels of innovation, the response of the psychological community to those expectations is generally not to study those problems and produce new knowledge, but rather to make use of knowledge that is produced elsewhere oftentimes without even making adaptations or studying differences between societies before applying intervention programs that are developed in other societies.

Despite economic growth in the region, a decrease in poverty, and improvements in many social indicators, including political stability, in many Latin American countries, psychology has a large role to play in these emerging societies. Some problems remain, such as inequality, poverty, and selective violence. Other new research problems emerge, such as social changes in family relationships, social relationships, demographic changes, and others, that have psychological components that should be understood and addressed.

In addition to applied problems that may not express themselves in the same way in other regions around the world, psychology in Latin America may have extraordinary opportunities to contribute to knowledge that is somewhat unique to the continent. We have a variety of indigenous communities that despite fast social and cultural changes still might be of interest for *cross-cultural psychology*. Similarly, Latin American countries have a vast number of animal species because of its geographical location, offering great opportunities for innovation and collaboration *in comparative research*.

Improvements in communication and collaboration create new opportunities to grow as a region, thus closing the gap that is observed among countries today. National, regional, and international organizations might contribute to this goal by supporting specific programs to improve training, research, and applications across the continent. This is already happening between some countries, so this expectation is not unrealistic. For example, the *International Project on Competence in Psychology* developed a taxonomy for core competencies in psychology in an effort to level the competencies that are required at the basic level of professional work in psychology and facilitate mobility. Many psychologists in Latin America participated in this project, providing input to generate the table of competencies. Once published, a number of professional organizations and universities have started to use this model to modify and improve training programs and licensing requirements. How this will affect training in psychology in the region is still unknown and should be a research subject using comparative and other analytical methods.

Training at the *graduate level* is growing fast because there is a large demand for training at the highest level. However, there is a risk in terms of quality assurance. Governments and academic communities need to work together to develop strategies to keep and improve graduate programs. Psychological research needs to be more innovative, more productive, and better supported by the public. Professional

and scientific organizations have an important role to play in these areas, working with both the research communities and the public.

Finally, we need to find ways to measure and improve the positive impact of psychology on society. We need to think more creatively to understand that local, regional, and international impacts are not necessarily measured the same way. Better ways to gauge this impact will benefit not only society but *also scientific development*. Psychology is a strong discipline and profession in Latin America. We have accomplished a lot, but there is still ample room for growth and improvement. Today, psychologists in Latin America play important roles in many areas of application. New areas of work will depend on our ability to understand basic behavioral phenomena, and this is only possible if we strongly support scientific research in our discipline. This is one of the best strategies to prepare the next generation of Latin American psychologists for exchanging ideas to produce, publish, and apply psychological knowledge that addresses key issues throughout the world.

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# Chapter 3
# The Long Road to the Profession of Psychologist


**Hugo Klappenbach, Sebastián Vázquez-Ferrero, and Miguel Gallegos**

**Abstract** Professional concerns have been key in Latin American psychology for several decades. This chapter describes and analyzes the training of psychologists in different countries, their conceptual foundation, the social needs and the developments of the discipline that led to the creation of the career of psychologist, the insertion of the profession in society, and other related matters.

## The Rise of the Profession of Psychologist in Latin America

In his interesting autobiography, Aroldo Rodrigues, a renowned social psychologist from Brazil, makes two statements that may be a good starting point for this chapter. First when referring to his beginnings as a university student in 1952:

> "Fifty-four years ago, when I began a four-year course in psychology in Brazil, psychology as a discipline and as a profession was almost nonexistent there. There was no degree in psychology, the profession was not recognized by law, vocational guidance and counseling were provided by educators, and psychotherapy was exclusively practiced by psychiatrists." (Rodrigues, 2008, p. 105)

Later, he refers to his return to Brazil after having obtained his doctorate from UCLA in the United States by declaring: "Brazilian psychologists were not interested in theory and methodology, but rather in the applications of psychology to improve people's condition and to solve their social problems" (Rodrigues, 2008, p. 122).

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In fact, some statements of the first quotation could be relativized. At that time, Chile, Colombia, and Guatemala had already organized psychology programs. Nevertheless, even in those countries, the psychology degree had only been created in 1946 and later, and its organization status was still getting underway.

Regarding his second assertion, the situation can be generalized to Latin America as a whole. More than 30 years ago, a classic text pointed out precisely: "In Latin America, psychology places special emphasis on practical problems and assigns great importance to social relevance" (Ardila, 1986, p. 176).

In short, both statements point toward two central factors for the studies on the professionalization of psychology in Latin America. First, the professionalization is a phenomenon that occurred around 1950 and after, a process that in fact also happened in several European countries. And second, the interest in psychology is basically the pursuit of an *applied psychology with social relevance.*

Indeed, as a synthesis of the features of psychology in Latin America, its dependent character has been pointed out, with the human being as the main theme and the importance of applied psychology in particular, with social relevance and political commitment, among other elements (Alarcón, 2002; Ardila, 2004a). For instance, the social psychology of Martin-Baró in El Salvador and also the utopia of *Walden Three* (Ardila, 1979) show the scope to which a behavioral science intertwined with a socialist, humanistic, and behavioral philosophy can aspire with the possibility of being capable of building a society away from the great miseries evidenced by contemporary capitalism, shunning poverty, unemployment, consumerism, hatred, and competition (Ardila, 2004a, 2004b; Dorna, 2003; Klappenbach, 2003).

From the theoretical and technical points of view in the field of psychology, applied psychology would recognize its debt to the work of Piéron, author of the famous *Treaty of Applied Psychology*, and that of Münsterberg. Indeed, at Harvard University and from the archetype of experimental laboratory psychology, Münsterberg would try to classify workers, taking into account the *skills* required. Münsterberg was awarded a doctorate in Leipzig, with Wundt, although he also graduated in medicine in Heidelberg. From 1888 he worked at the University of Freiburg, first as *privatdozent* and from 1891 as assistant professor. In 1892, William James would invite him to Harvard, to direct the Psychology Laboratory.

If Wundt had been concerned to explain to Münsterberg about the errors of sensory perception that occurred during the learning process, after Munsterberg's move to the United States, he would have been interested in developing an applied psychology directed to the prediction in real situations of certain reactions observed in the laboratory. In this sense, in the relocation from Germany to the United States, psychology would lose its former proximity to philosophy and the problem of knowledge. Instead, it would approach the world of work, education, and health. Psychology abandoned the *celestial space* assigned to science and philosophy and fell into encounters dominated by technology (Samelson, 1977). It distanced itself from the *mandarin* society of academics and university professors and was oriented to the conglomerate of bureaucrats, financiers, and businessmen (Danziger, 1979).

However, it is necessary to emphasize that the applications of psychology, and, with it, the emergence of the psychologist's profession in Latin America, were not

totally the same as what happened in North America. In the United States, the testing carried out by Lewis Terman, and especially the massive use of the tests during the First World War, impacted society in general. When the United States entered the war in 1917, Robert Yerkes, to whom the federal government had entrusted the task of organizing psychological evaluations of officers and recruits, formed a working group, a team which was able to administer mental tests to more than 1,750,000 people:

> "For Robert M. Yerkes (1876-1956), the leader of the team of psychologists who tested 1.7 million United States army recruits, the Great War was a fabulous opportunity to show the value of psychology in the management of human resources" (Reed, 1990, p. 76).

The First World War and the war activities of the psychologists, especially the intelligence testing of the US Army in this war, had given Terman and his colleagues the chance to connect scientific psychology to life, to bring "psychology down from the clouds and [make] it useful to men" (Samelson, 1977, p. 276). In any case, the public acceptance of the psychologist in American society was a process that began in the First World War although it would mature in the following decades. Already in 1922, James McKeen Cattell could express that psychology had been placed on the discipline map in the United States (Samelson, 1979).

Conversely, in Latin America, psychology as a profession would emerge after the Second World War even though psychology as a science expanded here in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Also in Europe, applied psychology, initially known as psychotechnics, arose due to the efforts of William Stern and Édouard Claparède and was consolidated after the Second World War (Lunt, Peiró, Poortinga, & Roe, 2015).

Addressing psychology as a profession faces the first challenge, which is the lack of consensus about the concept of the term *profession* (Freidson, 2001). The constitution of the professions is generated from society's demands in the intertwining of certain technical and specialized knowledge. On the one hand, professionals are part of a sector of society with appropriate and specialized knowledge. As a result, they have been linked to the state bureaucracy, and in fact on numerous occasions, they are part of the superior cadres that professionally and technically administer the state (Frederic, Graciano, & Soprano, 2010) or even work in private companies (Rodríguez & Guillén, 1992). However, in the prototypical exercise, professionals are not part of the state bureaucracy or private administration, but rather they practice their profession independently. They do not receive salaries, rather *fees* ("honorarium") because of the "honorable connotation that the social role that is being performed has for the community as a whole" (Cultraro, 2010, p. 143). On the other hand, in some countries belonging to a university profession meant guaranteeing a comfortable income and access to the elite groups of society (Adamovsky, 2011).

Despite these difficulties, the use of the word *profession* to designate an occupation based on a university degree is widespread and subject to a heterogeneous set of regulations that come from the peers themselves, from the state (national, provincial, or municipal), and even from supranational entities (European Parliament, Petitions Committee, 2002). In the case of the psychologist's profession, it has been

subject to different types of regulations since its very origins (Klappenbach, 2000; Viar, 2002). These regulations have been manifested nonetheless in resolutions related to the university education itself and in laws of professional and ethical practices (Ardila, 2004b, 2011).

Of course, practices related to psychology had existed before the profession as such and prior to the formalization of psychology programs. In the past, such practices were in the hands of physicians, educators, lawyers, and even priests. What was modified, then, after the end of the Second World War, was the appearance of a new professional figure: the psychologist who had obtained his/her degree strictly in psychology schools.

## Psychology Programs from Their Origins to the Present Day

The university education of professional psychologists begins toward the middle of the twentieth century in most Latin American countries (Alarcón, 2002; Arias, 2011; Ardila, 1986; Gallegos & Berra, 2015; Klappenbach & Pavesi, 1994; Torre, 1995). However, since the 1930s there have been some attempts to formalize the professional education in psychology, such as the proposal promoted by the Pole Waclaw Radecki in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. In fact Radecki, who was hired to head the Experimental Psychology Laboratory of the *Colônia* de Psicopatas (Colony of Psychopaths) of Engenho de Dentro in 1923, was responsible for the transformation of this laboratory into the Psychology Institute from which he made the proposal of initiating the training of psychologists through specialized courses. Unfortunately the course that started in 1932 only lasted a few months, since it was canceled due to various political-institutional problems that ended with the departure of Radecki himself (Centofanti, 1982; Centofanti & Jacó-Vilela, 2007; Domingues, 2007).

A Masters in Psychological Sciences was implemented in Mexico in 1938 in order to provide postgraduate studies for different professionals interested in the psychological discipline. It was developed within the framework of the School of Philosophy and Letters of the National University of Mexico and was the immediate predecessor of the first university education program in psychology at the undergraduate level. In 1945 the former postgraduate psychological specialization was reorganized as a Masters in Psychology, and 2 years later in 1947, the PhD in Philosophy was also awarded, with a distinction in psychology. In the mid-1950s, the School of Philosophy and Letters was restructured academically, giving way to the constitution of the Psychology College, from which the Doctorate in Psychology was formalized in 1956, and a few years later, the first psychology degree was organized at the undergraduate level, beginning in 1959 (Valderrama, 2004).

A similar situation to that of Mexico is noted in the history of psychology training in Puerto Rico beginning in the 1930s, when the specialization of psychology was established as a possible orientation within a more general formation in the educational and social fields within the framework of the University of Puerto Rico. Undoubtedly the geographical proximity with the United States and the background

of diplomatic relations as a free and associated state facilitated that the psychologists' training followed the US development very closely. For that matter, all the debates related to the specialized psychologist education in the United States, which were most fervent in the mid-1940s, were an essential condition for postgraduate training to acquire a relevant role, given that the graduate degree is considered as an enabling requirement to practice the profession (Rivera & Maldonado, 2000); this is a situation that marks a clear difference with the rest of the Latin American countries where the lack of a graduate degree did not represent a limitation for the professional practice. In this regard, it is not by chance that the formation of the Puerto Rico Psychological Association had taken place in 1954, which highlights the professionalized tendency of psychology on the island for those years, in addition to the existence of Puerto Rican professional psychologists who graduated in the United States.

Until then, in most of the countries of the region, psychology was practiced by different professionals such as physicians, lawyers, pedagogues, philosophers, sociologists, etc. These professionals were responsible for accomplishing important psychological activities, both in the field of psychology teaching and in the areas of research and application of psychological knowledge. Consequently, it is not unexpected, especially for the Mexican case, that postgraduate training preceded university undergraduate studies. With the creation of *psychology training programs at the undergraduate level*, a new chapter in the history of psychology in Latin America begins, specifically the history related to the psychologist's *profession*.

The first training programs in psychology were organized within the schools of philosophy, letters, education, or humanities, which evidenced the foundational bias linked to the field of social and human sciences. In several cases, their organization was detached from the activities that were carried out in preexisting psychology institutes, mainly related to psychotechnics, psychological counseling, and professional selection. Logically, the professors in charge of teaching the subjects came from different professional fields, except for a few who already had a specialization in psychology in Europe or the United States. In Table 3.1 one can see the first psychology training programs in the different countries of Latin America.

One of the first undergraduate curricula in psychology was organized at the University of Chile, in 1947, as a special course in psychology. Although it was officially approved in 1946, the activities began 1 year later, within the jurisdiction of the Institute of Psychology, belonging to the Department of Psychology of the then School of Philosophy and Education. Carlos Nassar, Aturo Piga, and Abelardo Iturriaga were some of the pioneers of that first training program in psychology (Parra, 2015). The training included both basic and applied content and covered the four most traditional areas of psychology: educational, clinical, work, and social. A peculiar fact was that during the first years of the program, several students came from other countries such as Guatemala, Panama, Venezuela, Honduras, and Peru (Salas, 2014).

The organization of psychology training in Colombia was initiated by Mercedes Rodrigo, a Spanish emigrant who was hired to make the selection of incoming students to the National University of Colombia starting in 1939. Within the same university, the Psychotechnics Section was created, where Rodrigo exercised the

**Table 3.1** First psychology training program in each country of Latin America

| Institution | Country | Year |
|---|---|---|
| University of Chile | Chile | 1947 |
| National University of Colombia | Colombia | 1948 |
| University of San Carlos of Guatemala | Guatemala | 1950 |
| Saint Thomas Catholic University of Villanueva | Cuba | 1950 |
| Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro | Brazil | 1953 |
| University of Litoral (Rosario) | Argentina | 1954 |
| National University Mayor of San Marcos | Peru | 1955 |
| University of the Republic (Montevideo) | Uruguay | 1956 |
| Central University of Venezuela | Venezuela | 1956 |
| University of El Salvador | El Salvador | 1956 |
| National Autonomous University of Mexico | Mexico | 1959 |
| National Autonomous University of Honduras | Honduras | 1962 |
| State University of Guayaquil | Ecuador | 1963 |
| Catholic University Our Lady of Assumption | Paraguay | 1963 |
| University of Panama | Panamá | 1965 |
| University of Puerto Rico | Puerto Rico | 1966 |
| Autonomous University of Dominican Republic | Dominican Republic | 1967 |
| National Autonomous University of Nicaragua | Nicaragua | 1969 |
| Bolivian Catholic University | Bolivia | 1971 |
| University of Costa Rica | Costa Rica | 1972 |
| University of Haiti | Haiti | 1974 |

psychological work for which she was hired until 1947 when this Section was transformed into the Institute of Applied Psychology, to formally start teaching professional psychology. The Institute began operating in 1948, and the first students enrolled the following year, concluding their studies and getting their degree in 1952. The institute activities included diverse sections as the study of the child, the examination of university candidates, psychological research, the medical-psychological clinic, and those related to psychology instruction (Ardila, 2013).

In Guatemala, the first training program in psychology was at the San Carlos University of Guatemala, starting in 1950, through the activities that had been fostered by the Spanish psychiatrist Antonio Román Durán, first with the teaching of psychology in the School of Humanities beginning in 1946. After that, he helped with the organization of the Institute of Psychology and Psychological Research in 1947, and finally he proposed to create the Psychology Department in 1949 (Anonymous, 1949; the San Carlos University of Guatemala, 1952). The first curriculum that began in 1950 was planned for 8 semesters and included more than 40 subjects, a foreign language, and a complementary semester for the preparation of a final thesis (Leal Feddek et al., 1975).

The training of psychologists in Cuba had been planned in the early 1950s, at the Catholic University of Santo Tomas de Villanueva and a few years later at the José Martí University (Díaz, 1955). However, the effects of the Cuban Revolution after 1959 triggered an important break with preexisting psychological activities to give

way to a new organization of academic and professional activities on the island. Then, the training in psychology is stabilized years after the Cuban Revolution, when a new curriculum is instituted at the University of Havana, a situation that does not discredit the previous history which was already being forged toward the professionalization of psychology (Gallegos, 2017). Anyway, for Cuban psychology, the formal beginning of the profession of the psychologist begins in 1962 after the revolutionary process, in line with a new sociopolitical and economic organization in the country and based on renewed university objectives, when a revamped psychological training curriculum is put into operation on the island (González, 2000; School of Psychology, 1964; Torre & Calviño, 2000).

Psychology in Argentina was professionalized in the city of Rosario in 1954, when the creation of the Psychology Program was approved within the domain of the School of Philosophy and Letters at the Litoral University. It began to function in 1955, although it was interrupted in September of that same year, to restart definitively with a new curriculum and new professors in 1956 (Ascolani, 1988; Gallegos & Berra, 2016; Gentile, 2003; Klappenbach, 2015). Around the same time, the professional training of psychologists in Peru began when the Psychology Section was organized in 1955. This section was part of the Philosophy and Psychology Institute, which belonged to the School of Letters at the San Marcos National University. Training included studies of general knowledge, several specialized subjects, and preprofessional practices (Alarcón, 2000).

Meanwhile in Uruguay, the transformation of psychology into a profession takes place in 1956 within the Department of Humanities and Sciences at the University of the Republic when a definitive psychology plan is approved, after several failed attempts from the previous decade. In the early 1950s, the Argentinean Horacio Rimoldi was hired to develop diverse psychological research and to design the core of a psychology curriculum, a syllabus however which after several years failed to materialize. Still, outside the university environment, there was already underway a kind of professional psychology training through the efforts made by Waclaw Radecki at the Center for Psychological Studies, founded in 1945. Several courses began to be taught there in 1946 specializing in different areas of psychology and thus giving shape to the Professional School of Psychology, which would then become the Free Psychology School in 1951 (Anonymous, 1950). In a way, it was the continuity of the unfinished project initiated in Rio de Janeiro in the 1930s, but Radecki's untimely death in 1953 ended up weakening the entire training project (Pérez Gambini, 1999; Tuana, 1980).

In the decade of the 1950s, several psychology curricula were created in the region. In El Salvador, the establishment of the Psychology Department was approved in 1956, within the School of Humanities of the El Salvador University, and from there the psychology training in that country was institutionalized (Calderón, 2006). Coincidentally, in that same year, the Psychology Section in the School of Philosophy and Letters at the Central University of Venezuela began activities, thus beginning the preparation of Venezuelan psychologists in 1956 (Del Olmo, 1966). And in Mexico, although there had already been a postgraduate psychology program since the 1940s, it was not until the end of the following decade that the vocational training

curriculum began. As a matter of fact, during the 1940s and 1950s, several psychology specialists graduated, with theses referring to various topics such as psychological philosophy, psychophysiology, psychotechnics, professional guidance, etc. Even though one could consider that postgraduate training as an enabling process for the professional practice of psychology there, especially if one takes into account that most of the theses supported were highly psychological, the Mexican psychologists themselves consider the beginning of professional training only when the undergraduate major was inaugurated in 1959, within the Psychology College of the School of Philosophy and Letters (Valderrama, 2004).

As indicated before, professional training in psychology in Brazil was conceived at the beginning of the 1930s, but its real constitution as a university program began in the 1950s. The first academic study got underway at the Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro in the year 1953 (Mancebo, 1999). In the same year, efforts were made to complete a training program in psychology at the University of São Paulo, but it was only officially approved in 1957, although academic activities began the following year (Ramozzi-Chiarottino, 2001). A very important fact when assessing the psychologist's profession in Brazil is the official recognition obtained in 1962 for the entire national territory. Despite the fact that psychologists had been trained since the previous decade, after a long and intense debate, the profession is legalized, and a minimum curriculum is established to regulate psychology training, a situation that places Brazil as one of the first countries of America and the world to achieve official recognition of psychology as a profession (Angelini, 1964/1965).

During the 1960s and 1970s, the historical process of opening training programs in psychology throughout the Latin American and Caribbean region was consolidated. As far as information is available, one of the first teaching programs in psychology was organized in Ecuador at the State University of Guayaquil in 1963 (Ardila, 1986). Also, in the same year in Paraguay, the first psychology degree was implemented at the School of Philosophy and Human Sciences at the Catholic University of Our Lady of the Assumption (Britos, 1999; García, 2003). In Honduras, the creation of the undergraduate degree in General Psychology was approved in 1961, and activities began in 1962 at the University Center for General Studies of the National Autonomous University of Honduras (Donaire, 2002).

Bearing in mind the importance given to the postgraduate degree in Puerto Rico in order to practice the psychology profession, several authors coincide in pointing out that the academic formation was definitively legitimized from the year 1966, when a master's degree was formalized at the University of Puerto Rico, and another master's degree offered the following year at the Psychological Institute of Puerto Rico, later renamed Carlos Albizu University (Boulon & Roca de Torres, 2016; Roca de Torres, 1999). The beginning of psychology training in Costa Rica takes place in 1966, when a baccalaureate (undergraduate) shared with other disciplines is instituted, but the professional character of psychology will come with the establishment of the Degree in Psychology, in 1972, within the framework of the Human Sciences School at the University of Costa Rica (Campos, Pérez, & Rosabal, 1990; Cordero, Dormond, & Flores, 2003; Thomas, 1975). Likewise, the formation of the

Dominican psychologist was instituted with the creation of the Psychology Department in the Humanities School of the Autonomous University of the Dominican Republic, in 1967 (Rodríguez, 2000; Zaiter, 2013).

In Nicaragua, psychology began in 1969 as a special academic minor within the undergraduate Science of Education program, but it was quickly transformed into a Psychology Degree with full autonomy, starting in 1971 within the realm of the Humanities School at the National Autonomous University of Nicaragua. It should be remembered that a few years earlier, the Central American University of Nicaragua had organized a Psycho-pedagogical program, which later evolved into an undergraduate Psychology degree (Whitford, 1985). Likewise, in Bolivia, the Psychology Department of the Bolivian Catholic University was founded in 1971, thus beginning the academic training of psychologists in that country (Aguilar, 1983). Finally, the formation of psychologists in Haiti began in 1974 at the University of Haiti (Ardila, 1986).

In general, it is possible to affirm that the foundation of psychology programs happened in the most important Latin American population areas, where the progressive modernization of societies and the consequent industrial development added to the extensive psychological tradition and the growing demands of higher education and created favorable conditions for the implementation of a new profession. However, the organization of new studies in psychology was so decisive that its impact was reflected in the creation of programs in many smaller countries, which shows a quite heterogeneous genesis in the foundation of the first psychology training programs in the region. The majority of the psychology studies were organized in the capitals of the countries, except in specific cases where they were organized outside the central orbit. A global characteristic refers to the organization of programs within the most important universities of the respective countries, generally of a public and state nature. It has also been found that in many cases the first initiatives arose in private and religious institutions, as in Brazil, Cuba, Paraguay, and Bolivia.

It has been widely documented that from the 1960s and 1970s, a progressive institutional consolidation of psychology in Latin America began, both in its academic milieu, with the exponential creation of new psychology training programs in the most important cities of the countries, and in its professional sphere, with the creation of professional associations, the establishment of ethical and deontological norms, and the enacting of professional laws that enable the certified practice of the psychologist, with the consequent social recognition of the psychological profession.

More recently, the emergence of new universities from the 1990s throughout the continent precipitated the organization of many new psychology programs, a phenomenon that is not only Latin American. However, it has been pointed out that the modern university had been constituted along with the nation-states, but with the process of globalization, and with it the decline of nation-states, the *raison d'être* of universities was reconsidered (Kwiek, 2000). In Latin America, the expansion and organization of new universities responded partly to the growth of university enrollment that reached nearly 30% of the population in countries such as Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay (Holm-Nielsen, Thorn, Brunner, & Balán, 2005).

**Table 3.2** Enrollment in higher education (2003–2011) ECLAC data

| Country | 2003 | 2004 | 2005 | 2006 | 2007 | 2008 | 2009 | 2010 | 2011 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Argentina | 64.9 | 65.4 | 64.0 | 67.1 | 66.7 | 68.7 | 71.3 | 74.8 | 78.6 |
| Belize | 16.0 | 15.5 | 16.0 | 17.0 | 18.2 | 19.3 | 22.9 | 22.6 | 22.9 |
| Bolivia | 39.6 | 39.6 | ... | ... | 37.7 | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Chile | 42.7 | 42.7 | 47.7 | 46.5 | 52.1 | 54.9 | 59.0 | 65.9 | 70.5 |
| Colombia | ... | 27.5 | 29.9 | 31.9 | 33.0 | 35.4 | 37.0 | 39.0 | 42.7 |
| Costa Rica | ... | 25.6 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 44.5 |
| Cuba | 32.6 | 53.5 | 61.9 | 86.2 | 89.2 | 91.2 | 91.0 | 95.0 | 80.3 |
| Ecuador | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 38.9 | ... | ... | ... |
| El Salvador | 20.7 | 21.1 | 21.2 | 21.2 | 22.0 | 22.6 | 23.0 | 23.4 | 24.5 |
| Guatemala | ... | ... | ... | ... | 17.9 | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Honduras | 17.0 | 17.1 | ... | ... | ... | 18.8 | ... | 20.6 | ... |
| Mexico | 21.9 | 22.8 | 23.3 | 23.8 | 24.4 | 25.1 | 25.7 | 26.7 | 27.7 |
| Nicaragua | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Panama | 44.0 | 43.1 | 41.9 | 42.9 | 43.0 | 43.1 | 43.0 | 43.9 | 41.8 |
| Paraguay | 24.5 | 24.8 | 25.4 | ... | 28.7 | 34.0 | 36.6 | 34.5 | ... |
| Peru | 31.5 | 33.3 | 33.3 | 34.6 | ... | ... | ... | 40.6 | ... |
| Puerto Rico | ... | ... | ... | ... | 71.7 | 77.9 | 81.3 | 86.3 | 86.5 |
| Uruguay | 41.1 | 42.4 | 45.3 | 46.0 | 63.7 | 64.6 | 63.2 | 63.2 | ... |
| Venezuela | 39.6 | 41.5 | ... | ... | ... | 78.1 | 77.9 | ... | ... |
| Latin America and Caribbean | 27.5 | 28.9 | 30.6 | 33.3 | 35.2 | 38.1 | 39.2 | 40.9 | 42.3 |

Source: ECLAC (2015). *Statistical Yearbook of Latin America and the Caribbean*. Downloaded from http://interwp.cepal.org/anuario_estadistico/anuario_2015/es/index.asp

ECLAC (*United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean* (Table 3.2)) has been able to verify this increment in enrollment between 2003 and 2011. Even though the situation is very uneven throughout the region, in countries such as Argentina, Cuba, Chile, and Puerto Rico, between 70 and 86% of the population that finishes the secondary studies has access to university education (ECLAC, 2015).

The situation is also irregular in terms of students attending public or private universities. In 2002, in countries such as Colombia, Chile, Brazil, Paraguay, Peru, El Salvador, Nicaragua, and the Dominican Republic, between 40 and 75% of university students attended private universities. While in Argentina, Mexico, Costa Rica, Guatemala, and Ecuador, that percentage ranged from 20 to 30%; in Bolivia, Panama, and Uruguay, it was less than 10%; and in Cuba everyone enrolled attended public universities (Holm-Nielsen et al., 2005). According to data from the "Information System of Educational Trends in Latin America (SITEAL), a UNESCO program, while in Argentina, Honduras, and Mexico in 2006, more than 70% of students in the higher education system attended public universities, in Brazil, Chile, and Colombia, this proportion is practically inverted (Pereyra, 2008) (Table 3.3). On the one hand, the phenomenon has precipitated a struggle between greater democratization for access to higher education and knowledge and on the other hand a significant "marketization" of higher education (Juarros & Naidorf, 2007).

**Table 3.3** Distribution of enrollment in public and private higher education in 12 countries of Latin America (Urban areas) 2006

| Country | Public | Private |
|---|---|---|
| Argentina | 77.2 | 22.8 |
| Bolivia | 64.8 | 35.2 |
| Brazil | 25.8 | 74.2 |
| Colombia | 34.9 | 65.1 |
| Chile | 0.0 (*sic)* | 100.00 |
| Ecuador | 56.7 | 43.3 |
| El Salvador | 36.6 | 63.4 |
| Guatemala | 53.4 | 46.6 |
| Honduras | 75.5 | 24.5 |
| Mexico | 70.3 | 29.7 |
| Nicaragua | 33.6 | 66.4 |
| Paraguay | 41.2 | 58.8 |
| Total | 45.4 | 54.6 |

Source: SITEAL, reproduced in Pereyra, 2008

How has this reality affected the psychology programs? Even though it is not possible to know the exact percentage of studies or psychology programs in the new universities, the expansion of the higher education system in the region has been observed in the particular case of psychology programs:

> "These processes, typical of Latin American institutions but not foreign to those of the developed countries, promoted the increase and diversification of the offer facing the enrollment increase, in contexts of progressive economic adjustment" (di Doménico & Piacente, 2003, p. 35).

> "In the last twenty years, the cadre of psychologists in the region has been multiplying exponentially. In many countries the number of universities that teach undergraduate studies greatly increased" (Fernández-Alvarez, 2003, p. 13).

It has been pointed out even in Peru that the "demand for pursuing a career in psychology has been increasing in recent years. The professional psychology program is included in the ranking of the most demanded area of study in the university system" (Zanabria-Moreno, 2015, p. 28).

Indeed, it has been verified that the increase in the number of psychology degrees in Latin America has been on an upward curve in recent decades. There recently were 396 programs in Brazil, although the latest data raise the figure to 475 (Jacó-Vilela, 2015). There are more than 290 in Mexico, 139 in Chile, and 127 in Colombia, totaling almost 1300 psychology programs in the region. It can be seen in Table 3.4 that the data come from studies that in many cases are already several years old. In that sense, as has already been confirmed in Brazil, it is possible to have still more psychology programs.

By the same token, there has been an equivalent growth of graduate studies. In almost all the countries of the region, there are well-established masters or doctoral programs, and many of them are accredited.

**Table 3.4** Current number of psychology programs

| Country | Quantity of Degree Programs | Sources |
|---|---|---|
| Argentina | 71 | Klappenbach (2015) |
| Bolivia | 27 | Schulmeyer (2015) |
| Brazil | 396 | Lisboa and Gonçalves-Barbosa (2009) |
| Chile | 139 | Urzúa, Vera-Villarroel, Zuñiga, and Salas (2016) |
| Colombia | 127 | Observatory of Higher Education in Psychology in Colombia (2017) |
| Costa Rica | 37 | Villalobos-Pérez, Jungue, Monge-Salazar, and Vargas-Fallas (2015) |
| Cuba | 3 | R. Corral-Russo, personal communication, July 4, 2017 |
| Ecuador | 25 | Balarezo and Velástegui (2014) |
| El Salvador | 11 | Government of El Salvador (2017) |
| Guatemala | 11 | Cárcamo-Duarte & Escobar-Martínez (2015) |
| Haiti | 2 | Ortiz-Torres (2013) |
| Honduras | 3 | Branney (2017) |
| Mexico | 290 | Valdez-Caraveo & Tamargo-Rivero (2015) |
| Nicaragua | 11 | Saballos-Ramírez (2017) |
| Panama | 10 | Matus (2011) |
| Paraguay | 20 | Coppari (2009) |
| Peru | 45 | Arias (2014) |
| Puerto Rico | 32 | Ortiz-Torres 2013 |
| Dominican Republic | 14 | Rodríguez-Arias (2010); Zaiter (2013) |
| Uruguay | 3 | L. Leopold, personal communication, December 12, 2017 |
| Venezuela | 8 | Canga & Yáber-Oltra (2015) |
| Total | 1288 | |

The first reservation that these figures raise is whether there are sufficient trained professors for such a large number of programs, in addition to the adequate infrastructure. Concern about the *quality* of teaching is a recurring theme in the region even when the ambiguity of the concept is highlighted (Doherty, 2005) or even when it has been emphasized that "there is no consensus on the notion of *quality*" (Dias Sobrinho, 2006, p. 282). In the case of studies or psychology programs, the difficulty of defining what is meant by *quality* has also been observed: "The need to specify the definition of this term referring to psychological training in particular cannot be ignored .... The concept of *quality* is historical, and therefore ever changing" (di Doménico & Piacente, 2011, p. 8). And specifically:

> "The continued enrollment growth in psychology through the offer of new training programs is a generalized phenomenon that becomes a problem when it is linked to the quality of the programs offered and the job incorporation of the new psychologists" (Moyano-Diaz & Ramos-Alvarado, 2013, p. 30).

In any case, the problem of university psychology education quality has generated a particular interest in the processes of self-evaluation and accreditation. It is

interesting that even from very different ideological, theoretical, and technical perspectives, evaluation and accreditation have appeared as one of the guarantees to meet that extraordinary increase of the institutions that award psychology diplomas. The renowned specialist from Brazil, Denise Leite, recognized at least two models of university evaluation. One of them followed a policy of *control* in the framework of neoliberal ideas; the other pursued a *counter-hegemonic* prototype tending to promote *democratic responsibility* (Leite, 2003).

In some countries the evaluation and accreditation processes are already very advanced. In Argentina, Brazil, and Cuba, the accreditation of degree programs is compulsory. In contrast, in Chile and Mexico, official approval processes are mandatory for medicine and pedagogy programs, but not for psychology. On the other hand, only Brazil and Cuba have established the obligatory nature for the postgraduate programs. And in Colombia, even though the accreditation is still voluntary, the evaluation and accreditation system has been consolidated, and the Colombian Association of Psychology Faculties (Ascofapsi) has generated an "Observatory of the Quality of Colombian Higher Education in Psychology" with the objective of obtaining reliable data to improve the training quality (see http://observatorio.ascofapsi.org.co).

## Professional Organizations

The growth of psychology programs throughout the region has produced at the same time a steady organization of national, regional, and international congresses, the creation of numerous scientific journals with good criteria of editorial quality, the publication of multiple psychological productions, and the emergence of specialized publishers in the discipline. All that professional headway has been parallel to the sustained financing—not without difficulty—of psychological research, the strengthening of postgraduate training, and the consolidation and diversification of research and professional psychology practice (Alarcón, 2002; Alonso & Eagly, 1999; Ardila, 1978, 1986; di Doménico & Vilanova, 1999; Gallegos, 2010, 2016; Rodríguez & Sánchez, 1999; Toro & Villegas, 2001; Torre, 1995; Vilanova & Di Doménico, 1999; Villegas, Marassi & Toro, 2003a, 2003b).

In the first half of the twentieth century, at a time of "psychology without psychologists," the first psychology association in the region was the Argentine Society of Psychology, which was organized on November 27, 1908, by the impetus of the most outstanding representatives of psychology of the time: José Ingenieros, Horacio Piñero, Francisco de Veyga, and Víctor Mercante, among others. As has been highlighted from a gender perspective, that society was made up of "39 men and 1 woman," alluding to Clotilde Guillén (Ostrovsky, 2008). The objective of that society was "the study of this science and the diffusion and practical application of its principles" (Sociedad de Psicología (Argentine Society of Psychology), 1909, p. 351).

The Society consisted of four sections: normal psychology, abnormal psychology, pedagogical psychology, and social psychology. Its purpose was exclusively *scientific*. The assumption has been put forward that "the objective has been to found a Psychology Academy" (Kohn Loncarica, 1973, p. 924).

Around 1913 that Society of Psychology essentially ceased to exist. However, in 1930, Enrique Mouchet reorganized it under the name of the Buenos Aires Society of Psychology. The aims of this society were to "strengthen ties, conduct scientific research, create a more conducive environment for the cultivation of psychology, promote scientific congresses of the specialty, publish a yearbook and organize public events to disseminate knowledge" (Buenos Aires Society of Psychology, 1933, p. 7).

Societies of this nature also existed in other countries of the region, although they were generally organized later (Ardila, 1986).

The organization of psychology programs significantly modified the type of associations, and then the organizations of psychologists began to become more common than those of psychology (Table 3.5).

Similar to national or local organizations, Latin American, inter-American, and Ibero-American societies were also organized. Of great importance here, it is worth mentioning the Interamerican Society of Psychology (SIP), formed in 1951; the Latin American Association of Analysis, Behavior Modification and Behavioral Cognitive Therapy (ALAMOC) organized in Colombia in 1975; and the Latin American Association of Social Psychology (ALAPSO) in that same year. Then, in the twenty-first century, other organizations emerged that grouped together associations and not just individual psychologists, for example, the Ibero-American Federation of Psychological Associations (FIAP) was organized in 2002 in Bogota, Colombia, during the III Ibero-American Psychology Congress, the first to be held in Latin America. Also, the Latin American Union of Psychological Entities (ULAPSI) came into existence in the same year in Puebla, Mexico. ULAPSI has made explicit its objectives of psychology's social commitment in the Puebla Declaration: "For a united Latin America, for a psychology characterized by *social commitment with Latin American peoples*" (ULAPSI, 2002).

Both FIAP and ULAPSI have organized their own congresses. FIAP is holding its XI Ibero-American Congress in Cordoba, Argentina in 2018. ULAPSI organized its I Congress in Sao Paulo in 2005 and the last, the VI Congress in Buenos Aires, in 2016. In the case of SIP, it organized its I Congress in Santo Domingo in 1953 and, the most recent one, the 36th Congress in Merida, Mexico, in 2017.

Societies or networks have also been organized by psychology areas, such as the Ibero-Latin American Network of Political Psychology, the Iberoamerican Network of Researchers on History of Psychology (RIPeHP), the Latin American Association of Health Psychology (ALAPSA), the Latin American Association of Legal and Forensic Psychology (ALPJF), the Ibero-American Network of National Associations of Legal and Forensic Psychology (RedPsiJu), among the main ones. All this undertaking reveals the consolidation and internationalization of psychology in the region.

**Table 3.5** Main psychology organizations in Latin America

| Country | Main psychology organizations |
|---|---|
| Argentina | 1. Federation of Argentinian Psychologists (FePRA) (1977) |
| | 2. Argentine Association of Behavioral Sciences (AACC) (1987)* |
| | 3. Association for the Advancement of Psychological Science (AACP) (2005) |
| | 4 Argentine Association for the Study of Psychodiagnostics (ADEIP) (1988) |
| | 5. Argentine Association of Forensic Psychologists (APFRA) (1989) |
| | 6. Association of Academic Organizations of Psychology (AUPSI) (1991) |
| | 7. Organization of Academic Associations of Psychology of Private Universities (UVAPsi), (1999) |
| Bolivia | 1. Collegium of Bolivian Psychologists, La Paz (1976) |
| | 2. Collegium of Psychologists in Santa Cruz (2004) |
| | 3. Collegium of Psychologists of Cochabamba (1995) |
| | 4. Bolivian Society of Scientific Psychology (1983) |
| Brazil | 1. Federal Council of Psychology (CFP) (1971, 1977) |
| | 2. Brazilian Society of Psychology(SBP) (1971/1991)* |
| | 3. National Association for Research and Graduate Studies in Psychology/ (ANPEPP) – (1983) |
| | 4. Brazilian Association of Social Psychology (ABRAPSO) (1980) |
| | 5. Brazilian Society of Work and Organizational Psychology (SBPOT) (2001) |
| Chile | 1. Chilean Psychologists Association (1968) |
| | 2. Chilean Society of Clinical Psychology (1979) |
| | 3. Chilean Association of Legal and Forensic Psychology (2006) |
| | 4. Network of Psychology Schools of the Consortium of Public Universities |
| | 5. National Association of Educational Psychologists (ANPsE) (2008) |
| | 6. Chilean Society of Scientific Psychology (SCP) (2011) |
| Colombia | 1. Colombian Collegium of Psychologists (COLPSIC) (2006)* |
| | 2. Colombian Society of Psychology (SOCOPSI) (1978) |
| | 3. Colombian Association of Psychology Faculties (ASCOFAPSI) (1986) |
| Costa Rica | Association of Psychology Professionals in Costa Rica (CPPCR) (1978) |
| Cuba | 1. Cuban Society of Psychology, (1981)* |
| | 2. Cuban Society of Health Psychology (SCPS) (1972) |
| Ecuador | 1. Ecuadorian Federation of Clinical Psychologists (1979) |
| | 2. Ecuadorian Association of Psychologists (2000) |
| El Salvador | El Salvador Psychological Association (1964)<br>Association of Psychologists of the East (2004)<br>Association of Psychologists of the West (2013) |
| Guatemala | 1. Guatemalan Psychological Association/(AGP) (1996)* |
| | 2. Guatemala Collegium of Psychologists (2000) |
| Haití | Haitian Association of Psychology (AHPsy) (2009) |
| Honduras | Honduras Collegium of Psychologists (1982) |

(continued)

**Table 3.5** (continued)

| Country | Main psychology organizations |
|---|---|
| Mexico | 1. Mexican Psychological Association (1950)* |
| | 2. National Council for Teaching and Research in Psychology (1971) |
| | 3. Mexican Society for Behavior Analysis (SMAC) (1976) |
| | 4. National Collegium of Psychologists (CoNaPsi) (1976) |
| | 5. Mexican Association of Social Psychology (AMEPSO) (1983) |
| Nicaragua | Nicaraguan Association for the Development of Psychology (ANDEPSI) (2016) |
| Panamá | Panamanian Association of Psychologists (1965) |
| Paraguay | Paraguayan Society of Psychology (SPPs) (1966) |
| Peru | 1. Peruvian Society of Psychology (1954–1979) |
| | 2. Psychologists' Collegium of Peru (1980) |
| Puerto Rico | Psychology Association of Puerto Rico (1954) |
| República Dominicana | 1. Dominican Psychology Association (1976, 2000) |
| | 2. Collegium of Dominican Psychologists (2001) |
| | 3. Dominican Association of Psychology Students (ASOEPI) (1996) |
| Uruguay | Psychologists' Coordinator of Uruguay (1987) |
| Venezuela | 1. The Federation of Venezuelan Psychologists (1978) |
| | 2. Collegium of Venezuelan Psychologists (1961) |
| | 3. Venezuelan Association of Social Psychology AVEPSO (1979) |

*International Union of Psychological Sciences (IUPsyS)

## Scientific Publications

The first psychology journal in the region, *Psychology Annals*, was published in Buenos Aires in 1908. It was put out by the Argentine Society of Psychology, and only three volumes were published, in 1909, 1911, and 1914. A similar fate befell the *Institute of Psychology Annals*, directed by Enrique Mouchet, which likewise came out merely three times, in 1935, 1938, and 1941.

Thirty years ago, an already classic text summarized the main difficulties of scientific journals in the region:

> "The psychology journals of the continent have been founded without due planning and lack a correlation with one another. Most deal with topics of general psychology, which cover experimental, theoretical, professional and scientific subjects. There is a lot of overlap among them. Also, international standards for the selection and evaluation of articles are not always maintained. Their level is quite uneven ... The delay in deliveries is excessively long, the scientific level is not as lofty as desired and the distribution is very poor. Few Latin American journals reach *Psychological Abstracts*, and *Current Contents*. ... Added to this is the language problem: essays written in Spanish or Portuguese do not attract enough attention from the international scientific community, and for this reason many important research themes do not receive the treatment they deserve" (Ardila, 1986, p. 64).

Even though some of these limitations may remain, in the last 30 years, the situation has changed. Initiatives such as *Latindex*, *SciELO*, or *Redalyc* have focused precisely on the recovery of "lost science" and on improving the visibility of regional

publications. Furthermore, the *Open Access* initiative has also promoted greater visibility of journals in the region. And although Spanish and Portuguese editions continue to occupy a marginal place in *mainstream psychology*, many Latin American serial publications have incorporated international standards for the evaluation of articles, and the characteristics of digital publications have overcome many of the difficulties related to circulation and distribution gone through by printed bulletins.

Indeed, it can be verified that in *PsycINFO* (the database that has replaced *Psychological Abstracts*), it is possible to find 42 Latin American journals. Without counting the one on psychiatry and health, and another one that has its formal address in Spain (*Iberoamerican Journal of Diagnostic and Psychological Evaluation*), a total of 40 publications are indexed in the main psychology database. It can be seen in Table 3.6 that just over two thirds of the total (27 journals, 67.5%) were incorporated after the publication of Ruben Ardila's, 1986 book. The figure is still small, but the progress is significant compared to the situation of 30 years ago.

In addition, the evaluation criteria to admit publications on either *SciELO* or *Redalyc* platforms (or *Lilacs*) are compatible with the *PsycINFO* criteria and even those of *Web of Science* or *Scopus*.

Nevertheless, in almost all the countries of the region, there are publications that respond to international standards. Moreover, it has been recognized that one of the most prestigious international journals, the *Latin-American Journal of Psychology* (*Revista Latinoamericana de Psicología*/RLP), has been a model for other publications in relation to international standards (Gutiérrez, Pérez-Acosta, & Plata-Caviedes, 2009). Likewise, the *RLP* was one of the only two Latin American journals indexed in *Redalyc* that included more than 50% of articles in collaboration with authors from at least two different institutions (López-López, Silva, García-Cepero, Aguilar-Bustamente, & Aguado-López, 2011). The *RLP* has even achieved the highest "Internationality Index" of all the journals analyzed.

> Taking into account the results of the analysis, the *Latin-American Psychology Journal* (RLP) is indeed a very international periodical. Moreover, it is the most international journal of all the publications that have been evaluated (Zych & Buela- Casal, 2009, p. 409).

However, this achievement does not guarantee the visibility of publications, and therefore a consequent "loss of knowledge" of Latin American scientific production may still occur (Gibbs, 1995). In 2010, only seven Latin American journals were indexed in the *Journal Science Reports* of the *Web of Science*, namely, *Psychology: Reflection and Criticism* (*Psicologia: Reflexão e Crítica*), *Argentine Journal of Clinical Psychology* (*Revista Argentina de Clínica Psicológica*), *Latin-American Journal of Psychology* (*Revista Latinoamericana de Psicología*), *Latin American Journal of Fundamental Psychopathology* (*Revista Latinoamericana de Psicopatología Fundamental*), *Mexican Journal of Psychology* (*Revista Mexicana de Psicología*), *Psychological Therapy* (*Terapia Psicológica*), and *Universitas Psychologica* (Olivas-Ávila, Musi-Lechuga, Quevedo-Blasco, & Luna-Hernández, 2012).

The language issue of the publications undoubtedly biases the circulation and visibility of the same, as already pointed out in another definitive work by Rubén

**Table 3.6** Indexed Latin American journals in *PsycINFO*

| | Journals | Country | Starting year | Year of entry in *PsycINFO* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | *Acta Colombiana de Psicologia* | Colombia | 2001 | 2006 |
| 2. | *Acta Comportamentalia* | Mexico | 1993 | 1993 |
| 3. | *Acta Psiquiátrica y Psicológica de América Latina* | Argentina | 1954 | 1964 |
| 4. | *Actualidades En Psicología* | Costa Rica | 1985 | 2011 |
| 5. | *Arquivos* | Brazil | | |
| 6. | *Avaliação Psicológica* | Brazil | 2002 | 2017 |
| 7. | *Avances en Psicología Latinoamericana* | Colombia | 1982 | 1982 |
| 8. | *Estudos de Psicologia* | Brazil | 1983 | 2001 |
| 9. | *Interdisciplinaria: Revista de Psicología y Ciencias Afines* | Argentina | 1980 | 1983 |
| 10. | *Paideia* | Brazil | 1991 | 2003 |
| 11. | *Psychologia: Avances de la Disciplina* | Colombia | 2007 | 2013 |
| 12. | *Psico* | Brazil | 1971 | 1980 |
| 13. | *Psicologia Clinica* | Brazil | 1986 | 2000 |
| 14. | *Psicologia em Estudo* | Brazil | 1996 | 2002 |
| 15. | *Psicologia: Reflexão e Critica* | Brazil | 1986 | 1997 |
| 16. | *Psicologia: Teoria e Pesquisa* | Brazil | 1985 | 1985 |
| 17. | *Psicologia: Teoria e Pratica* | Brazil | 1999 | 1999 |
| 18. | *Psicologia Desde el Caribe* | Colombia | 1985 | 2010 |
| 19. | *Psicologia Iberoamericana* | Mexico | 1988 | 2010 |
| 20. | *Psicologia y Salud* | Mexico | 1987 | 2007 |
| 21. | *Psicoperspectivas: Individuo y Sociedad* | Chile | 2002 | 2010 |
| 22. | *Psiquis* | Mexico | 1992 | 2013 |
| 23. | *Psykhe* | Chile | 1992 | 1995 |
| 24. | *Revista Argentina de Clínica Psicológica* | Argentina | 1992 | 1992 |
| 25. | *Revista Brasileira de Orientação Profissional* | Brazil | 2003 | 2013 |
| 26. | *Revista Brasileira de Psicanálise* | Brazil | 1928 | 1976 |
| 27. | *Revista Chilena de Psicoanálisis* | Chile | 1979 | 1992 |
| 28. | *Revista Colombiana de Psicologia* | Colombia | 1992 | 2011 |
| 29. | *Revista da Psicanálise da Sppa* | Brazil | 1993 | 2003 |
| 30. | *Revista de Psicologia* | Peru | 1983 | 1994 |
| 31. | *Revista Interamericana de Psicología* | Puerto Rico | 1967 | 1967 |
| 32. | *Revista Latinoamericana de Psicología* | Colombia | 1969 | 1969 |
| 33. | *Revista Latinoamericana de Psicopatología Fundamental* | Brazil | 2008 | 2013 |
| 34. | *Revista Mexicana de Análisis de la Conducta* | Mexico | 1975 | 1975 |
| 35. | *Revista Mexicana de Psicologia* | Mexico | 1984 | 1984 |

(continued)

**Table 3.6** (continued)

| | Journals | Country | Starting year | Year of entry in *PsycINFO* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 36. | *Revista Psicologia Organizações e Trabalho* | Brazil | 2001 | 2015 |
| 37. | *Revista Puertorriqueña de Psicología* | Puerto Rico | 1983 | 2008 |
| 38. | *Salud Mental* | Mexico | 1978 | 1980 |
| 39. | *Terapia Psicológica* | Chile | 1982 | 1982 |
| 40. | *Universitas Psicologica* | Colombia | 2002 | 2003 |

Ardila (1982). An inquiry by Louttit, then editor of the *Psychological Abstracts*, showed the decline of French and German and the growth of the English language after the Second World War (Louttit, 1957).

A study in the late twentieth century analyzed the percentage of international representation of psychology articles in scientific publications according to two variables, the country of origin and the year, ordering the data of the latter variable into five major periods: 1975, 1980, l985, 1990, and 1994 (Bauserman, 1997). While in 1975, articles from the United States represented almost 70% of all psychology articles (69.5%), this percentage began to decrease significantly (65.8% in 1980, 64.1% in 1985, and 54.7% in 1990), then dropping to slightly more than half (53.9%) in 1994. At the same time, the production originating in Western Europe (especially in England, Holland, Spain, and Italy) was beginning to grow, from 15.4% in 1975 to almost one fourth of the articles in 1994 (24.0%); in Japan, from 1.2% in 1975 to 2.2% in 1994; in Israel, from 0.8% in 1975 to 1.4% in 1994; in Australia-New Zealand, from 1.9% to 3.4% in 1994; and in Latin America to a lesser extent, from 1.0% in 1975 to 1.2% in 1994, having reached 1.5% in 1985 and 1990. The provisional data for 1996 indicated that although production from the United States had improved slightly compared to 1994 (57.7%), that of Western Europe as a whole had reached 30.1%.

However, an analysis considering the publication language of the articles confirmed the trend of a striking *consolidation of English*, from 87.4% in 1975 to 92.8% in 1994. The differences between both percentages (depending on the variable being the language or the country of origin) can be explained for two reasons. On the one hand, researchers from non-English speaking countries increasingly publish in English in international journals. On the other hand, scientific publications from non-English speaking countries are also increasingly incorporating English as a possible language for the presentation of articles.

In any case, an analysis in the *SciELO*, *Redalyc*, and *Scopus* databases that goes beyond psychology shows "a general trend of increase in the three sources and for almost all countries" (Miguel, 2011, p 195). This study also revealed the countries with the highest production of scientific publications in the aforementioned databases: Brazil (384 publications), Mexico (215), Colombia (181), Chile (120), Argentina (110), Venezuela (109), Cuba (51), Costa Rica (24), and Peru (20) (Miguel, 2011).

It is possible to say that the visibility of Latin American psychology publications has increased significantly since the implementation of the *open-access* system (Cardoso-Sampaio & Zoqui Paulovic-Sabadini, 2012).

In conclusion, after 70 years of the inauguration in Chile of the first psychology training program, the profession of psychology has been consolidated as evidenced by different indicators. Even though there are still many challenges to face, psychology in the region has generated practices and constituted organizations and publications in different psychology specialties.

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# Chapter 4
# Clinical Psychology and Health Psychology


**Héctor Fernández-Alvarez and Claudia Bregman**

**Abstract** Clinical psychology is the area with the greatest number of practitioners, both in the United States and in Western Europe, as well as in Latin America. In more recent decades, health psychology has also become very important. This chapter presents a detailed view of this psychology field. During the first half of the twentieth century, the study of clinical phenomena focused on the mental ability diagnosis field and on the evaluation of individual differences. There was a great emphasis on the development of psychological tests and their application to specific contexts. Later, during the 1970s and 1980s, clinical psychology in Latin America developed other fields besides diagnosis, such as psychotherapy, research on abnormal behavior, and the promotion of mental health. The methodological controversies among various paradigms such as psychoanalysis, experimental analysis of behavior, humanistic psychology, systemic psychology, and Gestalt were very intense. Today there is in general a scientific and professional emphasis in clinical and health psychology in Latin America. On the other hand, there are centers dedicated to a specific approach to clinical and health issues, and there are notable differences among some countries.

## Background

The areas of clinical psychology and health psychology were developed in Latin America during the second half of the twentieth century when psychology was established, in most countries, as an independent academic unit. The topics that were part of its area had been treated previously in the fields of psychiatry and philosophy. It should be noticed, nonetheless, that there were previous theoretical developments of psychoanalysis in the medical and behavioral fields in an experimental and educational domain.

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This area of knowledge entered relatively late in the region, if compared with the early developments that Witmer promoted in the United States and Binet did in France. During the first half of the twentieth century, the study of clinical phenomena was centered in the field of diagnosis of mental abilities and evaluation of individual differences. Thence, it was strongly linked with the development of psychological tests and their application in specific contexts. At the beginning of clinical psychology, we also found another source of research that focused on the study of the conditions that distinguish dysfunctional behavioral phenomena. The emerging science of psychology took over the study of abnormal and psychopathological phenomena which until then was exclusive of biological psychiatry (Belloch, 2008). Clinical psychology was formed as a theoretical and applied field at the intersection of two axes of abnormalities: individual quali-quantitative differences on the one hand and the pathological ones on the other hand.

In Latin America, the field of clinical psychology, subsequently fused with health psychology, was strongly associated with this second one, linked to the therapeutic and care field rather than the study of differential psychology and that of prevention.

There has been much discussion up to now about the disciplinary relationship that exists between clinical psychology and health psychology. There is no doubt that they are two associated fields but there is no agreement on the extent of that association. For some (Oblitas, 2010) they are two adjacent fields of the same specialty, while for others they are two territories with more specific repercussions (Gorayeb, 2010). It is worth mentioning that for the American Psychological Association (APA), each is a different division: Division 12 for clinical psychology and Division 38 for health psychology.

One of the peculiarities observed in Latin America in the field of education and training is demonstrated by the existence of differentiated proposals for each one. In the case of **clinical psychology**, a pioneering *Master's* program was offered at the Santo Tomás University in Bogota (Colombia) in 1977. These programs have proliferated in recent years, and today we find a wide offer, among them the *Specialization Programs* such as those of the Pontificia Bolivariana University (Venezuela), National University of Córdoba (Argentina), University of Buenos Aires (Argentina), National University of Asuncion (Paraguay), University of Puerto Rico-Rio Piedras Campus, and San Pablo Bolivian Catholic University; also *Master's Programs* such as the Americas University at Puebla (Mexico), Monterrey University (Mexico), Cayetano Heredia Peruvian University, Jose Matias Delgado University (El Salvador), University of Belgrano (Argentina), Pontificia Javeriana University in Bogotá (Colombia), University of Panama, and National Autonomous University of Honduras; and *Doctorates* such as the ones offered by the University of Sao Paulo (Brazil) and Catholic University of Pernambuco (Brazil).

On the other hand, among the diverse graduate programs in **clinical psychology** and **health psychology**, we find programs at the Autonomous University of Paraguay; *Masters degree* at the Ricardo Palma University (Peru), Andes University in Bogotá (Colombia), National University of San Marcos University (Peru), Autonomous University of Bucaramanga (Colombia), Autonomous University of

Nicaragua, Higher Institute of Psychological Studies (Dominican Republic), and Pontifical Catholic University of Peru and of San Jose, Costa Rica; and *Doctorate degree* at the University of Valle del Rio dos Sinos (Brazil).

Finally, we also find graduate programs in **health psychology**, as the *Specialization* of the Faculty of Medical Sciences of Santa Casa (Brazil); *Masters degree* such as the Autonomous University of Guadalajara (Mexico), Pontifical Javeriana University (Colombia), Pontifical Catholic University of Chile, National Institute of Public Health (Cuba), and Ixtlahuaca University (Mexico); and the *Doctorate* program at Methodist University of Sao Paulo (Brazil).[1]

No doubt that both fields have main points in common, especially with regard to the study and approach to the phenomena that contribute to the quality of life in their individual, interpersonal, and collective expression. Today we continue to distinguish both designations (clinical psychology and health psychology) to the extent that each of them has different ranges and specific applications.

## Definitions and Coverage

Among the various definitions that circulated through the years for clinical psychology, we found an especially complete one, in the *Encyclopedia of Psychiatry* (Vidal, Alarcón, & Lolas Stepke, 1995), which defines clinical psychology as: *the application of methods and psychological principles in order to understand, classify, treat and prevent behavioral disorders*. More recently, Ardila (2011) considers clinical psychology as *one of the fields of psychological technology that deals with the diagnosis, treatment, prevention and research of behavior deviant from the norm.* The definition by Resnick in 1991, while president of Division 12 of the APA, serves as a benchmark: *clinical psychology encompasses* "Research, teaching, and services, all relevant to the applications of principles, methods, and procedures for understanding, predicting, and alleviating intellectual, emotional, biological, psychological, social and behavioral maladjustment, disability and discomfort, applied to a wide range of client populations."

With regard to health psychology, Morales Calatayud (2012) defines it as "the applied branch of psychology that is dedicated to the study of the subjective and behavioral components of the health-illness process and health care ... including actions useful for health promotion, disease prevention, care of the sick and people with sequels, and the adaptation of health services to the needs of the recipients."

It is worth mentioning that many authors, such as Piña (2010), emphasize the need to clearly define the limits of the fields of clinical psychology and health psychology, the latter focusing on health promotion and prevention, separating it from the medical model and rejecting a certain tendency to include it as part of a "clinical and health psychology" in general.

[1] There is availabe a more complete but not exhaustive list at http://www.redmacro.unam.mx/universidades.html.

It seems clear that there are two approaches today: one more focused on the individual and interpersonal, oriented toward psychopathology, which deals with the study and treatment of subjective ailment and symptomatic dysfunction, corresponding to clinical psychology and another, whose aim is more centered on the problems of health/disease in general, pertaining to health psychology. This one emphasizes the study of protective welfare factors, linked to the positive resources and strengths of the people who help to create a good quality of life. In our region, this field is strongly associated with the area of development of community social psychology.

In light of the foregoing, it is appropriate to examine each of these fields separately.

## Clinical Psychology

The territory of clinical psychology is divided into two major areas of study and interventions: psychopathology and psychological treatments.

### *Psychopathology*

The main approach and the leading lines of research in this field coincide, in general, with the current theoretical models in academic centers in the United States and Europe. The diagnosis and classification of mental disorders predominantly meets the criteria of the International Classification of Diseases, 10th edition (ICD-10-CM), and the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (DSM-5). Some groups of psychodynamic orientation also use the Operationalized Psychodynamic Diagnosis System (OPD-2).

In the field of epidemiology, there are major deficiencies in data on mental health in Latin America. One of the most reliable sources is the data from the Pan American Health Organization. Its report about epidemiology in Latin America and the Caribbean (Rodríguez, Kohn, & Aguilar-Gaxiola, 2009) states that mental and neurological disorders represent 22.4% of the total diseases in Latin America and the Caribbean. Prevention and rehabilitation of mental disorders are major and growing problems in the field of public health in the region. According to the report, most severe mental disorders begin in childhood and adolescence, and 75% start before the age of 24. There is also an increase in mental disorders associated with the elderly population, highlighting depression, dementias, delusional disorder, and abuse.

In addition, the budget devoted to mental health does not exceed 1% of the overall health budget, and the most worrying is the fact that more than 90% of that funding is dedicated to psychiatric hospitals, diverting the resources required to implement the decentralized care models, embedded in community care, such as stipulated by the Mental Health Action Plan 2013–2020 of the World Health Organization (OMS, 2013).

The diagnosis and evaluation of mental disorders is usually done with the classical instruments, by resorting to interviews with different degrees of structure and psychometric tests. These include mono- and multitrait-multimethod matrix tests based on self-records, and also projective and qualitative tests are used. Most of the tests used are originating in the United States and Europe, and, in general, many of the instruments used do not have adequate adaptations to the local population. It is estimated that less than 15% of the tests used are developed in the region (Bregman, López-López, & García, 2015; Vinet & González, 2013).

This situation is gradually improving, and several of the most important instruments have appropriate adaptations in various countries. This is the case of the SCL-90-R (Symptom Check List-90-Revised) and the assessment tests of single trait like Beck Depression Inventory II and the State-Trait Anxiety Inventory (STAI). For personality assessment, some of the most commonly structured broad spectrum instruments used in the clinical setting are the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory-2 (MMPI-2) and Millon Clinical Multiaxial Inventory-III (MCMI-III). Among the projective tests, one of the most widespread that is widely recognized is the Rorschach test.

There are, moreover, minimum developments of instruments taking into account the specific characteristics of the native population. One example is the normative study called the Developmental Items of the Human Figure Drawing Test in a sample of Yaqui Indian Children - Normative Study (Fernández Nistal, Tuset Bertran, & Ross Argüelles, 2015). A particularly interesting chapter is precisely the approach referred to the particular characteristics of mental disorders in the native population. Several authors (Chahín-Pinzón, 2014; de González, 2003) have drawn attention to this fact and the need to carry out developments in the area that take into account the details of these phenomena.

Among the clinical problems present in the native population studied are the "anxiety disorder" (Pérez de Nucci, 2005) and the "evil eye" (Pagés Larraya, 1982). Not only are there different manifestations observed in the type of ailment but also in the disorder prevalence rates. Lopera and Rojas (2012) report, for example, that the suicide rate among the indigenous population in Colombia is multiplied by 100 of that of the general population.

The corollary of this phenomenon in the therapeutic field is linked to the merger between "official" and "traditional" treatments prevailing in several countries. Here the role of officiants as healers and shamans playing a therapeutic role stands out. Examples of these practices are in various publications (Galinier, Lagarriga, & Perrin, 1996; Korman & Idoyaga Molina, 2010).

## *Psychotherapies*

Psychotherapy found fertile ground in the region almost since the beginning of its development. The culture of Latin American society (especially in urban areas) was permeable, absorbing this instrument in its various expressions. The dominant approaches to psychotherapy are well-represented throughout the continent.

## Psychoanalysis

Psychoanalysis had an extraordinary expansion in Latin America. By 1911, Freud wrote a review on the Chilean physician German Greve, mentioning in his *Contribution to the History of the Psychoanalytic Movement* (1914). In the same text Freud referred to the Peruvian psychiatrist Honorio Delgado, who occupied an important place as a precursor of psychoanalysis in the region. He maintained a relationship with the pioneers of the movement and was the creator, in 1918, of the *Revista de Psiquiatría y Disciplinas Conexas*, the first disseminator of this approach on the continent.

The Argentine Psychoanalytic Association, founded in 1942, generated very significant contributions. It came to have a large number of members, including such internationally renowned personalities as Angel Garma and Enrique Pichon Riviere. Its *Revista de Psicoanálisis*, which began in 1943, is recognized as one of the most prestigious publications of the specialty, and one of its members, Horacio Etchegoyen, was president of the International Psychoanalytical Association (IPA) during the period 1993–1997.

Psychoanalysis also had an important development in other countries. In Uruguay the Psychoanalytic Association maintains an intense activity, supported by the publication of the *Revista Uruguaya de Psicoanálisis*. Brazil is another relevant example, with several associations that flourished in various states, some of the most important based in Rio de Janeiro, Sao Paulo, and Porto Alegre. Standing out among its publications is the *Jornal de Psicoanalise.*

In Mexico, psychoanalysis had a quarrelsome development. It expanded strongly in the 1950s, thanks to the presence of Erich Fromm, to experience later disavowal with the emergence of behaviorism and then came back reinvigorated. Today psychoanalysis is represented in this country by various professional groups such as the Mexican Psychoanalytic Association and the Mexican Association of Psychoanalytic Psychotherapy.

In the remaining countries of the continent, psychoanalysis was developed solidly, even if it has not been a dominant approach. For example, in Chile, under the leadership of Matte Blanco, specialists were formed in the Psychiatric Clinic of the University of Chile in the 1950s. Excelling in this group is the figure of Kernberg, settled in the United States since 1961, who became world renowned in the area of personality disorders and was also president of the IPA (1997–2001).

Many of the variants of psychoanalysis took root in several countries. An illustrative example is the case of Panama where the outstanding model was the theory of object relations, organized by the Institute of Clinical Psychology and Psychotherapy, created in 1977.

The organization of the psychoanalytic movement on the continent is represented by the Federation of Psychoanalytic Societies of Latin America (FEPAL), founded in 1980. It is made up of a total of 34 associations linked to the IPA, distributed as follows: Argentina (6), Brazil (14), Chile (1), Colombia (3), Mexico (5), Paraguay (1), Peru (1), Uruguay (1), and Venezuela (2). In 2016 it organized its 31st Latin American Congress of Psychoanalysis, in Cartagena de Indias, Colombia.

In addition to the aforementioned publications, standing out among others are *Revista Brasileira de Psicanálise*, *Revista de Psicoanálisis* of the Peruvian Psychoanalytical Society, *Psicoanálisis* (Psychoanalytic Association of Buenos Aires), *Revista de la Sociedad Colombiana de Psicoanálisis*, and *Revista Chilena de Psicoanálisis*.

The evolution of the movement was marked at the same time by crises and splits. In some cases, such as Argentina and Chile, that was reflected in the split of the official associations. Another very important phenomenon of differentiation was the influence of the Lacanian movement in the region. In the 1970s it already had a presence on the continent, getting established in Caracas (Venezuela). Lacan's visit to that city in 1980 was decisive, although its development was enhanced exponentially from Buenos Aires, occupying a massive place in academic and hospital settings. From there it spread to many countries such as Brazil, Ecuador, Guatemala, and others. This movement was organized around the World Association of Psychoanalysis (WAP) founded in Buenos Aires in 1992 and the International of the Forums of the Lacanian Field, created in 1998.

## Cognitive Behavior Therapies

Cognitive behavior therapy began its development in Latin America shortly after its formation in the United States. The experimental analysis of behavior was introduced in Brazil in 1961 by Keller, a fellow student of Skinner, and 3 years later in Mexico by Bijou. In the mid-1960s, there was already a group of behavioral psychologists firmly established at the Veracruzana University in Xalapa, among them Emilio Ribes, who in 1969 created the first postgraduate degree in behavior modification in Spanish or Portuguese. This initiative would make its influence felt in several countries in Latin America. From the 1970s, it reached a unique level of development also in Colombia, Venezuela, Peru, Chile, and Panama. For example, in Peru from 1974, an experimentally oriented program is launched at Cayetano Heredia University.

In those years also takes place the institutional organization of analysis and behavior modification. In 1974 the Behavior Modification Organization was created in Brazil, and a year later the Mexican Society of Behavior Analysis began. In Colombia Ardila (1974) compiles and publishes *El Análisis Experimental del Comportamiento, la Contribución Latinoamericana*. Previously, in 1970 the *Revista Latinoamericana de Psicología*, founded by Ruben Ardila in 1969, published a special issue dedicated to this approach (Vol. 2, No. 2, 1970). In 1975, directed by Ribes, the *Revista Mexicana de Análisis de la Conducta* begins publication.

There are other national associations such as the Venezuelan Association for the Advancement of Behavioral Sciences, the Argentina Association of Behavioral Sciences, and the Colombian Association of Behavior Analysis and Therapy, created in 1982, at the request of Leonidas Castro. While in the Southern Cone the influence of this movement was less, there were some important developments such as the Uruguayan Society of Behavior Analysis and Modification (SUAMOC).

At the continental level, this movement was organized in the creation of the Latin American Association of Behavior Analysis and Modification (ALAMOC) in 1975 in Bogotá. The seat of the 17th ALAMOC Congress was held in 2016 in Panama, under the chairmanship of R. Mainieri, who has played a significant role in creating the first training program of the specialty in that country. ALAMOC was responsible for the implementation of two world congresses of the specialty, one of them in Acapulco (Mexico) in 1998, and recently, the seventh event chaired by Luis Pérez in Lima (Peru) in 2013.

The emergence of cognitive therapy made its impact felt in Latin America very quickly. The developments of Ellis and Beck were put into practice by various working groups in the region. The Rational Emotive Behavior Therapy had various expressions such as ITREM (The Rational Emotive Therapy Institute of Mexico in Mexico), the A. Ellis Institute in Colombia, and CATREC in Argentina, which provide official certifications in that approach. The Beck model has also spread in the continent and today there are powerful groups in that direction. In Brazil there are several centers in different cities such as Bahia, Porto Alegre, and Rio de Janeiro. And this is also echoed in many countries such as Bolivia, Chile, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Venezuela.

Various organizations were created from these approaches, such as the Argentine Association for Cognitive Therapy (AATC), founded in 1991, and the Brazilian Federation of Cognitive Therapies (FBTC) which since 2005 has published the *Revista Brasileira de Terapias Cognitivas*. These groups, along with others from various countries like Colombia, Chile, Paraguay, Peru, Mexico, and Uruguay, created in 1999 the Latin American Association of Cognitive Psychotherapy (ALAPCO), whose first president was B. Range of the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro.

Over the years, there have been new developments in the region within this broad therapeutic movement. Constructivist cognitive therapy is an example that took off in several countries, above all Chile. More recently, the development of the Third Wave, in particular linked to the Acceptance and Commitment Therapy and Mindfulness Training, has received a significant adherence in the continent. In recent years, the various modalities within this approach have been converging toward a common cause of **cognitive behavior therapy**, in correlation to a solid trend in the United States initially and then transferred to the international community.

## Humanistic and Existential Model

In Latin America, different theoretical and practical aspects of this model, including Gestalt therapy, client-centered therapy, and logotherapy, are represented. There were different ways of propagation in the region.

Naranjo and Schnake, both Chileans, are prominent figures of the Gestalt therapy developed in the region since the sixties. Within this approach, some organizations have been created in different countries such as the Gestalt Psychotherapy Center (Chile) and the Gestalt Association of Buenos Aires (Argentina) and of Colombia, Uruguay, and Mexico. In this last mentioned, Salama founded in 1983 the Gestalt

Psychotherapy Institute (IPG), which evolved into a university, dedicated to the spreading and academic improvement of this approach. There is a continental network of therapists of this therapeutic approach, which professionals of many countries belong to; besides those mentioned, also participating are Bolivia, Costa Rica, Cuba, El Salvador, Ecuador, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, and Venezuela. In Brazil the Gestalt therapy is represented by different groups in many cities and states; standing out are those of Brasilia, Florianopolis, Rio de Janeiro, and Goiania. In this last one, the *Revista da Abordagem Gestaltica* is published.

The humanistic-existential approach is distributed into a diverse set of groups and organizations throughout the continent. An article of the *Revista Latinoamericana de Psicología Existencial* (Correia, Correia, Cooper, & Berdondini, 2014) reports the presence of Latin American institutions in 12 countries, with Argentina and Brazil having the most representation. Furthermore, logotherapy constitutes the most widespread approach of the existential therapy followed by the existential-phenomenological therapy. This publication is the organ of the Latin American Association of Existential Psychotherapy (ALPE). Currently there are several national organizations such as the logotherapy foundations of Argentina, Mexico, and Uruguay, as well as different groups in Colombia and other countries. The National Association of Peru (APAEL) held the First International Congress of the specialty, in Lima in 2012. In turn, Brazil also has a National Association (ABLAE), which organized its 8th Congress in 2016, along with the completion of the 5th Latin American Meeting. This association is responsible for the publication of the *Revista Logos & Existencia.*

## Systemic Therapy

The systemic approach to psychotherapy is certainly showing the fastest transfer from its original development in the United States to Latin America. Many Latin American therapists moved north for training, which led to the early establishment of institutions and training centers in the area. Several of these therapists were based in the United States where they made significant contributions in assisting and training. Prominent examples are those of Minuchin, Sluzki, and Falicov.

During the 1980s associations of the specialty were established in various countries such as the Institute for Family Therapy in Chile, which opens an official Master's program and publishes the journal *Revista de Familias y Terapias*. In Argentina, the Association of Systemic Psychotherapy of Buenos Aires (ASIBA) is founded, which publishes *Sistemas Familiares*. In Mexico there are the Mexican Association of Family Therapy (AMTF) and the Mexican Institute of Brief Therapy, and from 1989 a training program in Systemic Family Therapy, which went on to become a training course given by UNAM. In Brazil, this model has important developments. This contributed to the creation in 1994 of the Brazilian Association of Family Therapy (ABRATEF) which brings together 11 states through its regional associations.

In the late 1980s in Cuba, the first services in family therapy were created in Havana and Camagüey, linked to the psychiatric services of clinical surgical hospitals. Family interventions have an important place in the Cuban health system, although such interventions are most strongly linked to the field of primary care and health prevention to be discussed in the next section.

In 2005 the European Network and Latin American Systemic Schools (RELATES) is initiated. Different Latin American organizations from Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Chile, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru, and the Dominican Republic belong to this network. Its official publication is the journal *Revista de Psicoterapia Relacional e Intervención Social*. In other countries such as Bolivia, there are separate national associations outside this network.

As a sign of the significant development of this theoretical and clinical orientation in the region and in the world, it is noteworthy that the presidency for 2015–2017 of the International Family Therapy Association (IFTA) has Argentinean Ruth Casabianca at the helm.

## Integrative Psychotherapy

Since the mid-1980s, an active movement of integration of different therapeutic approaches began to develop. The assimilation of psychotherapy has increasingly become converted into a field of theoretical-technical confluences throughout the world. In Latin America this movement quickly caught on, as witnessed by the fact that in 1994 the 10th Congress of the SEPI (Society for the Exploration of Psychotherapy Integration) was held in Buenos Aires and comprised representatives of Argentina, Brazil, Chile, México, Uruguay, and Venezuela. Years later, in 2006, a Latin American Encounter took place in Quito (Ecuador) that led to the creation of the Latin American Association of Integrative Psychology (ALAPSI), whose 6th Congress occurred in Buenos Aires in September 2016. As a show of recognition as to how high the Latin American professionals have reached in this area is the fact that the presidency of SEPI is headed by Beatriz Gomez from Argentina.

## Other Approaches

The approaches we have described (psychoanalysis, cognitive behavior therapies, existential humanist, systemic therapy, and integrative psychotherapy) correspond to the more consensual way to classify psychotherapies today (Längle & Kriz, 2012). Notwithstanding, there are many therapeutic proposals under other names that are practiced in the region. In addition, there are interventions that are distinguished by the device used rather than the theoretical approach. The most important are a variety of methodologies where the work with therapeutic groups predominates.

*Group psychotherapy* has a long tradition on the continent. Already in 1957 the 1st Congress of Psychology and Group Psychotherapy was held in Buenos Aires, in which Argentina, Brazil, Cuba, Chile, Mexico, Peru, and Uruguay participated.

From that conference a continental society was created which brought together the national associations of the discipline. Here different therapeutic approaches were included, although analytic group therapy had a predominant role, which led to the formation of a Latin American Federation (FLAPAG), whose most recent event was held in the city of Montevideo in 2015. At this event psychodrama was shared.

*Psychodrama* had an important acceptance in our region. It is enough to observe the extensive production transformed into applications, research, and publications on both psychological and social problems, as well as the creation of various associations dedicated to the propagation of the model and the training of therapists, for example, the Argentinean Association of Psychodrama and Group Psychotherapy, the Psychodrama, Sociometry and Spontaneous Theater Association of Costa Rica, the Center of Psychodramatic Studies of Chile, and the Mexican Society of Psychodrama, among others. It is noteworthy to see the significant dissemination that psychodrama reached in Brazil. The Brazilian Psychodrama Federation, founded in 1976, joins more than 36 organizations from different parts of the country in order to unite the institutions that promote the theory and practice proposed by Moreno. Since 1994 it has published the journal *Revista Brasileira de Psicodrama* and holds periodic events with a large number of participants, the last of which was held in 2016 in Sao Paulo.

It is worth adding that several congresses of the International Association for Group Psychotherapy and Group Processes were held in Latin America. The most recent took place in Cartagena de Indias in 2012, organized by the Colombian Association.

Finally, another therapeutic method in which group interventions occupy a significant place is the *therapeutic community*, widespread in our continent. Its objectives are diverse, especially focused on the treatment of severe disorders, addictions in general and in particular drug addictions. About this topic, the Latin American Federation of Therapeutic Communities (FLACT) is carrying out an intense activity that gathers together organizations from across the continent and has developed a protocol manual for the care of people affected by substance abuse. FLACT organizes regular events to support the exchange of information and technology among member countries. The 15th edition of these conferences was held in October 2015 in the city of Lima.

In the field of psychotherapy, special mention should be made of the work carried out by the Latin American Federation of Psychotherapy (Federación Latinoamericana de Psicoterapia, FLAPSI) founded in 1999 as the regional arm of the World Council of Psychotherapy (WCP). Its aim is to be a pluralistic organization that includes the larger number of psychotherapists, theoretical approaches, and scientific-professional organizations. This Federation has began to work in the accreditation of the profession and the regulation of practice.

At the present time, institutions from several countries are part of FLAPSI, from Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Ecuador, México, Panama, Perú, Uruguay, and Venezuela. It organizes regional congresses, the 2018 in Monterrey (México). Also FLAPSI organized the IV Congress of WCP in 2005 in Buenos Aires, with 5000 participants from all the continents.

### *Research*

The lines of research in the region are affected by the lack of material resources available to the working groups. Recently government agencies have begun to manage the provision of greater resources, as in the case of the Millennium Institute for Depression and Personality Research (Instituto Milenio para la Investigación en Depresión y Personalidad MIDAP) of Chile. Despite limited budgets, research in the region has generated important contributions to the discipline, thanks to the high involvement of researchers in natural conditions. The proximity between practice and research has a high standard in Latin America.

Clinical psychology research is directed primarily to the study and assessment of psychopathological phenomena at different levels of complexity. Among the psychopathology pictures, the most explored are depression in different age groups, neurodevelopmental disorders in the clinical child population, eating disorders, and suicide, particularly in young people.

While the number of studies on various aspects of psychotherapy is proportionally smaller, growing interest is observed by researchers working in this field (de la Parra, 2013). In 1992 the Latin American Chapter of the Society for Psychotherapy Research (SPR) was created, giving a boost to research in this area. Since then, several research groups, with a preponderance of Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Uruguay participate in this society. This is reflected in the increasing string of Latin American authors publishing articles in *Psychotherapy Research*. Other publications assemble studies conducted in various countries such as Colombia, Guatemala, Mexico, Peru, and Puerto Rico, among others.

In reference to the methodological aspects, it is necessary to highlight the weight of the qualitative studies. And among the issues that concentrate the most interest include the study of results, the study of the therapist, change processes, evaluation of the psychotherapeutic process, the therapist-patient relationship, and the incorporation of information technologies and communication to clinical treatments.

## Health Psychology

The development in the region was not homogeneous. The concept of health psychology emerged in Cuba in the 1960s, with the beginning of the integration of psychology in the general health system, prioritizing the effort in primary care and assistance to communities. In 1972 the Cuban Health Psychology Society, founded by Garcia Averasturi, was possibly the first scientific society in the world with that name. In 1983, in the framework of the 19th Inter-American Congress of Psychology (SIP) in Quito, the Working Group on Health Psychology and Behavioral Medicine was created. In 1984, the First International Symposium on Health Psychology was held in Havana, sponsored by the IAPA, WHO, PAHO, and the respective Cuban government agencies.

In 1993 the Latin American Association of Health Psychology (ALAPSA) was created and recently held its 7th Congress at the Pontifical Javeriana University in Cali, Colombia, in 2016. In 1998 the Ibero-American Psychological Association of Clinical and Health Issues (APICSA) was founded and in 2016 held its 8th Congress in Puerto Rico. There are also national associations such as those of Brazil, Colombia, Mexico, and Venezuela.

Below three specific areas that illustrate the themes and actions in this field will be developed in more detail: (1) Health Promotion and Maintenance; (2) Disease Prevention and (3) Evaluation and Specific Treatments.

## *Health Promotion and Maintenance*

Health promotion is a term that includes both political and educational policies to help people in changing their lifestyle toward a state of optimal health (Flórez Alarcón, 2007; Schwarzer & Gutierrez-Doña, 2000). Health psychology evolved from understanding health as the absence of disease toward a positive outlook, comprising welfare and human development, focused on the quality of life achieved by individuals and social groups. It emphasizes the importance of developing potentialities and reinforces people's positive emotional aspects.

In the region different lines of research have been developed linking health with quality of life, in order to provide information for the elaboration of health promotion programs. Some of them are aimed at specific age ranges, as in the case of the needs of adolescents (Guedes, Astudillo, Morales, Vecino, & Pires Júnior, 2014; Quiceno, Vinaccia, Agudelo, & González, 2014) or of the elderly adult population (Catão & Grisi, 2014; Flores Villavicencio, Cruz Ávila, Troyo Sanromán, González Pérez, & Muñoz de la Torre, 2013), while others have focused on the importance of social support (de Schiro, Garcia Dias, Neiva-Silva, Nieto, & Koller, 2012).

Health promotion programs involve an educational, persuasive, and motivational action aimed at encouraging awareness and preferences for healthy human behaviors. Some tests were carried out, such as the one in Mexico, which was implemented with the purpose of modifying diet and sanitary behaviors among the inhabitants of marginalized communities, through the development of proficiencies and psychosocial skills aimed at promoting personal agency and intrinsic empowerment (García Rodríguez, Pick, & Leenen, 2011). On the other hand, in Costa Rica, there is a joint program between PNUD, UNFPA, and UNICEF (2011): *Friendly education and health services to promote healthy lifestyles and prevent HIV and AIDS*, with the aim of contributing to the strengthening of adolescents and youth, health and educational institutions, and other key participants for this program.

Cuba is an example of a country that places emphasis on health promotion and prevention. In 1984 the National Center for Health Promotion and Health Education was created, and it started with the community medicine development program based on a new model of primary healthcare: the family doctor. This comprehensive

approach covers from promotion to rehabilitation, using the analysis of health situations as an essential tool, with community and intersectorial participation being fundamental (Domínguez-Alonso & Zacca, 2011).

## *Disease Prevention*

It is aimed at changing unhealthy habits associated with many pathologies, chronic or acute.

### Psychoactive Substance Use

Substance use is a highly worrying issue as a health risk factor in different countries of Latin America. The epidemiological statistics presented in this section take into account alcohol consumption, smoking, and drug abuse. They come from *Informe del uso de drogas en las Américas 2015* (Report of drug abuse in the Americas 2015) of the Inter-American Drug Abuse Control Commission (CICAD) of the Organization of American States (OAS) (OEA/CICAD, 2016). The information was collected from the 26 National Drug Observatories that are in operation.

### Alcohol Consumption

According to the report, over 65% of the general population in Argentina, Paraguay, and Uruguay consumed alcohol this past year, while less than 40% did so in Ecuador, Costa Rica, and El Salvador. More than 50% of middle school students in Argentina, Colombia, Chile, Dominican Republic, Granada, the Grenadines, Paraguay, Suriname, and Uruguay consumed alcohol last year, while the lowest rates (20% or less) were observed in Ecuador, El Salvador, and Venezuela. In this age group, the trend seems to be steady in Argentina, Chile, and Costa Rica, but not in Peru and Uruguay where it seems to be decreasing. Sixty percent of the university population consumes alcohol, and the risk of consumption has increased in all countries among women although they still show lower rates than in men.

Different studies have been developed in relation to alcohol consumption in childhood associated with parents who drink alcohol (Duffy, 2014; Sánchez et al., 2013), and in the elderly (Guimaraes Borges et al., 2014). Studied in adolescents were the reasons for consumption (Flórez & Trujillo, 2013), decision-making (Godoy, Michelini, & Acuña, 2016), the strengths (Betancourt Ocampo, Sánchez-Xicotencatl, González-González, Andrade Palos, & Morales, 2015; García Méndez, García Cortés, & Rivera Aragón, 2015), the relationship with social anxiety (Jurado Cárdenas & Jiménez-López, 2014), as well as the elevated prevalence of drinking among the indigenous population (Arévalo et al., 2013).

### Smoking

Reports show that consumption of tobacco fell in almost all the countries of the continent, both in the school population and the population as a whole. The prevalence of tobacco in Chile is 24.5%; Argentina, 18.7%; Paraguay, 14.7%; Bolivia, 13.3%; and Colombia, 12.5%. The prevalence among men exceeds that of women in most countries except Argentina, where it is practically the same, and Uruguay and Chile, where consumption is higher in female students than in their male counterparts. Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, and Paraguay also have the most consumption among younger middle school students.

Environmental variables (high availability and ease of access) (Silva, Novoa-Gómez, & Barreto, 2012) and the relationship with anxiety sensitivity (Mandujano & Valdez Piña, 2013) were studied. Remarkably, the National Program developed in Uruguay generated a significant increase in the likelihood that pregnant smokers quit smoking for the third quarter and thus improve the health of newborns (Harris, Balsa, & Triunfo, 2015).

### Drug Consumption

The document shows that marijuana (73%) is the most commonly used drug. Countries with rates lower than 3% are Peru, Ecuador, and Venezuela, while Chile is the country with the highest rate of consumption, with a prevalence of around 28%. In almost all the countries, the highest prevalence of consumption is between the ages 18 and 34. The consumption rate among adolescents increases in those countries where there is less perceived risk to the occasional use of such substances. The consumption rate of marijuana use increased last year, with Argentina, Costa Rica, Chile, and Uruguay being the countries with higher rate percentages. Regarding the use of inhalants, there is observed a general increase in the school population, the most notable increase being registered in Chile.

In relation to cocaine, the countries with the most consumption are Chile, Argentina, and Colombia followed by Uruguay and Brazil. In relation to the coca base paste, Chile, Bolivia, and Argentina are the countries where last year it was most prevalent. The report also alerts about emerging drugs in the region including substances of botanical origin.

The extent of the impact of substance abuse on health (Muñoz & Pérez Gómez, 2012) and the incidence of the household factors (Berbesi Fernández, Posada Villa, & Torres de Galvis, 2010; Rivolta, 2012) were explored. With regard to substance consumption, several studies place the effort on the social circle of adolescents (Donola Cardoso & Malbergier, 2014). Also studied was the significance of consumption in aboriginal university students (Mendoza, Reyes Romero, Gutiérrez Mendoza, & Posada, 2015)

### Overweightness and Obesity

Overweightness and obesity are serious health problems as well, being some of the major risk factors for physical illnesses. Obesity was studied in relation to the quality of life (Hurtado-Valenzuela & Álvarez-Hernández, 2014), in adolescents (Ossa González et al., 2014), as well as the correlation between self-esteem, attitudes toward food, and body image (Trujano, De Gracia, Nava, & Limón, 2014). Different studies are aimed at identifying the relationship between body image dissatisfaction and obesity in children (de Sousa Almeida, da Cunha Feio Costa, Santos Silva, & Guedes de Vasconcelos, 2015); psychopathological profiles (Hidalgo Ruzzante, Puente, Portillo-Reyes, Loya-Méndez, & Pérez-García, 2016); and prodromal features such as low self-esteem and body dissatisfaction in adolescents (Altamirano Martínez, Vizmanos Lamotte, & Unikel Santoncini, 2011). Some studies found that mothers often do not properly perceive the overweightness-obesity of their children (Flores-Peña et al., 2014).

## *Evaluation, Treatment, and Rehabilitation*

The 2013 report of the World Bank (Banco Mundial, 2013) warns that the region faces a growing threat of chronic diseases. Since 1970, life expectancy has increased significantly, by an average of 30 years. In fact, in 2010, noncommunicable diseases (NCDs) in adults such as heart disease, obesity, and diabetes had overtaken communicable diseases in children as the leading cause of death in the region. Faced with this state of affairs, it is necessary to join efforts involving different sectors of society to establish more effective health policies, where health psychology plays an important role.

Against this background the PAHO/WHO developed the Global Action Plan for the Prevention and Control of NCDs 2013–2020 (OMS, 2013). Cardiovascular diseases, chronic respiratory diseases, cancers, and diabetes are primarily responsible for morbidity and mortality. It is estimated that they are the cause of three out of four deaths and 34% of premature deaths in people 30–69 years old. In the previous section we detailed some of the major risk factors. Below, we present from the health psychology point of view aspects related to the specific approach to cancer, cardiovascular diseases, and diabetes.

### Cancer

Projections indicate that the number of cancer deaths in the Americas will increase from 1.3 million in 2012 to 2.1 million in 2030. This is mainly due to the increasing and aging population and changes in lifestyles. Oncological psychology or psychoncology focuses on the study and intervention on psychosocial factors associated with the diagnosis and treatment of patients, their families, and the health team,

as well as behavioral factors that constitute a risk factor for developing the disease and decrease survival.

Among other issues, the relationship of cancer and quality of life in general (Fontibón Vanegas, 2015) was studied in the youth (Kreling, Mainieri Chem, Kern de Castro, Ponciano, & Machado Meneghetti, 2012.), in women (Rafihi-Ferreira, Pires, & Soares, 2012; Sánchez-Pedraza, Ballesteros, & Anzola, 2010), and associated social support (Coyot et al., 2015; Martos Méndez, Pozo Muñoz, Cid Carrique, Morillejo, & Bretones Nieto, 2015). A sign of the importance attached to this area of work is the copious production of texts about it. In addition, several psychoncology studies and treatment institutions have been created (including work in palliative care) in countries such as Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Ecuador, Guatemala, Nicaragua, México, and others.

### Cardiovascular Diseases

Hypertension is a disorder of the cardiovascular system and a risk factor, capable of being modified, which can also lead to stroke and kidney disease. In our region, interesting contributions are being made: from a gender perspective (Ofman, Gómez Llambí, & Stefani, 2013), the study of psychosocial factors (Rovira Millán et al., 2014), the characteristics of coping strategies (Silva Fernández & Agudelo Vélez, 2011; Zavala-Yoe, Verdejo-Manzano, & Díaz Loving, 2015), the relationship with anger (Moxotó & Malagris, 2015; Moyano Díaz et al., 2011), the beneficial effect of interventions to develop skills to cope with diseases (Álvarez, Rueda, González, & Acevedo, 2010), and the psycho-education and cognitive behavior therapy (Gorayeb et al., 2015; Lima-Silva & Yassuda, 2013).

### Diabetes

Despite the fact that diabetes can be easily diagnosed and that there are more and more treatments available to help people with this disease so they can keep under control their glucose levels, the consequences of poor control and mortality continue to rise.

According to the report of the PAHO (OPS, 2012), it is estimated that the number of people with diabetes in Latin America could increase from 25 million to 40 million by the year 2030. Obesity and overweightness are increasing in people of all ages: between 7 and 12% of children under 5 years of age and one in five adolescents in the Americas are obese. The percentages of overweightness and obesity in adults approach 60%. In most Latin American countries, a prevalence of diabetes of between 8 and 10% has been reported. In turn, the percentage of people who have diabetes and do not control their levels of glucose in their blood soars up to 54% in Costa Rica and 66% in Chile.

The contributions that are made from health psychology are mainly related to variables involved in the adherence of the treatment such as social support in gen-

eral (Azzollini, Bail Pupko, & Vidal, 2012) and its relationship with self-efficacy (Canales Vergara & Barra Almagia, 2014), stress levels in decision-making and tolerance toward frustration (Torres & Piña, 2010), depressive symptomatology (Escandón Nagel, Azócar Espinoza, Pérez Villalobos, & Matus, 2015), and the inclusion of motivational interviewing to increase therapy adherence (García & Morales, 2015).

In children with diabetes, the relationship between parental behavior and adherence to treatment was studied (Novoa, Morales, Osorio, & Vargas, 2008); and in adolescents, psychosocial factors related to treatment adherence (Ortiz, Ortiz, Gatica, & Gómez, 2011). It is important to highlight the Psychological Model of Biological Health, proposed by Ribes, which allows designing effective strategies so that patients acquire the competencies necessary to adhere to the diet and thereby control their disease (Rodríguez Campuzano & García Rodríguez, 2011).

Quality of life in these patients was also studied according to the positive and negative predictors (Oviedo-Gómez & Reidl-Martínez, 2007), and the relationship between psychological imbalance and coping styles (Rivera-Ledesma, Sandoval-Ávila, & Montero-López Lena, 2012).

In Puerto Rico, a *Manual para el Tratamiento Cognitivo-Conductual de la Depresión en Adolescentes con Diabetes Tipo 1* (Manual for Cognitive-Behavior Treatment of Depression in Adolescents with Type 1 Diabetes) was developed as part of the research program on diabetes and youth depression (Cumba-Aviles & Sáez-Santiago, 2016).

## Final Reflection

Clinical psychology is, today, the first choice among psychology graduates for a professional practice specialty. The interest in working in applied areas considerably exceeds theoretical and academic motivations. Focus is on the provision of services to the population, mainly in the levels of diagnosis and treatment of dysfunctional processes that affect quality of life. In Latin America, the urgent needs in the field of mental health demand an intense work of psychologists who must operate with much creativity due to the limited resources available to the service providers for this activity.

The field of health psychology is adjacent and should always be considered as a set of complementary tools, especially since its fundamental objective is to promote the prevention and promotion of policies in primary care. Specialists in health psychology face the challenge of having to design intervention programs of social and community outreach in contexts of enormous cultural diversity, which requires great flexibility and adaptation to living conditions that are often far from "official" knowledge.

The demand of Latin American society in these fields is growing, and experts should ensure the best possible coordination between both fields to carry out more sustainable practices that take into account different levels of prevention and are

feasible in order to develop intervention programs that address both the critical needs that affect individuals and the conditions in which the mental health of the general population unfolds.

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# Chapter 5
# Developmental Psychology in Latin America


**Silvia H. Koller and Normanda Araujo De Morais**

**Abstract** Human development is an area with numerous research studies and fields of application. This chapter presents a perceptive overview of the subject in Latin America. It centers on recent advances with special emphasis on the last 30 years. The review of the field is organized in three sections. The first contains a brief update on the recent history of developmental psychology in Latin American countries. The second describes the main areas of research in some nations (Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela). Finally, the last section focuses on developmental psychology in Brazil, presents authors' country of origin, and includes a discussion of the main research groups affiliated with the National Association for Research and Graduate Studies in Psychology. Future directions in research and practice are suggested at the end of the chapter.

## Introduction

In recent years, Latin American countries have made great advances in increasing their representation in science. Psychology has always been a very fertile and active area of research, but recent years have seen the rise of developmental psychology, specifically, as a one of the most productive and active fields of research and intervention in the continent.

In 2006, the Institute of Scientific Information (ISI)-indexed journals in psychology and psychiatry papers were accounted for 50% of the total scientific production in countries like Brazil, Chile, Argentina, and Colombia, showing a significant increase from previous estimates of only 10% (Zorzetto, Razzouk, Dubugras, Gerolin, & Mari, 2006). The political and economic repercussions of this trend included an increase in the number of mental health policies and improvements in national mental health programs in some Latin American

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countries (Alarcón & Aguilar-Gaxiola, 2000; Razzouk, Zorzetto, Dubugras, Gerolin, & Mari, 2007). These changes, in turn, had an impact on research support, increasing the number of grants and funding initiatives in the last decade. The number of articles published by Latin American authors increased by 880% from 2001 to 2013, shifting from regional journal articles to more visible international publications (VandenBos & Winkler, 2015). Databases and online libraries—including www.scielo.org, www.bvs-psi.org.br, and www.redalyc.org—played a crucial role in increasing the visibility of Latin American science. The creation of these databases allowed for the sharing of information produced in Latin American countries, providing an efficient alternative for the organization and dissemination of psychological knowledge (Sampaio, 2009). Unfortunately, this scenario is likely to change in the upcoming years due to the financial and social crisis, which is currently ravaging education, science, and health services in Latin American countries.

Nevertheless, individual well-being continues to be the basis for global health and economic development, and psychology must consider ways to improve it and study its impact on social programs and indicators (Scorza et al., 2013). Latin America and the Caribbean account for 8.63% of the total world population with 643,601,971 inhabitants and a mean age of 29.6 years (http://www.worldometers.info/world-population/). However, this figure is expected to increase in the upcoming years due to population aging in Latin American countries (LAC). Developmental psychology should be aware of these changes and the consequent need of new translational studies to improve quality of life.

This chapter presents a review of recent advances in developmental psychology in Latin America, with a special emphasis on the last 30 years. The literature on developmental psychology has been recently reviewed in Argentina (Saforcada, 2008), Brazil (Biaggio & Monteiro, 1998; da Mota, 2005), Colombia (Carrillo, Ripoll-Núñez, & Ruiz, 2008), Paraguay (García, 2006), and other Latin American countries. In this chapter, our review of the field will be organized in three sections. The first contains a brief update on the recent history of developmental psychology in Latin American countries. The second describes the main areas of research in developmental psychology in some Latin American countries (Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Paraguay, Perú, Uruguay, Venezuela). Lastly, the third section focuses on developmental psychology in Brazil, the present authors' country of origin, and includes a discussion of the main research groups affiliated with the National Association for Research and Graduate Studies in Psychology. Future directions in research and practice will be suggested at the end of the chapter. The research cited in this chapter provides an illustration of scientific contributions to the field but is not an exhaustive representation of the entire body of work in this fruitful area of research. Nevertheless, it corresponds to a sizeable proportion of the research in developmental psychology in this part of the Southern Hemisphere.

## Brief Update on the Recent History of Developmental Psychology in Latin American Countries

Developmental psychology is the study of human behavior, emotions, and psychological features including affective, cognitive, social, and biological changes throughout the life cycle. The area shares a common interface with areas of knowledge such as the social sciences, education, biology, medicine, genetics, and neuroscience (Palacios, Marchesi, & Coll, 2009; Siegler, DeLoache, & Eisenberg, 2010) but is unique in its focus on change and stability over the course of development.

Initially, most studies in the area focused on children and adolescents. Developmental stages and processes, with a special emphasis on age-related skills and abilities, were described in a series of manuals and benchmarks. The concepts of developmental continuity and discontinuity were explored by several theorists (e.g., Bruner, Kohlberg, Piaget, Skinner). However, researchers soon realized that development does not end in adolescence, and continues throughout the life cycle (da Mota, 2005). This gave rise to several new studies in developmental psychology, especially in the context of cognition, language, social development, and socialization. The openness to cross-cultural studies in this area of research paved the way for important contributions and discussions regarding topics such as universality and diversity, which often highlighted the role of context and nature as vectors of development. Developmental studies of adulthood, middle, and old age were also included in the field once researchers realized that development only ends with death. The dominant chronological conception of development, defined by chronological age and the passage of time, was abandoned for a view of development as the result of the interaction between contextual and internal factors (nature versus nurture) over the lifespan (da Mota, 2005).

More recently, development has also been defined as a process of reciprocal interaction between the person, their internal processes, and the environment over time and a function of the forces emanating from multiple contexts and their relationship to individual life histories (Bronfrenbrenner, 1979). As such, development can be said to occur through the reciprocal, progressively complex interactions between an active, biopsychological, and socially evolving human being and the people, objects, and symbols around him. This process includes periods of both stability (constancy) and change in biopsychosocial characteristics within a single lifetime and across generations (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998). These ideas form the basis of a perspective known as the bioecological approach to human development, introduced by Urie Bronfenbrenner in the late 1970s. The bioecological theory was built around central aspects in human development, including the analysis of personal characteristics, psychological processes, context, and life history (Bronfrenbrenner, 1979). This theory has given birth to a framework that was well received by many developmental researchers in Latin America and inspired many research groups and investigations around the world.

Latin American researchers have also been influenced by many other developmental theories created in the Northern Hemisphere, such as cognitivism, behaviorism, and sociocognitivism (Escobar Melo, 2003; Puche Navarro, 2009). However, the contextual aspects of these theories had to be adapted in order to make sense of the idiosyncrasies of Latin American populations (Río & Álvarez, 2002). Latin American researchers have not proposed any new theories, but have invested heavily in the adaptation of existing models to the contextual features of Latin American countries. The understanding of local contexts, and the personal and cultural characteristics of the local population, often instigates the development of new theories and methodologies as researchers strive to explain their new findings based on what they have learned from firsthand experience in Latin American contexts. The relevance and legitimacy of scientific findings are undoubtedly greater in investigations led by local researchers. Contextual knowledge can reveal the sociopolitical and cultural implications of existing findings and ensure a culturally sensitive adaptation to policy and practice (Blicharska et al., 2017). These concepts will become especially evident as greater dialogue is encouraged between the contextual aspects and main assumptions of developmental psychology. This will contribute to the enhancement of health promotion and the effective implementation of social policies.

Developmental psychologists must pose a series of questions prior to using theories from Northern countries in their Latin American practice. First of all, how do foreign theories apply to Latin American people? Second of all, do Latin Americans share the same developmental trajectory as individuals in the Northern Hemisphere, including the stages and tasks described by existing theories and methodologies? The work of these researchers must therefore include a greater familiarization with these individuals and the means to improve their quality of life.

There is currently a growing body of research into cognitive, social, and personality development, especially in scientific databases from Latin America. However, some of the existing information may be misleading, such as that produced by foreign researchers who write about Latin Americans without being part of their cultural context. Unless the researcher can speak Spanish or Portuguese, for instance, they would be unable to interview any participants. In the case of articles published by a single author from a foreign institution, this raises the question of who analyzed the data and perhaps gave up their work and its authorship to make the publication possible.

The few studies conducted with Latin American populations are mostly descriptive and fraught with methodological problems. One may, at this point, wonder whether Latin Americans can be evaluated like other developing populations around the world. The answer is simple: they probably can. They are, after all, persons in development. However, the same measures of variables such as depression, school achievement, attention, and moral and social judgment should not be administered in other cultural backgrounds without the adequate contextualization and semantic adaptation.

The use of assessment instruments whose manuals were edited in the Northern Hemisphere, based on cultural standards that may not apply to the local culture, has

also been questioned. Researchers in developmental psychology must learn firsthand about Latin American contexts and how to adjust to their particularities. Researchers who live in these countries must also attempt to make sense of their work for the social community, finding effective ways to disseminate their findings, obtain feedback, and learn how best to adjust to social demands. If no procedures are in place to facilitate this process, it will not be possible to endow scientific research with social relevance and validation. This must be regarded as a major issue for Latin American researchers in developmental psychology.

Developmental psychology is a major curricular area in several universities across Latin America. The importance of comprehending abnormal and psychopathological characteristics to the understanding of human beings is a matter of consensus in psychology. As such, developmental psychology studies changes that are closer to normative parameters, but also those that are further from the norm. Many professionals in different areas have benefited from the theoretical and methodological advances in psychology and other professions. Latin American researchers have published a large number of books and chapters on the topic of developmental psychology to be used in universities and also in professional practice.

In recent years, the field of developmental psychology has also seen the creation of many important and representative scientific institutions, such as the Latin American Network of Developmental Psychology—ALAPSIDE (http://redalapside.iip.ucr.ac.cr/), founded in July 2013. The ALAPSIDE emerged as an academic nonprofit entity, aimed at promoting the scientific, academic, and professional quality of research, intervention, and teaching and the dissemination of developmental psychology in Latin America. Through this institution, psychologists, professors, researchers, and practitioners from the nine member countries can support and contribute to the scientific, professional, ethical, and social development of psychology as a whole. The Brazilian Association of Developmental Psychology is a national nonprofit entity that organizes biannual events and promotes the exchange of information on research and issues of common interest to contribute to the ongoing advancement of the area. It also promotes exchanges between government and nongovernment agencies and institutions, as well as national and international scientific associations. Lastly, it encourages academic production through partnerships with scientific journals, with specialized sections for technical and scientific publications on the topic of human development.

## Developmental Psychologists and their Areas of Research Emphasis on Latin America

The growth of developmental science over the past 30 years, as evidenced by quantitative and qualitative improvements in research, statistical sophistication, and increasing conceptual concerns, with an emphasis on ecological validity, is a matter of consensus in the literature (Dessen & Costa Junior, 2006). However, despite

these advances, efforts toward the internationalization of the knowledge produced in Latin America are still incipient, and most of the quality research performed in these countries receives little attention elsewhere. Even on an internal level, there has been little dissemination of scientific research in the nonspecialist community (Lo Bianco, Almeida, Koller, & Paiva, 2010). Studies of human development should be much more widely circulated for their potential applicability to educational, institutional, and social settings, as well as intervention and prevention strategies in healthcare, public policy, and overall improvements in quality of life.

The Latin American contributions to developmental psychology are unique in their descriptions of an interaction between psychological functioning, contextualization, and development. Research should involve a series of progressive integrations, beginning with conceptual formulations based on available empirical findings, which are reviewed and successively revised in the interest of ecological validity. In its approach to cognition, emotion, motivation, personality, psychopathology, and social behavior, developmental psychology should emphasize individuals and their contexts, engaging researchers in cultural and transcultural issues and proposing investigations in different cultures, subcultures, and systems. Some strengths of developmental research, which should henceforth receive much more attention, include (1) attention to the sociocultural context, especially across different cultures and subcultures, including features such as gender, race/ethnicity, and socioeconomic status; (2) sensitivity to diversity and the plurality of development in different cultures and historical periods; (3) the articulation between several levels of analysis, both in theory and research; (4) the importance of naturalistic observation, with its ecological validity, in establishing the value of everyday learning through face-to-face interactions in proximal processes to the process of development; and (5) the integration of political aspects and applications to social policy and interventions into the research process (Narvaz & Koller, 2004).

Some of the major areas of research in Latin American countries are shown in Table 5.1. Brazilian research is not shown in the table, as it will be more thoroughly discussed in the third section of this chapter. However, it is important to note that, over the past 12 years, Brazilian authors were responsible for the sixth largest number of studies in psychosocial and personality development in the PsycINFO database regional journals with impact factors (VandenBos & Winkler, 2015), which speaks to their role as leading publishers of scientific research in Latin America.

As can be seen in Table 5.1, the greatest emphasis in developmental psychology research appears to be on cognitive development (e.g., reading, writing, learning), followed by social vulnerability, as represented by violence (physical and sexual), maltreatment, homelessness, and institutionalization. The major focus appears to be on childhood development, with fewer investigations into other stages of the life cycle (adolescence, youth, and aging). Nevertheless, themes such as family, emerging adulthood, aging, and civic development are also present in several countries. As such, despite the focus on more traditional themes in developmental research (i.e., childhood and cognitive development), Latin American researchers also appear to focus on human rights violations against children and adolescents as a result of common problematic issues in these countries.

**Table 5.1** Research topics in developmental psychology across Latin American countries

| Country | Research areas |
|---|---|
| Argentina | Aging; child development; cognitive development; emerging adulthood; Neuropsychology; social development |
| Chile | Civic development and education; family and community development; learning and development; individual, family, and community processes; teaching and learning processes; youth civic development |
| Colombia | Attachment, early childhood education and development; cognitive development; family and attachment; learning and cognitive development; social development, learning, family and adolescence; acquisition and mastery of reading/writing skills |
| Paraguay | Sexuality in adolescence; child development from birth to 18 months; maltreatment; physical and sexual violence; children's rights and institutionalization; street children; youth, education, employment, health, legislation, citizenship and culture, violence; violence-related issues in work, education, and politics |
| Peru | Attachment; school achievement, social development |
| Uruguay | Education and development in early childhood; social development |
| Venezuela | Family and cultural issues |

## Developmental Psychology in Brazil

Developmental psychology has become a consolidated field of research in Brazil, with a "significant presence" in Brazilian psychology (Seidl de Moura & Moncorvo, 2006, p. 115). However, its history is relatively recent as compared to more traditional areas of research (e.g., personality psychology), since its inception is tied to the implementation of graduate programs in developmental psychology in the 1980s and 1990s (Souza, Gauer, & Hutz, 2004).

This movement runs counter to the hegemonic trend in developmental psychology, which focuses on Anglo-Saxon authors and studies. It represents an effort to strengthen non-hegemonic (e.g., Latin American, Asian, and African) research, whose results are attuned to contextual characteristics and social demands and relevant from a social and scientific perspective (Dessen & Costa Junior, 2006; Seidl de Moura & Moncorvo, 2006).

The importance of developmental psychology on a national level is illustrated by three main sources of evidence. The first consists of the list of work groups in the National Association of Graduate and Postgraduate Research (Associação Nacional de Pesquisa e Pós-Graduação em Psicologia; ANPEPP). Data published after the 10th ANPEPP National Symposium in 2004 showed that the issues discussed by 16 (40%) of the 41 work groups were directly related to human development. These included evolutionary and cultural factors, a sociocultural perspective of development and education, human development in situations of risk and personal, parents-baby-child interaction, games and their relevance to psychology and education, psychology of mathematical education, and psychology and morality (Seidl de Moura & Moncorvo, 2006). In 2006, sociocognitive and language development, and psychoanalysis, childhood and education were added to this list.

Another important indicator of the advancement of developmental psychology in Brazil is the percentage of researchers with productivity grants from the National Council of Scientific and Technological Development (Conselho Nacional de Desenvolvimento Científico e Tecnológico; CNPq) who conduct their research in this area of study. The most commonly cited area of research among the 250 researchers with productivity grants in psychology in the years of 2009–2011 was developmental psychology, followed by social psychology. Developmental and social psychology accounted for 79 and 74 citations, respectively, in the list of 690 areas mentioned by researchers (Weber et al., 2015). Developmental psychology has also received a significant share of funding from research support agencies (Carvalho-Barreto, Soares, & Barbato, 2014). The third source of evidence for the growth of this area of research is the creation of the Brazilian Society for Developmental Psychology (Sociedade Brasileira de Psicologia do Desenvolvimento; SBPD), whose biannual events have seen growing attendance, submissions, and international interest since its foundation in 1998. Recently, the SBPD joined forces with the International Society for the Study of Behavioral Development (ISSBD) to promote events across the country, with conferences, symposia, and workshops delivered by national and international speakers.

The volume of scientific literature in developmental psychology also increased progressively in the 1980s, 1990s, and 2000s (Souza et al., 2004), with distinct characteristics in every decade. In the 1980s, the literature was characterized by the following: (1) a variety of research themes, due to difficulties in delimiting the field of developmental psychology, (2) an emphasis on childhood as opposed to older age groups, (3) observational studies involving psychometric instruments and simple (descriptive) statistical methods, and (4) a predominance of cognitive theories and a decrease in the use of behavioral approaches (Souza et al., 2004).

In the 1990s, although studies continued to focus on children and adolescents, two additional characteristics were identified: (1) a resurgence of interest in topics which had not been studied since the late twentieth century, such as emotional development (mother-father-child attachment and the biological and genetic basis of development), and (2) new directions in research and intervention, which underscored the relevance of culture and social issues such as homelessness among children (Biaggio & Monteiro, 1998).

Important remarks on the scientific literature in the 1990s were also made in a review by Souza et al. (2004). The authors selected 20 articles published between 1991 and 2000 in two important national journals—*Psicologia Reflexão e Crítica* and *Psicologia: Teoria e Pesquisa*. The first two articles in each issue which focused on behavioral, motor, perceptual, cognitive, linguistic, and social changes between the prenatal period and death were selected for the review, which produced the following findings: (1) nearly all research was conducted in public institutions, which are home to most graduate programs in the country; (2) few interinstitutional partnerships were identified, and the majority of existing partnerships were local; (3) significant regional imbalance was observed, as the majority of first authors were affiliated with institutions in São Paulo (followed by Porto Alegre and Recife); (4) most studies were empirical and involved quantitative/statistical analysis; and, lastly, (5) an increase in references to

**Table 5.2** ANPEPP work group topics associated with developmental psychology (1994–2014)

| Topics |
|---|
| Social contexts of development: evolutionary and cultural features |
| Child and development contexts |
| Parent-infant/child interaction |
| Research in pediatric psychology |
| Development in situations of personal and social risk |
| Development and education from a historical-cultural/sociocultural perspective |
| Games, learning, and health |
| Family development |
| Sociocognitive and language development |
| Family, development, and health promotion |
| Developmental processes in individuals with disabilities |
| Human learning |
| Child and adolescent assessment |
| Youth, resilience, and vulnerability |
| Psychological and neuropsychological assessment of children and adolescents |
| Psychoanalysis, childhood, and education |
| Developmental and training narratives |
| Development, health, and education |
| Social, moral, and ethical development |
| Children and social interaction |
| Subjectivity and contexts of development |
| Moral development and educational outcomes |
| Written language: acquisition and development |
| Psychosociological perspectives of sociocultural development |

foreign authors and recent publications, with a preference for articles over chapters and books. However, the 2000s saw the rise of a new trend in scientific research, characterized by the following: a biopsychosocial perspective on development, the active role of the subject, a better appreciation of context, a better appreciation of interactions and the construction of meaning, and greater attention to the interaction between affect, cognition, biology, and culture (Seidl de Moura & Moncorvo, 2006).

## *Analysis of ANPEPP Work Groups*

The themes discussed by the ANPEPP work groups conducted every 2 years between 1994 and 2014 are presented in Table 5.2. The most constant work groups in successive editions of the ANPEPP were "Social contexts of development: evolutionary and cultural features," "Moral development," and "Parent-infant/child interaction," followed by "Games, learning, and health" and "Sociocognitive and language development," and "Family, development, and health" follow.


**Fig. 5.1** Word cloud of themes discussed by ANPEPP work groups (1994–2014)

Most themes are associated with childhood and focus on the interface and applicability of developmental psychology to education. The group names also reflect an attempt to study development in the contexts where it actually occurs (e.g., daycare centers, communities, schools, streets, quilombos, etc.), as well as an association between development and health, in the form of family, play, and education. Development appears to be defined as a process and associated with social interaction. Other stages in the life cycle (adolescence, youth, adulthood, and old age) are less well represented in the names of the ANPEPP work groups (Fig. 5.1).

## Conclusions

Latin American psychology is simultaneously pluralistic and singular (Sampaio, 2009; Silva, 2013). Most Latin countries have experienced similar processes of colonization, political and historical oppression, inequality, acculturation, and human rights violations. The exploitation and production of wealth resulted in violence, social exclusion, unequal distribution of wealth, illiteracy, loss of cultural identity, delinquency, drug addiction, malnutrition, and the discrimination of social minorities. However, the linguistic and cultural diversity of each of these countries reflects the alterity between them. As such, any analysis (including that of the history of psychology and developmental psychology) should consider the singularity and plurality of the countries, which constitute Latin America.

The solution for the aforementioned social problems includes the implementation of effective programs for literacy, education, and professional development, in addition to increased access to information (Sampaio, 2009). Researchers in the field of developmental psychology play a crucial role in this process through the adaptation of research findings and interventions to existing social demands.

The facilitation of information exchange also requires a joint effort by researchers and public policies on the promotion of research, knowledge production, and

dissemination in Latin American countries. Ultimately, there is a need to "look to other experiences in similar situations to identify the best practices and 'shortcuts' which can contribute to problem solving" (Sampaio, 2009, p. 7).

Latin America must become a producer rather than a consumer of knowledge, increasing the visibility of its scientific work, encouraging the citation of local authors, and, most of all, making use of all available information to improve the quality of life of its people (Sampaio, 2009). The organization and dissemination of the knowledge produced in developing countries are a promising pathway to improvements in population quality of life.

Suggestions for future development in this field of study include (Carvalho-Barreto et al., 2014; da Mota, 2005; Seidl de Moura & Moncorvo, 2006):

- Increased collaboration with other areas of knowledge (interdisciplinarity), such as neuroscience, education, biology, sociology, anthropology, and information technology
- The internationalization of knowledge produced in Latin American countries, to increase its visibility and maximize support to local research
- Engagement in more comprehensive discussions of theory and method, with the adoption of an interactionist, systemic and complex view of human development, which acknowledges and values multimethod approaches
- The conduction of studies that are more comprehensive and "representative" of the cultural diversity in each Latin American country
- A greater emphasis on research and interventions in populations exposed to human rights violations (e.g., sexual violence, child labor, LGBT, etc.), with a nonnormative status, or whose development takes place under atypical conditions
- Greater research investment in stages of the life cycle other than childhood and adolescence (e.g., youth, early adulthood, adult life, and old age)
- Greater participation of Latin American researchers in intercultural studies
- Application of research findings to intervention programs aimed at prevention and health promotion, as determined by ethical guidelines that encourage researchers to transform the reality around them
- Securing financial and institutional support for emerging research groups as well as established institutions, encouraging larger, interinstitutional, and international research

Studies and interventions should also move beyond a discussion of vulnerability/impairments/symptoms/risks and look into positive indicators of development (e.g., health, optimism, hope, meaning of life), many of which are often studied in the context of positive psychology and resilience (Morais & Koller, 2011).

An emphasis on the strategies used to overcome adversity and face daily challenges would constitute a new paradigm in the study of human development, allowing for the identification of factors and virtues which contribute to the flourishing of people, communities, and institutions (Paludo & Koller, 2007). This term refers to the achievement of a healthy and positive developmental trajectory from a psychological, biological, and social point of view.

Lastly, in addition to defending a focus on flourishing in developmental psychology, we hope that Latin America continues to experience the growth and flourishing of this area of research. The aim of this chapter was to highlight some of the historical conditions, characters, and processes which constitute this area of knowledge, while identifying conditions through which it may continue to flourish.

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# Chapter 6
# Educational and School Psychology in Latin American Countries: Challenges and New Possibilities


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**Abstract** The relationship between educational and school psychology with developmental psychology is well recognized. The field of education was fertile ground for the emergence of psychology, both in Europe and in the Americas. This chapter presents the context of the bond between education and psychology, their advances in Latin America, and the perspectives of this field.

## Introduction

Educational psychology and school psychology are two components of scientific psychology that can give teachers and all other educators the necessary foundations to perform a successful practice, based on the evidence from research. Educational action is considered successful when it goes beyond just identifying learning disabilities, but also preventing difficulties, offering solutions and pointing out ways for both the construction of efficient teaching procedures and the training of qualified educators. With this perspective in mind, this chapter proposes to show some aspects of educational and school psychology in Latin America, starting from a brief historical journey and arriving at the identification of some challenges and some possibilities.

These two lines of knowledge and psychological practice, which include education and teaching, were established at the end of the nineteenth century in the United States, as well as in some European countries, in two different fields of scientific psychology. Then, at the beginning of the twentieth century, these two fields in Latin America were strengthened and reached a high level of development. Meanwhile, these areas endured a lot of criticism, and their practices were being shaped so that at the beginning of the twenty-first century, these areas sought to

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confront the great problems of education, and day by day the fields were being consolidated through research and practices rooted in the local cultures.

The history of psychology in Latin America reveals the influence of the sixteenth-century colonial period of Spain and Portugal, which was dominated by metaphysical, ontological, religious, and ethical themes. Reynaldo Alarcón (2002, 2004) argues that even when new ideas began to gain importance in Europe, Latin American schools were still dominated by the old ideas where faith always prevailed over reason, influencing the formation of students who had an excessive bond to dogmatic theories and principles and a certain disregard for observation and for the empirical sciences. It was only at the end of the nineteenth century that observational research began to appear. As far as psychology is concerned, as we will see throughout this chapter, great development took place during the first half of the twentieth century, with the arrival in several Latin American countries of European psychologists leaving their countries of origin due to the two world wars, the Nazi persecution and the Spanish Civil War. Educational and school psychology were, in those years, predominantly focused on identifying disorders and difficulties, through the use of assessments and tests that were not adapted to the local reality and which maintained a strong theoretical and practical association with clinical psychology.

Between the 1950s and 1970s, the first systematic, formal, and accredited programs aimed at the formation and training of psychologists emerged in Colombia, Chile, Guatemala, Brazil, Peru, Venezuela, and Mexico (Angelini, 2012; Ardila, 1986). Meanwhile, in the 1970s criticism increased and strengthened against what was termed "cultural colonialism" or "colonialism in psychology" (Alarcón, 2002, Diaz-Guerrero, 1984). As far as educational and school psychology is concerned, criticism intensified to what has since then become known as the "pathologization of school failure" or "medicalization of school affairs" (Patto, 1984).

The empirically based psychological research in Latin America was developed mainly as a result of the creation of systematic formal programs started in some of the countries in the middle of the twentieth century.

At present it can be said that there are still many challenges faced by the scientific community in cultures with high levels of illiteracy, still dependent on oral communication, and this is the case in some regions in Latin America. Since the beginning of the twenty-first century, educational and school psychology have been developing and making progress in the search for proposals and solutions to local problems, as what occurs in other areas of psychology (Adair, Maluf, Kashima, and Pandey, 2009). In a globalized world, the field of education is seen as one of the most important concerns for the development of all nations. The new possibilities that are arising keep pace with the upsurge of technological advances and the growing movement toward the internationalization of psychology and the recognition of education as the driving force for the progress of nations. The pertinent question now is: to where does educational and school psychology in Latin America advance? We believe that it is moving toward new epistemological certainties (Maluf, 2013; Santos, 2000), which will find their expression in research and practices committed to the well-being of individuals and groups.

To better understand the way in which these fields of study were developed, namely, the research and practice that form educational and school psychology in Latin America, it seems appropriate to briefly reconsider the origin of these disciplines in the Northern hemisphere. Later we will try to explore some of the characteristics of those disciplines in Latin America and some of the challenges and new possibilities that are anticipated.

## The Origin of Educational Psychology and School Psychology

The birth of psychology as a scientific discipline is attributed to Wilhelm Wundt (1832–1920), with the creation of the first Laboratory of Experimental Psychology in Leipzig, Germany, in 1879. However, the dawn of educational psychology, as an integral discipline of the new science, is credited to Edward Lee Thorndike (1874–1949), with the publication in the United States of his book *Educational Psychology* in 1903 and the first *Journal of Educational Psychology*, together with other researchers (Berliner, 1993; Hilgard, 1996).

The search for the origin of school psychology also directs us to the United States where we find the contributions of two Americans who were recognized as researchers and who began the studies and practices that constituted this discipline. They are Lightner Witmer (1867–1956) and Arnold Gesell (1880–1961). Witmer is considered by many as the *father* of clinical psychology. However, his work in the field of clinical care was always deeply linked to issues related to "learning disabilities." At that time, it was a new concern, since until then learning difficulties problems taught in schools were not recognized as the object of study of the then incipient psychology.

Consequently, and in the context of the time, Witmer was also called the *father* of school psychology. However, Gesell is generally regarded as the first school psychologist because he carried out studies on child rearing and created tools for evaluating child development, which were of great importance at the time and were widely disseminated. In recognition of Gesell's work, the *Connecticut State Board of Education* nominated him for a post that was considered the first position of school psychologist in the United States (D'Amato, Zafiris, McConnell & Dean, 2011). Indeed, as some historians point out (Oakland, 1993; Pfromm Neto, 1996), his ideas were also welcomed in other countries of the continent.

From its beginnings, educational psychology was characterized as scientific because of the theoretical and conceptual concern regarding education, while school psychology was characterized by its clinical and applied concerns, oriented to the problems of children's learning at school.

The objectives of the study of educational psychology, seen as a new area of psychological knowledge, were oriented toward, for instance, classroom dynamics, student development, learning processes, motivation, teaching, individual differences, assessments, and teacher training (Berliner, 1993; Hilgard, 1996).

According to David Berliner (1993), educational psychology, as a part of the new scientific psychology, raised again the questions formulated by the ancient Greek philosophers, with new bases, about *what people think and do while teaching and learning.* By employing the speculative thinking typical of their time, ancient philosophers explored questions such as: what kind of education is appropriate for different types of people? What effect do poetry, music, and art have on individual development? What is the role of the teacher? What relationships should exist between teacher and students? What methods of education should be used? What is the nature of learning and what is the role of affection? How is learning attained without a teacher? Similar questions were later addressed by European philosophers who tried to understand and prescribe education and teaching practices based on their observations of learning situations carried out in the classrooms, and not being limited to laboratory experiments. Some thinkers worth mentioning are Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778) in France, Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746–1827) in Switzerland, Friedrich Froebel (1782–1852) in Germany, and John Locke (1632–1704) in England. Almost two centuries later, educational psychology takes up these and other questions, but this time, based on the scientific methods of observation and experimentation.

It is not surprising that the origins of educational psychology as a scientific discipline are located in the United States, considering the contributions made to education by the American William James (1842–1910), one of the founders of psychology. James gave origin to the study of psychology at Harvard in 1890, with the publication of the *Principles of Psychology*. He also made a series of lectures called *Talks to Teachers on Psychology*, published 2 years later, which made 1892 the beginning year for educational psychology as a formal discipline (Berliner, 1993). In fact, the *father* of educational psychology, Thorndike, was a disciple of James. Another psychologist who contributed to the creation of the educational psychology field was Granville Stanley Hall (1844–1924), also American and James' student. Hall was a pioneer in child development studies and the way children perceive the world. In his writings he encourages teachers to observe the behavior of their students in detail as a means to investigate child development.

Also, it is in the United States where school psychology originated, a branch which developed following a path different from the one taken by educational psychology. Since its birth, school psychology has had as its center the study of *learning disabilities*. This new emphasis and practice arose at the end of the nineteenth century as an applied psychology field to serve students with learning difficulties in schools and was based, above all, on individualized assessments for specialized interventions.

According to some authors, such as Rik Carl D'Amato et al. (2011), school psychology in the United States, as well as in some European countries, was consolidated, based on practices that sought to identify and treat learning problems in schools. From its inception, school psychology adopted an approach that included the field of medicine to a great extent, with predominance, for that same reason, of models compatible with the biological and physical sciences, which promoted the implementation of practice in school psychology laboratories from then on. At the

time there was no clear distinction between clinical psychology and school psychology, and the latter was integrated with the clinical in its search for explanations for learning struggles. In this respect, it is worth remembering that Witmer, the American *father* of school psychology, was also the founder of the world's first psychological clinic at the University of Pennsylvania, in the United States. It was the search for answers to the problem of non-learning in apparently intelligent and motivated students which led Witmer to study psychology at the University of Pennsylvania and later at the University of Leipzig in Germany where he received influences from studies conducted by James Cattell and Wilhelm Wundt.

In the incipient school psychology, there was a great deal of concern with psychological evaluation, with the use of psychological tests, with diagnoses and individual interventions, the main objective being to solve adjustment and adaptation problems of students with learning disabilities. The concept of *IQ tests* was a great impulse for the consolidation of school psychology: measuring intelligence was intended to evaluate students with special educational needs, that is, those who were not able to accomplish the regular school curriculum of the early twentieth century. More than anything else, what was achieved was to identify the problem, but very little progress was made in solving it.

The explanation for the existence of so many learning disabilities in European and American schools in the early twentieth century can be found in part in the sudden proliferation of the number of schools and their inclusion of all children, regardless of their family or social origin. At that time, many social reforms were being implemented in European countries and the United States, and the notion of compulsory school was gaining ground, with laws requiring all children to attend school. Considered as a great social and cultural advance of the time, these social reforms resulted in a great increase in the number of schools that received children from the most diverse social, economic, and cultural backgrounds. Many of these children showed up at school in precarious health and came from families with a low socioeconomic status, children whose parents and relatives had never received formal education. The number of students in the classrooms increased, but the educational methods of the teachers did not receive the necessary improvements to adapt to the new reality. The new circumstances generated problems that were hitherto unknown and generated the belief that the evaluation of the physical and mental health conditions of the students could solve the learning disability problems that arose (Fagan, 1990, Fagan & Wise, 1994).

It is also important to remember that around 1910, special education services expanded across many places, increasing the need for specialists who could care for children in those "services" or "centers." Since then, the practices carried out by psychologists attending children requiring special education have grown.

These two areas of psychology (educational and school), which link psychological knowledge with education and with teaching, had a great development and are currently found as a field of study and professionalization in many parts of the world. They are fields of scientific and professional knowledge that can offer guidelines based on scientific research to help teachers and educators in their teaching tasks (Jimerson, Oakland & Farrell, 2007) and which are undergoing major

transformations as scientific psychology evolves in its interaction with other areas of knowledge, e.g., neuroscience, linguistics, anthropology, and social sciences.

## Psychology and Education in Latin America

As Reynaldo Alarcón (2002) writes in his *Estudios de psicología latinoamericana* since the rise of psychology as a science in the late nineteenth century, young scholars from the aristocratic or religious circles of several Latin American countries frequented the European scientific centers. They brought projects and curricula aligned with the new science to their countries, in addition to creating laboratories and using research procedures and equipment. Conversely, at the beginning of the twentieth century, European specialists, mainly French, German, and Spanish, arrived in Latin American countries fleeing the wars and persecutions their countries were undergoing. Noteworthy amid them are Emilio Mira y Lopez, Béla Székely, Mercedes Rodrigo, Ugo Pizzolli, Eduardo Krapf, Waclaw Radecki, and Walter Blumenfeld, among others. In their new life in the Latin American countries, these psychologists offered courses and directed the nascent experimental psychology laboratories. Some of these laboratories, services, and centers of study were set up linked to teacher training schools and thus originated the study and practices designated as educational and school psychology (Antunes, 2008).

In those early laboratories, in keeping with the prevailing knowledge of the time, the practices of evaluation and selection through the use of psychological tests predominated. The practice of school psychology maintained its close relationship with clinical psychology, as it had in the United States and Europe until the early 1950s when the boundaries between them were recognized. This was largely due to the impact of World War II, which increased the number of people with psychiatric disorders. Clinical psychologists then went on to deal with more severe psychiatric problems, while school psychologists became more required in the intervention of school problems and in the identification of students who, according to the prevailing conceptions of the time, needed special education (D'Amato, Zafiris, McConnell & Dean, 2011).

In Latin America, unlike what happened in the United States, Canada, and Western European countries, educational psychology and school psychology were generally considered from the onset as *the same field* of study and practice. Since the creation of the first laboratories, which were usually installed together with teacher training schools, concern with evaluation and measurement was paramount. It was a question of evaluating students with learning difficulties, using instruments newly created in the United States and in European countries, but with a minimum of necessary adaptations (Cruces & Maluf, 2007). Such concerns and practices prevailed in Latin America during the first half of the twentieth century. It should be understood that these were practices consistent with the spirit of the times, especially when it was considered that the more theoretical research, which was then characteristic of educational psychology, would still take a few years to occupy a

prominent place in Latin American psychology. Nevertheless, it is necessary to recognize that some studies that were more theoretical had already been noticed in several countries, for example, in Brazil, as can be confirmed in the work and legacies of Manoel Bonfim, Ulisses Pernambucano, and Helena Antipoff, who studied the effects of the sociocultural conditions of the students' lives and promulgated the need to educate and help the children who had developmental and learning disabilities as indicated by the tests (Antunes, 1999; Maluf & Cruces, 2008).

In this way, the relationship between school psychology and clinical psychology persisted without much criticism in Latin American countries until about the beginning of the 1970s. Under the category of school or educational, these areas remained associated with the development of tests and measures used to identify the aptitudes and the abilities of the students. The greatest emphasis in professional practice was characterized by efforts to recognize children and young people who, according to the prevailing theories and methods at the time, were considered as "students who needed special education to overcome their learning disabilities."

It is possible then to affirm that the movement that took place in the United States and Europe in the early twentieth century aimed at the treatment of learning problems in children from the lower classes, children who began to have access to schools that were not prepared to receive them, and this effort was reflected in many Latin American countries in the 1950s and prevailed, with few opponents, until the 1970s. It was in that period when in a considerable number of countries of the region the phenomenon called "education democratization" occurred, which refers to the insistence on compulsory school attendance. Public school institutions with free education increased, thus facilitating access to all, but with huge classes and without the necessary teaching adaptation geared to the needs of new students. It was under these conditions that school and educational psychology were disseminated and practiced, based on assessments and the use of psychometric instruments that had in many cases downgraded the learning potential of thousands of children. All this occurred along with inadequate teacher training.

A psychology of replication was essentially practiced in Latin American countries, which was a consequence of the precariousness of scientific research carried out in the sociocultural, linguistic, and economic contexts. This in turn was a result of the fact that young psychology students, who traveled to European centers to study, adopted the same practices and research they had learned abroad. When they came back, they had difficulty dealing with the local context and hardly questioned those theories and methods, which were not always consistent with the reality of Latin American schools and the life of the children attending those schools. In addition, one must remember that academics who had immigrated to Latin America, in reaction to wars and other problems in their countries, taught and researched by asking methodologically justified questions, not always relevant to the reality of the country in which they now were. Thus, in many Latin American countries, an educational and school psychology emerged that later became the target of deep criticism formulated by Latin American psychologists, especially since the 1970s (Maluf, 2013, 2014; Ardila, 1978).

It is possible to state, agreeing with Ruben Ardila (1978), that in most Latin American countries in the 1970s, there was no clear distinction between the roles or action areas of educational and school psychologists, and in a certain way, they were mistaken for psychiatrists, psychologists, psychoanalysts, or pedagogues. There was no clarity as to the functions of educational psychologists, except in relation to their ability to use and interpret psychological evaluation tests.

As Alarcón (2002) explained, Latin America received the psychology that came from Europeans and Anglo-Americans and used their theories and methodologies—these being very diverse—reproducing them in many cases without any analysis. In the 1970s, this situation began to be denounced by Latin American psychologists, including Rogelio Díaz-Guerrero (1971), who called it "colonialism in psychology" and defended his conviction that the production of knowledge should be the way to overcome it. From then on, the idea grew that psychology cannot and should not continue in that limited condition of having to acquiesce to the verification of hypotheses proven in other cultural realities. It was then recognized that it was urgent to be aware of the cultural differences and in this way distinguish the local peculiarities of the constructs that came to be understood as universal. Fortunately, significant cultural research was carried out. Ardila (1992) expressed it this way: "Psychologists in Latin America began to produce new and original knowledge for the international scientific community" (p. 26).

Hence, from the 1970s on, the debates grew about the real significance of verifying the hypotheses produced in other contexts, while other hypotheses typical of the Latin American context were not evaluated. Regarding educational and school psychology, this decade marks a growing movement of critical reflection in which new questions and new methods of research began to gain strength in the community of Latin American psychologists.

New analyses were undertaken during that period concerning the role of the psychologist in education, which showed that the participation of psychologists tended to be decontextualized and uncritical, especially when it was done with children from the poorest strata of the population who attended public schools. Very often, for instance in the case of Brazil, their role evidenced an excess of procedures totally separated from the real situation, probably the result of a deficient formation and detached from the knowledge of the Brazilian educational reality (Maluf, 1994).

In the 1980s and 1990s, new forms of data collection and analysis of the educational reality were consolidated, which allowed for advances in theoretical interpretations and new proposals for the field of studies and practice of psychology and education. During this period, terminological expressions for the area underwent variations, and labels were found that sought to introduce conceptual differences, such as educational psychology, psychology for education, psychology and education, and psychology in education (Davis & Oliveira, 1994), or the word "educational" was switched for "school," without much clarity in the concepts expressed by the terminology used (Maluf, 1994). Under different names a constant need was recognized: the search to better understand the historical and social elements that had a bearing on the formation and performance of the educational psychologist in

order to intervene in a way that could find solutions for the serious problems of student failure in the learning environment.

These significant studies, which prevailed until the end of the 1990s, recognized the abysmal inequalities present in Latin American societies and schools and reinforced with new research the already recognized links between poverty and school failure. The most radical scholars announced the death of education and school psychology and its substitution by other areas of knowledge, while others recognized that new possibilities for psychology intervention in education were emerging that required new training programs and techniques (Maluf, 1994).

## Challenges and New Possibilities

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, marked by a recognized process of globalization, education was increasingly seen as a very important issue to be addressed by the public policies of different governments and, more than that, as an affair to be assumed by state policies. This priority has been undertaken in countries with advanced economies that also tend to base their decisions on research evidence. It can be said that the idea of using study outcomes as a criterion to support the practices that will be adopted or that have already been embraced is gaining followers in science and education (see http://cienciaparaeducacao.org). When public education policies take into account the scientific research results from psychology or other areas of knowledge, the decisions consider "if," "how," and "why" a particular practice should be adopted and will be successful.

Due to the increasingly recognized importance of education for the development of individuals, communities, and countries and considering the achievements of psychology and its increasing internationalization (Cooper & Ratele, 2014a, 2014b), the areas of knowledge and application called educational psychology and school psychology have aroused the interest of scholars and researchers, as well as those responsible for public policies aimed at school education.

In Latin America, the relationships between psychology and education are increasingly the subject of thoughtful contemplation and research, forming an area supported by scientific associations and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs).

In this perspective, it should be pointed out that the first decade of the twenty-first century brought about important changes for Latin America, which were also reflected in new efforts to expand the number of schools and seek a better quality of education for all. Many of these efforts were undertaken by NGOs and by private firms. Just as psychology in general became to be considered as an area of great importance in social development, now educational psychology has also flourished and developed.

Some aspects here are highlighted as challenges and new possibilities:

1. *Renovation in psychology training programs*. There are new initiatives aimed at the renewal of the training curricula, with increasing emphasis on research

training. These transformations also affect the formation of the psychologist to work in the education area.

2. *Linking psychology to efforts to solve local problems*. The concern with the application of scientific knowledge acquired through research carried out in the Latin American context and the need to connect psychology to efforts to solve social problems are noticeable in many countries. With greater research, new hypotheses and theoretical proposals arise, and then theories are developed linked to the local needs.
3. *Internationalization*. Nowadays, there has been an increasing interest in the internationalization of psychology as an area of knowledge and application. This internationalization movement has an even greater challenge concerning education since the efficient functioning of schools in Latin America is an important goal that has yet to be achieved.
4. *Regional and international scientific associations*. In addition to the national psychology associations that have already been developed in Latin America, there is the growing importance given to regional and international associations, seen as the way to achieve a greater scientific exchange among researchers. The Interamerican Society of Psychology (SIP) is the scientific and academic psychology organization that has had the most impact in Latin American countries since the 1950s.
5. *Working groups*. The training of psychologists to work on educational problems, especially with regard to schools, has received great attention from scholars and researchers. Therefore, work teams have been formed by different psychology organizations in Latin American countries with the aim of upgrading the formation and bettering the training of psychologists to work in education.
6. *Interest of young psychologists in the education area*. More and more young psychology students are interested in the educational sector, despite encountering a difficult hurdle: the lack of enough opportunities in schools and other educational organizations. This small number of positions is due to the difficulties faced by educational institutions that are still struggling with the different Latin American governments in order to make education a priority. New possibilities and challenges linked to the information and globalization age are appearing, and their characteristics are specific to the geographical, cultural, economic, and political contexts of the subregions of Latin America.
7. *Educational psychology, school psychology*, *and clinical psychology*. Today the separation between the educational/school areas and the clinical one is well recognized. It is up to educational psychologists to enhance teaching activities and learning conditions. Their professional performance can be carried out in such a way that *learning disabilities* can be prevented, rather than cured. It is a joint effort with teachers, rather than with students, where the professional can develop an efficient and qualified approach that will positively impact the expected academic performance.
8. *Psychology programs*. Psychology programs in many countries in Latin America still face the challenge of finding qualified lecturers and researchers

whose training ensures the ability to produce knowledge and to recognize its impact in the professional practice.

9. *Access to scientific literature and language barriers.* The access to the continually updated scientific journal literature in the area is a challenge faced by Latin American psychologists. New possibilities are coming to light for educational psychology researchers and students. Thanks to Internet-based technology, access to journals increases, new book publications become quickly known, long-distance communication with authors becomes frequent, and the sharing of research results as well as other scientific productions occurs with greater fluidity and accuracy, often in real time.
10. *Overcoming adverse conditions*. Being a student of higher education often involves having to divide one's time between study and work. In Latin American countries, this is the circumstance of the majority of the young students who study and also have to work every day to support themselves or their families. One of the manifestations of that necessity can be found in the array of higher education programs that are offered in the evening in order to train the students who must go to class after work. Such conditions are unfavorable because they involve twice the effort, perhaps beyond what the students had initially expected, to obtain a good academic performance. These conditions make it difficult to accomplish training practices or internships in schools, which are designed to prepare psychologists to work in education.

## Conclusion

To conclude, we understand that educational and school psychology in Latin America has been embarking on a path that is increasingly focused on the real problems of the countries of the region. The history of psychology shows how we learned from the pioneers of the new science. Many of these early psychologists worked and contributed directly to the development of the psychological science in this part of the American continent that constitutes Latin America. The foundations of current psychology and more specifically educational and school psychology are taking root in the social, economic, and cultural reality in which they develop and so are giving rise to new hypotheses that grow and combine with the new theories. This is the panorama of the current moment in Latin America, which prioritizes attention to *issues*, *problems*, and *local needs* without overlooking the internationalization of the psychological science.

We conclude that it is possible to recognize in Latin American educational/school psychology a large number of professional psychologists and researchers who are creating knowledge and practices that are fundamental in the search for the emerging epistemological and sociological dimensions (Santos, 2000) of a psychology that is opposed to all forms of oppression and social and academic exclusion. In other words, a psychology that opens up new horizons of emancipation.

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# Chapter 7
# Organizational/Work Psychology in Latin America


**Jairo Eduardo Borges-Andrade, Enrico Rentería Pérez, and Juan Pablo Toro**

**Abstract** Work and Organizational Psychology (WOP) should consider the amalgam of values, organizational and legal arrangements, economic blocs, languages, and peoples of Latin America. In addition, it is necessary to seek the development and validation of universal frames of reference that make generalization possible in Latin America and in other regions. How far away from that is WOP in Latin America? How does it resemble those psychologies that originated in the United States and Europe in terms of historical, social, political, and economic reasons? To answer the above questions is the aim of the chapter, based on the information collected from more than 110 texts found in 14 Latin American countries. The information is organized in terms of history, application, and professional training and the production and dissemination of scientific knowledge in WOP. At the end, the challenges for research, teaching, and practice are presented.

## Field of Action

What is currently known or referred to as Work and Organizational Psychology (WOP) comes from a field with origins at the beginning of the twentieth century, tied in with needs, processes, expectations, and values of industrial and business developments, consolidating in the second half of the twentieth century (Porter, 2008). It is noticeable in texts and publications of authors such as Katz and Kahn (1966), Schein (1982), and Weick (1973), among others (Malvezzi, 2000, 2016). It is possible to locate its origins in research studies related to human behavior and

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performance in **industry**. Subsequently, there is an increasingly problematic expansion to other dimensions of people's relationships with their **work** and the **organizations** and to the contexts in which they work (Malvezzi, 2000, 2016).

Like psychology in general, WOP retains the dual status as a discipline and as a profession. Its recognition, "effectiveness," and "explanatory power" are made evident in terms of the results of organizational management, performance, experience, and people's well-being or quality of life and the explanations used for that. This implies the use of technical and instrumental resources—sometimes without sufficient support at the conceptual or theoretical level, and even the paradigmatic one (Legge, 1995). In terms of broad business processes, and of the business world associated with technological developments linked to information technology and telecommunications, new issues and priorities coexist with traditional ones.

The growth of WOP has been based on the contribution and development of measurement instruments, application technologies, and conceptual models that support organizational management and labor relationships. It involves controversies between organizational theories and analysis paradigms (Burrell & Morgan, 2000; Burrell, 2007; Legge, 1995). It is likely that part of WOP has historically been labeled as "inhuman," "allied with capital," "false science," and "unprofessional" (Malvezzi, 2000). This is due to some particular forms of professional practice linked to decontextualized or non-reflective human resources practices, and not necessarily to the production of the scientific knowledge of this multi-field (Malvezzi, 2016; Rentería, 2009).

A comparison between this multi-field in the 1960s and today, in the United States of America, under the vision of an organizational clinician and process consultant, was made by Schein (2015). He acknowledges the influence of Kurt Lewin, a German refugee, in the 1940s at MIT, and the method and theory of socio-technical systems developed at the Tavistock Institute in London in the following decades. These European influences would be fundamental to the development of the group dynamics movement, which would later disappear because it was in conflict with the individualist vision prevailing in the national culture. Many of the business schools in the United States maintain, simultaneously, a research unit directed toward traditional organizational research, and another unit dedicated to the development of leadership as proposed by the author. In the first one are the scientists, and in the second are the ones who train MBA students, with work agendas that do not influence each other (Schein, 2015). This author argues that the current trend toward increasing complexity in organizations will lead to the need for collaborative work, which will promote the resurgence of group dynamics and the recognition that organizational systems work best if their parts interact.

There is another position on what happened in the United States, divided into three periods: the beginning (1945–1975), the adolescence (until the mid-1990s), and the present times (Porter & Schneider, 2014). In the beginning, the emphasis was on selection, training, and accident prevention techniques and individual variables such as fatigue and satisfaction, **with no focus on the organizational context**. The shift in focus would have begun in the mid-twentieth century, with

leadership studies in Ohio and Michigan, and the publication of several books on organizational climate.

In the 1960s another historical event occurred in business schools, which intensified the hiring of faculty with a solid methodological (quantitative) training, mainly from psychology programs. This origin, and that change of focus, would be responsible for the appearance of the designation of organizational behavior (OB), which in the 1970s gave name to the *Organizational Behavior Division of the Academy of Management*, strengthened by the increase in acceptance of researchers from the previous decade. At the same time, in the same period, the **industrial** and **organizational** (I/O) terms were used by the American Psychological Association (APA) to designate one of its divisions as the *Society for Industrial and Organizational Psychology (SIOP)*, and that of human resources was replaced by personnel management to refer to the programs offered by schools.

In the period labeled as adolescence, the conflict prevailed between the old focus, characterized by the term **industrial**, and the focus on **organizational** and **social** processes. The predominant method of research focused on the analysis of data at the individual level. New research topics emerged, such as culture and climate, which led to question the adequacy of this analysis to study topics of this nature. At the end of the century, a multilevel approach was proposed in response to this questioning, but most studies were still focused on the individual, promoting a wide-ranging expansion of theories on motivation and leadership, and on practices for staff selection and work design, according to the two authors, Porter and Schneider (2014).

With the new century, those two research organizations (*Organizational Behavior Division of the Academy of Management* and *SIOP*) then had a few thousand members. While the first is mostly in academic matters, a good number of the latter work as organizational consultants or are employed by private or public organizations (Porter & Schneider, 2014). The first, well trained in research methods, began to focus their work, to a lesser degree, on the solution of practical problems. Their research went on to seek the construction of theoretical models, although some of these members have paradoxically been transformed into gurus of the second organization. They expanded their topics of interest, initially restricted to selection in psychometrics, and began to include coaching, leadership, performance and its evaluation, culture and climate, competences, and teams.

In recent years, there has been a substantial increase in the number of studies at macro-levels (teams or organizations); new topics such as engagement, creativity, and organizational justice have emerged, and leadership has been researched at multiple levels of analysis, according to the authors. Their analysis of what happened to the American environment is, thus, very different from that elaborated by Schein (2015).

What was established in the United States differed considerably from the situation in Europe. The differences are attributed to the European Union (EU)—consisting of 28 sovereign nations, to the social and legal structures, to the political and economic conditions of those states, and to the many non-EU countries—to the existing work relationships and to the meanings that people from those countries

attribute to work, depending on the different cultures (Roe, in press). On the one hand, that diversity exists and is accepted, unquestionably greater than the diversity that can be recognized in the United States, which in itself already has the potential to bear different social processes. On the other hand, symptomatically, Roe refers that a key concept, not mentioned by Porter and Schneider (2014) or by Schein (2015), is **work**. This category, in the case of the European multi-field, qualifies psychology itself, while the American multi-field uses the terms **industrial** and **organizational**, still in dispute.

The roots of the European multi-field are in Germany and Northern Italy, because of their industrialization and their worker organizations (Roe, in press). The name of the field was defined in terms of **work** and **organizational**, distinguished in three overlapping areas: Work Psychology (focusing on the processes by which people transform their reality, taking into account task requirements), Personnel Psychology (focusing on understanding and influencing the creation, development, and termination of labor relationships), and Organizational Psychology (focusing on collective behavior related to the planning, development, and operation of organizations).

Starting in the 1980s, a network of university professors from several countries was created to carry out joint research projects, develop teaching guidelines, and organize congresses for the continent. The European Association of Work and Organizational Psychology emerged from these congresses in the 1990s, an association which in the current century has strengthened relationships with other associations and began to organize several meetings, in addition to its already traditional congress (Roe, in press). Some of this intellectual production would influence the teaching and research of other countries, such as those in Latin America, which already had the influence of the United States. However, there is an alternative argument that this country would lead to a process of neo-colonization of work and of psychology that would affect Western Europe and Latin America, albeit with different strategies between these two regions of the world (Pulido-Martínez, 2007).

If, on the one hand, the existence of a hybridization of European Work and Organizational Psychology is recognized, relevant cases are also confirmed of the existence of an autochthonous knowledge produced in Europe, according to historical, social, cultural, economic, and political characteristics (Roe, in press), and what is the case in the countries of Latin America?

In this context, a system of high power distance predominates in most countries, as well as collectivism, respect for social relations, and aversion to uncertainty (Elvira & Dávila, 2005). These authors argue that practices relating to income, development, and appreciation of human resources should take such a value system into account but that many of these practices are imported from other countries and forced to adapt to local cultures. At least three types of societies, economies, and forms of work (Fig. 7.1) may be found (coexisting), from Latin American countries: the traditional, the modern, and the postmodern. They are associated with different organization arrangements that could determine what professionals are doing in WOP (Cárdenas, 2007). The professional duties of these specialists, nevertheless, would also depend on how the programs orientated to their formation evolve and on the existence of publications and the holding of congresses in those countries.

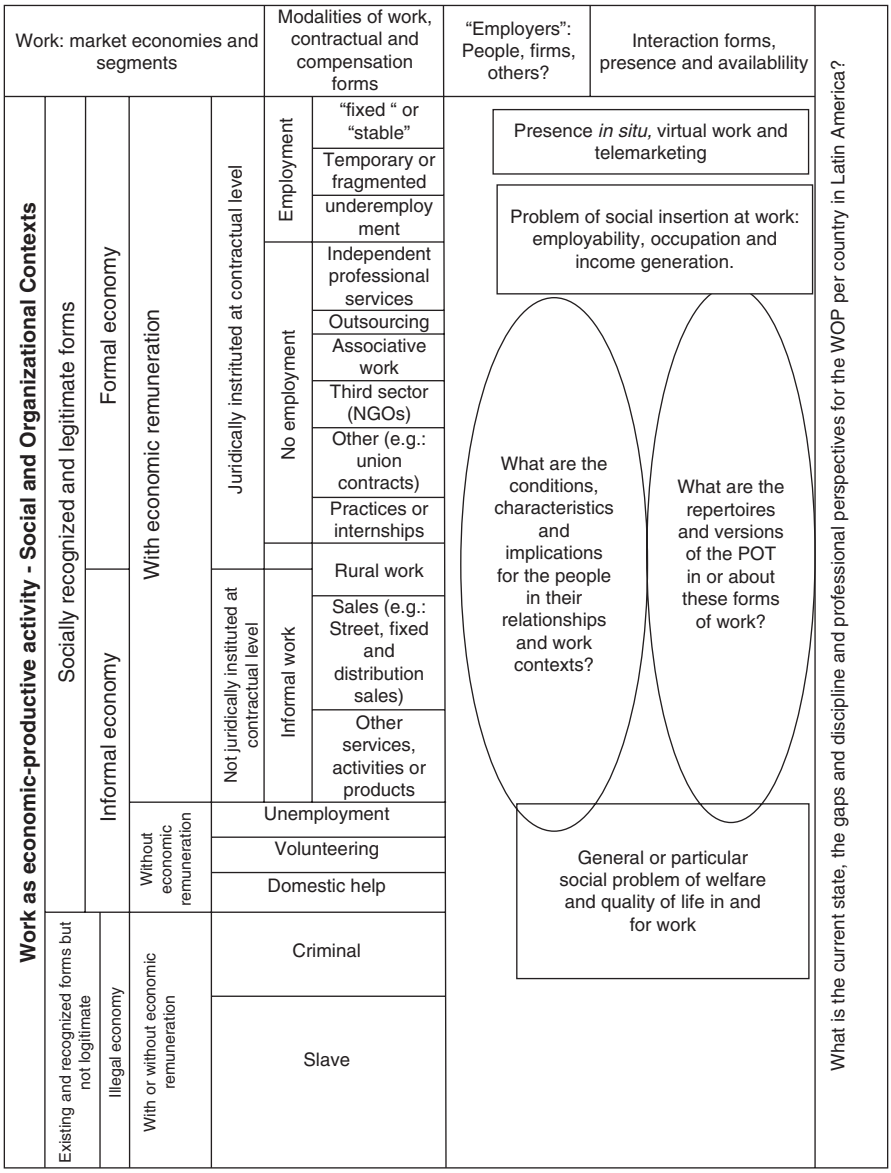


**Fig. 7.1** Coexistence and relationship of economies, modalities, and forms of work: a challenge to WOP. Adapted from Rentería, 2009

Latin America, however, would not be a homogeneous group because its countries belong to different economic blocs, the populations speak different languages, and they are descendants of quite different pre-Columbian societies, or another great variety of people who emigrated from Europe and Asia, or left Africa, as was the case with slaves (Feitosa, Salas, & Borges-Andrade, in press). On the other

hand, the development of WOP would have been quite unequal in terms of professional legislation; organizational, political, and educational agreements; as well as support for research in these countries.

In the early stages of WOP in Latin America, some European experts who settled in different countries acquired leading roles and left their foundational footprint. With great synchronicity, these precursors created or stimulated the opening of psychotechnics laboratories, worked in psychometrics and vocational guidance, and trained the first professionals: Emilio Mira y Lopez in Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, and Chile; Walter Blumenfeld in Peru; Bela Szekely in Argentina and Chile; Mercedes Rodrigo in Colombia; and Jean Cizaletti in Chile (Alonso & Eagly, 1999; Salas, 2014a). Later, the influence of the United States in these same countries and the growing differentiation and complexity of WOP itself, among other factors, make these common beginnings fade away, giving rise to the diversity that is appreciated today.

This diversity and its management should receive more attention, and proper application of WOP should be accompanied by a better consideration of methodological rigor, as suggested by Feitosa, Salas, and Borges-Andrade (in press) and others such as Rentería (2009, 2016). These authors propose that, on the one hand, research and professional practice should consider the previously described amalgam of values, organizational and legal arrangements, economic blocks, languages, and peoples. The biennial congresses organized by the Latin American Network of Organizational and Work Psychology (RIPOT) since 2009 are an attempt to integrate this amalgam and reduce that inequality (Godoy & Ansoleaga, 2015; Quiroga & Cattaneo, 2014; Zanelli, Silva, & da Rosa, 2011). On the other hand, it would be necessary to seek the development and validation of universal reference frameworks that make generalization possible in Latin America and beyond, as proposed by Feitosa et al. (in press). This would be necessary, seeking an inquiry that would be able to integrate specific and general approaches that take into account the context, as this could change the behavior of workers, managers, legislators, and WOP professionals. It would be necessary to generate knowledge that had autochthonous characteristics, but did not lose the bond with the global discipline (Fig. 7.1).

How far is that psychology of (or in) Latin America from those goals, and how is it similar to those where it originated, for historical, social, political, and economic reasons, in the United States and Europe? The following text presents information that the authors of the chapter were able to collect in 110 texts from 14 countries, organized in terms of history, practice, professional training, and the production and dissemination of scientific knowledge. In the end, it takes up those questions again in order to assess how distant the Latin American countries are from what Feitosa and colleagues proposed (in press) and from that global science and professional practice announced at the beginning of the twentieth century by Anderson, Ones, Sinangil, and Viswesvaran (2001) and Malvezzi (2016).

## History of Work and Organizational Psychology in Latin America as a Field of Knowledge and Applied Area

### *Argentina*

The history of the discipline goes back to the nineteenth century, but one cannot speak of educating graduates in psychology until 1953 (Klappenbach, 2015). Since the beginning of the twentieth century, its almost exclusive field of action was psychotechnics and professional orientation, as occurred in practically all the region. Without envisioning then a discipline and professional field like the one today we call WOP, the first advances of psychology were strongly anchored to the environment of work.

A clearly distinctive feature has been the strong infusion of psychoanalysis, which gives the curriculum a strong psychodynamic orientation and explains in part that until recently the clinical field was almost the only field of professional practice. Only recently has it been extended to other theoretical orientations and other fields of action (Alonso, 1999; Courel & Talak, 2001; Rossi & Jardón, 2014; Klappenbach, 2015). Certain developments of WOP in Argentina that give it a distinctive and unique character and are found in Social Psychology of Organizations (*Psicología Social de las Organizaciones*) Schvarstein, 1991) and Psychology and Institutional Analysis (*Psicología y el Análisis Institucional*, Papaleo & Schlemenson, 1973) have been discernable for their psychodynamic perspective.

### *Brazil*

Psychology training as an independent discipline began at the end of the 1950s, at the undergraduate level, and in the middle of the 1960s, at the graduate level. Nevertheless, disciplines with this focus had already existed, in medicine and philosophy programs, in the nineteenth century, ones which even launched the first academic publications in psychology. The profession of psychology, regulated in 1962, defined diagnosis and intervention as its exclusive nature activities, using psychological methods and techniques. This legislation referred to three fields of application: clinical, education, and work.

In the 1970s, the Federal Psychology Council and the first Regional Psychology Councils were created with the functions of guiding, disciplining, and supervising the professional practice and of serving as ethics tribunals that were able to determine the suspension of the practice. Psychologists were obliged to register and make annual payments to these councils in order to be able to work legally in the job market. Some scientific associations with an emphasis on psychology had already existed prior to these councils, and guild organizations emerged in the 1980s.

There was a great increase in the offer of new undergraduate programs in the 1970s and another one in the 1990s. Undergraduate programs were opened in small

cities throughout the national territory. Psychology's professional presence began to have high percentages outside the big cities and in all the regions (Bastos & Gondim, 2010). Psychologists who practiced in WOP grew rapidly, probably due to the demands derived from the development of the secondary and tertiary sectors of the Brazilian economy in the 1970s. From the end of the twentieth century until 2012, postgraduate psychology programs grew 161% (at a master's level) and 194% (at a doctoral level). This growth reduced the professionals' average age to less than 40 years old and promoted a regional deconcentration of this training, which was previously clustered in the southeast region (Borges-Andrade, Bastos, Andery, Guzzo, & Trindade, 2015). WOP then proceeded to accompany the independent development of Brazilian psychology.

The period between 1978 and 2008 was fertile for the dissemination of theoretical essays and research reports on the psychology profession in Brazil, when there were approximately 900 texts (scientific articles, doctoral dissertations, master's dissertations, undergraduate monographs) in 2008 (Yamamoto & Amorim, 2010), 22 of them were about jobs in WOP (Coelho-Lima, Costa, & Yamamoto, 2011). The contents of these published articles were categorized by these authors in three branches: the role of the professional who acts in the work context (commitments to the company and the workers), critique on the performance (self-evaluation, workers' regulation, insufficient training), and requirements for this professional (review of higher education, training promotion, and definition of the trajectory of the practice).

WOP activity in Brazil went through three phases, according to different conceptions on the role of the psychologist made by different authors (Coelho-Lima et al., 2011). These phases would have some equivalences, but also some discrepancies, as the reading of these authors suggests: (A) an industrial, an organizational, and one of work; (B) an individualist, a systemic, and political one; and (C) an industrial (until 1945), an organizational (until 1970), and an organizational and work one (current). The first of these phases (industrial or individualist) occurred from the applications of psychology in the context of work in the 1920s (Antunes, 2007). It accompanied the industrial expansion that then mainly demanded the use of measurements for employee selection. This demand was diversified in the second phase (organizational or systemic), to include also the applications of psychology in personnel training, human resources planning, and health in the workplace, for example, in Zanelli, Bastos, and Rodrigues (2014). The intensification of health concerns, the new forms of work organization derived from the introduction of communication and information technologies, the political context of the 1964–1985 dictatorship, and the emergence of new forms of workers' organization and a greater exchange of European researchers led to the third phase (work, policy or organizational and work).

## *Chile*

The origins of the discipline and professional practice of what is now called WOP are strongly linked to the first developments of psychology in the country. In the first decades of the twentieth century, psychology laboratories emerge in several countries that, together with the research and development of training activities for new professionals, begin the provision of services in an emerging field: psychotechnics. The available information is consistent in its importance with what we could consider as the first models of a psychology that focuses on the field of work.

While it is well documented that *psi* knowledge has a long protohistory in various countries of the region, the formal beginnings of the discipline and formalization of professional practice start in the subcontinent with the creation of psychology schools or training institutes, a process that emerges with some synchrony in different countries in the 1940s (Salas, 2014a, 2014b; Carpintero, 2014), and in the case of Chile, professional training began in the capital in 1947 at the University of Chile and a few years later, in 1954, at the Catholic University.

Concomitantly with its incipient development as a psychology subdiscipline, WOP does not yet have a presence as such in the first curricula offered in Chile in the 1940s and 1950s, where the area is represented by psychotechnics courses and psychology psychotechnics seminars. These first classes share and later give space to semester courses of "Labor" or "Work Psychology" in 1957 in the case of Catholic University and in 1968 in the case of the University of Chile. Later, there were the courses of Organizational Psychology appearing in the curriculum in 1975 at the Pontifical Catholic University (PUC), and in 1986 at the University of Chile (Ansaldo, 2015).

A first period of the WOP trajectory in Chile, which we can call a foundational one, covers approximately 60 years; it begins with the first antecedents of scientific psychology in the country and culminates with the first generation of psychologists graduated by the University of Chile in 1954. Although we cannot properly speak of a WOP in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a number of antecedents, such as those described by Descouvieres (1999) and Salas (2014b), allow us to appreciate the interest with which applied psychology was utilized, which, among other fields, tried to solve people's problems of adaptation at work and to the machine.

The first decades of the twentieth century are a period of growing industrialization, during which the first psychological tests arrive in Chile, with which a psychometric tradition dedicated to the selection and evaluation of people begins. Linked to it, vocational and professional orientation emerges as a new practice that articulates pedagogical and psychological knowledge. Arriving in Chile in 1949, the French professor Cizaletti begins to recruit and train his first assistants, both in the University of Chile and in the Catholic University, collaborators who would then become the first Chilean work psychologists.

Starting in 1953 one can speak of the beginning of a second period, the installation of WOP in Chile. This begins with the graduation of the first psychologists at

the University of Chile and culminates with the hiring of the first "Industrial Psychologist" of the country in the Huachipato Steel Mill in July 1963. This stage can be described as the period when both the formation and the dissemination of the new profession were in their beginnings, when psychology was recognized much more as a discipline and as a paramedical or parapedagogical practice. Its applications to the field of work were mainly restricted to professional orientation and psychological evaluation in selection processes. Psychologists in corporations and institutions, almost always as external consultants, were only occasionally required to develop activities other than evaluation and selection of personnel. In this context, a group of professionals was requested in 1958 and 1959 for various consultations in Chuquicamata, the country's most important copper mine at that time, to advise them on issues related to labor relations and to develop training activities. Already in 1960 and 1961, the two large copper mining companies, Anaconda and Braden, invited psychologists to join their professional plants. The first experiences of legitimating psychologists in companies and, perhaps, the influence exerted by the large copper companies in this respect with their models of leading-edge management are making their incorporation into professional plants more necessary, so that the professional field of Industrial Psychology increasingly begins to develop, and not only as an activity carried out by consultants or external counselors.

Between 1964 and 1973, the first expansion of WOP takes place. In this third period, the two psychology schools (University of Chile and Catholic University) are centers of academic-professional activities that expand the field of work open to the young profession. Also contributing to this task is the Psychology Institute of the University of Chile, which carries out research and offers services to firms, as well as the Institute of Business Organization and Administration of the same university (INSORA), which, being an administration institute, opened its doors to several psychologists interested in research and consultancy from a cross-curricular perspective. During these years, other large companies were also interested in the contributions of psychologists; at the same time, some of these new professionals counseled a railway worker federation (Morales, 1999).

In the large mining companies and in the steel industry, teams of Industrial Psychologists are now established and expand their activities into the labor relationship field, training, and industrial safety. In this period the first firms of psychologists oriented to the provision of services for companies were born, and the first psychologist who holds an executive position does so in 1972, as an Industrial Relations Manager in a metallurgical company. During this period the international audit firms recruited psychologists for their areas of consultancy, basically to offer their clients personnel selection services. Also, the development of market research began in Chile, another application area close to WOP that today has become a field with a strong demand for psychologists.

At the beginning of the 1970s, a process of paradigmatic change began for Work Psychology in the country. Through the influence of professionals who had carried out postgraduate studies abroad, the concept of an Organizational Psychology is progressively established; the approach and values associated with organizational development and Rogerian orientation are promoted on the one hand and the applications from the behavioral perspective, on the other. This last one would have an

important influence on the Industrial Psychology practiced in the El Teniente Mine. However, the processes of change in the discipline and the professional practice, as well as in all spheres of social life, would be strongly altered by the political crisis, the 1973 military coup d'état, and its tragic consequences. Most of the work psychologists lose their jobs and many their freedom, and several of them go into exile.

During the dictatorial period, the refoundational policy of the state imposed by the military government under a neoliberal economic conception will have a strong impact on the professional field of Work Psychology. The progressive growth of the services trade, particularly in the banking sector and the financial sector, as well as the generation of new pension and health systems as part of the neoliberal privatization project, has the effect of opening jobs for psychologists—from now on called "Organizational Psychologists"—for personnel selection and in new departments or units of organizational development.

At the same time, organizational diagnoses and climate studies are disseminated and multiplied; the first studies of organizational culture appear in a scenario of frequent mergers and company acquisitions. From 1985, it becomes more common for psychologists to occupy decision-making positions in the new areas of human resources, including management. This economic model stimulates market research, and psychologists are increasingly assuming responsibilities in this area conducting qualitative and quantitative studies and even generating their own firms. Parallel to the job growth within companies, the demand for external advisory boards and consultants also increases. The selection of personnel is practically standard for large and medium-sized enterprises and for a large part of public institutions. New consulting companies emerge that belong to psychologists or with their participation as partners.

The country's return to democracy in 1990 marks the beginning of a new stage for WOP development. The modernizing impulse of processes and organizational structures that the private world had lived expands to the public institutions under the modernization policies **c**arried out by the state, following to a large extent the orientations of the "new public management." In the late 1990s and more visibly in the year 2000, the WOP professional began to clearly perceive himself/herself more as a strategic partner of the company or institution than as a human resources technician, expanding his/her presence and managerial responsibility in areas of organizational development. In a highly competitive professional environment, performance in the area increasingly requires postgraduate specialization, although this is not a formalized requirement.

## *Colombia*

Higher education in psychology in Colombia at the undergraduate level is a pioneer in Latin America with the creation of the first program at the National University of Colombia (Peña-Correal, 2007; Ardila, 1998, 2013; Puche, 1999; Giraldo & Rodríguez, 2000; Gómez, 2016; Enciso & Perilla, 2004). The psychometrics laboratory, with a measurement approach, opened room for WOP-type applications,

such as psychological evaluation in selection processes and vocational or professional orientation for companies and educational institutions. Due to the striking centralist tendency (Puche, 1999), the undergraduate training developments were concentrated in Bogotá and later expanded to other regions in the country's main capitals. Two periods are identified, the first one being in the 1970s and the second in the 1990s (Puche, 1999; Ardila, 1998; Peña-Correal, 2007), as a result of regulatory changes and attention to the country's growing demand for the training of psychologists.

Two important milestones in the legalization and regulation of the psychology practice in Colombia are the first psychology law passed in 1983 by the initiative and proposal of the Colombian Federation of Psychology and later the establishment of Law 2006, which regulates the psychology profession practice and establishes the Ethics and Bioethics Code, among other provisions. The institutionalization at the guild level dates back to the 1950s with the creation of the Colombian Federation of Psychology (Giraldo & Rodríguez, 1997; Puche, 1999; Ardila, 1999; Peña-Correal, 1993, 2007), and from then on more than 20 professional associations can be identified.

The Colombian Association of Faculties of Psychology (ASCOFAPSI), created in 1986, and the Colombian College of Psychologists (COLPSIC), created in 2006, are outstanding indications of recent institutionalization and internationalization. The first one is responsible for ensuring the development of the discipline; the second one is for professional practice, with areas for the visibilization of academic research and the production of knowledge through the WOP research node of the network of psychology researchers of ASCOFAPSI, as in the WOP field of COLPSIC. This corresponds to what is traditionally associated with human resources or consulting practices, identifying applications in assessment and personnel selection, training, performance evaluation, and other forms of measurement, as well as processes related to motivation, satisfaction, and development in general (Enciso & Perilla, 2004).

As in countries such as Brazil and Chile, *psi* ideas can be identified since the nineteenth century (Puche, 1999; Ardila, 1999), and applications were made prior to their institutional recognition. The most outstanding historical application of WOP in professional practice has been "psychotechnics" since the beginning of the twentieth century (Peña-Correal, 1993, 2007), accompanying "the spirit of the times" until the twenty-first century. In 1939 the Psychotechnics Section was created, and later the Institute of Applied Psychology was created in 1947, in charge of training and certifying the first psychologists (Ardila, 2013). Accompanying historical developments and needs of the country from the 1950s to present, for occupational or professional orientation as well as personnel selection in its various forms, have been a constant reference of WOP applications or, in its absence, of Industrial or Occupational Psychology (Enciso & Perilla, 2004; Giraldo & Rodríguez, 2000).

In the particular case of industry, in the postwar period, the applications were mainly handled by clinical psychologists who worked in companies or in state institutions. Later they were replaced by psychologists with a broader training in the field, depending on the increase in available training in both undergraduate and

postgraduate studies focusing on WOP (Peña-Correal, 1993, 2007; Puche, 1999; Ardila, 1999, 2013).

WOP begins to be recognized in the 1960s in terms of macro-processes in particular relationships such as with the International Labor Organization (ILO), with advisory services to the National Learning Service (SENA) for occupational analysis, and simultaneously with the creation or incorporation of the selection, training, and development departments in companies (Urdaneta, 1993; cited by Enciso & Perilla, 2004). It is already possible in the 1970s, under the recognition of the "Industrial Psychologist," to identify in some Colombian companies the institutionalization of Organizational Psychology as a professional field. Since the 1980s, the field of the "Industrial Psychologist" has been associated with the practice of human resources, and it is possible to identify a geometric progression of its role in different types of private or public organizations in the country. This professional exercise of an expanding field was not necessarily accompanied by research and knowledge production from the applications carried out.

## *Cuba*

The *psi* ideas began in the nineteenth century (Bernal & Bernal, 2013), and at the beginning of the twentieth century at Havana University, there was a discipline with these notions. Until the end of the 1950s, coinciding with the political changes of the island, the teaching of psychology was limited to subjects related to topics of psychology in different departments (Pérez, 1999). Professional training as such was only possible outside the country. During this period clinical psychology was noteworthy, it being possible to identify psychologists who worked in advertising agencies and, as in other countries of Latin America, in professional and vocational orientation activities. Around the 1960s and 1970s, a countrywide higher education restructuring was carried out, which included undergraduate psychology programs, bringing in the consideration of work as one of its applications. Since 1954 it has been possible to identify the efforts to create psychology societies (Pérez, 1999).

## *Ecuador*

The first specialized training programs were Clinical and Educational Psychology in the 1950s and 1960s, with Industrial Psychology being the third identifiable specialization (Balarezo & Velástegui, 2014). Unlike what happens in the rest of Latin America, the degree of psychologist in Ecuador does not have a general connotation, but the degree denotes specializations of the undergraduate level, the most frequent being Clinical, Educational, and Organizational or Industrial Psychology.

The oldest WOP reference dates from 1966, when the Philosophy School of the Central University in Quito established the area of Industrial Psychology, an area

whose first students enrolled in 1972 and graduated in 1974 (Moreno, 2000). At the same time, the area of Industrial Psychology was created in Quito's Catholic University and in other universities in the country. Thus, an area of specialization expanded that according to Moreno (2000) would become the most popular area among Ecuadorian psychology students. Supporting his estimation of the change in the choice of specialization areas among the Catholic University students of Quito is the fact that while in the 1970s and 1980s the most chosen specialization was clinical, in the 1990s it was the industrial or WOP.

A particular feature of WOP is the persistence of the label "Industrial Psychology" to identify the area. Even though the undergraduate curricula progressively incorporate the contents of Organizational Psychology and Organizational Behavior and the diploma given to those who opt for the area in most universities is that of "Organizational Psychologist," it is striking that the designation "Industrial" is kept both in the name of the undergraduate major and in the associations that congregate the professionals of the area (Balarezo & Velástegui, 2014).

## *Guatemala*

The history began as in other countries in the teaching of courses in general psychology and psychoanalysis in other programs in the 1940s, but psychology was instituted as such with the creation of the Psychology and Psychological Research Institute of the Humanities Department of the University of San Carlos in 1948 (Aguilar, 1999). The consolidation of undergraduate training takes place in the 1970s with a concentration in the country's capital. In this decade and the following, the academic offer at master's and doctorate levels in Social and Clinical Psychology began at universities that did not necessarily offer undergraduate training.

The regulation and associations are varied and not necessarily constant for the purposes of the discipline or the professional regulation, being characterized as interest groups, among which it is possible to identify the Human Resources Guild Association (Aguilar, 1999). However, membership in international associations such as the Inter-American Society of Psychology (SIP) was apparently an alternative that has been characteristic in some fields. A reflection of this and of the efforts for the development of psychology in the country is the events organized by SIP and later on by the Ibero-American Federation of Psychology Associations (FIAP) held in this country in the last decade.

The professional practice was marked in its beginnings in the middle of the twentieth century by the vocational orientation, along with the clinical. Regarding the most recent practice of psychologists, Aguilar (1999) points out that although they work in both the public and private sectors, despite the climate in his opinion as being insecure, there are no governmental programs in which psychology specialties are directly considered. WOP started as Business Psychology in the 1970s, and this increased in the following decades. Since the 1990s, there has been an explicit

recognition of the organizational dimension. The fields of action have been selection, training, and other human resources processes.

## *Mexico*

As in other Latin American countries, the beginning of psychology training takes place in courses of programs in different fields around the end of the nineteenth century (Molina-Avilés 1997; Aguilar-Morales & Vargas-Mendoza, 2010; González & Olivares, 2014). Afterward, the first Experimental Psychology laboratory was founded in 1916 (Aguilar-Morales & Vargas-Mendoza, 2010). It is possible to identify specialized programs from the second decade of the twentieth century. As in other Latin American countries, it is in the 1930s and then the 1940s when professionalization is instituted (Korbman de Shein, 1997). At the end of the 1950s, a psychology program at the undergraduate level was founded at the National Autonomous University of Mexico, and at the beginning of the 1990s, the Monterrey Institute of Technology created the degree in Organizational Psychology, giving rise to a specialization at the undergraduate level. This establishes milestones as in other Latin American countries in which the specialization of WOP is accompanied, in particular, by the recognition as a field of Industrial Psychology or of a clearly US influence in the country.

## *Paraguay*

Two major stages in its development are recognized, a pre-university one, which begins in the seventeenth century and extends until the mid-twentieth century, when the university and professional period begins with the establishment of the first psychology program at the Catholic University of Asuncion in 1963 (García, 2014). In this second period, a professional emphasis is placed on the academic and its clinical emphasis, the latter with an important initial influence of the Argentine psychoanalytic orientation (Britos, 1999).

Various sources describe Paraguayan psychology as being relatively isolated from the advances and transformations of the discipline, and with little production, which is due to, among other factors, both to the Mediterranean condition of the country and to the limitations imposed by the dictatorial government of Stroessner for 35 years. This situation would be reversed in recent years, with a strengthening of the academic life to which the State's policies are contributing, some of them driven by MERCOSUR initiatives related to higher education, such as the formalization in 2003 of an accreditation system about the quality of higher education and, on the other hand, the research stimulus programs created by CONACYT (National Commission on Science and Technology) since 2011.

The practice of the profession only requires the professional degree and registration with the Ministry of Public Health and Social Welfare (MSPyBS), which is a matter of debate dealing with Occupational Psychologists. The number of psychologists reaches 7500 according to the records of the MSPyBS (García & Argaña, 2016), while in 1999, it was estimated to be 1700, concentrated mainly in the capital and Ciudad del Este (Britos, 1999). The number of professionals working in WOP cannot be estimated on an exact basis. The Paraguayan Society of Psychology the main organization of the discipline in this country of a scientific and professional nature does not disaggregate its members by specialty. For its part, the Paraguayan Human Resources Association, founded in 1989, currently has 198 professionals of different training, of which 152 are Work Psychologists (García & Argaña, 2016).

## *Peru*

As is common in the region, the antecedents of WOP in Peru are found in the psychotechnics developed at the beginning of the twentieth century, in a period in which psychology was still in a preprofessional and pre-university setting. In the same tradition, the first experiences of what was called "Industrial Psychology" were registered in the 1940s, with the application of psychotechnical exams in order to obtain a driver's license. The first discipline association with an academic character was the Peruvian Society of Psychology in 1954. The society dissolved in 1980 with the creation of the College of Psychologists.

The first university program for the training of psychologists emerged in 1955 at the National University of San Marcos. Currently 45 universities offer undergraduate programs in psychology (Anicama, 1999; Arias, 2014). It is a general training, between 5 and 6 years, and it bestows the professional degree of Psychologist, or of Graduate in Psychology.

The professional practice of psychology has been regulated since 1980, with the creation of the School of Psychologists of Peru as an autonomous entity of public law that necessitates licensure as a requirement to practice the profession, modified and supplemented in 2004 with the Psychologist's Labor Law, which includes the work field. Also, chapters are created by areas of specialty, one of them being the Organizational Chapter, which, at the time of the Benítez and Zapata report (2009), had only seven members. This framework assigns to the College of Psychologists the possibility of certifying its members for the exercise of specialties.

In Peru, WOP as a field of specialization has been associated with what has been known as Organizational Climate (OC) and human resources processes, extending in some cases to intervention issues such as personal or family problems, along with disciplines such as the administration and social assistance that intervene at the same level. In 2011, with the participation of members of the Ibero-American Network of Organizational and Work Psychology (RIPOT), the Peruvian Society of Organizational Psychology was created (2011), which provides an opportunity for visibilization and institutionalization as a field of professional action and training. It

is a question of responding to needs related to the administration of human resources and OC from psychological constructs and accounts for the increasing relevance of the area.

## *Puerto Rico*

The teaching of psychology in Puerto Rico dates back to the beginning of the twentieth century, almost hand in hand with the founding of the University of Puerto Rico (Roca de Torres, 2006a, 2006b), having as its forerunner a course that from 1900 was taught in the normal school (teacher training school). In the 1930s, as in other Latin American countries, it began to be recognized as a specific area for those who would later be considered psychologists. The accompaniment of the APA guidelines is an important characteristic to highlight in the development of psychology in Puerto Rico, since unlike other Latin American countries, it had specialized locations for its training.

Industrial/Organizational Psychology—IOP—has been considered a specialty since the 1970s. Since 1926, psychology was part of the curriculum of the College of Administration related to the business field (Alvarez, 2006), which shows a historical relationship of the functionalist tradition of IOP, and of the current WOP of the island, as a clearly applied field. It is important in this country to highlight the historical confluence in the development of IOP by academics coming from applied fields of the public and private sector. The beginnings of IOP—or in its absence WOP—were linked to psychometrics and to the practice of clinical psychologists in work organizations, as in other countries of Latin America (Moreno-Velázquez, Justel-Cabrera, & Massanet-Rosario, 2006). The cited authors and the Psychology Association of Puerto Rico (APPR) consider the 1970s as the moment of institutionalization, for the creation of specialized teaching programs.

## *Dominican Republic*

In this country, the history of psychology is younger than that of other Latin American countries, and its institutionalization strengthens in the late 1960s with the emergence of two psychology schools (Valeirón, 1999). Psychology has a significant increase as a whole in the late 1970s and 1980s. A key event is the First Psychology Congress of the Inter-American Society of Psychology (SIP) held in this country in 1953, at a time when there was no academic or professional consolidation. It is also noted that the Dominican Association of Psychologists was only created in 1975, and in 1982—a date similar to other Latin American countries—the first professional regulation was adopted. The incorporation of psychology professionals into the related field of production has been significant in the last three

decades, particularly associated with human resources departments (Valeirón, 1999) and postgraduate training (Rentería, 2001).

## *Uruguay*

The presence of psychology in Uruguay goes back to the end of the nineteenth century with a broad and sustained development since the first decades of the twentieth century. An instituting milestone was the creation of the Experimental Psychopedagogy Laboratory of the Normal Institute in 1933 that had the participation of important European figures in the development of the discipline in this country, which conferred it a more academic character than professional one in those early years (Cabezas & Georgi, 2001).

The first psychology courses were taught in the 1940s at the University of the Republic (UDELAR), the main and only public university in the country. Then, in 1950, the undergraduate program in psychology begins. In this decade the first associations were created (the Psychology Society of Uruguay and the Psychoanalytic Association of Uruguay), and new non-university psychology programs were opened. UDELAR's degree in psychology remains the only one in the country until 1985, when another program starts at Catholic University of Uruguay (UCU), founded in 1984 although with a long tradition as a study center. The historical findings of the discipline in the country highlight the strong impact of the dictatorial period (1973–1984) on UDELAR and specifically on the area of psychology (Cabezas & Georgi, 2001; Chávez & Freitas, 2014).

The professional field was initially focused on the clinical area, but in the 1970s and 1980s, the educational field was introduced, and later there was an expansion to the work and social areas. However, the clinical field, and more specifically that of the psychoanalytic clinic, has remained as the main area of professional application as shown in the professional associations and scientific societies of the country, where those professionals and academic groups of specific clinical areas predominate, without reporting the existence of associations of other fields of practice (García, 1999).

In relation to the associativity of Uruguayan psychologists, it is noteworthy to point out the role played by the Uruguayan Coordinator of Psychologists, a guild organization founded in 1987, which has played an important role in the promulgation of the Profession Practice Law of the Psychologist in 1999.

## *Venezuela*

The beginnings of psychology are linked to the academic environment from the second half of the 1940s, and in 1950 it is instituted as part of the Philosophy and Letters School of the Central University of Venezuela (Rodríguez & Sánchez, 1999).

The line of measurement and vocational guidance is observed as in other Latin American countries. Subsequently, formal discipline studies began with the creation of the Psychology Section, and various versions such as psychology schools at other universities. Since the end of the 1950s, professional institutionalization efforts have been identified, such as the case of the "Venezuelan Association of Psychologists," which historically has been transformed into other forms of organization such as a federation or society.

## The Professional Practice in Work and Organizational Psychology in Latin America

### *Argentina*

The professional practice has been regulated since 1985 (Ministry of Education and Justice, Resolution 2447/85), and of the 19 competences of the psychology or the psychologist degree, 5 of them explicitly refer to the WOP's inherent activities. The provincial colleges have the responsibility for the certification of the specialties in their jurisdictional scope (Courel & Talak, 2001); nevertheless, these and the professional associations do not provide data that allow a finished registry of the number of psychologists by areas of specialty.

Psychologists who work in WOP correspond to a minimum when compared to other psychology professionals in the country, and in particular with predominant clinicians, as estimated by Alonso, Gago, & Klinar (2010). On the other hand, Argentina registers a high number of graduates, which is the largest number of the countries in the region in relation to its total population (Alonso & Nicenboim, 1999; Alonso, 2006; Alonso et al., 2010). In this context, it is possible to assume that the diversification of the application fields reported in recent years also implies a significant increase in the number of professionals dedicated to WOP.

Argentinean psychology has shown a long and exuberant fabric of national and regional groups with an emphasis on professional and scientific networks. In 1908 the Argentinean Psychology Society was created, the first one in Latin America, and later numerous different types of federations arose. In a non-exhaustive account, Alonso (1999) mentions at least 18 associations, but none of them belong to WOP.

A significant event that marked a before and after in the development of WOP in Argentina was the carrying out of the "First Work Psychology Workshops" organized by the Association of Psychologists of Buenos Aires in 1985. This meeting, although it did not continue in the following years, widely contributed to the consolidation of an area of professional activity that until then had only a marginal presence in the Argentinean psychology scenario (Bonantini, Gallegos, Quiroga, Cataneo, & Berra, 2013). In 2008, the Association of Work Psychologists of Argentina (APSILA) was founded. Among its outstanding achievements are the organization of four congresses and the publication of a journal.

## *Brazil*

The professionals effectively employed in psychology were estimated at 146,000 in 2014, according to a technical report from DIEESE (2016) commissioned by the Federal Psychology Council, which marks an important guild interest in the sociodemographic characteristics and in the type of activity. These professionals have an average monthly household income equivalent to approximately US $ 3373.00 (in August 2016), according to the mentioned report. This monthly income is 24% higher than the monthly income of other employed professionals, of the same schooling level. 90% are women, with a 30% higher income than men. 84% have only one job, 25% work weekly sessions up to 20 h, 31% work 21–39 h, and 45% work 40 h or more. More than half of the psychologists (55.2%) interviewed worked for up to 39 h per week, with 24.6% working up to 20 h a week; 23.7%, from 21 to 30 h; and 6.9% from 31 to 39 h Among these psychology professionals, 52% are salaried, and 48% are self-employed or are employers. Other countries should be able to seek out such statistics as DIEESE (2016) in the short and medium run.

A comprehensive diagnosis was made on the work of psychologists in Brazil, a study whose method and result were described in detail by Bastos and Gondim (2010). According to these authors, the WOP psychologists in Brazil are 83% female with an average age of 36. Among those who work in WOP, only one-third have formal work links with their employers, and half have more links combined with autonomous or independent practice. Compared to the other subareas of Brazilian psychology, WOP has one of the highest percentages of work nexuses and is the subarea in which professionals devote the most weekly hours of work (approximately 40 h). The concentration of the activities, only in the WOP subarea, happens among 61% of psychology professionals, being the highest percentage of all areas.

These formal relationships are usually with private companies (the majority) and mainly with federal public organizations, although the state public entities also offer job opportunities. The main activities include, in descending order, performance evaluation; organizational diagnosis; function or occupational analysis; employee, group, and team performance; recruitment and selection; and professional rehabilitation. The predominance of activities linked to evaluation may partly reflect the definition of the private or reserved activities of the Brazilian legislation that regulates the psychology profession, but it may also be the result of an initial demand for work that was imposed by the industrial sector, long before the profession was regulated. Many (23%) have management or administrative positions in addition to undertaking technical activities. This situation is quite different from that of the 1980s, when recruitment and selection activities prevailed, and few psychologists had supervisory positions.

It is common among Brazilian psychologists to perform in more than one subarea; however, in the case of WOP, psychologists more than 60% do not work in other subareas, and 70% do not intend to leave the subarea, which is a different situation from the 1980s when the intention was to get out of it. There are approximately 10% who receive more than US $ 1600 per month, but the majority (61%)

receives approximately US $ 1100 per month. When comparing the subareas of psychology, WOP has a much higher income than that of clinical and academic. As far as the professional degrees in WOP, 45% hold only undergraduate studies, 40% have a specialization, and a little more than 12% hold a master's, and less than 5% reach doctoral degrees.

There are two determinants for the main problems in Brazilian WOP: the inadequacy of academic training, in terms of content and methods, and the configuration of work relationships established by these professionals, which would limit their possibilities of development in these work contexts (Coelho-Lima et al., 2011). These authors identify two coexisting political ideology perspectives that would need to interact: those of the defense of activities that seek the maintenance and development of organizational capital and those of worker emancipation.

Three pillars of paradigmatic affiliation currently coexist in Brazil: (1) behavior, (2) subjectivity, and (3) clinic (Bendassolli, Borges-Andrade, & Malvezzi, 2010). They do not necessarily correspond to the two ideopolitical perspectives identified by Coelho-Lima et al. (2011). The first one is associated with behaviorism, neobehaviorism, and social cognitivism. The second one is influenced by sociohistorical, poststructuralist, and institutional approaches. The third one includes ergology, work psychodynamics, clinical sociology, and clinical activity. These topics are more clearly identified in academic publications than in the professional practice, but they obviously influence in the practical field. There are method and interpretation tensions between them and dilemmas related to their application in capitalist organizational contexts, identified by Bendassolli et al. (2010).

The application of WOP in Brazil can happen in three interdisciplinary fields, according to Zanelli, Bastos, and Rodrigues (2014): Organizational Psychology (activities related to behavior, design, and organizational consulting), Work Psychology (activities associated with issues of conditions and health at work, ergonomics, career guidance, employment, unemployment, and employability), and Personnel Management (activities in the field of personnel administration, work analysis, recruitment and selection, training, development and education, performance evaluation, and work relationships).

The first of these fields is interested in understanding the interactions between the organizational context and workers' performance, and in dealing with the coordination of activities that seek to achieve goals and objectives associated with the organizational mission.

The second field likewise focuses on interactions, but between behavior and work itself, thus going beyond the organizational context and including, for example, unemployment and retirement. Many of its actions will likely demonstrate concern about quality of life and health, rather than a concern about performance.

The last of these fields has its focus on the managerial systems of organizations that seek to integrate, develop, and value their members, so they are subordinated to policies and practices that take into account both performance and quality of life. There are slight differences among these fields, but they are interdependent and articulated in professional practice.

## *Chile*

The practice of professional psychology in Chile is subject to general regulations and is attainable with the possession of the qualifying general professional degree. The College of Psychologists, which was founded in 1968, lost many of the attributions it had as a regulator of professional practice in the framework of the liberalizing reforms of the dictatorship in 1981, and has not yet recovered from that. As a result, insertion into the specialty fields such as WOP is not under the control of any institutionality and does not require additional certifications or accreditations.

On the other hand, the associativity of the professionals in the area, who could assume some regulatory functions, is limited because although in the profession's past there is a history of linking networks of WOP psychologists, these groupings were not specific to the specialty until 2009, when the Society for Organizational Psychology emerged, which in 2014 was reconstituted as the Chilean Society of Work and Organization Psychology (SCHIPTO). Despite the significant progress made by the creation of this society for WOP in the country, its membership is still low and is not related to the estimated number of psychologists dedicated to professional and academic practice in the area.

In this context, the career opportunities of an Organizational Psychologist will be related to the diploma(s), postgraduate studies, or postgraduate degrees earned, whose offer has also progressively increased in this country. Many psychologists in the WOP area have opted to grow by undertaking MBA studies, which in Chile have become very profuse (by 2013, 39 MBA programs were offered according to the National Council of Education—CNED, 2016), compared to the specialization offer of the discipline focus in WOP, which, as will be seen below, is much more restricted. Nevertheless, and probably simplifying the diversity of options offered by the entrance to this area of professional practice, the psychologists who join it do so mostly performing functions of recruitment analyst and personnel selection, where they acquire specific and general competencies which constitute the bases ("boot camp"), which allows them later to assume other executive responsibilities.

The panorama of WOP implementation in this country shows a consolidated image, in which a large number of firms, private and public, as well as agencies and institutions of the state, have professional internal psychologists, located mainly in the areas of Human Resources and Organizational Development. When it is not internal, many psychologists work providing services autonomously or as independent professionals or are hired by consulting firms, an offer which has significantly increased in recent years, in proportion to the upsurge of professional psychologists entering the job market that the available data show (Mi Futuro, 2016). Professional psychologists are recognized for their own field of competence, particularly in the area of selection and evaluation of employees, and other areas in which they compete with professionals of different training, such as behavioral and organizational development. Among these latter fields of application, coaching is especially diverse from the point of view of the background of those professionals involved, although psychologists claim to have greater authority.

In relation to the number of psychologists who work in the field of WOP, all sources of information are just approximations (Rodríguez & Villegas, 2007). There are no records in the College of Psychologists or in national or regional censuses that allow reliable estimates to be made. It can be affirmed that the WOP field offers employment alternatives that are attractive for the recent university graduates, so that even without being proposed as an area of specialization, many young psychologists who during their studies were oriented to clinical practice see WOP as an alternative of incorporation into the job market. This tendency is shown in the choice of areas of professional practice for students who complete their undergraduate education; a random survey at several universities shows that about 40% of their students opt for WOP internships, suggesting with a high probability that they will later enter the area. A complementary fact to make estimates about WOP participation is that in 2014 some 3583 psychologists graduated in this country.

## *Colombia*

WOP in Colombia has accompanied historical and professional developments, reflected in undergraduate and postgraduate training programs, in this order: evaluation and selection, performance, training and development, and more recently the issues of welfare and quality of life (Acosta, 2000). Since the 1990s, WOP psychologists have worked in inter- and multidisciplinary processes, accompanying forms of work different from employment and incorporating the expansion to a WOP with topics and problems that contemplate multiple modalities of work (Fig. 7.1), incorporating resources derived from Social Psychology of Work (Rentería, 2009; Pulido-Martínez, 2013; Enciso & Perilla, 2004).

Aspects such as globalization, internationalization, virtualization, teleworking, networking, identity, and culture intertwine in their study and intervention with work modalities, type of organizations, and work relationships, creating challenges for the work of psychologists; in addition, there are issues related to career development, coaching, and other programs and projects for social insertion through work directed at various population groups, including some related to the reintegration into civilian life of ex-combatants from various groups in the historic Colombian armed conflict (Agencia Colombiana para la Reintegración, 2016). Some research and intervention activities accompany and make visible the academic and professional interest of the Colombian WOP community in trying to account for the gaps and challenges derived from the current realities (Orejuela, 2014; Delgado & Vanegas, 2013; Pulido-Martínez, 1999, 2013; Aguilar & Rentería, 2009), which in turn configure new fields or the extension of the same ones at a professional or specialized level.

## *Cuba*

In the field of WOP, the psychologist's intervention is initially given to public entities trying to harmonize—in an explanatory way—the search for productivity and well-being simultaneously. WOP psychologists deal with traditional human resources processes and are oriented by the work-health-welfare relationship in order to reduce risks by developing preventive models as a general policy for psychology itself (Pérez, 1999).

## *Peru*

Reports on WOP activity in Peru show an area of professional application in development that covers five different subareas of action: personnel selection, functions in human resources, organizational climate and culture, development and organizational change, and counseling and coaching plus an additional one, task redesign (Flórez & Salas, 2011; León, 2013). Most WOP professionals work in large multinational companies, but an appreciable number also work in consulting firms that provide support to medium and small companies that do not have human resources units.

In the analysis made by the authors mentioned, it is possible to see a process of expansion of the activity field from the selection of personnel, previously occupied by clinical psychologists, to other functions of human resources, such as induction processes and development of the competence model, among others. Along with this, there is also an increase in the number of psychologists who assume managerial positions in the area, positions which were previously occupied predominantly by lawyers.

In the field of organizational climate studies, WOP psychologists generally work as external consultants and compete with other professionals. On the other hand, in the area of organizational development, psychologists are often not considered. In the case of counseling and coaching, WOP professionals stand out alongside other more traditional fields. In this country two activities outside the main field of WOP are highlighted, which are Consumer Psychology and Community Psychology, this last one linked to the putting into practice of the social accountability of organizations (Flórez & Salas, 2011).

When applying concepts and theories, the organizational psychologist in Peru must take into account the great diversity of cultures within the country (e.g., when it comes to applying leadership concepts) as well as the different scenarios that are formed by the different levels of organizational development. Values and practices can range from a modern and globalized Peruvian company "listed on the New York Stock Exchange" to an organization immersed in "*chicha*" culture (a derogatory term linked to situations of transgression, out of the established, the bad or informal), considering also the culture of state institutions as another scenario. This type of analysis leads to the conclusion that "… a challenge for the Organizational

Psychologist is to adjust his/her good practices to the scientific evidence; those studied in the United States or Europe are not necessarily relevant to every local business and population" (León, 2013, p. 211).

### *Venezuela*

As in other countries, the practice of psychology has been regulated since the 1970s, and this goes alongside with the development and institutionalization of professional psychology associations, and among them is identified the "Society of Industrial and Organizational Psychology," in operation in the 1990s. Psychologists find in the public sector an important reception area for professional practice in a broad sense, where it is possible to identify professionals occupying important positions. In the case of the professional practice in the private sector, two fields of application are identified: clinical application and consulting services in the industrial sector related to traditional or classic procedures of human resources (Rodríguez & Sánchez, 1999).

## The Teaching of Work and Organizational Psychology in Latin America

### *Argentina*

The training of psychologists here takes place in 41 universities. Of these, 10 are public institutions, 9 are national universities, and 1 is provincial, all of which in total offer 12 programs. On the part of the private universities, which experienced strong growth from the 1990s, 31 of them offer a total of 58 academic programs. In 2009, the Ministry of Education (Resolution 343/09) approved the basic curricular contents and standards for accreditation of psychology programs. At the initiative of the Psychologists' Federation of the Republic of Argentina (FEPRA) and later the Association of Academic Units of Psychology (AUAPsi) and the Academic Psychology Linking Unit of Private Management Universities (UVAPsi), psychology programs have the obligation to be accredited, a process that began in 2011, and by 2014, 28 of 70 programs were accredited (Klappenbach, 2015).

The degree of psychologist is of a general nature and, following the 2009 regulation, establishes nine areas of training that the curriculum must contain, including one that includes WOP ("Developments in psychology in relation to individuals, couples, families, groups, institutions, organizations, and communities"). In this regard, it is important to note that, as an exception in this training framework of a graduate in psychology or a general psychologist, there is a program from the National University of La Rioja which grants the degree of Bachelor in Organizational Psychology, which is the only one in the country.

The postgraduate academic system in this country includes the specialization, masters, and doctoral programs, all of which are subject to accreditation. In relation to the Master's Degree in Psychology, 39 programs are accredited, and among them, two correspond to the WOP area: the Master's Degree in Business and Organizational Psychology from the University of Belgrano and the Master's Degree in Organizational Psychology with Management Orientation from the Latin American Open University, both private institutions.

In the case of the specialization programs, of 33 only 1 is accredited in the WOP area. It is the Specialization in Work Psychology and Organizations offered by the University of Córdoba. Also, the University of Buenos Aires offers a specialization program in WOP, but it is not accredited. The specialization programs in Argentina are proposals for graduate studies that may be made up of courses, seminars, internships, fieldwork, and research that have strictly academic validity and do not qualify professionally. This same modality of *lato* sensu graduate studies, although with other labels and with slight specific differences, is found in several countries of the region accompanying the system of *stricto* sensu postgraduate training as masters and doctorates.

As for doctoral training programs, they have tended to remain stable over time, as shown by the different reports (Alonso, 1999; Courel & Talak, 2001; Klappenbach, 2015), and currently reach 15, 7 of them offered by private universities. Most of them have an open-discipline profile (Doctorate in Psychology), and only three mention areas of specialization, but WOP is not identified among them.

## *Brazil*

Psychology training, which allows registration in the councils, and therefore the professional practice, has a duration of 5 years and in 80% of the cases is offered by private higher education institutions ($n$ = 550, in 2014), according to Borges-Andrade et al. (2015). A shorter formation may occur, but it grants a degree that does not allow one to practice, and it only permits the teaching of psychology in the middle and higher levels. However, this permission has become quite rare in recent years, since it is almost impossible for higher education institutions HEIs (n = 642) that offer higher education programs in psychology to accept teachers who only have undergraduate training.

There is a federal system of evaluation of undergraduate programs, under the responsibility of a body of the Ministry of Education, which authorizes the operation, collects and organizes information, applies tests to the graduates of these programs, and periodically publishes a ranking, and it can determine the cessation of those activities that do not meet certain minimum requirements. This is a state policy and not the government's, which is equivalent to what in other Latin American countries is associated with evaluation or accreditation parameters. This system has pushed for higher education teachers to seek postgraduate training. However, from the outset, federal legislation has suggested undergraduate training for practice in

various subareas, and a clinical action matrix for most professionals, according to the referred authors. As a consequence of this, typical clinical activities are performed in other subareas of action, including WOP.

The teaching activities in WOP, carried out in undergraduate programs, mainly include the teaching and supervision of internships or practices oriented to processes related to organization management (organizational behavior, training, development and education, recruitment and selection, work procedures, performance evaluation, and organizational and change development), and the promotion of health and the quality of life of workers (Gondim, Bastos, Borges-Andrade, & Peixoto, 2012). These activities aim to promote in students the acquisition of concepts (to explain, understand, manage, identify) seeking intervention. But they do not prioritize the development of competencies (to choose, construct, analyze, and integrate) for knowledge production or for intervention evaluation. It should be noted that when professors do research, they do not always research the general topics they teach.

A great portion of those who choose to take part in WOP are seeking postgraduate training, often in administration, especially in regulated specialization programs such as *lato* sensu postgraduate degrees offered by higher education institutions or scientific or professional associations, not always conventional, with a minimum academic load of 360 h. These programs are not under institutional control and evaluation, and there is no reliable data on them. On the other hand, based on a state policy that has existed since the 1970s, all Brazilian master and doctoral programs, called *stricto* sensu postgraduate study, require their operation to be authorized by a body of the Ministry of Education. They are assessed every 3 years and ranked, and the programs that do not reach the required standard receive a request for them to terminate their activities.

In 2012 there were 73 master's programs and 47 doctoral programs in psychology in Brazil, predominantly offered by public higher education institutions (HEIs). The trend was one of continuous growth, however less accelerated than the growth that took place in the 10 years prior to 2009 (Borges-Andrade et al., 2015). Meanwhile, it was not possible to accomplish the demands for training at this level, considering the number of professionals just with undergraduate studies and the number of existing undergraduate programs. Master's and PhD programs have research lines focused on WOP in 18 HEIs distributed in 4 of the 5 regions of Brazil (Gondim et al., in press). There are fewer than 100 professors in these programs, and they currently produce more scientific articles than books. This production has diverse themes and is most often done in the company of other faculty and students (from their programs or from others) and published mainly in Brazil (Oliveira, 2012).

## *Chile*

In the 1980s a process of enrollment expansion in psychology training programs began, increasing from approximately 100 new students who graduated from the University of Chile and the Catholic University in 1982 (Villegas & Toro, 2001) to

7739 new students currently in 151 programs offered by 49 universities (Mi Futuro, 2016). To become a professional psychologist requires a "bachelor's degree" as an academic degree which is obtained with at least 4 years of study. However, the professional degree obtained after completing a fifth year of studies generally includes professional internship and optional pre-specialization courses in one of the areas of application.

The training of psychologists in this country is only partially regulated by the demands of the national system of accreditation of academic programs, implemented by the state through the National Accreditation Commission (CNA). This establishes quality criteria for evaluation of undergraduate programs by private accreditation agencies. However, accreditation is not mandatory in the case of psychology programs (except for medical and pedagogical careers). Even so, institutions are encouraged to join the process of accreditation both for the benefits to the programs themselves in terms of the implementation of the internal mechanisms of improvement that derive from it and the effects on public image and reputation that are relevant in the competitive world of Chilean higher education. Data from the National Accreditation Commission indicate that of the 151 current psychology programs, 87 of them (offered by 36 universities) have undergone the accreditation process (CNA Chile, 2016).

The large number of programs in operation makes it difficult to fully account for the presence of WOP in each of them. However, a general analysis of the information available on the websites of Psychology Schools and Departments provides some illustrative data that allow one to typify three formative modalities. A first design is one in which WOP appears with only one compulsory course per semester, to which you can add one or two elective courses of the area. A second modality is that of curricula with three to five compulsory courses in the area. A third modality offers students to increase their academic load of studies in WOP up to six to eight courses, when the student takes the option of pre-specialization in this line.

There are four universities that offer an undergraduate degree in WOP or, without formally mentioning it, emphasize the training in the area (Catholic Universities of Santiago and Valparaiso, Adolfo Ibañez University, University of Santiago). Thus, the generalist undergraduate training which the accreditation criteria of the CNA require assures that all psychology graduates have to pass at least one course in the area, and there is also the modality of pre-specialization already mentioned. This is the training with which alumni join the world of work after the undergraduate program, in the case of WOP.

Postgraduate psychology training in Chile has a relatively brief history if compared to the experience of other countries in the region. The first master's programs (in Chile called "magister") developed in 1995, and the first doctoral program from the University of Chile started in 1998 (Toro & Villegas, 1999).

There is a relevant development of doctoral training alternatives, which currently consists of ten programs. Of these, eight are doctorates of a general discipline character ("Doctorate in Psychology," without additional mentions), and two are clinical specialization programs (Doctorate in Psychotherapy and Doctorate in Psychoanalysis). In terms of masters, the scenario is understandably broader, with

72 programs (held by 23 universities) of a professional, academic, and mixed (professional and academic) nature, the vast majority of which have subdiscipline focuses, covering many areas of specialty. The areas with the greatest range of programs are Clinical Psychology (23%), Educational (16%), Social (12%), and WOP (8%) (CNED, 2016).

Of the wide availability of training programs of Master's Degree in Psychology already mentioned, the specific offer for WOP is much smaller. A review of the National Education Council database (CNED, 2016) identifies 29 master's programs in the country that deal with this area. Four of them are explicitly programs in WOP (Magister in Labor-Organizational or Work Psychology). The remaining 25 are programs of Personnel Management (Human Resources Management, Human Capital Management, Coaching) or Organizational Behavior or Development. In the case of the Doctorate Programs in Psychology, of the eight existing programs, only three incorporate WOP topics among their lines of research: "Psychology and social transformations in the work and organizational field" (Catholic University of Valparaiso), "Psychosocial implications of work transformations" (Diego Portales University), and "Institutions, organizations and daily life" (University of Chile).

## *Colombia*

Training in Work and Organizational Psychology is debated between the technical-instrumental and the challenges of the current realities of the world of work. Its institutionalization and teaching have accompanied developments on demand, rather than on its own initiative. Work is done with discipline and instrumental resources from the United States and Europe, with particular adaptations not only in the professional implementation but in research and publications explicitly maintaining the dual status of psychology as a science and as a profession.

Although the undergraduate training in Colombia is generalist and nonspecialized, WOP is part of the curriculum of most programs (Gómez, 2016; Enciso & Perilla, 2004; Ardila, 1999, 2013; Puche, 1999) since it is recognized as one of the four "emphases" of training along with Clinical, Educational, and Social Psychology, recently supplemented with Neuropsychology and Legal Psychology. WOP subjects have in some programs the quality of a general elective, and in others they become an "emphasis" of study of two or three levels in the so-called professionalization cycles, generally culminating in a supervised professional practice or internship of 6 months up to 1 year. Some universities maintain the option of a graduation research effort; the ones who opt for these lines also complete a research essay or degree work popularly known as the "thesis."

Since the beginning of the 1980s, it is possible to identify the training offer of three sequential levels of "professional electives" in Organizational Psychology and "help relationships" such as Applied Social Psychology to organizations (Enríquez, in press). This model continued for almost three decades being a reference and giving way to a specialized approach to the field of WOP. An attempt for a specialized

training at the undergraduate level was presented with the initial program of the Pilot University of Colombia, which obtained an accreditation from the Ministry of National Education (MEN) in 1996 as "Business Psychology" (SNIES, 2016), which had to be adjusted to the generalist psychology training in undergraduate programs countrywide.

The topics and approaches included in general training are very close and are subsidiaries of human resources applications such as selection, training, performance, motivation, and more recently normative issues. Therefore, the application field of Occupational Health Psychology has been gaining strength in the last two decades, as well as the field of Work Psychology (Pulido-Martínez, 1999, 2013) or Social Psychology of Work due to the current realities derived from the forms and modalities of the contractual or organizational order and of work relationships, giving rise to an increasingly broader training as WOP (Rentería, 2001, 2009).

The resource of *supervised practices* or internships is probably the most visible part of WOP training in undergraduate programs in Colombia, giving rise to an important social recognition, becoming in turn a path for the incorporation into the working world of many newly formed psychologists. ASCOFAPSI has promoted the creation of a national network of supervised practices that has been consolidating for a decade, having WOP among its reference objectives (Botero & Mejía, 2009; Huertas & Burbano, 2009), both in its discussion of undergraduate training application, as well as in research and dissemination.

Colombia recognizes and regulates postgraduate training at three levels, which are specializations, *lato* sensu training, and masters and doctorates—*stricto* sensu training (Ministerio de Educación Nacional—MEN, 2006)—all of which must have a "qualified certification" to function, and they can opt for "high-quality accreditation" in the case of master's, doctoral, and undergraduate courses awarded by the National Accreditation Council CNA (2016).

The offer of postgraduate training in WOP begins in Andes University in Bogotá with the program of "Specialization in Human Resources Management" in 1984 (Giraldo & Rodríguez, 2000), which clearly represents the association of the discipline area with this historical application field. At present it is possible to identify more than 40 specializations offered as variations of Work and Organizational Psychology, Management, or Human Talent, including Occupational Health Psychology (SNIES, 2016), most of which last between 1 year and 1 year and a half, aimed at professionals from various fields and offered by HEIs.

The formation offer at the master's level in Colombia has taken place broadly since the 1990s (Gómez, 2016; Peña-Correal, 2007; Puche, 1999), it being possible to identify in MEN records more than 60 programs of this level offered directly by psychology schools (or social sciences schools in which psychology is established as a department or a program). More than 20 of these programs include training in WOP or in human resources (SNIES, 2016).

About 20% of the institutional offer, and the most sought-after programs for qualification at the level of specialization and masters, are those related to the field of WOP (Gómez, 2016). In the Colombian case, the Ministry of Education (MEN) differentiates Research Masters from Masters of Specialization or Professionalization,

the basic difference being the type of research work or concentration in this aspect that it must have. This situation on the supply and demand of specialized training is increased if we add to this the feature of "Diplomados" or refresher courses which, although they do not have the status of specializations, as they are non-formal education (*El Tiempo*, 2016; MEN, 2007), are offered and studied as qualification options for professionals already graduated.

In the case of doctoral training, Colombia's history here is much more recent than that of other Latin American countries such as Brazil or Mexico. The first doctorate offered in Colombia is that of the University of Valle in Cali, which began activities in 2005, followed by other programs at Norte University in Barranquilla, Andes University in Bogotá, San Buenaventura University in Medellin, National University of Colombia in Bogotá, Konrad Lorenz University Foundation, and Catholic University of Colombia also in Bogotá (SNIES, 2016).

This level of training presents a development stratagem completely different from what was the history of the offer of undergraduate and postgraduate training, since it did not develop in the Capital District, where the beginning of psychology at the institution level in Colombia is located (see Ardila, 2013). Currently between 2014 and 2016, seven new programs at the undergraduate level have been approved (SNIES, 2016), the offer of which in some cases explicitly includes training options in WOP.

The offer of doctoral training is necessarily linked to the development of research groups and research centers, and to the increase of the intellectual production of the same in each university, which clearly shapes offers differentiated by interests and institutional histories, and particularities in training and origin of faculty and their networks at the national and international level.

In all of the training levels, the debate on the *academics/productive sector* "gap" is maintained as an issue that, although it is relevant to discuss pertinence in training, observing the incorporation of those trained in WOP in the country in varied contexts and types of organizations, it would be important to recognize that as an action field, the various segments of job markets "absorb" or incorporate these professionals, without it becoming a referent to leave aside the reflexivity and social and historical role of WOP in Colombia as can be seen in some discussions about the field (Orejuela, 2014; Delgado & Vanegas, 2013; Aguilar & Rentería, 2009). The above shows that while a series of traditional practices are maintained, reflections and training have also been incorporated that accompany the coexistence of realities in the world of labor relations and organizations.

## *Cuba*

The teaching of psychology is relatively recent in terms of the political changes in the country since the 1960s. At the postgraduate level, specializations, masters, and doctorates are differentiated that give rise to the practice of specific domains (Pérez, 1999). The ideas related to the field of WOP are interpreted departing from the

evolution of administrative or organizational theories (Medina & Ávila, 2002), and within them some conceptual models contributed by psychology, without corresponding original or significant developments.

## *Ecuador*

Ecuador's higher education system is undergoing a major process of transformation and reorganization within the framework of the Organic Law of Higher Education (LOES) of 2010, which began with the implementation of the accreditation of universities and HEIs in 2009, first by the National Evaluation and Accreditation Council (CONEA) and after 2011 by the Council for Evaluation, Accreditation and Quality Assurance of Higher Education (CEAACES). In this context, undergraduate programs in psychology are currently offered in 24 universities, 11 in public institutions and 13 in private ones. A significant proportion of the 24 have undergone evaluation. In relation to postgraduate training, according to Balarezo and Velástegui (2014) of 13 master's programs in psychology offered in Ecuador, 4 of them are WOP specialties, 3 focus on Personnel Management, and 1 is oriented to Industrial Safety and Occupational Health.

An updated review obtainable at the Secretariat of Higher Education, Science, Technology and Innovation (2016) indicates that the offer is greater since six universities register Masters in Human Talent Management. Within the framework of the reorganization of higher education in Ecuador, there has recently been differentiation between the Research Masters and the Professional Masters, as in other countries of Latin America. In the case of psychology, all masters offered fall in the professional type. The same Secretariat of Education reports the existence of 17 doctorates, none of them in psychology.

## *Guatemala*

In general, it follows the model of 5-year undergraduate programs that include supervised practice or internship and degree-oriented or research-oriented work leading to a Bachelor's Degree in Psychology. At the end of the 1970s, the degree in Industrial Psychology and a Human Resources Technician program started at the Francisco Marroquin University. At the beginning of the 1980s, the Master's Degree in Industrial Psychology and the Master's Degree in Human Resources Management were offered. According to Aguilar (1999), programs in the country are not always offered on a regular basis, which means that the offer is suspended definitively, or for a period of time, as is the case of the Bachelor's Degree in Industrial Psychology.

## *Paraguay*

The undergraduate training in general lasts 5 years, maintaining the generalist character, although some universities of this country grant degrees with the designation of a specialty. The University of the Southern Cone of the Americas and the National University of Itapua award Bachelor's Degrees in Business Psychology and Work Psychology. At present 9 universities offer undergraduate training in psychology (Universia, 2016), and several of them teach the curricula in different branches and modalities, which makes a greater quantity of programs, surpassing more than 40 altogether, according to García (2014).

Comparing this data with that reported by Britos (1999), it is demonstrated that Paraguay has also experienced an increase in the quantity of psychology programs and the consequent growth in the number of students, an occurrence that has been common throughout Latin America. The higher education regulation in Paraguay recognizes the existence of three types of postgraduate studies: specialization programs, masters, and doctorates. There are nine master's programs in psychology, two of them in Occupational Psychology from the National University of Asuncion and the National University of the East. The Catholic University of Asuncion offers a specialization program in the area. Parallel to this discipline offer itself, other private institutions bestow a Master's Degree in Human Resources Management, such as the American University or the Higher Education School of Business Administration, both in Asuncion.

## *Uruguay*

At the moment the university psychology training is at an undergraduate level in the University of the Republic (UDELAR) and in the Catholic University of Uruguay (UCU). The two training programs include the WOP area in both theoretical and practical courses. Apart from the differences in orientation and contents of the training that these two programs could have because they are institutions of a different character, one public and the other private, the difference between them in terms of the size of their student body is obvious. The large number of students that UDELAR receives annually, which constitutes a methodological challenge for teaching, is explained by its status as a public and free university, which imposes no other restriction on those interested than to have passed its secondary education (Cabezas & Georgi, 2001).

In relation to postgraduate education, Uruguay's tertiary education system recognizes the existence of bachelor's degrees, specialization programs, professional and academic masters, and doctorates. UDELAR in its Faculty of Psychology offers four specializations, four masters (none in WOP), and a generic doctorate in the discipline. On the part of UCU, it offers four masters in its Faculty of Psychology, none in WOP, but does offer a postgraduate specialization in Work and Organizational

Psychology. In addition to the offer of these two universities that do have faculties of psychology, other universities, non-university institutes, and other institutions teach various postgraduate specialization programs in the area, such as Human Resources Management, Organizational Studies, and WOP.

### *Venezuela*

The undergraduate programs have a length of 5 years, the first three corresponding to the so-called basic cycle, and the last two to the pre-specialization or applied cycle, known in countries like Colombia as professionalization. Industrial Psychology is one of the concentration fields identified by Rodríguez and Sánchez (1999). Postgraduate training begins in Venezuela in the 1960s at the master's level with a length of 2 years, and later at the end of the 1980s, training begins at the doctoral level. These programs are intermittent in that several of the proposed courses were not maintained for a long time (Rodríguez & Sánchez, 1999).

The professional field of WOP in Venezuela has been associated in an extensive way with the "study of organizations" (Dávila, 1997) as a broad expression with equivalent and indistinct airs of administrative theories, management sciences, performing arts, organizational sociology, and even industrial psychology. Dávila points out what could be considered as the broad field of so-called Organizational Behavior as the axis of WOP in Venezuela. The author mentions a deeper concern than the diversity of categories is that there is no systematic debate or discussion in the country about epistemological or methodological grounds or lines of what would constitute this inter-field.

## Production and Dissemination of WOP Knowledge in Latin America

### *Argentina*

Scientific production in Argentina has been backed since 1958 by the National Council for Scientific and Technical Research (CONICET), a state agency that promotes and finances researchers, projects, and research centers in different areas of knowledge, including the social and behavioral sciences. There is scientific production characterized by its emphasis on work and approaches linked to the critical paradigm and to the axis of subjectivity, which is developed by academic teams of different universities of the country. This is the case of the team of academics and researchers of the National University of Córdoba who teach in the WOP specialization program and who have been developing the International Symposium "Work, Activity and Subjectivity" (TAS) biannually since 2012.

A similar line of work is promoted at the Faculty of Psychology of the National University of Rosario, whose productivity is mainly disseminated in the *Social Notebooks* (*Cuadernos Sociales)* journal, which has been published since 1999. Another team is the Health and Work Program of the National University of Lanus. On the part of the Faculty of Psychology of the University of Buenos Aires, the WOP area is concerned with a line of work closer to the behavioral axis, and its production can be seen in the articles that the research team publishes in the Research Annual (*Anuario de Investigaciones*) journal—on the SciELO network. Since 2011 this same Faculty of Psychology of the University of Buenos Aires has also published in the *ARISTEO* journal in interface with *APSILA*.

An axis of development is the Center for Studies and Labor Research (CEIL), which, although originally housed in the Faculty of Economic Sciences of the National University of La Plata, since 1971 has developed multidiscipline work. CEIL has supported the training of researchers from a variety of discipline backgrounds, contributing in a substantial way to the development of Work Psychology in Argentina, in particular for its lines of research in conditions and working climate, ergonomics, and recently psychosocial risks at work.

## *Brazil*

The evolution of the field of knowledge in WOP was accompanied by the analysis of the reports of two working groups (WGs) of the National Association of Research and Graduate Studies in Psychology (ANPEPP), whose members belong to postgraduate programs (masters and doctorates) and who meet every 2 years at a national symposium. These WGs have brought together researchers from these programs since 1989 (http://site.anpepp.org.br/index.php/grupos-de-trabalho).

At the end of the 1980s, there were no scientific events, and few researchers participated in psychology or administration congresses, the cause being low interlocution among them. Books were translations of imported manuals, and articles in scientific journals were scarce. The research was dispersed in programs of administration, education, and social sciences. The context of the predominant professional activity was no longer the industrial one and was surpassed by the service sector.

In the following decade, professors-researchers in the ANPEPP WGs formulated a strategic agenda for Brazilian WOP, which included the organization of a first handbook for reflecting scattered research, the use of introductory classroom opportunities to recruit students, and the insertion in those classes of WOP research. It was then when the most intensive use of the scientific initiation scholarships of the Brazilian government was defined, so that undergraduate students could develop research in WOP, and the elaboration of local cases for use in the classroom. It went on to support the creation of psychology "junior firms," a movement that came from France and was expanding in the undergraduate programs in general.

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, a government agency made a comprehensive diagnosis of the graduate courses and identified WOP as one of the gaps

to be overcome. In the ANPEPP, the WOP-oriented WGs grew from two or three in 2004 to five or six in 2006. This was a sign of the expansion of WOP research lines, since such WGs can only be set up by professors linked to different postgraduate programs. There were few university lecturers, mostly concentrated in a single HEI (the University of Brasilia). These WGs prioritized in their strategic agendas the systematization of the discussion on methodological challenges and took up again the idea of a Brazilian handbook for undergraduate programs. They promoted the creation of the Brazilian Organization of Work and Organizational Psychology and of the scientific journal entitled Psychology of Organizations and Work (*Psicologia Organizações e Trabalho—rPOT*).

At the same time, other journals were created such as *Social Psychology of Work Notebooks* (*Cadernos de Psicologia Social do Trabalho*), of the University of Sao Paulo, and the *Brazilian Professional Orientation Journal* (*Revista Brasileira de Orientação Profissional*), linked to another association. At the beginning of 2000, the Brazilian Congresses of Work and Organizational Psychology (CBPOTs) began to take place biennially with approximately 1000 participants in each version.

In the following decade, the WGs in the ANPEPP with emphasis in WOP stayed the same number, but with an increase in the size from 10 to 30 research professors in each group. In addition to these educators, researchers from other countries and several Brazilian doctoral students participated. The strategic agendas included analyses of the impact of the handbooks developed in the undergraduate programs, but the intervention was not yet systematized under the watchful eye of Brazilian scientific WOP.

In this decade of the twenty-first century, the systematization of the discussion on methodological challenges and the possible creation of a second scientific journal with a focus on WOP were proposed. The first one, created in the previous decade, had already increased publication from two yearly issues to four annually. The organization or reediting of theoretical handbooks was planned, along with specific dictionaries and handbooks directed toward intervention, and there were also compilations of professional diagnostic tools arising from research carried out in postgraduate programs by master and doctoral students and their advisors.

In less than 30 years, the ANPPEP WGs oriented to WOP expanded and were strengthened and transformed into important opportunities for the formation of strategies. These had a direct impact on the production and dissemination of knowledge and technologies, and indirectly on undergraduate and postgraduate education and on professional activity in Brazil. These WGs were studied as networks that exchange contents in dissertation and thesis defenses, scientific meetings, joint publications, student exchanges, discipline exchanges, technical visits, and extension activities (Neiva & Corradi, 2010). On average, each researcher proposed five other researchers, who together formed a large network, which compared to networks in other subareas of psychology in Brazil has a higher percentage of foreigners with intragroup connectivity, but distanced from each other, of which one-third receives scientific production grants from government science and technology agencies to finance their research projects.

Especially due to the expansion of *stricto* sensu postgraduate programs in Brazil, and for the pressure for publications derived from the governmental evaluation of these programs, there was a great rush of publications at the turn of the twenty-first century. This acceleration also occurred in WOP, originating in the psychology and administration postgraduate programs and resulted in a profusion of articles published mainly in some dozens of national administration and psychology scientific journals, more in the former ones than in the latter. There are some scientific journals specifically oriented to WOP; a new one created in 2016: Work Journal (*Revista Trabalho*). One of them (rPOT) has already reached a good position among the best qualified in psychology. There is evidence that scientific papers on WOP tripled from 1999 to 2002, and there was a greater increase in Brazilian journals in the following years, and the trend continues to be one of growth (Borges-Andrade & Pagotto, 2010), yet WOP Brazilian publication in journals outside Brazil has been scarce.

One result of this production was the systematic review of scientific articles published in these journals done by Gondim, Borges-Andrade, and Bastos (in press). These authors argue that the subfields of "work," "organizations," and "management," which characterized the professional activity, relaxed their differentiating borders in those reviews. However, they recognize that there are tensions, or a certain distance.

The authors identify three production niches: the criticism of contemporary working conditions (quality of life and work clinic and psychosocial approaches); the empirical production on human behavioral themes in organizations such as organizational behavior, teams, and work and organizational culture groups; and the niche focused on the production of evaluation technologies and the management of training and performance. A distance arose between the first niche and the other two niches. In the last two cases, research by psychologists tends to use correlational designs and to emphasize the construction of measurements. In the third niche, research coming from management tends to have a more descriptive character, using qualitative designs, whereas those that come from psychology have a quantitative and inferential character but with a concentrated focus on training, development, and corporate education. There is little research on recruitment and selection. In the three niches, there is little use of longitudinal research designs. There were some new design features, such as multilevel studies, but still in small numbers.

The growth of review studies of published scientific articles caught the attention of Gondim et al. (in press), who considered that it reveals the concern to understand that context, to make a theoretical-methodological diagnosis and to critically analyze the production of knowledge and technologies (mainly evaluation instruments). However, they give notice that it is necessary to have reviews that go beyond the fields of psychology and administration, including, for example, publications in Health Sciences, Education, and Social Sciences that also disseminate knowledge in WOP. It is also necessary to look for what was published by Brazilians in journals outside the country, as there is recent governmental pressure for this to happen. They alert us that there are a large number of books, masters' dissertations, and

doctoral theses, sometimes difficult to access, which also publish annals of research not identified in those review studies.

These authors argue that, on the other hand, this rather intense production of unidentified books served to create a collection of written materials that systematized the knowledge produced in Brazil and that reoriented an earlier tendency of undergraduate training in WOP, which until the end of the twentieth century was based on books produced abroad and translated rather late into Portuguese. There are currently a variety of national books that offer up-to-date and focused information on Brazilian contexts about WOP professional intervention concepts, instruments, and procedures, researched in Brazil.

## *Colombia*

Research in WOP in Colombia is a new issue as a professional recognition and, in particular, having as reference two important national events: the first, the creation of a system for the recognition and measurement of research groups and researchers by COLCIENCIAS (the organization responsible for regulation and guidelines for science and technology at the national level) and, the second, the creation of the network of psychology researchers in Colombia by the Colombian Association of Faculties of Psychology (ASCOFAPSI). At present, 25 research groups around the country that have WOP as a priority thematic focus, or as one of their research lines, are currently registered in COLCIENCIAS (Gómez, 2016; Enríquez & Castañeda, 2006; Enciso & Perilla, 2004). However, significant weakness of the national science and technology system are the real resources available, which means that most of the research in the country is carried out with the HEI's own resources, generating unequal development among them due to their particular contractual economic conditions as stipulated with professors and researchers.

From the beginning of the 1980s, the concern for the consolidation of groups and research centers allowed a process of encouragement of intra- and inter-institutional research, and the dissemination of the derived intellectual production that went from being of only an individual type to a more collective one. The first publication from WOP is the Inter-American Journal of Occupational Psychology (*Revista Interamericana de Psicología Ocupacional*), created by Fernando Toro Álvarez, from CINCEL in Medellin, at the beginning of the 1980s, and it is still in circulation today (Gómez, 2016; Puche, 1999).

Both the research and the dissemination were discernable by their association with the human resources application field. In the last two decades, this has been changing. The consolidation of the node of researchers in WOP linked to ASCOFAPSI has facilitated the development of biannual meetings (Gómez, 2016; Enríquez & Castañeda, 2006; Enciso & Perilla, 2004; Puche, 1999) as well as collaborative research and joint publications that are beginning to become reference texts for WOP academic and professional communities.

As a result of this, the book project *Psychology of Work and Organizations Reflections and Research Experiences* (Psicología del trabajo y de las organizaciones. Reflexiones y experiencias de investigación) compiled by Aguilar and Renteria was consolidated in 2009, in which more than 35 authors participated, representing at the time a good part of the WOP academic community of the country. From then on, other important publishing efforts can be identified such as the one of Orejuela (2014) in which a national and international invitation was made, and that of Delgado and Vanegas (2013) which compiles works of a first generation formed jointly in the country as part of these institutional and guild efforts. Since most specialized journals are part of HEIs, WOP publications are historically available in issues or generic volumes as well as in some thematic or specialized indexed journals at a national level, but also with projection and international recognition, those of psychology being the ones that present, as a discipline, a more solid projection and consolidation according to international rankings, and although they are generic, they publish WOP articles and sometimes monographic issues. As in other Latin American countries, there is no systematic record of WOP psychologists outside the country, since this has become an increasingly more common practice.

The pillars of research dissemination revolve around wide thematic areas related to the quality of life on the job, people-work relationships, learning and organizational change, health, and work, mainly. The conceptual models to address these dimensions are represented in a pluralistic way in studies such as those mentioned above as well as that of Pulido-Martínez (2013), which in turn is a way to illustrate the vision of international projection being carried out at a national level. This is reinforced in work such as that of the Ibero-American Network of Work and Organizational Psychology (Red Iberoamericana de Psicología de las Organizaciones y del Trabajo RIPOT), as an Ibero-American WOP project.

## *Cuba*

By political decisions about science, there is a clear guideline in this country in search of solutions for problems of development in which the psychosocial aspects of health and health service provision support and delivery systems are a priority in the different psychology application fields (Pérez, 1999).

## *Chile*

The production and diffusion of psychological knowledge in the country have recently been analyzed by Urzua, Vera-Villarroel, Zuñiga, and Salas (2015), who report a significant increase between 2005 and 2015 of publications by national authors in psychology journals included in the Web of Science (WoS) database. This growth is directly related to the increase in the critical mass of psychologists

with doctoral training that is registered in the country, both for the development of national postgraduate studies and for the growing number of people studying doctorates abroad, processes for which a relevant contribution has been the lines of scholarships financed by the National Commission for Scientific and Technological Research (CONICYT).

As for the panorama of psychology journals published in the country, their number is small, and some of them have had difficulty maintaining their regularity, such as the *Chilean Journal of Psychology* (*Revista Chilena de Psicología)* published by the College of Psychologists between 1978 and 2004. Among the journals that are currently sound are *Psykhe* (Catholic University) and *Psychoperspectives* (*Psicoperspectivas*) (Valparaiso Catholic University), included in the SciELO indexing, and *Psychological Therapy* (*Terapia Psicológica,* Chilean Society of Clinical Psychology), the latter with ISI-WoS indexing. Apart from these, the Chilean Association of Psychological Journals includes six other publications indexed in Dialnet and PePSIC (Salas, 2014b).

It is difficult to get a good idea about the production of WOP knowledge in Chile. On the one hand, the professional activity generates studies of a diverse nature that by their private character cannot be published. Some of this output could be brought out, since a significant number of the consultants responsible for those studies are also academics; however, this type of material is scarce and is not often available.

As far as production of a scientific and academic nature is concerned, the picture is not very different from the ones reported by Rodríguez and Villegas (2007) regarding the low number of scientific publications in the area. An analysis of research projects funded by the National Fund for Scientific and Technological Development (FONDECYT) between 1982 and 2012 shows that of 124 researchers in the "psychology" category, 10 of them (8%) developed WOP projects. Similarly, of the 68 projects that FONDECYT approved in its regular competitions in the area of "psychology" in 2015 and 2016, only 1 belongs to the WOP field (FONDECYT, 2016).

There are no periodicals of the specialty, and recently the first WOP journal that circulated in Chile between 2008 and 2011, the *Journal of Human Organizational Psychology* (*Revista de Psicología Organizacional Humana*, from the Adolfo Ibáñez University), was discontinued. Of the broad-spectrum discipline journals already cited, two have published monographic issues devoted to WOP. In 2002 the *Psykhe* journal published a special issue of "Work Psychology" and in 2012 dedicated its issue number 2 to the "Construction of Work Identities in Latin America." For its part, the journal *Psicoperspectivas* has published two issues dedicated to the area, "Contributions of the Social Sciences to New Management" in 2010 and in 2014 "Management and Companies: New Challenges." Other non-psychology-discipline national journals that have hosted publications in the WOP area are *Science and Work* (*Ciencia y Trabajo)*, *Universum*, and *Polis,* all in the SciELO index.

It is also necessary to note that a significant number of WOP scholars and researchers work in the disciplines of the administrative sciences and economics (in the departments of business, economics and commerce, and administrative sci-

ences), and therefore, their publications are found in the journals of these specialties. Chilean researchers also publish outside the country; however, systematized information is not available to estimate the number and orientation of WOP articles in these publications (Urzua, Vera-Villarroel, Zuñiga, & Salas, 2015).

Another opportunity to show the scientific productivity of the area has been set up by the congresses of the specialty. To date, there have been three national congresses of Work and Organizational Psychology, organized in 2012, 2014, and 2016 by the current Chilean Society of Work and Organizational Psychology (Sociedad Chilena de Psicología del Trabajo y las Organizaciones SCHIPTO). The IV Ibero-American Congress of Work and Organizational Psychology took place in Santiago, in 2015, organized by RIPOT.

Parallel to these massive academic events, which had the broad participation of national professionals and researchers, some academic centers or programs develop regular activities of exposition and exchange of research results that constitute opportunities to strengthen collaborative networks, such as the Applied Social Psychology Workshops from the University of Talca and the annual seminars of the Psychosocial Work Studies Program (PEPET) of Diego Portales University.

In relation to the analysis of the type of scientific production that this area registers in Chile, it is useful to observe the description of Gondim, Borges-Andrade, and Bastos (in press) for the case of Brazil, where they recognize the existence of three production niches, already mentioned in this same chapter. One of these areas, aimed at evaluating the conditions of work and employment and their implications on the quality of life and subjectivity of workers, is very productive, it being associated with the existence of the research lines established in postgraduate programs (Universities of Valparaiso, Diego Portales, and Alberto Hurtado).

Accompanying this socio-critical perspective is a recent increase in the research on occupational psychosocial risks, a process that is associated with the generation of a new public policy that installs a psychosocial risk surveillance system, which is mandatory for companies in this country. Among other study lines that are being developed in the national environment, it is relevant to mention the Positive Organizational Psychology research at Adolfo Ibañez University and, in a field linked to WOP, research in Economic Psychology at the University of Chile and the University of La Frontera.

## *Ecuador*

The existing reports on the production and circulation of psychology knowledge in Ecuador coincide in confirming its weak development, both in terms of the discipline in general and WOP in particular. Ecuador does not have a research tradition, and most of the students interested in WOP turn to professional application in the area and not to the academic career (Moreno, 2000). There are no publications of the discipline, and no academic lines can be identified that develop research, which

is due to the fact that in the country, there are no doctoral programs in the discipline and the existing masters all have a professional orientation.

### *Guatemala*

Research is developed principally around the universities and in particular seems to limit itself to the theses or research projects or the conclusion of the psychology programs. The publication of the results is scarce due to the lack of specialized journals (Aguilar, 1999), and there are no known reports of writings outside the country.

### *Paraguay*

In a scenario where professional practice clearly predominates, the production of knowledge and the scientific publications have been a weak point in Paraguay (Britos, 1999; García, 2012). There have been neither research centers nor postgraduate programs to stimulate the training of researchers, although an improvement of those conditions was anticipated in 1999 (Britos, 1999). Regarding WOP, in two studies of the publications of Paraguayan authors in scientific psychology journals, in 2006 and 2012, there were no publications in the area (García, 2006, 2012).

### *Peru*

Research in WOP is almost nonexistent in Peru, according to Flórez and Salas (2011), which is attributed to the dedication to teaching by many WOP psychologists, a task whose workload does not allow them to spend time on research. Low research is attributed to gaps in the research tradition and to the lack of resources to carry it out (León, 2013), even though a series of relevant and contributing research efforts are reported for the development of a WOP per se, in topics such as burnout, climate, and organizational culture.

Another factor that undoubtedly affects the level of research is the low number of postgraduate specialists (masters and doctorates) in WOP. Recently however, there has been an increase in the number of universities that offer specialization at the master's level in the area, reaching seven, including programs in organizational climate (OC) or in Human Resources Management (HRM). Of the current psychology doctoral programs in the country, none of them incorporates WOP as a research line or specialization area.

In this scenario of low production in the fields of WOP, it is possible to identify that the emphasis of the research has been put on occupational health, mental health at work, and accident rates, although the topics of behavior such as organizational

climate, job satisfaction, and motivation have also been targets of study. The growing focus on occupational health is linked to a new state regulation decreed in 2011, which has opened new job opportunities for WOP psychologists (Arias, 2014). In Peru, 23 psychology journals are published (Arias, 2014), most of which are the responsibility of universities, with broad discipline themes, where several articles of the WOP type can be found and a number of monographic editions dedicated to the area, such as Vol. 8 of 2002 of the *Liberabit* journal, put out by the San Martin de Porres University.

### *Puerto Rico*

Research and dissemination of knowledge has been clearly associated in Puerto Rico to the development and consolidation of the Psychological Association of Puerto Rico, and in particular to its serial publications that make the propagation possible with a relatively local circulation. However, by tradition and since the beginning of the twentieth century, Puerto Rican authors have especially published in US journals because of their historical relationship. The themes and trends of publication are oriented to the current realities of the world of work and of the organizations (Fig. 7.1), the contextual validity of some explanations related to work in a stable employment, as well as other issues related to disability and conceptual models (García-Ramos, Baez-Lebron, Diaz-Juarbe, & Santiago-Estrada, 2014).

### *Dominican Republic*

Research in this country has been marked by its connection to the undergraduate and postgraduate end-of-program projects, culmination, research, or thesis work, mainly for the association with academic programs, and also characterized for external or different funding difficulties (Valeirón, 1999). This is somewhat reflected in a limited international projection production and in a generic way with some journals published in the country.

### *Uruguay*

Among the scientific journals of psychology in this country, there is not any specific publication about WOP. The *Psychological Sciences* (*Ciencias Psicológicas*) journal, included in SciELO, published by the Faculty of Psychology of the UCU since 2007, has collected articles of a broad spectrum (indexed as psychology and neuroscience), which include the WOP area. In addition, the Faculty of Psychology of UDELAR has published *Psychology, Knowledge and Society* (*Psicología, Conocimiento y Sociedad*) since 2010 and receives articles from all subareas of the

discipline. These two university academic units are the most relevant WOP production centers in the country.

The WOP discipline field in Uruguay, both in its academic and professional aspects, is strongly marked by the work of a group of educators, researchers, and professionals who formed in the late 1990s the "Area of Work Psychology and its Organizations" in the UDELAR Faculty of Psychology. The lines of work that this team develops are broad covering issues of Work and Organizational Psychology with a predominant focus on the axis of subjectivity and from post-positivist and critical paradigms. Its contribution to the area has not only been innovation in the forms and contents of undergraduate education but also the generation of spaces for the production and dissemination of knowledge, through the sustained implementation since 2000 of the workshops on Work and Organizational Psychology. These annual workshops bring together academics and professionals from this country and abroad and have become a benchmark in the world of WOP in the Southern Cone, also generating the publication of books as a by-product of each of these meetings.

Their impact, initially focused on the neighboring countries, has subsequently spread to all Latin America and Spain, as demonstrated by the fact that, based on the "Montevideo Declaration," issued at the 2008 meeting, the workshops were the starting point and inspiration for the creation of the Ibero-American Network of Work and Organizational Psychology (RIPOT, 2016). Thus, the consolidation of this network, which has already held five biannual congresses, Montevideo, in 2009, Florianopolis, in 2011, Rosario, in 2013, Santiago de Chile, in 2015, Cali, in 2017, and has become a relevant reference of WOP in Latin America with the participation of the Iberian Peninsula, is in part an important result of the impulse generated in the UDELAR Faculty of Psychology.

### *Venezuela*

Research in Venezuela has been clearly distinguished by a quantitative approach with a cognitive and behavioral orientation. This represents in some way the lines of research and publications, among which psychology and work barely appear (Rodríguez & Sánchez, 1999). There are a number of specific publications, which, as in most Latin American countries, belong to universities and sometimes to associations. These are divided between those of a thematic nature and those of a generic nature.

## Conclusions

The review of more than 110 published texts on WOP in Latin America made it possible to organize information in sections on history, professional activity, undergraduate and postgraduate training, and scientific production in 11 countries. In these it was not always possible to identify information for each of the four sections

because there are information gaps in many of them, as demonstrated in the last section. In the texts referred to, information on professional activity predominates.

This finding suggests that beyond organizing and telling the story, it is necessary to carry out more research on WOP issues and publish and review them in Latin America as a whole. Another priority should be the systematic observation, organization, and dissemination of up-to-date data on WOP application and its instruction in all the Latin American countries. In this way, the large discrepancies or unequal developments found among these countries could be reduced.

Based on the data that were obtained and summarized in the previous sections, we can conclude that psychology was already present in Latin America before the twentieth century in most of the countries mentioned above. Nonetheless, a more systematic formation of people began in the middle of the century, and, from the 1970s, there was a great increase in the availability of this training at the undergraduate level. Professional regulation occurred between the 1960s and 1980s, but not in all countries. In some of the nations, in addition to this, councils were created in charge of the regulation, orientation, and oversight of the professional practice, and guild organizations were set up in charge of the defense of the people who carried out that practice.

However, in most countries, associations oversaw professionals without the mandate of the state to regulate or monitor or defend. The presence of measurement was initially strong in the application of psychology in educational, clinical, and work contexts, but these measurements were frequently imported without much concern toward their adaptation to the sociocultural reality of the different countries of Latin America.

Postgraduate training has only been effectively institutionalized in some of the countries since the 1990s. Even so, it often has a specific focus on professional preparation, unfortunately without significantly improving knowledge production and dissemination. In a few countries, there are state and institutional policies that have come to control the performance and training of professionals and promote the creation and strengthening of research networks and scientific journals. In these cases, a virtuous circle was created that managed to improve the undergraduate and postgraduate teaching, the research and, consequently, the application of psychology in various professional fields, as well as the participation in national policies on psychology as a science and as a profession. It must be recognized that the existence of multiple institutions, although it may suggest inefficiency, creates tensions that are important to stimulate the emergence of different kinds of epistemological positions.

Since its inception WOP has been present as a field of action in some countries, but in others only appeared in the last decades of the twentieth century. In some countries, it reached almost 40% of psychology professionals, but in others it did not reach 10%. In such cases, the prevalence of Clinical Psychology may be an impediment to expansion. In most countries, the focus on industry was replaced by the focus on organizations and work, typical of the European context previously described here.

In this way, although the presence of American intellectual production in the Latin American WOP is strong, these two focuses became predominant in the professional designations of the programs and publications in almost all the countries of the region. The approach to the European model may have been—in addition to the training of some WOP psychologists at the postgraduate level—more a consequence of the changes that have occurred in the economies of the countries with the growth of the services sector, which, by intercontinental contact though, has always been intense. Most of the professionals are in this tertiary sector of the economy, followed by the secondary sector. There are few in the first sector.

In some countries, more than two focuses have emerged (organizations, work, and institutional and clinical work), especially in programs and publications, depending on quite different epistemological or ideological approaches. The activity may be centered in the public or private sectors, national or multinational. In other countries it may be focused on one of these sectors. It is never focused on the third sector. Work relationships can be with organizations, with tertiary companies or practice can occur in the form of autonomous consulting (Fig. 7.1). The use of measurements is still strong in this professional field, but it is accompanied in many countries by an expansion and diversification of activities: organizational behavior and development, culture and organizational climate diagnostics, work analysis and design, health and quality of life on the job, career and employment orientation, recruitment and selection, training and development, performance evaluation, work relationships, coaching, consumer behavior, and social and ecological responsibility.

In the vast majority of Latin American countries mentioned above, psychology training at the undergraduate level is generalist, but there are curricular spaces open for the focus on WOP. Such spaces can be in disciplines offered in courses and in internships or in professional practices supervised by professors of the programs. At the master's level, there may be some programs with this focus, but they are given in small numbers in almost all the countries. At the doctoral level, they are even less frequent, and these programs are more recent in the vast majority of countries where this level of training is offered. For these reasons, many professionals choose to take their postgraduate courses in administration, education, health, or social sciences and elaborate their dissertations or theses on issues of organizations or work.

Most of the masters and doctoral programs, with concentration areas or lines of research in WOP, are located in Brazil, followed by Colombia, and appear more strongly only in the twenty-first century. In both countries, there are many periodicals and journals, indexed in psychology and other areas, which regularly publish articles in WOP. There is a systematic production of books by postgraduate lecturers which serves as a base for the professional performance and student training at the undergraduate level. This is probably the result of state policies that implemented a system of postgraduate program evaluation that pressured faculty and students to publish.

On the other hand, this system does not exist in Chile despite the program accreditation system and the record of increased WOP publications; however, it exists in Argentina, but it did not lead to an increase of WOP-related publications in

that country. In the case of Peru, there are relatively many scientific journals in psychology, but WOP publication is small.

The development of scientific research in the field of WOP, and its consequent appearance in scientific journals and books, seems to have been the result of the combination of a set of factors in some Latin American countries:

- Institutionalization of psychology, through the establishment of laws and the creation of professional councils and scientific associations
- Existence and preservation of state (but not government) policies aimed at promoting research and postgraduate study in all areas of knowledge
- Establishment of national policies for the control and evaluation of undergraduate and postgraduate programs in all areas of knowledge
- A critical mass of professionals working in WOP some time ago
- A reasonable number of educators who have been teaching WOP extensively for some time (even working full time)

This research and its university base installed in the countries have similarities with European research and training (Roe, in press) and with American research and training (Porter & Schneider, 2014; Schein, 2015). Eventually some differences appear in the way their major categories emerge in the classification of production and in the education imparted (organizational, work, clinical work, institutional, industrial). These broad categories, which vary from country to country, may have two focuses in the arena of professional practice mentioned by Anderson et al. (2001): individuals and groups and organizations. However, even in Latin American countries where there is a flourishing of WOP research, it is difficult to find evidence that there is a characteristic of an autochthonous science, and that it has not lost its link with the global, as Feitosa et al. proposed (in press).

The major challenges for research, instruction, and professional activity are the various forms of work, types of employers, and forms of interaction in work contexts and relationships (Fig. 7.1), the large socioeconomic discrepancies, and the immense cultural variety derived from the Latin American mosaic built on the basis of Ibero-American peoples who colonized the region, in the civilizations that preceded them, and in cultures brought as slaves or migrants. Perhaps these challenges can be an opportunity, if the long-term goal is to build a WOP with these two characteristics.

In this respect, the main challenges imply the revision of the repertoires of understanding, explanation, and action that involve the realities of the various Latin American countries. Traditional WOP has centered its focus on work in the modality of employment, organizations, and relatively stable relationships. The reinstitutionalization tendencies clearly show the consolidation of other contracting modalities and relationships that occur not only in the formal economy, such as outsourcing, independent professional services, and associative work, among others (Fig. 7.1).

In Latin America a large proportion of people historically work in the informal economy, even in the illegal economy, affecting the world of work in a more global way. The broad concept of WOP is more relevant because it recognizes not only the

classical organizational relationships employed but also recognizes other forms and modalities of work that were consolidated in the twenty-first century and that should be the object of study and intervention.

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# Chapter 8
# Psychological, Sociological, and Cultural Social Psychology in Latin America


**Rolando Díaz-Loving and Cinthia Cruz del Castillo**

**Abstract** This chapter analyzes the role of psychological, anthropological, and social processes in human behavior. They point out the differences between psychological social psychology and sociological social psychology in the Latin American context. They review the basic and applied research that has been carried out in this subcontinent which studies problems related to Latin America and its culture.

## Panoramic View

Social psychology aims to understand and explain human behavior in a social context and is interested in how people and social forces in which an individual lives affect his or her thoughts, feelings, and behavior. Social psychology receives contributions from at least three distinctive disciplines, psychology, sociology, and anthropology, that share spaces but deal with different contents and emphasize different levels of analysis, methodologies, and theoretical perspectives. Psychological social psychology focuses on asking why a behavior arises, what is its function, and how does it work. On the other hand, sociological social psychology centers on describing where, how, and when does a behavior occur within a structural context. Sociocultural psychology, with anthropological roots, is interested in knowing the cultural ecosystem that gives context to human behavior. These three approaches provide interwoven distinctive and complementary looks and at the same phenomena (Díaz-Loving, 2005a, 2005b).

Behavior develops in the interplay of genetic character, ecological niche, sociocultural heritage, and individual differences. In social psychology, theoretical perspectives and research have centered on several basic perspectives. An analysis of

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the literature indicates the necessary account for processes related to the creation and establishment of a human-made environment within each sociocultural group, consistent of the subjective construction of beliefs, attitudes, norms, traditions, roles, and values and the concrete, objective creations, such as diets, forms of transportation and communication, etc. In addition, the idiosyncratic way in which humans process information, including the heuristics to sift through mountains of stimuli, such as generalization, integration, and discrimination must be considered. Finally, the study of the forms and sources of social influence through which subjective and objective information generates culture, transmitted and learned through the processes of socialization, enculturation, and acculturation, is needed. Given the differences in the behavior of people from different ecosystems, and of the phenomena studied by researchers who represent distinct niches, it seems essential to question how universal each observation, methodology, and theory is (Díaz-Loving, 1998).

The multivariate essence of the phenomena to study requires us to recall a frequent tenet of Venezuelan-born science historian Marcel Roche: "Science has no nationality, scientists do." Thus, in order to incorporate an eco-systemic perspective that includes the context where psychology evolves, at least six basic conditions are indispensable to understand the roads a scientific discipline is to walk in order to develop and compete in any region of the world: (1) the structural requirements such as adequate facilities, materials, and equipment; (2) a scientific community willing and able to generate, adopt, and adapt knowledge; (3) suitable periodical publication sources, supporting the dissemination of findings and theoretical proposals; (4) educational institutions to facilitate the systematic communication of research products in order to train new scientists and professionals; (5) applied professionals able to contribute to the solution of human problems through the application of research-based interventions; and (6) authorities, administrators, and politicians willing to aim decision-making toward long-term development and strengthening of disciplines (Sánchez-Sosa & Valderrama-Iturbe, 2001).

Given the complexity of human behavior, it is logical that different theoretical fields would offer differing explanations for social behavior. This is why to understand the development of a scientific discipline, we should also consider the characteristics, attributes, and attitudes of the peoples for whom and by whom it is created. Triandis (1990) has documented a difference between individualistic and collectivistic cultures. He maintains that there is a tendency for *individualists* to be independent, competitive, egocentric, and self-affirming and to explain behavior based on personal attitudes and attributes. It follows that subjects and researchers inclined toward individualism share a functionalist, empirical, pragmatic, and individual philosophy of life common to the research methods, themes, and interests of psychological social psychology. On the other hand, theorists and researchers of a sociological and cultural persuasion have offered two other distinct perspectives in social psychology. These positions have received less attention in individualistic societies but are predominant among researchers and philosophers who favor orientations that are congruent with a collectivist's intellectual framework that is compatible with the description that Triandis (1990) makes of *collectivist* societies. Groups are the basic social units, they are self-modifying cooperative and patient, and they

define themselves in terms of reference groups, with identity becoming a central issue, and the explanation given of behavior is based on social norms.

In an overview of the highlights of each orientation for Latin America, this chapter identifies the way in which each sub-branch of social psychology flourished and is closely tied to the psycho-sociocultural ecosystem in which its theoreticians and researchers developed. Evident from this process is the inclination of psychological researchers to stress functional aspects of behavior and utilize experimental methodologies; the sociological orientation stresses structural variables and is inclined toward observational and field descriptive studies; cultural investigation tends to pull from both the psychological and sociological perspectives and places major interest on the ecosystem in which behavior presents itself. Linked to individual researcher's interests and training and congruent with the sociocultural parameters and ecosystem in which Latin American social psychologists have developed, novel indigenous interpretations of each social psychology have emerged.

The countries composing the subcontinent called Latin America have very diverse levels of economic, scientific, and cultural development. Geographical location determines trade contacts, reciprocal influences on educational processes, and communication with other parts of the world. These facts influence the evolution of science and psychology. In general it could be said that those countries with proportionately higher economical development tend to be those with relatively higher psychological research and professional production. Among others, this would be the case of Argentina, Brazil, and México and, more recently, Colombia, Chile, and Puerto Rico (Sánchez-Sosa & Valderrama-Iturbe, 2001). From this holistic approach, several historical facts should be introduced. The period of war and political conflict that Europe suffered during the first half of the twentieth century had singular repercussions for the development of psychology in the Americas. Professionals that were trained in the growing field of experimental psychology in Europe immigrated to different countries on the American continent. Some of them settled in the north (the United States, Canada, and México), and others lived and worked in Latin America, in countries such as Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Chile, and Uruguay (Ardila, 1986; Carpintero, 1993; Díaz-Guerrero, 1994; León & Gueter, 1993; Sánchez-Sosa & Valderrama-Iturbe, 2001). For example, in the 1930s Fromm emigrated from Germany and spent many years in the United States and Mexico (see León & Gueter, 1993). In turn, Baldwin visited Mexico and Canada. The social and political implications of the Spanish Civil War resulted in several Spanish philosophers moving to the American continent, mainly to the Spanish-speaking countries, and having a profound impact on the development of social sciences and humanities in general.

Stemming from the dialectic process of the original theoretical proposals and the idiosyncratic cultural ecosystem of each region, as a general rule, throughout Latin America, independently of theoretical orientation, researchers manage to inject sociocultural roots into even the purest psychological research. Given this collectivist orientation, topics like family, affect, norms, cooperation, and interpersonal relationships have upstaged themes like achievement motivation, equity, attitudes, and cognitive dissonance that received more attention in individualistic cultures (Díaz-Guerrero, 1985). Additionally, collectivist researchers prefer holistic and structural

theories and qualitative methodologies, which account for the history and context of phenomena over functional theories and quantitative methodologies. Díaz-Guerrero (1972) clearly shows this perspective in his depiction of social psychology. In an extensive review of the social psychological literature, he incorporates the seminal sociological work of Weber, Durkheim, and Marx, with the more recent advances made by Merton or Parsons, which state that human behavior stems from the family structure, the role each human being plays at a particular moment in history, and their social status in the specific structure of the groups they belong to. Díaz-Guerrero goes on to include the classic cultural anthropological view of Tylor, Kroeber, and Kluckhohn in more recent years, who indicate that social behavior depends fundamentally on the values of the principal group to which they belong to. He then incorporates the psychological theories of Freud, Adler, Jung, Maslow, and Fromm, regarding the reliance of behavior on the fundamental needs of human beings. Given the extensive field covered by social behavior (sociology, cultural anthropology, history, and psychology), Díaz-Guerrero then proposes a systematic and eclectic theory of the historic-bio-psycho-sociocultural bases of human behavior.

As a rule throughout Latin America, theoretical discussions preceded the advancement of psychology from the beginnings of the twentieth century, for example, a doctoral program in psychology was created at the National University of Mexico in the early 1900s. However, the practical orientation in most countries favored the creation of professional programs. The first programs for the training of psychologists were initiated in Chile in 1946, Colombia in 1947, Argentina and Peru in 1955, and México and Venezuela in 1956 (Alarcón, 2004; Ardila, 1986; Gallegos, 2005, 2009; Klappenbach & Pavesi, 1994). As a consequence, social psychological research took a back seat and did not have important contributions until the 1950s.

Even when research became important, social psychologists emphasized the application of knowledge to the solution of social problems, moving from academy to the social context in which problems occurred. The focus of their work centered on disadvantaged groups, in order to promote changes in their adverse conditions. Their strategies include consciousness-raising, empowerment, and control over the environment. In this context, Montero (1984) defines community social psychology as "… the area of psychology whose objective is to study the psychosocial factors that allow people to develop, promote, and maintain the control and the power that they have over their social and individual environments, so that they can solve their problems and make the changes that they want to in those environments and their social structures" (p. 390).

Of the many experiences that professional social psychologists have had with communities, it is notable that the applied emphasis has had a negative effect on the theoretical development of this discipline. The activities of the community social psychologist are those of a committed facilitator and a serious thinker who collaborates with the groups. Knowledge and commitment to the community help its members organize and actively participate in solving their problems. The facilitator does this by making people become aware of their position in society, and then to question it, based on participatory action-research methodology. This clearly states an eco-cultural perspective that questions if the theoretical foundations that guide these experiences belong to any one paradigm (Wiesenfeld, 1998).

In summary, in Latin America, the three theoretical positions regarding social psychology have influenced the development of the discipline based on the characteristics of the culture in which the research is conducted and the academic training each individual researcher received. In other words, the cultural reality in which researchers are immersed impacts not only the subjects they study but also their own development and orientation; additionally, researchers trained in their own countries favor indigenous explanations, those trained in North America prefer psychological social psychology, and those who have studied in Europe, particularly in France, are inclined toward a sociological view of social psychology. In fact, programs are placed either in behavioral and natural science or social sciences and humanities surroundings, depending on the prevalent philosophy and training of its professors.

## Psychological Social Psychology in Latin America

Psychological social psychology studies the impact of the interaction between social settings and individuals on the perception and responses given by people to their everyday life. Even in an individualistic empirically based psychology, the collectivistic orientation of Latin American researchers has led them to incorporate situation and culture as integral parts of the equation. The methods used to conduct research include experimental and correlational studies, as well as the construction of psychometric measures of personality, values, attitudes, and behavior.

Latin American psychological social psychology has studied the following phenomena and processes: socialization, the development and consolidation of the self-concept and masculinity/femininity, personality traits, cognitive balance, impression formation, attribution, sexual behavior, jealousy, locus of control, anxiety, empathy, assertiveness, altruism, attitudes, self-disclosure, attraction, interpersonal relationships, love, passion, power, communication, coping styles, and behavior in general.

### *The Self*

The self is probably the most central theme in psychology. James, Freud, Cooley, Mead, Sullivan, Hilgard, Rogers, and Allport, all seminal thinkers in psychology, conceived of the self-concept as the central explicative function of behavior and of psychological processes. Searching for the psycho-sociocultural self of Mexicans, La Rosa and Díaz-Loving (1991) carried out a series of studies aimed at obtaining a culturally sensitive description of the self-concept. Brainstorming, free association sessions, and short-answer interviews were conducted with several groups of high school and university students, who agreed on five general self-concept categories: physical, social, emotional, moral, and occupational. In further sessions, they offered culturally appropriate attributes to describe each of the five dimensions. A final self-concept inventory was administered to over 3000 young adults and

adolescents in México City. The self-concept dimensions obtained for these samples concur with proposals and findings reported in ethnopsychological studies of the basic personality characteristics of the Mexican (Díaz-Guerrero & Díaz-Loving, 1992). The most significant finding was that the social and emotional aspects of the self were paramount, indicating that cultures with collectivist or sociocentric tendencies emphasize social and affective aspects of personality. In fact, in the context of a philosophy of life that prescribes self-modification (changing oneself to adapt to needs and wishes of others) and affiliative obedience (obeying parents and those in power in exchange for protection, love, and attention) as the ad hoc methods of coping with interpersonal relationships, Mexicans have developed the ability and need to get along with others in a smooth and no confrontational style (Díaz-Loving, Reyes-Lagunes, & Rivera Aragón, 2002).

The social attributes that describe the Mexican allow for considerate and constructive interpersonal relationships. It thus is socially desirable to be respectful, amiable, decent, friendly, pleasant, simple, polite, courteous, and considerate, which allows one to get along with anybody (Díaz-Loving, 2006). The second most prevalent aspect of the Mexican self is the emotional dimension. The culture gives great weight to being animated, happy, optimistic, glad, and joyful. In fact, positive mood states are related to success, while being sad is the principal determinant of psychopathology in Mexican society (Díaz-Guerrero, 1994).

In Peru, individuals see themselves as driven to fulfill social roles of providing for the well-being of the community through perseverance and hard work (Genna, 2010). The case of Chile is a hybrid situation. Given the small original autochthonous population of Mapuches, most of its population is European, showing individualistic tendencies within a larger collectivistic Latin American ecosystem. Thus, their selves include individualistic attributes, such as being loose, rebellious, and aggressive, while also expressing some allocentric attributes to guide their behavior, such as being loyal and group oriented (Fernandez, Páez, & González, 2005).

In terms of responding to problems and stress of everyday living in the search of social harmony, it is best to approach problems and interpersonal relationships with a calm and tranquil philosophy, reflecting and thinking things over, being reflexive, not getting easily upset, maintaining stability, trying to get along within others, and being generous and noble. These attributes fit well with a value system that bases its evaluation of subjective well-being on the positivity of human interactions (Díaz-Guerrero, 1977).

Derived from research on the self, the study of self-disclosure, defined as the act of revealing personal information to others, falls into the fields of communication and social relations, covered in mainstream psychological social psychology. The most consistent finding in self-disclosure experiments has been the reciprocity shown in the intimacy of self-disclosures. In order to study the self-disclosure reciprocity phenomena in a Latin American sociocultural context, Díaz-Loving and Nina-Estrella (1982) conducted a field experiment in México in which students approached people on the street and offered four possible disclosure levels: low, moderate, high, and very high intimacy. Half the subjects were given a reactance-liberation manipulation, and the other half read the student's self-description and

was asked to write their own. In México, regardless of freedom to speak or reactance conditions, subjects comply with the reciprocity norm, increasingly disclosing more intimate details as the student's communication became more intimate. An explanation for the cross-cultural difference in the disclosure patterns can be extracted from an attraction toward the student rating made by subjects. As intimacy grows, attraction should follow. This was true only of subjects in the freedom condition, while in the reactance condition, Mexican subjects were reciprocal in disclosure but disliked students who put them under the pressure of the intimacy norm. In short, it seemed reasonable that a socioculture that stresses strict obedience to norms and premises (Díaz-Guerrero, 1994) will closely follow the situational demands created by the reciprocity norm. However, this does not mean that reactance effects are not created; they are simply displaced to a less public demonstration of dislike expressed without the "knowledge" of the student.

In another derivation of research dwelling into the self, given that controlling their emotions and expressive behaviors is central in the Mexican culture, being able to measure self-monitoring would be highly appropriate. Following this line of thought, Sánchez-Aragón (2008b) developed a culturally sensitive scale that yields two factors. The first refers to the necessary social beliefs and aptitudes that allow the expression of self-monitoring, such as personal tendencies like being impulsive and being able to precisely pick up or not on the emotional signals of others, as well as beliefs attached to social approval (e.g., "I think more often in what others want than in what I wish"). In other words, the dimension taps into traits and cognitions needed to initiate a self-monitoring motivational state but does not refer to accuracy; the dimension informs about individual tendencies to face social situations and possible outcomes with a heightened need of approval (Kimble, Hirt, Díaz-Loving, Hosch, Lucker, & Zárate, 2002). On the other hand, the second dimension indicates an elevated concern for being suitable or polite in particular situations. People who score high on this dimension use social comparison.

## *Socialization and Gender*

Male and female differences can be segmented into biological, social, and psychological levels. At the biological level, there are aspects determined by genetics; at the social level, we find gender and roles; and from the psychological perspective, there is the development of traits and behaviors that are either masculine or feminine (Díaz-Loving, Rivera-Aragón, & Sánchez-Aragón, (2001). In response to sociocultural norms and expectations derived from the biological, social, and psychological differences between men and women, parents have been shown to treat their offspring differentially with regard to what they believe to be an adequate development for each sex.

To understand the way Argentinean mothers raise their children, Pascual, Schulthess, Galperin, and Bornstein (1995) compared actual and ideal behaviors of mothers and their perception of their husband's actual and ideal behavior toward

their offspring. Three dimensions were evaluated: social, didactic, and disciplinarian. Social upbringing referred to interpersonal relationships (parent-offspring) full of affect, sensibility, and reciprocity. For this factor the authors report mothers seeing themselves as more sensible and affectionate than fathers, although urban fathers are higher in this social dimension than rural fathers. The didactic factor focuses on directing children to the properties of objects and events, in an attempt to provide the child with the opportunity to observe, imitate, and learn. Here again, mothers are seen as more stimulating than fathers. Finally, for the disciplinary factor, which covers conformity to social norms and respect for authority, there were no differences in parents' behavior. It is interesting to note that in traditional gender-differentiated cultures, the mother is affectionate and stimulating, as expected for feminine gender roles, but she also has power when it comes to interaction with their offspring, as indicated by the disciplinary equity with father. This implies that power is also assigned to women in Latin American societies, but it is restricted to the roles of mother or other traditionally feminine activities.

To study the impact of parents' differential socialization practices on the development of their children's personality, Andrade-Palos (1987) worked with 11- and 12-year-old children in México. In general, congruent with traditional social and cultural gender expectations, parents give more emotional support and solve more problems for girls. For boys, they show more interest in their activities and encourage them more toward personal achievements. For both sexes, children develop an external, fatalistic locus of control when mothers are less affectionate and acceptant and more punitive. The same pattern occurs when the father is punitive and not affectionate, and it becomes extreme when both parents are punitive. For boys to develop an internal locus of control, they require high levels of emotional support, some instrumental help, and shared activities with mother, added to achievement encouragement by fathers, while girls develop an internal control with less help and emotional support. It seems that acceptance by both parents is sufficient for girls to develop this orientation in life. In a similar fashion, to analyze the interactive influence of parental styles in negotiation and conflict between parents and adolescents, Pérez-Ramos and Alvarado-Martínez (2015) looked at parental style influences on the way in which teenagers participate in negotiations, as well as in the intensity and frequency of the conflict perceived by parents. They report that when the parenting style of both parents is perceived as warm, teenagers use a collaboration-equity negotiation style, leading parents to also perceive a decrease in the intensity and frequency of conflict with their children.

Following up in the process of human development, it is clear that the effects of family structure and socialization practices extend from childhood far into adolescence. Sáez-Santiago and Rosselló (1997) report high depressive symptomatology in Puerto Rican teenagers when they perceive dysfunction in the family or a critical perspective from parents. It is worthwhile to place these long-lasting findings in the Latin American context, where young people stay very close to the family unit up until marriage and, even then, in many situations they move in with, or integrate into, the extended family. This social context makes the acquisition of individual autonomy and independence weaker, while it strengthens the effects of family on the specification of traditional gender roles and the development of collectively

inclined personality characteristics that persist well into adulthood. As can be seen, differential patterns of socialization for men and women are linked to gender roles, which in turn have a direct impact on the attributes men and women develop.

Masculinity and femininity have been conceptualized as those personality characteristics that ideally or typically are assigned to and identify men and women. See Ardila (1991). These two types of attributes can be present at the same time in men or women (androgyny) and can be either predominantly instrumental-agentic (masculinity), expressive-communal (femininity), or absent altogether (undifferentiated). Data from Mexican subjects show the existence of the same four basic masculinity and femininity dimensions, including both positive and negative factors, as are found in the United States (Díaz-Loving, Díaz- Guerrero, Helmreich, & Spence, 1981). Certain changes were necessary in order to incorporate and explain what was found in México. For example, the attributes "dominant" and "dictatorial," considered undesirable in the United States, appear as socially desirable instrumental traits in both sexes in México. These findings are consistent with data reported by Díaz-Guerrero (1977) showing that obedience to authority is more common in México than in the United States and that a passive confrontation coping style, adequate for hierarchically inclined societies, is more prevalent in Mexico, making authority more acceptable. In consequence, differential patterns of socialization for men and women are linked to gender roles, which in turn have a direct impact on the attributes men and women develop (Rocha & Díaz-Loving, 2011).

Data from Mexican subjects show the same four basic masculinity and femininity dimensions found in the United States (Díaz-Loving, et al., 1981). However, given that the psychological constructs may be universal but their manifestation idiosyncratic, Díaz-Loving, Rocha, and Rivera (2004) conducted focus groups to obtain the ideal and typical attributes across educational and ages groups in México. Eight hundred subjects then indicated how typical and how ideal these characteristics were, to ascertain gender stereotypes that were then used to develop a self-report personality inventory. More recently Díaz-Loving and Rocha-Sánchez (2008) explored the masculinity and femininity differences in Mexican elementary, middle school, high school, and college students using the Attributive Dimensions of Instrumentality and Expressivity Inventory (Díaz-Loving, et al., 2004). In general, higher scores are obtained for positive characteristics than negative ones both for instrumentality and expressivity as students have more years of education, indicating a move toward positive androgyny. Thus, data indicate a greater orientation to achievement and minor revolt toward adulthood with more education.

Evidence obtained by Holtzman, Díaz-Guerrero, and Swartz (1975) shows that the complacent self-modifying coping style and abnegation of Mexicans is a fundamental characteristic for the proper interaction of interdependent members of a social group, especially at the family level. The social and cultural orientation toward gender roles and the differential socialization and enculturation practices that accompany them have effects on varied phenomena related to sexuality. Based on the concepts of androgyny vs. sex-typed or undifferentiated, De Souza and Hutz (1995) found that Brazilian sex-typed men scored higher on hedonistic sexual orientation (erotophilia) than their female counterparts. This indicates that traditional gender role demands

can be particularly strong and inhibiting for sex-typed females. In other words, conservative gender-based Brazilian society promotes sexual freedom for males but not for females. However, androgynous females (masculinity plus femininity and more flexible social/gender roles) are far more comfortable with their sexuality and thus do not present erotophobic (fear of sexuality and its expression) tendencies.

Further research into sexual orientations and its impact on the well-being of males and females was conducted by Toro-Alfonso (2007), who studied values and homophobic behaviors, as well as violence in same-sex couples, and the prevalence of emotional, physical, and sexual aggression in men. Toro-Alfonso and Varas-Díaz (2004) also examined the levels of prejudice and social distance toward homosexuality and lesbianism among university students. The results of this study support the general existence of significant levels of prejudice against gays and lesbians in the student body. However, men appear to have greater difficulty to interact or accept homosexual people. Religious people showed higher levels of prejudice and social distance toward gay and lesbian people than the nonreligious groups, and the participants who personally knew gays or lesbians showed lower levels of prejudice and social distance than those who did not know someone with this sexual orientation (Toro-Alfonso, 2005).

As it has become evident, gender roles and socialization practices regarding sexual identity and behavior have a discernible impact on the development of masculinity and femininity personality characteristics in males and females. In addition, they create a sociocultural context that directs and evaluates men and women, their attitudes, and their interpersonal relationships. In a similar analysis of gender roles and their impact on behavior, several researchers in Chile have documented interfamily violence and sexual harassment in the workplace, even though Chilean women in general are not aware of unequal or harmful treatment (Nieto, 1995). This contradiction between behaviors toward women and their perception of subjective well-being has been interpreted to depend on a marked social ambivalence toward women (Eagly & Mladinic, 1993), making prejudice not uniformly negative. The ambivalence is expressed through two different dimensions of sexism: hostile sexism that reflects antipathy and intolerance and benevolent sexism that reflects stereotyped and restrictive attitudes of a subjectively positive tone. Benevolent sexism, in turn, stimulates behaviors typically defined as pro-social (e.g., women need help) or intimate (e.g., women are interested in intimate disclosures or closeness). This stereotype goes along the lines of male dominance and the need for protecting females and the family, prevalent in traditional collectivist cultures (Díaz-Guerrero, 1994).

In order to assess the existence and structure of ambivalent sexism among Chileans, and its relationship to social desirability, Mladinic, Saiz, Díaz, Ortega, and Oyarce (1998) interviewed university students from the south of Chile. Ambivalent sexism was divided into hostile sexism and benevolent sexism in Chile. Additionally, benevolent sexism breaks down into three dimensions: the first one protector paternalism, the belief that males should provide economic security, love, and protection and rescue helpless females from "catastrophes." The second is complementary differentiation, which presumes that females have positive characteristics such as expressivity and emotional solidarity only to complement male traits of

achievement orientation, independence, and competition. The third is heterosexual intimacy, which attests to the male needs for love and the companionship of women to feel complete. As hypothesized, antipathy and intolerance toward women are positively correlated with benevolent attitudes and not with social desirability, showing the existence and general acceptance of ambivalent sexism in both sexes. However, according to the intensity of each type of sexism, males tend to score high on both types simultaneously, while females incline toward embracing benevolent sexism and only mildly accepting hostile sexism.

Studying gender roles and sexuality, Rocha and Cruz-del-Castillo (2013) compiled research in México about female sexuality, questioning the way culture has censured women's eroticism and physicality sexual desire. They also address the process of empowerment, women joining the work force and increasing their formal education and its impact on love, couple relationships, and the dilemma of forced marriage or freedom of choice. Within this new dynamic, the heightened stress derived of changes in gender roles and the ambivalence of the coexistence of old and new forms have pushed women to transgress traditional roles increasing alcoholism and couple violence.

## *Social Cognition, Impression Formation, and Attitudes*

It is interesting that basic social cognition has not made deep inroads into Latin American social psychology, perhaps because these lines of research represent the ultimate in abstract, experimental, and individualistic positions. However, in an ambitious research project, Rodrigues (1981) set out to replicate classic social cognition experiments with Brazilian subjects, showing that the basic phenomena described in the original studies with US college students exist in Brazilian students, although the patterns of results were different with the more collectivistic cultural orientation. In a more mundane world, in a study of impression formation, the "real" (social perception) and ideal (interjected value) attributes subscribed by and ascribed to males and females were obtained by Rivera-Aragón, Díaz-Loving, and Flóres-Galaz (1986). Single females described an ideal couple as tall, handsome, financially well-off, understanding, sociable, tender, gentleman-like, intelligent, happy, responsible, and thin. Married females preferred handsome, tender, caring, responsible, clean, successful, well-bred, sociable, financially well-off, and tall men. The main difference is that single females stressed physical and socioemotional characteristics, while married women emphasize attributes that were functional for everyday married life. When asked to who they were actually engaged to, single women overwhelmingly said, "with someone different from what I would like," although they also mentioned tender, home-oriented, and economically solvent. On their behalf, married women indicated their husbands were handsome, intelligent, tall, gentleman-like, jealous, uninterested, and insecure. It is interesting to note the convoluted perceptions subjects create through sociocultural evolution of what they like and have, considering the straightforward predictions made by sexual evolutionary theory in which women are only seeking protection.

In a study by Castelain, Bernard, Van der Henst, and Mercier (2016), on the influence of power and reason on young Maya children's endorsement of testimony, it is found that two important parenting strategies are to impose one's power and to use reasoning. The effect of these strategies on children's evaluation of testimony has received very little attention. Using the epistemic vigilance framework, we predict that when the reasoning cue is strong enough, it should overcome the power cue. We test this prediction in a population for which anthropological data suggest that power is the prominent strategy, while reasoning is rarely relied on in the interactions with children. In Experiment 1, 4- to 6-year-old children from a traditional Maya population are shown to endorse the testimony supported by a strong argument over that supported by a weak argument. In Experiment 2, the same participants are shown to follow the testimony of a dominant over that of a subordinate. The participants are then shown to endorse the testimony of a subordinate who provides a strong argument over that of a dominant who provides either a weak argument (Experiment 3) or no argument (Experiment 4). Thus, when the power and reasoning cues conflict, reasoning completely trumps power.

In another study with a similar sample, Castelain, Girotto, Jamet, and Mercier (2016) report evidence for benefits of argumentation in a Mayan indigenous population was obtained. The general findings indicate that group discussion improves on individual reasoning performance for a wide variety of tasks. This improvement, however, could be largely specific to members of modern, schooled, affluent Western cultures. In two studies, we observed the same improvement in the members of a traditional population—indigenous Maya from Guatemala. Two features of reasoning can account for this improvement: the "my side bias," which precludes individuals from improving their performance on their own, and the ability to soundly evaluate others' arguments, which allows individuals to benefit from group discussions. These two features were observed in the traditional population studied: solitary reasoning performance was marked by the "my side bias"; individuals were more likely to be convinced by arguments for the correct answer rather than for a wrong answer. Together with previous evidence, the present results strengthen the conclusion that these features are adaptive features of reasoning.

*Attitude research* is extremely popular because of its immensely practical applications in a context of grave poverty, illness, and economic differences. In the area of sexual and contraceptive behavior, components of the theory of reasoned action predicted 25% of condom use in young Mexicans when the intention to use it was included (Díaz-Loving & Villagran-Vázquez, 1999). These results are a great improvement over percentages documented for behaviors with knowledge and general attitudes toward AIDS as predictors. Nevertheless, similar studies conducted with subjects from individualistic societies explain over 50% of the variance. It is possible that higher levels of external locus of control reflect a sociocultural tendency to focus more attention on situational variables that interfere with the effect of personal intentions.

Another example in this area is a study conducted in order to asses "the theory of planned behavior" in a sample of Mexican women, with respect to the monthly completion of breast self-examination to detect breast cancer at an early stage (Saldívar, Díaz-Loving, & Cedillo, 2008). Participants responded to a measure of

attitudes, subjective norm, perceived behavioral control, and intentions plus a question about accomplishment of breast self-examination. Multiple regression analysis of intention to self-examine effects from attitudes, the "subjective norm," "positively perceived control," and "negatively perceived control" only shows the "subjective norm" and "positively perceived control" as significant predictors. In addition, in the logistic regression analysis with the actual behavior, only positive attitude toward the behavior and "the perception of positive behavioral control" increase the probability of the behavior. When analyzing the obtained model, attitudes do not predict the intention, and the intention was not a predicting factor of behavior. In fact, the only variable that predicts both the intention and behavior is a "positively perceived behavioral control," while subjective norm was the most important factor to explain behavioral intentions. It should be recalled that the subjective norm refers to the pressure that the participants perceived from family, female friends, and their partner, which is compatible with other studies that find that Mexican women especially when related to topics of sexual and reproductive health basically do what others do and not what they want to do.

In a recent study on worldviews, Ungaretti and Etchezahar (2016) studied a dangerous worldview related to the right wing authoritarianism and a competitive jungle worldview related to social dominance orientation to predict different forms of prejudice. It was also noted that the path analyses between dangerous worldview and competitive jungle worldview are both related to higher prejudice. In another study looking at social attitudes (Cruz-Torres, Díaz-Loving, & Sánchez Aragón, 2015), it is clear that they have an effect on peoples need to believe that they live in a just world. To study the effects of these worldviews on a situation of relative depravation, students were given a vignette telling them about a student's demonstration after being rejected from a university; they then answered a measure of negative emotions generated for the vignette. Dividing the sample into high and low on compensatory strategies, correlations are evident in the group of low scores and are not significant in the group with high scores, confirming palliative function positive life events in front of relative deprivation.

In order to understand the growing circumstances of Mexican women's paid work, and how this phenomenon has varied according to norms and cultural values, as well as how it interacts with the working women's individual needs and expectations, Cruz del Castillo, Díaz-Loving, and Rivera-Aragón (2007) evaluated the costs and benefits of women's remunerated work based on the social exchange theory (Thibaut & Kelley, 1959). In their first approach (Cruz del Castillo, Rivera Aragón, Díaz-Loving, & González, 2004), open questions such as "what are the advantages and disadvantages of women working outside of home?," "what are the advantages and disadvantages of your partner working outside of home?," and "what are the disadvantages of your partner working outside of home?" directed to men were made. In a second phase, an inventory was elaborated which produced six factors related to women's paid work benefits and six dimensions related to costs. The benefit-related dimensions were economic solvency for the family, personal motivation, quality of family, maturity and experience, distraction, and finally social growth. The six cost-related dimensions were relationship with spouse or companion deteriorating, disregarding the woman's traditional role, risk perception, lack of time, competition, and finally

investment. Results indicated that the primary benefit of working outside of home, for this group of Mexican women, was the economical aspect followed by recognition, feeling useful, having greater security and better self-esteem, being productive, helping their partners economically, and doing something useful with their time. On the other hand, the main cost of working outside of home was associated with having less time for their children, deterioration of health, an increase in troubles with spouse or companion, having little time for personal activities, an increase in personal spending, having limited time for friends, insecurity, and competition in the workplace.

## *Personality*

Stemming from a behavioral tradition, individual beliefs and behaviors are consistently based on their reinforcement history and the control and the placement of it by subjects, either in their own activities and capabilities or in situational forces. Cross-cultural literature reflects the relevance that control of reinforcement and punishment has, making the construct universal. In México, Díaz-Loving and Andrade-Palos (1984) replicated the traditional dimensions of internal control and external locus of control and identified a new dimension in Mexican children. Internal-affective control describes the indirect manipulation of the environment through the affiliative and communication abilities of the subject (i.e., "If I am nice to my teacher, she will give me a good grade"). This idiosyncratic form of coping control evident in Mexican children has been replicated in adolescents and adults, showing that this characteristic is not a consequence of human development, but rather a stable trait within the culture. In fact, affiliative internal control prescribes a coping style compatible with the affiliative obedience and self-modifying coping style of the Mexican philosophy of life and its sociocultural premises (Díaz-Guerrero, 1994). Díaz-Loving, Pick, and Andrade-Palos (1988) studied the relation between sexual life and instrumental and affective internal locus of control among low socioeconomic female adolescents from Mexico. Early adolescents (12–15 years old), high in affective internal control and heavily dependent on the family structure, strictly follow the traditional sociocultural premises that indicate females should remain "virgin" until marriage (Díaz-Guerrero, 1994). With age (16–19 years old), those who continue to show high levels of internal affective control, and are no longer under the protection of the family, become easy prey to the affect advancements of potential sexual partners. In addition, these adolescents show higher probability of engaging in unprotected sex and are often victims of unwanted pregnancies. These conclusions are reflected in the high scores in affiliative internal control obtained in the sample of pregnant teenagers. The pattern for internal instrumental control is exactly the opposite. In early adolescence, high internal instrumental control is related to more unprotected sexual activity, while adolescents who develop this characteristic over time, and achieve a mature instrumental orientation toward the latter parts of adolescence, tend to engage less in sexual activity and protect themselves when they do engage in it.

Locus of control and self-efficacy are complementary constructs, the former referring to general expectations regarding the origin of events, while the latter concentrates on specific beliefs regarding a way of explaining personal outcomes. Correa, Bedolla, and Reyes-Lagunes (2006) used both to assess personal control in a group of Mexican senior high school students by testing for single multidimensional construct on the basis of the factors from the locus of control scale and the self-efficacy scale. The results indicate that the relation between the locus of control and the self-efficacy was high (0.71) and that both factors bore an inverse relation to the external locus of control. A positive association, although low (0.31), was also found between the external locus of control and the affective social factor. Second-order factor analysis reveals a single dimension that includes internal locus of control, self-efficacy, and external locus of control (with negative factor loading), the affective social factor being left aside; the authors regarded this dimension as indicative of "personal control" and stress that the multidimensional construct does not override the characteristics nor the importance of each of the elements that comprise it but that each factor complements part of the characteristic referred to as "personal control."

Given that "locus of control" contributes to the management of effective strategies for dealing with stress, its use has spread widely across the health field. For example, Ortega-Andeane and Reyes-Lagunes (2008) identified levels of locus of control in regard to health in hospitalized Mexican women with a diagnosis of cancer and contrasted it with data for healthy women. They applied the Spanish adapted version of the Health Locus of Control Scale (Wallston, Wallston, & De Vellis, 1978). The data indicate that sick women believe they have a certain control over their illness, although they also believe it is a question of fate or destiny, reflecting their lack of confidence in dealing with the illness themselves. As a result, their greater faith is in the ability of powerful others (doctors) to help them. This pattern is congruent with the self-modifying attributes of the culture.

Given the prevalence of obesity in Mexican children, Navarro, Reyes-Lagunes, and Bedolla (2006) looked at the locus of control of Mexican mothers in relation to their practices in regard to their children's nutrition. They measured attitudes, beliefs, and practices of parents regarding their children's eating habits using two methods for measuring locus of control. The authors found that the mothers who have a high internal locus of control carry out feeding practices aimed at the care of their children's health and perceive greater responsibility. The mothers with a high external locus of control tend more to restrict their children's access to food and to use it as a means of obtaining their children's good behavior. The results of this group of Mexican mothers agree with that indicated in the literature in the sense that individuals with an internal locus of control as regards health seek more information, assume more responsibility, and take more precautions to protect it.

Social desirability (SD) is a widely studied response style. The basic idea is that people can modify their responses to obtain an optimal gain, so they may wish not to present their "true" self and choose to present a more desirable image for a particular situation. This is the reason why SD has become a synonym for defensiveness, dishonesty, or lying. In Mexico, the most relevant studies regarding SD were conducted during the 1980s with the translation of the MC-SD from English to Spanish (Castro,

Maya, & Orozco, 1986; Lara-Cantú, 1990; Lara-Cantú & Suzan-Reed, 1988); however, it was not until later that a more detailed culturally sensitive revision of the construct was conducted. From an ethno-cultural perspective (Díaz-Guerrero, 1993) and based on qualitative studies, the social representation of desirable and undesirable behaviors related to Mexican idiosyncrasies (Domínguez-Espinosa, Navarro-Contreras, García-Campos, Gutiérrez-Fierros, & Sada-Monroy, 2010) was established. Finally, an extensive psychometric study that led to a culturally sensitive SD scale was developed (Domínguez-Espinosa & Van de Vijver, 2014), containing two dimensions: the first one, a positive dimension that reflects the acceptance of socially approved behaviors that people do not necessarily perform frequently and, the second, a negative dimension that reflects the acceptance of socially unacceptable behaviors that people perform frequently. A fundamental change to the interpretation is the interpretation of the negative dimension, given that in México it does not reflect a refusal to accept behaviors. On the contrary, its premise is that in México it is desirable for people to be obedient, humble, and modest, as previously found by Díaz-Guerrero (1977, 1984, 2003), making it acceptable to make mistakes. In general SD is an important aspect of how we communicate with the world and how we reflect our own values, congruent with how Mexicans have a strong need to please and look for acceptance in others who are significant or important within their group (Díaz-Guerrero, 2003).

In the search of a positive way of life, both individual characteristics and situational variables are involved; recently Alarcón (2009) in Peru has done extensive work on the psychology of happiness. This research on well-being focuses on preventing psychopathology and promoting the improvement of life quality by focusing on study of the positive features of individuals and developing positive qualities. It places emphasis on internal experiences, optimism, as well as behaviors connected with the psychological well-being and individual growth. In order to measure the attainment of personal positive growth, Alarcón (2009) developed a measure of three independent factors: happiness in the absence of deep feelings, aspiration to achieve happiness, and self-actualization that assumes full happiness as a result of the satisfaction of the needs of others. Results for Peru show that happiness has high positive correlations with positive affect and negative with negative affect. For the positive affects, the largest predictors are satisfaction, good humor, and enthusiasm; for negative affect, low happiness, guilt, worthlessness, and nervousness. In addition, means of life satisfaction are higher in people between 50 and 60 years; married people are happier than unmarried women. Socioeconomic imbalances affect the degrees of satisfaction in health, family, friendship, and economic situation. Together with the sources of happiness, the three most important predictors that make people happy are to be ok with God, enjoy good health, and have a good family. In a more recent study, an analysis of the frequency-intensity debate was tested by providing several conceptual frameworks that accentuated one over the other, allowing people to decide how they defined their own happiness. Two independent samples of Mexican men and women provided insights on whether happiness in México is defined in terms of frequency or intensity. Once it was defined, happiness levels were compared between two groups showing that those who define happiness as “frequency” present higher levels of joy. This research supports the premise that

happiness could be defined as the sum of frequent events, congruent with bottom-up approaches to happiness and well-being (Velasco-Matus, Villanueva-Orozco, Rivera-Aragón, & Díaz-Loving, 2016).

## *Interpersonal Relationships*

Interest in personal relationships has stimulated a great deal of psychosocial theory and research in recent years. In several Latin American countries, there has been psychosocial research with couples regarding perceptions of the ideal and real attributes of couples (Rivera-Aragón, et al., 1986); reactions to interpersonal interaction (Díaz-Loving & Andrade-Palos, 1996); the symbolic conceptualization of love (Díaz-Loving, Canales, & Gamboa, 1988); the measurement of intimacy, passion, and commitment (Sánchez-Aragón & Díaz-Loving, 1996); jealousy (Díaz-Loving, Rivera-Aragón, & Flóres-Galaz, 1989); communication (Nina-Estrella, 1988); marital satisfaction (Díaz-Loving, Alvarado-Hernandez, Lignan-Camarena, & Rivera-Aragón, 1997); and power (Rivera-Aragón & Díaz-Loving, 1995). Other studies have focused on the integration of attraction with the quality of the relationship (Díaz-Loving, 2004), with sexuality (García Rodriguez, Díaz Loving, & Rivera Aragón, 2004), and with mating patterns (Schmitt, et al., 2004).

With a holistic orientation, Díaz-Loving and Sánchez-Aragón (2002) advanced a bio-psycho-sociocultural theory of couple relationships in which the role played by each component and their interaction in predicting and explaining behavior and its implications for relationship quality is specified (Díaz-Loving, 2002). For the bio-psychological components of the theory, passion (Hatfield-Walster & Walster, 1978) and intimacy (Rubin, 1970) are the two central forms of love. These two ways of loving relate directly to the two basic needs of the human species, reproduction and protection, and the behavioral patterns derived from their pursuit (Schmitt, 2005). However, a variety of behavioral manifestations developed to achieve the goals of reproduction and protection seem tightly meshed to ecosystem and sociocultural variables (Díaz-Loving & García Rodriguez, 2008). In fact, questions regarding how many, with whom, for how long, how close, and why seem to be constructed on the basic needs of the human species, which are molded into attachment styles derived from the interaction of the basic needs with caring figures (Frías-Cárdenas & Díaz-Loving, 2010) that ultimately reflect behavioral variations developed in different historic and geographical niches that are then transformed into norms, beliefs, and values, which in turn transmitted to new generations through socialization and enculturation processes (Díaz-Loving, 2011).

With the intention of providing the psychological stages that individuals can experience in the evolution of a relationship, a psychological approach-withdrawal pattern that gives context to the establishment, development, maintenance, and dissolution of interpersonal relationships is presented. Each stage incorporates the feelings, emotions, thoughts, attributions, and behaviors experienced by the partners in a given life episode. The phases that served as stimuli were extracted of the closeness-separateness pattern proposed by Díaz-Loving (1996). As is fit, love starts

with attraction, as a feeling, the next steps must include passion to move toward the target of your affections, and once the relationship has been established, love is also companionship that includes commitment and maintenance. Lingering in love is always the question of possible loss found in a romance and sadness dimension. In the case that sadness becomes deep, it can lead to tragic love, the one that is described in the Romeo and Juliet. Finally, if things unravel into the lack of love and detachment, we are advised that "when couples separate, it is because they do not love each other anymore" (Díaz-Loving & Sánchez-Aragón, 2002).

An integral evaluation of the bio-psycho-sociocultural model involved analyzing the relationships between the components. As an example, the regression results for company and support behaviors in males (e.g., giving support, listening, laughing together, showing tenderness) show that positive communication and negotiation love styles include being friendly, practical, erotic, and altruistic, while lacking in a contentious negotiation orientation or a playful or manic love style predicts support behaviors. In addition, perceiving that the relationship is in a closeness stage and possessing positive masculine and feminine traits (androgynous), self-actualization traits, and no defensive characteristics, with the addition of the bio-sociocultural component (high feminine equity beliefs and a secure attachment style), round up the model with a multiple R of 0.70 (Díaz-Loving & Sánchez-Aragón, 2002).

In order to assess the passion aspects of love, Sánchez-Aragón (2008a) developed a quantitative and qualitative instrument to evaluate phases that span from attraction to harassment. Results reveal 14 negative categories and 18 positive aspects of the passionate love. Her results show emotions that span from positive emotions like intimacy, pleasure, satisfaction, relaxation, and mystery and all the way to an opposite and dark side with emotions like anger, abandonment, guilt, and loneliness. The positive side is full of passion and happiness and a source of personal fulfillment ecstasy. The downside is associated with an empty anxiety, and despair takes a tone of obsession, sadness, and anger. In addition, for México passion is envisioned by men as love, desire, sex, delivery, attraction, romance, and respect, while for women passion includes love, desire, attraction kisses, delivery, and tenderness with the couple. These findings indicate a chained continuum of attraction, passion, desperate love, obsessive love, and bullying that make a passionate relationship both a positive experience and a risk of unhealthy implications. This reveals the coexistence of light and dark shades of passionate love which is part of the ambivalent nature of relationships and the thin line between the normal and the pathological relationships. The upside is associated with passion, ecstasy, and happiness and is a source of personal fulfillment. The downside is associated with a sense of vacuum, anxiety, and despair and has a tone of obsession, sadness, and anger.

When approaching the darker side of interpersonal relationships, research on jealousy and envy stand out. Reidl (2008) focused her work on jealousy and envy to characterize these emotions from three perspectives: as an emotion, as a dispositional trait, and as an emotional syndrome. In a cross-cultural study among Mexican and Soviet citizens, she found that the latter are more suspicious, jealous, and dependent and have a lower self-esteem than Mexicans. In females, for both groups jealousy is related to low self-esteem, and in Mexican males she found they are more envious, while females are more jealous. Another finding is that romantic

jealousy is better remembered and seen as intense and immoral in comparison with the relational jealousy. Additionally, she reports that the variables that best predict jealousy vary according to gender and cultural tradition in the handling of situations caused by jealousy. For example, women with high school level present typical replies of evasive coping, denial, and the impossibility of ending the relationship.

Another negative aspect of personal relationships is violence, in a study to estimate the prevalence and factors associated with intimate partner violence among women in México. A survey of a representative sample of adult women regarding the magnitude and correlates of intimate partner violence showed that 33% of women reported intimate partner violence events. Factors associated with intimate partner violence were low schooling, childhood abuse, abortion, partner alcohol consumption, non-shared couple decision-making, and negative gender stereotypes (Jaen-Cortés, Rivera-Aragón, Amorin de Castro, & Rivera-Rivera, 2015). In another study, Cienfuegos-Martínez (2014) indicates that couple violence unfortunately is an increasingly common phenomenon. Based on a violence scale developed by her (Cienfuegos-Martínez, 2004), which includes four factors that measure reception of violence (economic, psychological, physical/bullying, sexual) and two dimensions for imposed violence (psychological/physical and economic/social), several studies (Ku & Flóres-Galaz, 2006; Ku & Sánchez-Aragón, 2006; Vargas-Nuñez, Pozos-Gutiérrez, López-Parra, & Díaz-Loving, 2008) show alarming increases in violence against men and women within couple relationships.

The situation in México replicates in other places of Latin America, with some of the highest rates of intimate partner violence in the world. While there is increasing evidence that intimate partner violence is associated with mental health problems, there is little research for majority countries. In one of these studies, Meekers, Pallin, and Hutchinson (2013) examine the relationship between Bolivian women's experiences with physical, psychological, and sexual intimate partner violence and mental health outcomes. They analyzed data from the 2008 Bolivia Demographic and Health Survey: 10.119 married or cohabiting women aged 15–49 are included in the analysis. Intimate partner violence is common in Bolivia, with 47% of women experiencing some type of spousal abuse. Their study demonstrates an urgent need for research on the prevalence and health consequences of psychological abuse in majority countries. Their findings highlight the need for mental health services for victims of intimate partner violence. Because physical and psychological violence are often experienced concurrently, they recommend that health providers who are treating victims of physical intimate partner violence also screen them for symptoms of potential mental health problems and refer them to appropriate mental health services.

For a comprehensive review of research on health and sexuality, Díaz-Loving and Robles (2011) edited a book that links sexual behavior to culture, personality, and interpersonal relationships that impact on people's health. The chapters deal with empirical research on the psychological, social, and cultural factors that promote sexual and reproductive health. In conclusion, sexually healthy people are those who responsibly and fully enjoy their sexuality, performing behaviors that allow them to maintain a state of physical, psychological, and social well-being.

With regard to the broad area of intergroup relations, one strand examines intergroup contact and its effectiveness to reduce prejudice, stereotyping, and intergroup bias, ameliorate intergroup relations, and improve physical and psychological health (Eller & Abrams, 2003; Eller, Abrams, & Zimmermann, 2011). A second strand centers on emotion in intergroup relations, specifically, the emotion of embarrassment.

In order to study the inner interactions of family and their effects on the well-being of its members, García-Méndez, Rivera-Aragón, Reyes-Lagunes, and Díaz-Loving (2006) developed a family functioning scale. In a first stage, an exploratory study revealed seven dimensions: communication, expression of feelings, ethical principles (e.g., sincerity, equality, loyalty, and righteousness), cohabitation, family integration, limits, and rules as elements of family relationships. Based on content analysis of the data, dimensions were reduced to four: positive atmosphere, hostility and conflict avoidance, expression of feelings, and cohesion. In a second stage, researchers established family functioning which is a process that involves individuals, families, and culture. They point out that the elements that damage family relationships are the lack of communication, dishonesty, lack of affection, lack of discipline, family disintegration, an unclear hierarchy, and authoritarianism. They also report correlations between positive family environment and cohesion, showing the importance of a sense of union and an affective link, expressed through proximity, sharing, respect, and communication between the members of the family (García-Méndez, et al., 2006).

## Sociological Social Psychology

The study of the effects of social structure on individual behavior has taken on three major paths studied in sociological social psychology. On the one hand, following the footsteps of George Herbert Mead, researchers have indulged in discovering the effects of language on human interaction. On a second front, the development of personality based on the social structure has been studied. And finally, the function of norms, roles, and status on prescribing behavioral patterns has been researched. For the first theme, symbolic interactionism in Latin America has led to the development and refinement of several methodological advances as well as to the creation of indigenous thought. Semantic networks, free association, and discourse analysis have been stressed as the preferred research methods to study the Mexican self (la Rosa & Díaz-Loving, 1991; Váldez Medina & Reyes-Lagunes, 1992; Díaz-Loving, 2005a, 2005b) and family (Díaz-Guerrero & Szalay, 1993).

### *Symbolic Interactionism*

Symbolic interactionism in Latin America has led to the development and refinement of several methodological techniques. Semantic networks, free association, focus groups, and discourse analysis have been stressed as the preferred research methods

to study the Mexican self, the Mexican family, the economy and education in Colombia, corruption in Venezuela, social representation of sexual practices in Brazil, gender and sexual behavior in Puerto Rico, and political discourse in El Salvador.

Sociological orientation has been devoted to applied community and culturally based research questions. This is especially evident in the work of Salazar (1997) directed toward understanding social problems and the development of national identities. From a strictly methodological perspective, Reyes-Lagunes (1993) has written extensively about the use of semantic networks as a way of obtaining the meaning of concepts in different sociocultural groups. Using this technique, Valdéz-Medina (1998) asked Mexican young people to define self as person, self as son, and self as friend. On average, he finds that males describe self and others as good, angry, mischievous, intelligent, affectionate, amiable, obedient, sharing, and studious, while females describe others and self as good, angry, responsible, affectionate, mischievous, amiable, studious, tranquil, dumb, and lazy. These adjectives provide an accurate identity of how young Mexicans describe themselves in relation to a combination of social roles. We should note that the words presented refer to a general self and that when the definers are analyzed separately by role, the definitions are more positive for interactive selves (friend or son/daughter) and more neutral to negative when the self is individualistic (person). Such a pattern of results coincides with the stereotype of Mexicans as *collectivistic*.

Díaz-Guerrero and Szalay (1993) obtained free associations for over 50 concepts. For the "self," Mexicans and Colombians present images of a collective identity dependent on strict social norms. Importance is given to demands of reciprocity, mutual help, understanding, cohesion, and group, family, and community unity. For "family," emphasis is on affiliative, interdependent relationships between parents and children and excludes husband and wife. Special attention is directed to parent's responsibility of providing a "proper" upbringing and socialization for children, based on intimate relationships and values of love, respect, and obedience.

"Love" and "marriage" include affect, sentiments, comprehension, and attachment toward someone whose intrinsic qualities, behaviors, social roles, and status are the best selection for the person and their family. Love is conceived in the family context, especially toward children, then parents, brothers, and then friends who are incorporated into the family. In terms of marriage, strong gender differences appear in expectancies and roles, and commitment to attachment is the main determinant in the development and maintenance of a "successful marriage." In regard to larger institutions such as communities, these groups display strong identity and affiliative ties between individuals. Society is perceived as a great reunion of interdependent people, linked by positive interpersonal determinants like cooperation, co-fraternity, and union. Integral to the conceptualization of social institutions (communities, societies, and families) are moral and religious determinants. Catholicism is conceived as an all-encompassing faith that evokes social attitudes of love and understanding, giving attention to the compassionate moral and affective aspects of religion. "God" is seen as a supreme being with unquestionable strengths and power, looking over his/her (we think "he" is male but do not have any hard evidence) flock, like an understanding and loving parent, in the same manner a father should,

according to the sociocultural premises of the Mexican family. Since morality is divinely specified and dictated, values are presented as ideal, positive, and virtuous. God has sent his commandments, and humans should show an immediate willingness to accept, pursue, and abide by these ideals. Obedience to this "loving father" has interpersonal and social implications, which are contingent on future reinforcement or punishment (Díaz-Guerrero and Szalay, 1993).

To establish the meaning of jealousy in Mexican culture, Reidl and Fernandez de Ortega (2001) conducted semantic networks, semantic differential, free association, and associative analysis of groups. In terms of the semantic networks, the term includes the following concepts: inferiority, courage, helplessness, anxiety, depression, envy, lack, and rejection among others. According to semantic differentials, two factors were obtained, evaluation activity and evaluation: the first consists of the words inferiority, egoism, courage, and anxiety, among others, and the second was defined as falsehood, infidelity, materialism, lack, and dissatisfaction. Using the free association technique, they found that emotions most important associated with jealousy are courage and anger, followed by fear, anguish, and envy. Among the features of the jealous people are insecurity, having shortcomings, being immature and selfish, and distrust among others. The consequences were associated with separation and loneliness. Jealousy is evaluated negatively as pathological, bad, and stupid but also normal (Reidl, 2008).

Analyzing texts, speech, and other forms of communication in the search for the meaning constructed by sociocultural groups has led symbolic interactionism to propose several different forms of studying language. Theoreticians of discourse analysis sustain this perspective and indicate that the constructivist quality of discourse itself has meaning; it reproduces power relationships and has ideological consequences. To operationalize their perspective, they have created the notion of ideological discursive strategies that are the forms adopted to introduce, disclose, and impose a certain ideology, including the rhetoric method used to persuade self and others. An example of this technique is found in the study by Silva and Hernández (1995) of the construction of corruption in Venezuela. These researchers obtained their material using focus groups. This technique requires groups of between six and eight subjects who discuss a specific topic, in this case the definition of corruption, examples of corruption, attributes of a corrupt action, reasons to be corrupt, when did corruption begin, and possible solutions for corruption. Five basic strategy components were found in the analysis. In some cases, others or the situation was used as the excuse. Using an excuse normally included alluding to an external variable as responsible for our actions. For example, prevalent corruption among political figures or those in power spreads to the rest of society. A second justification was the need to save oneself in a corrupt situation ("not acting accordingly would put me at a disadvantage"). Still others create a justification that speaks to the positive or valuable implications of saving time, effort, and money. A fourth action involves normalizing a certain practice, "everybody does it, if I do not I would be seen as abnormal." A final form was to put the situation on a balance, "there is the temptation but the negative consequences or my moral values do not permit it." Under these circumstances the weight for corrupt behavior is again placed outside the individual; he/she fell victim to the temptation. The general analysis of the construction

of a phenomenon reveals the everyday perception and actions of corruption in a specific sociocultural group.

At the macroanalysis level of communication, Montero (1975) studied the impact of mass media on the attitudes and knowledge about politics among young Venezuelans. Although her subjects reported consistently high levels of exposure to radio, television, cinema, and press across both gender and socioeconomic status, females expose themselves to more television and males to more cinema. Subjects who sought more political stimuli were more informed, especially those who listened to radio and read the press. Females indicated less interest in politics and cited their family as their source of information and thus held political attitudes similar to their families. Males, on the other hand, seemed more conscious of their political inclinations and gave clear reasons for their political attitudes. However, there was no gender difference in amount of political knowledge or intellectual capabilities.

## *Personality and Social Structure*

Research methods in this field include in-depth interviews, surveys, and participant observation, to study all types of identities, gender roles, and personality. The theoretical and empirical work of Díaz-Guerrero (1994) on the development of personality is a good example of the personality and social structure perspective. Díaz-Guerrero (1994) states that personality characteristics are formed through the continuous and dialectic interaction between each individual bio-psychological need (nutrition, security, reproduction, affect, achievement, existential well-being) and the sociocultural norms and premises held by the individual's reference and ascription groups. The first step to evaluate the personality development hypothesis advanced by Díaz-Guerrero is to define and then observe or measure the construct of social structure. This has been done by uncovering and specifying the norms and rules, which regulate the behavior of a social group. The socioculture where individuals grow and develop is the basis for the formation of national character and the delineation of the norms and rules for accepted social behavior and interaction. Interpersonal behavior is directed and determined, in part, by the extent to which each subject addresses, believes, and internalizes cultural dictates.

To assess the Mexican sociocultural norms, Díaz-Guerrero (1986) extracted the historic-sociocultural premises from sayings, proverbs, and other forms of popular communication. Content analysis of the premises shows the central position that family has within the culture. Two basic propositions emerge and engulf the description of the traditional Mexican family. Affiliative obedience is evident in proverbs like "children should always obey their parents," "everyone should love their mother and respect their father," and "strict and loving parents help children grow up correctly," showing that children should never disobey parents and show respect in exchange for security and love. The second component is a strict hierarchical structure based on respect (deference) toward anybody higher on the social ladder. Constructed around these two cardinal premises, over 80% of large segments of the

population in the 1950s indicate these premises were accepted and guided their lives.

As to the impact of the premises on the development of personality, Díaz-Guerrero has been able to identify eight prototypes of dispositional tendencies in the Mexican population. Of these, the following four are more prominent: passive obedient affiliative type, which is the most common and is affectionate, dependent, pleasing, and controlled. The second type, called actively self-assertive, is autonomous, independent, impulsive, dominant, intelligent, and rebellious. The third type is called active internal self-control and is formed by capable, affectionate, rational, flexible, and thoughtful. And finally an external passive control type is authoritarian, uncontrolled, aggressive, impulsive, pessimistic, corrupt, and servile.

*Identity*

A common question for Latin American scholars has been "Who are we?" Stemming from the sociological social psychology perspective, the topic of identity has been popular among politically active groups of Latin American social psychologists. In a study regarding the Chilean national identity (Saiz, Rehbein & Perez-Luco, 1993; Saiz, Rapiman & Mladinic, 2008), the intricate relationship between ethnic identity, myths, history, and national identity is established. The model specifies three basic belief systems:

(a) Adherence to a myth which explains the national origin (our ancestry is half Indian half Spaniard and thus we are "mestizos"), which is definitely a myth because the Mapuche population was not large and did not integrate easily with European populations. In spite of this, subjects show high rates of adherence to the myth indicating a mestizo presence and the belief that they have biologically inherited the characteristics of the traditional Mapuches.
(b) A stereotype of brave warriors attributed to the original Mapuche Indians which is translated in perceiving self as a patriot and including a positive evaluation of one's national identity.
(c) The degree to which each individual assigns to their ethnic heritage more or less Mapuche or European ancestry. The data show that most individuals perceive an egalitarian amount of Indian and European ancestry, which is related to pleasant emotions and feelings of belonging to the nation. Much fewer numbers ascribe to a specifically Mapuche or European ancestry and show more unpleasant emotions and feelings of distance to the national identity.

From a strictly sociopolitical orientation, two Mexican socio-psychologists, Béjar and Cappello (1986), indicate that national identity is the degree to which citizens feel they are a part of the institutions which give value and significance to their national system (social, political, economic) as well as the solidarity expressed to the past and present of a nation. It is interesting to note that the field of political psychology and the work related to this field have many times passed the thin line separating applied research from social activism. The distinction between the scientific approach and the academic perspective with which psychologists treat psychopolitical themes and of their will to influence public opinion and induce social change is often blurred.

Considering the sociopolitical implications of dependency identities, Martín-Baró (1990) asked Salvadorians to give the four characteristics that best described the Salvadorian. Analysis of the frequency of the responses shows a unilateral perception of themselves as hardworking, enterprising, happy, friendly, and masochists. On a more negative note, discussion groups identified the attributes of suffering, exploited, alienated, and dependent, followed by patriotic and hardworking. It is interesting that the two inquiry methods produced such different identities in the same population. One could argue that the social process of interaction brings out the sociopolitical and economic part of the identity (suffering, alienated), whereas the self-report measure directs one's attention to individual aspects of self (hardworking, happy); Martín-Baró goes on to state that the groups in power use the self-views of Salvadorians to mobilize them to the things that favor their political interests.

In an effort to construct an interactive national identity, Montero and Salas (1993) asked Colombian and Venezuelan students to indicate verbally and graphically (maps sketched by subjects) how they perceived the world. Students perceived the northern countries particularly the United States and Russia to be much larger than reality, and they reduced South America; reduced or omitted most of Oceania, Africa, and Asia; and ignored Central America and the Caribbean. These data are taken to signify an ideology of dependency and a syndrome of national devaluation. On the other hand, as was the case with Martín-Baró's data from Salvadorian, people see themselves as happy, humorous, affable, sociable, friendly, intelligent, kind, and industrious (see also Ardila 1993). It seems again that the dependency comes from the evaluation of national attributes, which do not necessarily have a negative impact on the way people evaluate themselves.

## Cultural Social Psychology in Latin America

Cultural social psychology permeates all realms of Latin American social psychology; methods are multiple, ranging from ethnopsychometry to focal groups and correlational studies. The work in the cultural tradition within psychology was initiated in the cross-cultural field by Díaz-Guerrero with Holtzman on the development of personality (Holtzman, et al., 1975) and with Osgood's semantic differential (Díaz-Guerrero, 1994). The accumulation of information in this field led to the finding of certain culturally idiosyncratic characteristics in cross-cultural research described in "A Mexican psychology" (Díaz-Guerrero, 1977) and in "Community social psychology in Latin America" (Sánchez & Wiesenfeld, 1991; Wiesenfeld, 1998) as well as in "Culture and Personality Revisited" (Díaz-Guerrero, 1977), where the author makes explicit the need for indigenous research to better explain the behavior of Mexicans. Further work led to the development of a scientific discipline: ethnopsychology of the Mexican people, systematically looking for ethnic characteristics and processes (e.g., Díaz-Guerrero, 1995; Díaz-Guerrero & Díaz-Loving, 1992).

The main purpose of ethnopsychology is to identify the prevailing standards in different cultural groups and their role in determining behavioral patterns of individuals that constitute a particular cultural group. If we break down culture, we find that norms are rules and social expectations from a group that regulate the behavior of its members, indicating what is appropriate or inappropriate in terms of behavior and ways of thinking, feeling, and being (Díaz-Loving, 2009). Díaz-Guerrero (1986) proposed, developed, studied, and described the norms that influence the behavior in Mexican culture; he explained that a socioculture in which a person grows is the basis for the formation of the national character, which outlines acceptable and desirable behavior during interpersonal interaction. Thus, social behavior is partially determined depending on the degree to which each person takes and believes in the cultural prescriptions. In synthesis, norms and social rules are part of the collective memory of individuals (Díaz-Loving, 2011).

To operationalize subjective culture, Díaz-Guerrero (1986) postulated as a system of cultural phrases named historic-sociocultural premises which are interconnected to constitute an interrelated network behavioral guide that regulates feelings and ideas, arranges interpersonal relationships, and stipulates both roles and rules that have to be performed during interaction according to the role that is played. A historic-sociocultural premise is thus a simple or complex statement that provides a logic basis of a group in order to understand and guide its sociocultural context. Díaz-Guerrero (1986) extracted the historic-sociocultural premises from proverbs, sayings, aphorisms, and other forms of popular communication. This cultural behavioral guide determines where, when, with whom, and how a person is going to behave. Two main components emerge from the description of traditional Mexican family: the power and supremacy of the father and love and absolute and necessary sacrifice by the mother.

Within the framework provided by the historic-bio-psycho-sociocultural theory of human behavior elaborated by Díaz-Guerrero (1994), Bravo, Serrano-García, and Bernal (1991) contextualize the study of stress in Puerto Rico. Stress experience includes two basic components: stressors (stimuli that require some type of adaptive behavior) and responses (stereotypic response set to certain stimuli), which are centered in physical, biological, psychological, and social terms. Stressors can be physical, such as cold, heat, and noise; biological, e.g., bacteria or pain; psychological, e.g., ideas or emotions; or social, e.g., interpersonal conflict or economic pressures.

Responses to stress represent a complete set of reactions, which include biological (physiological processes), cognitive (difficulty to concentrate, fluctuations in mood states), and social (hostility, social impairment) components. Conceptualizing stress under this multifactor paradigm allows consideration of the true characterization of the stress phenomena that cause problems for traditional biomedical models. Based on the bio-psycho-social perspective, these authors propose that they have been far more effective in the diagnosis of the problem and in the production of adequate and more successful interventions.

Based on Díaz-Guerrero's historic-bio-psycho-sociocultural theoretical paradigm and in response to a growing concern in couple relationship research with the use of small and nonrepresentative samples and the inclusion of few variables in

each study, a theoretically based multimethod and multidimensional theory was proposed (Díaz-Loving & Sánchez-Aragón, 2002) for different sociocultural contexts. This theory creates a culturally sensitive structural model that will logically integrate all those variables and processes that operate in couple encounters. In an attempt to obtain Mexican sociocultural premises of couples' behaviors, participants indicated what they felt, thought, and did as well as what they thought was the most appropriate way to act while interacting in a couple at different stages of the relationship. Thus, the norms and beliefs that guide the behavior when living a romantic, passionate, or stable relationship were obtained (Díaz-Loving, & Sánchez Aragón, 2002).

Related to meaning, broadening knowledge of outcast and poorly studied indigenous communities, Tanori, Laborín, and Vera (2006) identified the psychological meaning of the concept of happiness and unhappiness in a sample of migrant farm laborers. The definitions with the heaviest semantic consideration associated with happiness were joy, content, good, pleased, calm, carefree, work, family, and money. Those associated with unhappiness were sadness, anger, lack, frustration, problems, discouraged, desperation, and inconformity. In another study looking at the semantic meaning of basic emotions, Reidl, Sierra, Anaya, Barajas, and Duram (2006) explored the semantic meaning of the feeling of sadness according to age, using the semantic networks technique. The authors found that seven of the major definitions and associations are repeated in all groups: crying, loneliness, fear, depression, death, pain, and memories. This means there's a 47% similarity between all nuclei. Only "crying" showed an important difference between groups, since it was prioritized in first and second place for the lower age groups and in fourth and seventh place in the two highest age groups.

Replicating and expanding a study by Saiz (1991), Saiz, Rapiman, and Mladinic (2008) examined the evolution of favorable and unfavorable stereotypes that non-indigenous university students ascribe to Mapuches, the largest native group in Chile. Results showed that almost all of the stereotypes had remained relatively unchanged over time. In addition, two new unfavorable stereotypes emerged as a result of changes in the relations between Mapuches and the Chilean non-indigenous society. Complementarily, Saiz, Merino, and Quilaqueo (2009) demonstrated that Mapuches are fully aware of being stereotyped, mainly regarding unfavorable stereotypes. The findings of these two studies tend to be congruent with the discrimination, and its negative consequences, that the Mapuche themselves perceive to receive from the mainstream society (Merino, Mellor, Saiz, & Quilaqueo, 2009; Mellor, Merino, Saiz, & Quilaqueo, 2009).

Symbolism is also present when inquiring on the image that Mexicans have of the elderly. López-Parra, Vargas-Nuñez, Pozos, Mendez, and Ponce (2006) identified the connotative and denotative meaning of old age. Using the semantic networks technique, they found that the definitions mentioned by men were experience, knowing, old people, elder, good person, love, respect, old, tender, and slow. Women identified them as old people, knowing, experience, elder, good people, old, weak, worthy of respect, grandparent, and person. The results clearly indicate the respect and power that wisdom and old age have within the population. Although constructive and smooth interpersonal relationships permeate the culture, globalization has

had a negative impact on the revered security. As a response, violent acts have become a topic of interest for research in Mexico. Domínguez-Espinosa, Salas, and Reyes-Lagunes (2006) looked at the representation and psychological meaning of violence as a social phenomenon in two countries: México and Colombia. The authors used the Modified Natural Networks Semantics technique (Reyes-Lagunes, 1993). The results they obtained indicated that both countries' networks share words with the heaviest semantic importance, such as aggression, abuse, and death. The study also showed that in México violence is related to insecurity, trouble, hate, family, and society, while in Colombia it is associated with words that describe the armed conflict like guerilla, weapons, and poverty.

Community psychology in Latin America has come a long way in a relatively short amount of time. It has existed almost 50 years if we consider the social policies concerning guided participation of community members in "community projects," but it has existed only 35 years if we start with its academic life. In this short time, community psychology has achieved a degree of development displaying a fruitful praxis (theory informing practice, practice informed by theory) with a distinct style. Although including a variety of methods, the community psychology developed in the territory covering from México to Argentina is marked by its concern for the social transformation of societies riddled with poverty and the lack of services for large sectors of the population. This community psychology has (a) developed participatory methods that incorporate community stakeholders and interested people as internal agents for their own change who create their own history and culture; (b) has introduced ethical and political perspectives; and (c) aims to respect and hear those oppressed by unfair living conditions and helps them to exert their right to transform life circumstances and to engage as full citizens in society. There is much yet to transform, and this community psychology is prepared to go on transform itself as changes occur in and with communities (Montero, 2008).

As can be seen, a constant interest in this cultural area of social psychology has been collective and community psychology. Examples of this orientation are the work of Almeida-Acosta (2008), who observed the effect of training programs on motivation and learning of youth in low socioeconomic communities. Results indicate that the greatest effects were achieved in neighborhoods where social networks were more developed. His research with indigenous communities shows that indigenous communities represent social roots and thus do not occupy a secondary status. Furthermore, it is clear that exploitation is a current problem, that all culture is ambiguous, and that social psychology has the role of creating contexts that allow groups to not be exposed to what "power structures." He conceptualized an ethno-development and eco-development framework as a basis for social change without conflict.

With a similar orientation, Montero (1994) proposes a conflict model as a vision for social change. In this model power is conceptualized as a social relationship and provides a tool for analysis of the entities belonging to the social system. Under this view entities that control few resources can alter their circumstances as much as those that control many resources. It proposes two basic strategies for change, ideological, where it is possible to alter the definition of the resource in dispute, and the total or partial transference of the resource, which seeks to modify the power relations in a

sustained manner. This model essentially seeks to alter power relations and is especially useful for community psychologists as a tool of analysis and intervention.

Using this approach, researchers have created interventions using encounters as a potential situation for the construction of knowledge in which each subculture would learn from risking their own worldview in an exchange with a different one. However, in the actual field conditions, groups tend to defend their own concepts and worldviews (Turnbull, 1999; Turnbull, Hernández, & Reyes, 2009). In practice, this knowledge battle takes the form of an ongoing struggle for control of the programs. For example, when rules became too hard, children would leave and go to a different program. The bottom line of the study would show that the subcultures were struggling for meaning, each one defending what they understood by such constructions as "help," "street," "recovery," and even "child" (Turnbull, 1999; Turnbull, et al., 2009).

## Conclusion

In conclusion, Latin American psychology has lived what could only be described as a vibrant and dynamic existence for over a century. Sometimes it has postponed contributing to theoretical development in order to tend to circumstantial demands such as practical applications, as has been described by Ardila (1986) and by Valderrama and Molina (1990). The contributions of Latin American psychology to world psychology need to be considered in the context of its own social reality. Its future as science and profession certainly look promising. Latin American psychologists, on the other hand, need to be aware of another vital agenda: conducting serious and systematic research aimed at constructing our own history. This task will add sense to our scientific and professional quest in the context of a new millennium loaded with challenges. Fortunately, there are many colleagues already working on it (Sánchez-Sosa & Valderrama-Iturbe, 2001).

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# Chapter 9
# Community Psychology: A Latin American Creation


**Maritza Montero**

**Abstract** Community psychology is one of the most well-known fields of Latin American psychology, mainly because of the efforts of Ignacio Martín-Baró. This chapter analyzes the reasons why community psychology emerges, its originality and its place in the psychology of the subcontinent. According to the author, Latin America strives for a psychology that responds to its needs. She also states that community psychology is here to stay.

## The Dawn of Community Psychology in Latin America (1975–1989)

Psychology was one of the last sciences created in the nineteenth century, as it only began to be developed in the last three decades of that century, first in some European countries and soon in the United States, followed by the rest of the world including Latin America in the twentieth century. However, it was after World War II that an independent psychology began to develop in Latin America. Later, other sub-branches began to emerge, one of which has been called community psychology and which in turn already showed connections with the clinical area and the social area with which it coincides, co-assisting with both areas. Developed by physicians in the beginning, it was quickly taken over by psychologists who began, according to the new era, to create new fields of application and new branches in the social and clinical domains, in the political and environmental fields, as well as in the educational areas, among others. However, up to the 1970s, psychologists continued to replicate what had been done in Europe and the United States or what was good for those countries, but not so appropriate for Latin America.

That situation began to change during the second half of the 1970s when some psychologists began to express their discontent and therefore felt the need to vary the way they practiced psychology: in other words, to ponder why and how to

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develop psychology with different approaches that draw psychologists nearer to the people.

Such was the case in one department of the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM). In Iztacala, on the outskirts of Mexico City, M. Talento and E. Ribes-Iñesta, in 1979, presented their experience by creating a program that included people living in the vicinity of that part of the university. They were working (and experimenting) on how to teach by working and including people from the community, by discussing and doing their toil with them. The outcome was positive, but the project did not continue, despite the good results. It lasted 4 years, until Ribes-Iñesta and Talento abandoned the experiment, and it was terminated. Once again the traditional ideas surfaced. Two years later in 1981, Gómez del Campo started a master's degree program in psychology at ITESO, a Jesuit university in Guadalajara, introducing something close to what has already been presented, albeit with a different focus.

Community work in our countries should respond to the psychological needs of people. Some psychologists have shown their sense of emptiness and shame at conducting "useless research," which, though academic and published in national and international journals, did not contribute to the improvement of people's lives.

Something similar was presented in what was probably the first program in community psychology created by I. Serrano García, A. Rivera Medina, M. M. López, and other colleagues in Puerto Rico, beginning in 1975.

In spite of the difficulties due to the differences between what was assumed and the continuation of the long-established model, the new way of implementing psychology that was being created introduced a psychology application approach more in line with modern times, producing answers to problems and creating its own methods of working with communities in need. Such ideas were presented from 1980 onward and at the Interamerican Congress of Psychology (SIP), in Quito (Ecuador) in 1983 and then in Caracas (Venezuela) in 1985.

The small group of psychologists, who sought to make a different, advanced, participatory psychology and discussed it at the congresses, grew more important, and all the community work was transformed. There was criticism, along with means of creating different methods, different reasons, and other action approaches, all in search of a psychology that could be tailored for the people and exercised with people. These approaches should be open to different methodologies of working with psychology. In the 1980s, many Latin American psychologists read and discussed the works of critical sociologists, as well as philosophers such as Marx and Engels, Berger and Luckmann, Prigogine and Stengers, J. Smedslund (Gergen & Davis, 1985), J. Henriques, P. Wexler, and Frantz Fanon, in the Caribbean, Stephen Bico and A. Cabral in South Africa, and A. Memmi in North Africa. Moreover, the Latin American works of P. Freire, Pedro Demo, O. Fals Borda, and many others equally analytical were studied. There was also Al-Attas from Asia, as well as other relevant authors from Europe and the United States. At the end of 1985, there were Latin American psychologists writing and publishing on these subjects, and also research psychologists from those countries were invited.

Luis A. Escovar, a Panamanian psychologist, who visited several countries in South America and the Caribbean, helped a lot in that search. From 1977 until 1980,

Escovar presented new ideas and in turn sought and discovered some that needed to be developed critically in the countries where he traveled to. Escovar had studied in the United States and had an analytic view of the adoption of ideas, good for that country, but not for our countries. Because of that, he decided to see if what he had studied could be compared and used in other Latin American countries. He was interested in implementing and teaching, getting close to people, and creating a different way of practicing psychology (Escovar, 1977, 1979).

In the early 1980s, A. Orantes, a professor at the Central University of Venezuela who was visiting Central America, met a priest in El Salvador who worked on these topics. He was I. Martín-Baró (1942–1989). M. Montero received this news from Orantes and sent a letter and some books to Martín-Baró, initiating a correspondence, a great friendship, and an exchange of books. *Action and Ideology: Social Psychology from Central America* (*Acción e Ideología- Psicología Social desde Centro América*, Martín-Baró, 1983) was the first of them (see also Martín Baró *Hacia una Psicología de la Liberación*, 1986). I invited him to go to Caracas, where we then prepared the 20th Interamerican Congress of Psychology in 1985. He had been invited, first in 1984, to work with me on a course in political psychology and the next year to participate in that Interamerican Congress. After his presentation, his great ideas immediately spread, from Mexico in the north to Chile and Argentina in the south and then around the world.

In some South American countries due to the contact with Puerto Rican psychologists who had worked in community psychology since the 1970s, there was a great change in the basic tenets of community psychology (e.g., I. Serrano, W. Rosario Collazo, E. Rivera Medina, M.M. López, B. Ortiz, and many others). What had happened in the Swampscott Conference in the United States (1964) also produced a different way of interpreting psychology, but this was ignored in Latin America. However, it was discovered thanks to Bob Newbrough and in books by authors such as S.A. Murrell, J. Rappaport, Heller and Monahan, and Kelly, among others. And from the 1990s, we read Revenson, Seidman, Shinn, Nelson, Keys, Prilleltensky and Y. Suárez-Balcázar and F. Balcázar, and many others. Meanwhile, ideas coming from the social sciences were discussed and examined, and we learned from them and presented what we did in the social sciences and in the community psychology that we were building, in order to develop our own way of implementing psychology with people.

In Latin America, the work of Paulo Freire in Brazil and Chile was widely discussed. Álvaro Vieira Pinto, a friend of Freire's in Brazil, was the first to develop the concept of conscience and to create in that country the concept of limit situation, which he called "the real margin in which all possibilities begin" (1960). Also, there was Carlos Rodríguez Brandao, a disciple of Freire, who published under the name of "Julio Barreiro" (since he was being persecuted by the military that governed Brazil), and he created a method and was the first to work with and about conscience (1974).

At the end of the 1980s, praxis and method were necessary, and there was already a clear idea of what community psychology was. In 1982, a definition of community psychology was presented in Caracas, in *Revista AVEPSO* (Venezuelan Social Psychology Association Journal). The next 10 years can be considered as the underlying backbone that enriched psychology in many of our countries. The effervescent,

small group was transformed into many organized and independent groups, from Mexico to Chile. That was the time to generate a psychology in line with the needs of Latin America, although not all countries benefited from this opportunity. A circle was being created, while together with our students, we read many books written by psychologists, sociologists, and analytical politicians.

M. M. López, in Puerto Rico in the early 1980s, as well as J. Henríquez and four other colleagues, presented in 1984 a very critical book on psychology. At the same time, writings and books were produced in our part of the continent. The ideas of Paulo Freire in Brazil, Chile, and other countries, and scholars like Orlando Fals Borda and his colleagues and students, had an important influence on the construction of community psychology.

## From 1990 to 1999: The Construction of the Bases for Community Psychology

At the end of the decade of the1980s, this psychology transformed quickly. There was now a way to exercise psychology from a platform created by social and clinical psychologists, who by the end of the 1980s had created a *social community psychology*, also called just *community psychology*. Those were the first terms of naming this psychology, due to the fact that many of the psychologists practicing community psychology were also social psychologists. There are now two lines: community health psychology, which started in the 1990s, and community clinical psychology, developed a little later. The first two labels have stayed that way since the 1990s until now. There is no problem as to the social aspect, obviously.

The term community psychology has been the most widely used by all, and that is how it is usually mentioned, but during the first 3 or 4 years from 1990 onward, you could still hear designations given by other disciplines, such as those used in the 1970s, like community development, community organization, popular organization, community social research, social networks, and many others.

However, the notion of community needed more clarity: It is the proximity of basic social groups that belong to a common space. Also, a community could be defined as a specific form of group whose members regard themselves as something special, or a community connotes a specific way of being of the members who consider themselves as part of something different. A community could also include other members coming from different places, making and producing projects together by different means of participation, or they can form an association. This is an aspect that needs clarification. Some or many people may already have a sense of unity in social life, as well as being able to agree on common aspects of everyday life and have a way of seeing themselves as part of a group. It is necessary then to learn how to ask people in such a way so that psychologists can detect where the community is.

Community psychology had already begun in Latin America by 1981, a time when there were few researchers. What is more, as Wiesenfeld and Sánchez then

said, history and affection are the pillars of any community. Montero in 1982, and Ander-Egg in 1983, presented basic ideas of what community is. Although, as has already been said, it is not easy to give a clear definition of what a community is. What we have as a base is that it is being part of a solidarious group, whose participants somehow *are together*. That is why we must take into account a solid definition of a social aspect that is not always the same because everything that is social is subject to change, and that is very important in community psychology (Montero, 1994a; 1994b; 1996; 2002; Montero & Serrano-García, 2011).

Fals Borda (1959/1961, 1970, 1981) pointed out that the way to determine the condition of community is characterized by a social component that arises from *social catalysis*, which gives the possibility of producing agents, known by most members of the community. These agents are a *priority*, chosen by decision-makers and those involved in the community. Community members are the ones who usually do what is needed. Therefore, in well-organized community work, these conditions are fundamental aspects that psychologists must understand.

Serrano-Garcia and Rosario Collazo published a book in Puerto Rico in 1992, the first publication on community psychology in Latin America, presenting ways on how to implement psychology within communities (see Serrano-García & Rosario Collazo, 1992). This was a guiding light showing the way. At the same time in different places, there were other psychologists also interested in communities and in the possibility that people not only speak but also participate and believe in the progress and transformation of their lives and their surroundings. According to my count, during the 1990s, 59 books were published in 10 countries (Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Chile, Mexico, Peru, Puerto Rico, Uruguay, and Venezuela) on these topics with each presenting something different and useful at the same time.

In Mexico in 1995, Almeida, Martínez and Varela produced the first issue of the journal *Psicología Social Comunitaria* (*Social Community Psychology*), published by the University of Puebla and the University of Yucatán. These authors began by making a "state of the art," divided into four parts: delimitation of community psychology, mental health, community social psychology, and Mexican features. They also announced the possible creation of four branches as the future of this community psychology. The reality was that the future happened almost immediately. All these branches had already been created with new ideas and new practices starting in 1997 in Brazil, then in 1998 in Venezuela and Argentina, followed in 1999 by Puerto Rico, Costa Rica and Chile.

From these moments, books and academic journals made progress in Latin America, in terms of community psychology. Some of these publications have been translated into English, Italian, French, Portuguese, Norwegian, German, and Chinese. Moreover, in the United States, in Latin America, in Australia, and in some countries of Europe and Africa, new books and academic works were published. Community psychology consolidated and advanced in the 1990s, responding in many cases to the desire to make social changes and including people's participation in the community tasks. Thus, community members and psychologists both were part of the work.

The idea of organizing International Conferences on Community Psychology began in Puerto Rico, and since then they have been successful. Also, it is understood that there can be no community psychology without community participation.

Communities in this type of psychology must have a voice and a veto, as happens at the conferences.

## What Community Is and What Community Psychology Is

### *On the Community*

It seems that everyone knows what a community is, but if you want to use that word in the academic sense, it seems to be quite complex. In everyday life it is a form of a group of people that lives close together, and which has regular contact, doing things collectively and in such a way that a sense of community is achieved by the members of the group (Montero, 2004, p. 197). In community psychology it is important to work with groups because there are effects of organization, transformation, participation, awareness, equality, and sympathy, among others. Thus, they also have the impact of organization and equality but also of oppression and of other possible problems that the psychologists must attend to, along with the members of the communities. I remember reading a text by Agnes Heller (1988), which states that we must not forget that the community should be focused on "feelings," not just the location of the scene. However, community seems to have everything but definition. The one I present here may be useful:

> A community is a dynamic, historical and cultural unit, united and organized in a group, pre-existing to social interventions, and sharing interests, objectives, needs and problems in a given space and/or time. Its members collectively develop an identity, as well as systems of organizing themselves, generating and using resources in order to reach their interests.

The period between 1981 and 1989 can be considered as the beginning of the development of community psychology in most countries and of the creation of some concepts, while others were beginning to change. The effervescence at this beginning transformed into many nuclei ranging from Mexico to the Southern Cone. This was the moment to generate a psychology according to the needs of Latin America. However, not all countries benefited then from the opportunity to do so.

In any case, community psychology needed to have a clear definition and certain togetherness. It means the sense of being known and at the same time being part of a kind of broader group (without clear limits), where people find the forum of expressing ideas, either to demonstrate agreement or to vent a difference, but at the same time understanding one another. This is not the perfect definition, but it is close to what a community is. Alfaro, in 2000, published a book, written as a text to his students in Santiago de Chile, which in my opinion is more than a text because it makes a request, inviting them to reflect at that moment on what a community means. As I see things, Jaime Alfaro was developing a very good way not only to think but also to go to the community and see it in action.

### *On Community Psychology*

Community psychology got its official name in Puerto Rico in 1975, thus establishing its Latin American origin. In addition, it was also a way of practicing social psychology, as a reaction to the crisis of legitimation and social significance, uniting theory and action, including work, among psychologists and people in the communities. Psychology was thus adapted to social reality, not the other way around, as it had been until the 1970s.

In 2004 I outlined the bases of community psychology as follows:

1. An active role of the community, which includes participation, voice, and veto
2. A changing character—communities do not remain static
3. Communities can build capacities and strengths, overcoming weaknesses
4. Social changes—communities can be transformed
5. Part of an interdisciplinary field
6. Can modify ways of confronting reality
7. Can produce variations in habitat and social relationships
8. Production of dialectical transformations in mutual exchanges with psychologists (see Montero, 2004)

Its first advocates were social psychologists, and that is why it got its first name: social community psychology and also social psychology. However, very soon health psychology and community clinical psychology began to participate, giving rise to a third name. The theoretical and methodological bases of community psychology are dialogue and reflection, knowledge, equality, conscience, power and control in the community, participation, commitment, diversity, respect, acknowledgment of people's creativity, and personality. See also: Arango Calad (2006); Berger & Luckman (1972); Moreno (1996); Reich et al. (2007); Serrano-García et al. (1998); Wiesenfeld & Sánchez (1991).

## Ideas and Methods Introduced by the Social Sciences and Recreated in the Communities

A feature of community psychology in Latin America is the use of critical concepts, many of them from the social sciences, as well as the ideas of Paulo Freire and his students and colleagues, adopted and adapted by Maritza Montero and other psychologists. These concepts have been studied and applied, with good results. An example is the concept of *conscientization*, introduced by Vieira Pinto (1960). That may be perhaps the first and most useful method. That author also developed the concept of limit situation, which is defined as "the real margin where all possibilities begin" (1960). These concepts and some others created by Freire and his colleagues are some of the most important not only in everyday life but also in community psychology. C.R. Brandao, one of the main disciples of Freire, published the first method of conscientization in 1974, with the pseudonym of "Julio Barreiro."

In Latin America, symbolic interactionism and transactional ecological psychology could be seen in some articles in journals at their beginning, but the main concept at the end of the 1980s and in the early 1990s was the notion of control over contingencies that generated a *social psychological model of development*. The notion of alienation during the last decade of the last century was discussed both in academic circles and also in the work carried out with communities.

## Main Ideas and Concepts in Community Psychology

### *Basic Concepts that Support Community Work*

*Shared agency* is an absolutely necessary concept in order to distribute the organization of work and decide on the changes that benefit the communities, under which the state can facilitate people's participation. It means that there really is a community organization, and the community members are proud to participate. This feature tends to contribute to maintaining the well-being of the community. Community psychology can be involved by indicating how to do the best and how to achieve it.

*Participation in communities* is what is described by the members and given to community psychologists, so that they can see and obtain what these people usually say, for example: "When I participate, I do it *with another person*." In community psychology this is what participation accomplished with others means. Furthermore, it is also a condition for strengthening the community, as it produces exchange of knowledge, and is liberating by allowing different ideas and actions. Participation is a way of learning and organizing, a way of fostering decision-making and a way of achieving goals, as well as developing self-esteem.

*Conviction* is the most complex concept. The conviction that what is done in the community deals with the work carried out by the community; the words confirm, ensure, and make us part of the community. That is what in community psychology is called *participation*, to work together with others. It is also a condition of the community indicating how they participate and what their rights are. It is a condition of value that has three aspects: (1) Create groups within the community. (2) It is not supposed to be for external agents. (3) It can be a personal attitude (Montero, 2004, pp. 238–240). Community psychologists need to weigh these aspects, getting as much participation as possible.

*Justice*: Since inequalities can be present in many communities, it is common to find that in community psychology, justice is an important aspect that psychology needs, but not only to know it but also to take it into account. The work done in Brazil by Silvia Lane, in the 1970s, on this topic continued even after she passed away. Her work has been taken up by Bader Sawaia, who furthers it by rejecting the concept of exclusion, discovering its ambiguity by covering the *complexity and contradictions*, showing that they also cover the concept of *social inclusion* (Sawaia, 2001, p. 7). This work has also developed an *ethical dimension of injustice*, demonstrating that behind what is dialectic in exclusion/inclusion, *the subjective dimension*

of suffering is hidden. Justice in community psychology is present in the rejection of inequalities in the communities and in the need to be fair.

*Complexity*: This can be presented in community psychology as:

1. The transformer role of specific realities.
2. Transformations of social agents, within these realities.
3. Transformation of the roles of psychologists in contact with community processes of change.
4. Transformation of external and internal agents by developing relationships of social change while working on such change.

This means that those who need help can be at the same time the best collaborators because they are the ones who know what is necessary. The active and constructive condition of these individuals, formerly considered as "research subjects," can generate a different vision.

## *Participatory Action Research (PAR)*

The work of Orlando Fals Borda meant for community psychology the opening of a door to the possibility of transforming the research approach, since it did away with the distance between those who would be mentioned as subjects and the researchers. Fals Borda presented participatory action research (PAR) as a process of activities and degrees of support oriented by values and shared objectives, in order to make community and individual transformations in a group (Montero, 2004, p. 202). The entire community can participate. The PAR develops processes in which the participants learn and teach, generating solidarity and strength in the community.

## *Ethics: Political Suffering*

Between 1999 and 2001, in Brazil, Sawaia and her students developed a process-method in Sao Paulo that has been used in various psychological studies and has served to discover how social inequality has been created, such as the exclusion that can be found in members of a community. They found dimensions of social inequalities and even perverse social insertions inside communities and also outside, indicating problems that show a dialectic of exclusion/inclusion and give rise to an ethical problem (Sawaia, 2001, pp. 7–8).

## *Conversion*

This is a process that refers to the changes produced by people, changes they do not perceive as being produced by them. The process of conversion was created in 1979 by S. Moscovici, a French psychologist, and was immediately put into action by his colleagues. It is important because the lack of interest in something of value or importance that has been said is created in the midst of organized groups. The majority often impose their ideas, so that those who have created something that the dominant mainstream discards or ridicules remain silent and put aside their ideas. Thus, they do not defend what they think, because, as Paicheler & Moscovici (1984) (p. 193) said, dominant groups generate "a subtle process of perceptual modification according to which a person continues to give the accustomed answer while implicitly adopting the points of view or responses of other people." That is peer pressure and it is necessary to rule out such systems of dominance. Democracy is necessary in communities; otherwise people tend to abandon themselves to ambitious hands and the community can disappear. Its members can "accept suggestion, but not submission" (Moscovici & Mugny, 1987, p. 2).

## *Power and Symmetrical Power in the Community*

In order to have peace in a community, it is necessary to have a balance and a distribution of power. (1) Power needs to be shared among various agents and groups. (2) Respectful relationships should be established according to community work. (3) All voices must be heard and answered, while at the same all needs are treated equally when taken into account. That is to say: (4) Establishment of a symmetrical power, in which everyone decides who should be heard, how everyone can work together, deciding who should do something or decide if that is necessary and agree upon it. This sounds utopian, but it is necessary to begin by fostering equality, not just talking about it.

The neologism *empowerment*, created in the US and introduced in psychology by the psychologist Rappaport in 1981, had a very wide acceptance and was often used. That great usage passed quickly to Latin America where it was introduced inadvertently in the Spanish language, generating in this way the inadequate substitution of Spanish language words such as *fortalecimiento*, *poder*, and *potenciación* (strengthening, power, and empowerment). We do not need the Anglicism *empowerment* as a word, nor do we need to use it to work with the notion of power, something that has so far been absent. Also, in community work the word *empowerment* creates an unnecessary problem in places where one must work with great clarity in the use of language.

## Methods and Concepts in Community Psychology

### *Conscientization*

Conscience is a common word that anyone can use: something that is known to be there, but is ignored, not paying attention where or how. Plus, nobody knows where conscience is. In community psychology, conscientization means the liberating process through the mobilization of awareness, according to the situations, facts or relationships, and causes and effects, hitherto ignored or unintentional, but which functions inadvertently for individuals.

Conscientization has been the first *method-process* beyond the traditional ways of research. I have used it in the liberation psychology originated by Ignacio Martín-Baró since 1991, and many people still use it today. Its pillar is in the epistemological vision of the human being as a person that exists, since that vision is the essence of humanization, allowing and humanizing each individual, as being part of the world. It is also the discovery of oneself, of a new existence with a new and better perspective. Psychologists cooperate in the process, but it is in the mind of each person where conscientization notices new ideas and makes decisions. Psychologists accompany the process, facilitating possibilities for people to say what they think and how they can develop ideas or ways to help and how to find a clear way to solve a problem, especially when it comes to people who believe they are not able to do such things. Knowing that something can be done well is necessary.

### *De-Ideologization*

This means the construction and reconstruction of an integral, non-fractioned consciousness that leads to an understanding of the mode and place in which one is and the circumstances of life that occur there. This leads to the construction of ways to understand one's world and the circumstances of life, in the way they are viewed as a whole. A critical perspective is developed through dialogue. This criticism is reflexive, analytical, conservative, and problematizing of relations between assumed and accepted circumstances, subject to examination and discussion.

### *Naturalization and Denaturalization*

This is a method-process by which people may think that certain phenomena, or ways of doing things, are and should be considered as if they are the only possibilities or the best path to understand what is happening in the world. It is a part of the complexity of nature in society. Naturalization is responsible for maintaining a simplification of circumstances in daily life, by including negative aspects that can

make life more difficult or by denying the possibility of certain critical and/or harmful aspects (Montero, 2004, p. 292). Daily life is full of naturalizations, letting people think they are natural, rather than looking for origins and truth.

### *Problematization*

This is a concept-method created by P. Freire (1970), based on the critique of life's circumstances and on the roles that individuals play in these usual questionings, explanations, and consideration of certain events. It is the critique of how to be in the world. The problematization is linked to cognition, since it is part of our knowledge about the world in which we live and how we build that world. In community psychology it is a critical process, which when being carried out targets denaturalization, finding contradictions and interests. Both aspects are critical processes.

### *Habituation and Familiarization*

These are ways of organizing community life through both processes. Habituation and familiarization are not only ways of developing everyday life, but they can also function as ways of considering those lives, both in a positive and a negative way. This latter application means that truly negative conditions can be considered as natural and still banal, for example, "How are things! You know how things are …! " and "We, the poor, cannot do otherwise." In such a way, the constructing of reality will be negative. Community psychology needs to work on familiarization and habituation, but it is not easy to do. Such conceptions are very difficult to change, since they are something that is almost automatically accepted, without thinking or arguing. Familiarization is useful, because it can help in everyday life, but in such cases it can prevent changes due to habituation.

## "We" and "they" in the Community

Wiesenfeld presented in 1997 what could be an important common aspect in any community. "We" as a homogeneous group of people, in community work, have a common "we," which differs clearly from "they," who "we are not". That is why Wiesenfeld adds a representation of the community that should be created, the community as a social construction, from the self to us, the community as an intersubjective reality, and the community as an identity among many others (1997, p. 14), and then is added the possibility of diversity (1997, p. 15). This author also introduces the presence of psychologists and their contribution.

What Wiesenfeld proposed involves methods that are not easy to recognize, starting with knowing what a community is and what its limits are. It is not some-

thing we know as soon as we start working with a community. Organized communities, when they receive psychologists, welcome us to get to know the community, so that we can see and identify who is who, where they are, what is good, and what is bad, in a clear way that allows one to see and receive ideas about what the community is and what their needs are. And if they do not do that, then the external agents have to request that knowledge. If, for example, the community is a group that meets in a square, it is difficult to know where the boundaries of the community are (which tend to change). If that is the creation of people moving to different places, then the difficulty lies in knowing who is who.

Community is also a word with many definitions. I will present what is understood in community psychology as a *community*:

1. It is a point in different places, to bring together people who somehow know each other and create a shared relationship.
2. It is communication (meetings) in specific developed spaces and with centers of participation, where information and ideas are received and where the members create history and also act upon the small history of reality.
3. It is a sense of belonging.
4. This is to create both physical and psychological spaces, developing some social accompaniment and even generating intimacy.
5. The sense of being as "we," together, and "of us," being the people of the community (considered by many psychologists as a sense of community).
6. Solidarity, unity, and a sense of security, accompanying and sharing.
7. Sharing emotional bonds with others.

However, when a community needs our work, it is not very difficult to know what it is you need and why. The obstacles disappear due to the interest of the community. We ask and they explain, tell, ask, and produce ideas (not always good, which is a problem to be addressed), and psychologists are the ones we should ask when we do not know.

## Community Psychologies and their Histories

The way it is understood in different countries is the need of knowing, finding, talking about, and positioning community psychology in each Latin American country. This is what Serrano-Garcia and Montero decided to ask psychologists of each country of Latin America. The goal was to ask in every country what the history of the creation of community psychology is. Of the 21 countries considered, only 1 was not included, Panama, since in that country there are no community psychology programs in their universities (as far as we know).

Community psychology as a discipline in Latin America, as I have mentioned previously, began in many of the countries during the 1970s when a group of psychologists pointed out that the kind of psychology that followed the developments of France, England, and the United States could not be applied to study the Latin

American reality. As already mentioned, Puerto Rico was the country that first began to develop community psychology. In the mid-1980s, countries such as Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Chile, Peru, the Dominican Republic, and Venezuela were creating community psychology courses, and in the early twenty-first century, these studies were also implemented in Argentina, Uruguay, and Ecuador. Mexico since the 1980s had already begun community psychology in the region of Puebla, as indicated by Professor Eduardo Almeida. Specifically, the researcher Flores-Osorio applied community psychology with indigenous people in the zone of Chiapas. This work has continued, and in 2011 Flores-Osorio created a method whose initials are IRA, which is not only used by the indigenous people in the Mexican zone but also in the Mayan communities of Guatemala. However, at UNAM (the most prestigious university in Mexico), community psychology has only been included since the second decade of the twenty-first century. In Argentina community psychology was introduced at the beginning of this century, and community psychology courses have already been created in Buenos Aires, the city of Salta, and elsewhere. Community psychology courses have been created also in Uruguay. Finally, the most recent countries to offer this subject are Paraguay, Ecuador, and Bolivia.

In order to know what people think about community psychology, Irma Serrano-García and I decided to ask, in all the countries of Latin America, how it is taught, how it is considered, and how community psychology is conducted in each country. The only country not included was Panama. To our surprise, this country is still without community psychology courses. Nor has there been any in the past, with the exception of Luis Escovar, who has been the only professional interested in that country (but he did not create courses in his country), and in the early 1980s, he emigrated to Florida in the United States.

Thus, from Argentina to Venezuela, we received 19 accounts written by 27 women and 9 men. Cuba was a difficult country to insert, since some people we knew were out of the country for some time or took no notice of what community psychology was. An English friend told us that there was a Cuban psychologist who was traveling in Europe and that she had worked in Cuba with some nuns of the United States, who in turn were involved with communities. We contacted her, and she sent us her findings, which conclude by saying:

> Cuba during these 60 years has had a history of social movement and a history of socialist projects, which despite their undeniable fissures have fostered in the population a favorable social consciousness in many ways conducive to a community human development. (such as solidarity, participation, social equality or justice). In contradiction, this social project as a participatory space, has lost a huge amount of influence … because the control of the State does not admit more than what it considers its true way. M. Carreño-Fernández (2011, p. 195)

In 2006, I was invited by Isaac Prilleltensky and two future colleagues, S. Reich and M. Riemer, to be part of a project whose name was directed toward an important subject and a great deal of work. It was "The International Community Psychology: History and Theories." I learned a lot, and at the same time, together with my Puerto Rican colleague Nelson Varas Díaz, we carried out a difficult but fascinating work.

The book project included 5 Asian countries in the Pacific, 10 countries in Europe and the Middle East, and 3 countries in the Americas: Canada, the United States, and Mexico; from Mexico to the southern cone of South America, we should jointly include 20 countries that constitute the majority of the Latin American continent, all united as a single conglomerate. However, when thinking of Latin America as a block, it implies leaving out a huge and rich variety of languages. For example, there are 200 million people in Brazil who speak Portuguese and many others in that same country who speak Guarani, and Yanomami (only two of many other languages) used by very diverse people: The Mayas in southern Mexico and in the Northern Guatemala are very different ethnicities from the Wayú (Guajiros), in the northern part of Colombia and Venezuela, or the Aymará and Quechua in Peru, Ecuador, and Bolivia, and hundreds more of other places. Cultural diversities produce specific ways of doing and of thinking and, in this case specifically, many ways of development for communities and how to work with them.

Nelson Varas Díaz and I had 19 countries in the Latin American continent and only 36 pages. We developed definitions of community psychology and its origins in Latin America and some aspects related to Uruguay and Argentina so that they would not be left out, since the differences and encounters in 17 countries were innumerable. Four countries did not present any information, Panama, Bolivia, Guatemala, and Nicaragua. Of course, there was no state of the art because it was impossible to do so. Still, we did find 12 points that are interesting:

1. Discussions concerning epistemology, ontology, ethics, politics, and methodology
2. Difficulties and ways of defining and conceptualizing the notion of community
3. Community participation, its definition, effects, capacity, and limitations
4. Community networks
5. Ways of applying participatory action research (PAR)
6. Emotion and affectivity in the community
7. Community health, promotion, and prevention
8. Processes and concepts produced in community praxis
9. Power
10. Political effects of community psychosocial work
11. The role of community psychology
12. Liberating and ethical nature of community psychology

These 12 aspects help us in that work since they indicate problematic ideas and their analysis. Introducing these characteristics is important in allowing us to see how many of those topics investigated 10 years ago occur in relation to community psychology. I will comment on those items mentioned above:

1. The first one is still here, and I believe it will always continue, because in every science epistemology, ontology, and ethics are the bases that produce its construction and progress.
2. This topic is something that we believe has finally been found.
3. There are many definitions of community psychology participation and that is natural. Not all problems are the same; they have to be studied and solved

together with the people of the community. One cannot use the same procedure for each case. Psychologists have to adapt to problems, and the problems are endless. You cannot go to a community thinking it is going to be like the last one you worked with.
4. Community networks are created by the communities themselves; they are not constructed by psychologists.
5. There are no specific ways of doing action research. One can start with a small group and ask the participants to invite more people from the community, as we indicated earlier. We must try to involve as many members as needed.
6. Emotion and affectivity depend on the people of the community. If they are in agreement, they will be happy, and if there is no affectivity, it is necessary to seek fraternity, equality, and well-being and try, together with the community, to foster it.
7. Community health is a branch of community psychology and needs to function as such.
8. Processes and concepts as mentioned in this paper are used by many psychologists.
9. Power. It should be shared in the community. It is essential to have it and it is also wise not to use it in an oppressive way.
10. Political effects occur when people learn the positive values of coming together and knowing their rights and obligations.
11. Community psychology must act in order to develop tactics for creating and defending social rights in the places where people dwell.
12. Liberation entails agreeing with positive policies in all forms. It means mutual respect and all voices should be heard in order to live harmoniously, being respected and respecting others.

That study showed us important aspects, such as knowing not only that our graduate students are very good but that they also generate excellent ideas. It was found that women outdo men in their tasks and that they are more interested in new ideas and care more rigorously and accurately. The importance of ethics, participation, and commitment, as well as creativity and enthusiasm, is the findings that we presented in the publication that was the product of our research (Montero & Varas-Díaz, 2007).

## Ethics in Latin American Community Psychology

Community psychology has, as everything that concerns human beings, the need to separate the good from the bad. The development of human beings can produce better knowledge and ideas, in different places and times, showing their possible new benefits and sharing those already obtained. According to this, community psychology should teach while respecting other ideas. Considering this, working with people can lead to difficult decisions, in which we need to explain what needs to be done or said, stating why something needs to be done, without imposing it. That means

we have limits, considering how much can be done and what cannot be done and, at the same time, remembering that everything is transformed according to the epochs.

There is the need of respect for life, for its creation everyday, and together with the right of every human being (of any ethnicity, age, sex, language, and belief) to be known and supported. All those aspects are basic to human life. Following these foundations, community psychologists should work with people of many types, in different places and conditions and with different needs, problems, and desires. It is necessary then to comply with certain conditions. We have the codes of ethics, which help introduce and maintain ethical conduct in each discipline. Winkler, Pasmanik, Alvear, and Olivares (2015, p. 66) define these types of codes as the formal expression of responsible professionals of a specific discipline. The group of psychologists organized by M.I. Winkler has read and written about ethics, and they have consulted and observed until the certainty was achieved about how good and evil are seen and understood and what is and is not ethical. Their book *La Dimensión Ética en Psicología Comunitaria* (*The Ethical Dimension in Community Psychology*, 2015) presents in a clear way the bases for constructing ethics.

These bases and that dimension in community psychology come from the paradigm of construction and critical transformation (Montero, 2006) that includes the five dimensions that are presented in community psychology. They are an *ontological dimension*, which considers that there is no single being, because no one can be if there is no other being. This is what allows people to be active and reactive: an *epistemological dimension* that generates a dynamic process that indicates that both subject and object are part of the reality, transforming, limiting, and impelling; a *methodological dimension* that means that psychologists in community psychology have to facilitate, creating methods whose fundamental characteristic foresees the capacity to change, in many different manners, to deal with the problems of the communities; and an *ethical dimension* in which the others that take part, or have a relationship, produce knowledge and are respected and considered. Our duties include responsibilities with other people, not as objects controlled by us, but as independent persons (Dussel, 1998).

There is an ethical correlation based on the need to place the common interest above the individual benefits as follows:

(a) The other is not an object created by psychologists.
(b) Culture and behaviors are present both in the people of the community and in psychologists; therefore, the people of the community need to know and understand these aspects of common good as their own.
(c) The relationship is always between two people; psychologists need to indicate that plurality.
(d) Community psychology is open to indicating this multiplicity.
(e) Community psychology is open to hearing many voices, and as psychologists we have to understand and respect this in communities.
(f) There is always a criticism about what has been done in the community, as there is also about what has been done outside of it.

Ethics in community psychology has introduced its own ideas and methods since Fals Borda. He wanted to develop a different style of doing social science, including people and their ideas, an approach which was adopted by community psychology. His books published between 1969 and 1986 are the basis of a great deal of research carried out in psychology at that time. Indeed, many fundamental principles are in those early works, which are still studied, such as his book *Community Action in a Colombian Hamlet* (*Acción Comunal en una Vereda Colombiana*, 1961), in which Fals Borda indicated five bases for community work that are still considered necessary. They are:

1. Social catalysis, which concerns the work of the external agents and their communication with the people of the community
2. Group autonomy, which refers to control, direction, and decision in communities and other groups and their priorities and needs, in order to organize what is most necessary in a democratic orientation
3. Priorities, which deal with the possibilities of the communities in terms of their ability to define their needs and how to be able to intervene
4. Achievements, developing awareness to define what is needed, as well as unity and cooperation within the community
5. Stimulus, the need to have the joy of having achieved what the community needed (see Fals Borda, 1961)

The ethical condition in community psychology is absolutely necessary. Without it community psychology could not work, and it is a fact that, when a community sees that its people have not been well-informed about something that concerns them, immediately they try to know what it is about. Moreover, if they have not been informed, they attempt to stop what was going to be done, or what is already being done, or they just ignore it and put it aside. In some cases members of the community stop their participation and may even dissolve the community.

## Community Expansion

### *The Creation of New Branches of Community Psychology*

In the 1990s community psychology had developed two new branches. In volume 40 of 1991, in the journals *Applied Psychology: An International Review* and in *Environmental Community Psychology*, Euclides Sánchez and Esther Wiesenfeld, as guest editors, had described a new branch, environmental community psychology, along with psychologists from Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Mexico, and Venezuela. Community psychologists already had the capacity to open up to the creation of new approaches of doing and applying what had been learned and what was being created. In 1997 Wiesenfeld received the National Award for Research on Housing Development in Venezuela. In Chile the work of Domingo Asún has been

recognized, as well as that of Jaime Alfaro. That has also happened with Irma Serrano-García in her country (Puerto Rico), where she has developed community psychology and social action. Some other Latin American psychologists including Argentinian, Brazilian, Colombian, Chilean, Mexican, Puerto Rican, and Venezuelan psychologists have won the Interamerican Psychology Award, which is bestowed every 2 years.

The area of health psychology found a companion branch in community psychology. This participation of community psychology has been an important way of strengthening programs in health psychology. There are increasingly frequent programs of counseling and care for people who live far from hospitals in remote locations and areas difficult to reach and who cannot afford buses or other transportation systems. In Fortaleza (Ceará), in Brazil, there are universities that have organized communities that have proved to be excellent helpers in health care and also in teaching. The Community Psychology Nucleus of the Federal University of Ceará (NUCOM) is an example of this effort (Cordeiro, Vieira & Ximenes, 2007).

Community mental health is a proposal of understanding and action in order to improve the living conditions of some social groups that need to strengthen their social fabric. This is an endeavor in which people in the community are the agents of action and are not simply waiting to receive something from persons from outside the community. The community members are co-authors of their decisions. The mental health working group is made up of these people and some external individuals. All decisions must come from the community. Part of the group seeks the training, decision, correction and happiness for the people of the community.

In Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil, Helena Scarparo described in 2005 how health services included community participation. An example described by Scarparo is the Hospital Clinics of Porto Alegre (HCPA), which introduced community participation in 1971. Social psychiatry developed community psychiatry as a branch of community psychology, on the grounds that it is responsible for the mental health in the communities.

Likewise, in Peru and Brazil, we have found great interest for the field of community psychology. The inclusion of community psychology in the community health system has opened the doors to academic projects, providing opportunity for practices and democratic relations. An interesting impetus produced in Peru, also dealing with mental health, is the one carried out by Pérez & Jibaja (2009). They have developed a project open to many participants, some of the positions being very new, such as spiritual guides, midwives, healers, and mental health promoters. However at the same time, the ethical and political aspects such as exclusion, racism, and violence led to the generation of mental problems in people but whose real problem was exclusion. In order to promote mental health, these agents and people working with them and needy people living in six places in the Peruvian mountains (Huanuco, Junin, Ayacucho, Huancavelica, Cusco, and Puno) have developed small groups formed by these local people and promoters (teachers, health workers, mothers). Community nuclei arose in relation to places

and problems, creating groups with empathetic therapist assistants, who organize places of psychological counseling and carry out clinical interventions, even using the Internet.

So far, in many places in these two countries, approaches have been developed to find answers as to how community psychology can solve very difficult social problems, showing how the population can obtain mental health care, as well as being part of the processes.

There are several labels to call what has been done: community mental health, community clinical psychology, community health, and community social psychology. Up to now, community mental health is the most used name. The countries in which we have found more information about this are Peru and Brazil.

## Current Community Psychology: Four Examples

What has been done since 2010 is quite interesting. Several psychologists have proposed innovations for the practice of community psychology. Also, those who began working in community psychology at the end of the twentieth century have been working and producing some novel ways of working with communities. Here I will present those that I found noteworthy to apply and to ponder. Furthermore, as was said in the 1980s, the purpose is to arrive at something different from social psychology and psychology in general.

*Indigenous Communities*: In 2011, Jorge Mario Flores-Osorio was working to raise awareness among indigenous communities in their determination and organization. The communities are located in Guatemala and southern Mexico (Chiapas). The Mayan ethnic group has occupied all that territory for many centuries, including the pre-Columbian era. This researcher studied their language and assessed and established a way of working with these indigenous people in order to know their history and to develop with them what has been called IRA (investigation, reflection, and action). Flores-Osorio has worked on aspects that come from various places in Latin America, such as PAR (participatory action research—Fals Borda), and Freire's teachings, which include not merely words but also conscience. The IRA method uses reflection and social transformation, excluding the university halls and colonialism (Flores-Osorio, 2011, p. 11).

What Flores-Osorio is presenting is the work of many years and many ideas, as well as many changes to accomplish IRA, developing an ethics-politics. The book *Psychology and Community Praxis: A Latin American Vision* (*Psicología y Praxis Comunitaria. Una visión Latinoamericana*), produced by the local people, is one with many contributions. When visiting some of the towns in Chiapas, Mexico, you can see that women know that they are a central part of a life that they themselves manage. Community psychology works in this case with something done in a culture different from that of the researcher, who is respected and can produce aspects of interest and ways of doing so.

*From Garbage to Art*: In 2014 in Brazil, two young psychologists published a book whose title would seem to refer to art. In fact, it has art, but what these two women did was work with low-middle and lower-class women who had had problems such as unemployment, poverty, violence, substance abuse, alcohol, and very precarious lives. The two psychologists who authored and produced the book wrote from extremely different parts of the country: one from the north and the other one from the south, very distant from each other and with different kinds of poverty. The participating women (men were not interested) agreed to join the study, each group with their psychologist. These psychologists were Ana María Melo de Pinho in Fortaleza (north) and Ana Luisa Teixeira de Menezes, in Porto Alegre (south).

In both places, they contacted people who worked in landfills. Some of the women were illiterate but wanted to change their lives by working (not just finding in the trash things they could sell). At the same time, they had to struggle to try to solve everyday problems, such as their sense of helplessness and their difficulties in dealing with their educational situation. That education issue was solved by the psychologists by teaching them, since they were eager to learn. The aforementioned problem was made evident in the "experiential groups" when talking about their lives, e.g., how one lives and how one can change. They worked and solved some of their problems by developing new psychological capacities, using their creative ideas in making art, having fun with their creations, and also developing a critical sense of awareness, respecting their popular culture and their social life. The interest developed by these women was unlimited. One example is that they refused to be called "papeleiras," because they collected paper. In Portuguese they said "papeleleiras nao, ¡recicladoras!" (Menezes & Pinho, 2014, p. 26). They didn't consider themselves as garbage collectors, but rather recyclers. That means a different and better way of thinking about their work, as well as an important new way of being.

Ana Luisa de Menezes and Ana María de Pinho worked with these women from the base to generate a liberating science through the liberation made by these women who, while working with the psychologists, were learning more and more using art and also learning to make better use of the language, to change their way of seeing themselves, and to create beauty (something very complex to do, but that the women managed to achieve). The ideas of Boff, Gois, and Dussel were analyzed and used during the liberation process. The oppression-liberation dialectic was also worked out in order to achieve liberating praxis.

*Community, Resilience, and Peace*: In 2009, after 7 years of problems, we worked with a community in the north of the city of Caracas, Venezuela, in a place called Catuche. The community had worked on the construction of housing buildings (nine). It had also had a tradition of organizing and seeking resources to achieve a better quality of life. They had received money from a number of governments and had been helped by architects, engineers, psychologists, and the enormous effort and work of men and women in the community who had handled the money and aid very well.

As families of the community were occupying the buildings, new people occupied the places left by these families. These new people had arrived not only filling the space left but also squatting in new places on the mountain. Community leaders since the 1980s had been very careful about their territory, but with each new group

of people who had not participated in their work originally and who came to live in their space, problems for the community were created. The chief and most difficult problem was the formation of criminal groups that entered into the community and were armed. People in the community started to be very frightened, and the situation grew in violence, so much so that adolescents in the community also began to use weapons, and murder began to be part of everyday life.

The community was disturbed, and they began to think about how to respond to this violent situation. No one knew how the new problems began, and the whole community began to suffer. Again community leaders, mothers, and all those who wanted peace began to organize themselves in order to stop the disaster. The first thing was to have a reflective dialogue and to rebuild the due respect to everyone within the community. In addition, they talked about building a containment network, doing their best as to reach to an agreement, reorganizing the community, and rebuilding ties based on the fact that many of them belonged to the families in the community. These people asked to strengthen the previously established codes of honor, to respect and propose a break to return to peace and reconciliation. In 2009, groups of women invited other groups to visit them and talk and to try to live in peace. They also looked for support in other social networks that wanted to participate too.

Now the community of Catuche is again at peace, and young men can walk through it without carrying a gun. The book that relates what happened in the community (Zubillaga, Llorens, Nuñez, & Souto, 2015) tells the story exactly as it was told by their women. It is a community inhabited by the residents who built it and who are continually working to improve the conditions, aware of their place in the lives of people who are part of the community and who suffered a period of deaths. It also shows how it regained the positive action line. There is an example of solidarity there, but it is not necessarily a model for other communities. Each community responds to what its members think and feel.

*Anticipating Community Psychology*: It is difficult to believe in a case such as the one that follows, which has been the unknown precursor of community psychology and a number of methods. It deals with Cézar Wagner de Lima Gois, a man who in 1983 in Ceará (Brazil) introduced a creative way of doing community psychology, working with peasants and also with residents both on farms and in small cities, developing with these people an important and commendable work. Cézar Gois is an emeritus professor whose books are still in use, since his disciples (many important university professors have been his disciples) continue to draw from them. However, he does not usually leave Ceará. For that reason, he may not be very well known, but he is a person to whom we owe important recognition. His books are clear, accurate, and useful. Some of his students have also published along with him and have developed new ways of applying community psychology, maintaining the platform created by Gois, whose books are *Clinical-Community Psychology* (2012), *Community Health* (2007), *Community Psychology*: *Activities with Consciousness* (2005), and *Community Psychology in Ceará* (2003). It is amazing to think that at the same time as in the 1980s, when Community Psychology was just being created,

he was already developing a participatory Community Psychology system in rural communities in Brazil.

## Latin American Community Psychology's Wider Influence

New ideas, new methods, and new ways of thinking are appearing in other countries of the world. Latin American Community Psychology stands out and inspires work in other countries. Many people have adopted the ideas of our community psychology by combining them (as is usual) in several ways. Reading, commenting, and thinking are sound and useful techniques for developing knowledge, and it is better when performed and transformed, and well thought out, but it is even much better when we add knowledge and make changes and propose new alternatives. It is also necessary to open new windows, to set out on new roads, to scan new horizons, and to go beyond the ideas that have only served to solve our specific problems. In this chapter we have described or mentioned some of these works. In journals, books, and conferences, there are many community psychology studies originating in Latin America that have had an impact in other parts of the world.

## In Closing: But there Is Still a Lot to Say

History is hard to describe when it is still taking place. I have tried here to show how the beginnings and developments happened and present some of the important methods and ideas effected, created, and analyzed in our part of the continent, indicating our growth and place in community psychology. Many ideas and methods have been proposed from Mexico to Patagonia.

I am grateful to Rubén Ardila for inviting me to participate in this book and to be able to show the possibilities of implementing community psychology, by pointing out our methods and ideas from their initiation to the complete application programs. Latin American Community Psychology is here to stay.

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# Chapter 10
# Legal and Forensic Psychology in Latin America


**Ángela Tapias**

**Abstract** Legal and Forensic Psychology has been an area of recent development in Latin America, although it had its origins in the first decades of the twentieth century. This chapter analyzes the law-psychology relationship, the training of forensic and legal psychologists at the undergraduate and graduate levels, the roles of the psychologist, the relationships with other professionals such as lawyers and psychiatrists, the organizations related to justice in Latin America, and the associations of legal and forensic psychologists and their role in the development of the profession. The author includes in her analysis a wide range of Latin American countries: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Cuba, Costa Rica, Colombia, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Mexico, Panama, Paraguay, and Uruguay.

## History

This chapter recounts the progression of Legal Psychology in several Latin American countries, affirming the presence of this application field in government institutions, even before the formal teaching of this area of knowledge. It also enlightens on the associations that have propelled its development and at the same time questions the present state and what ought to be done by the professionals of the area.

The history is influenced by those who write it, since each author has an individual perspective of the journey through time and of the relevant events. To minimize this bias, the author evaluated diverse literature sources and surveyed representatives of different countries in order to interlink information resources and achieve greater objectivity or intersubjectivity.

To begin, the history annals are built upon, starting from the identification of the name and the definition of the object to be reconstructed. For this reason, Legal Psychology is presented as the main label, although it includes other connotations such as criminological, forensic, victimological psychology, or psychology and law.

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With this logic, Spanish terms like “Criminal” and “Legal” Psychology are considered a complete epistemological and semantic error, since the former is a pejorative qualifier and the latter alludes to any psychologist who receives their diploma following the normative formalities. These designations indicate that the historical reconstruction of Legal Psychology can approximate with that of criminology, victimology, and the forensic sciences in such a way that it is a challenge to identify what actually belongs to this field of knowledge.

A designation chosen by the educators of Saint Tomás University in Bogotá, Colombia, is “Legal Psychology is an applied area of psychology that studies human behavior, in an interdisciplinary way, in direct relation to juridically regulated scenarios, favoring justice and human dignity.” This conception allows one to include both the empirical exercises and the theoretical development in the historical account.

## The Path Is Made by Walking

There is a serious polemic concerning the genesis of the area, motivated by several questions: Can it be said that Legal Psychology starts in Central and South America when psychology professionals were incorporated into judicial institutions? Or are the beginnings only when this area was formally named and recognized by guild, academic or state bodies?

The author considers the two elements as valid channels that lead to the historical source, since both the exercise and formalization of the specialized area of knowledge drive its development. However, one without the other is insufficient; in other words, professional exercise without the theoretical educational advance and the systematization of empirical experiences could lead to improper practices because of inexperience. Similarly, isolated academic knowledge without permeating state institutions is limited to a utopia with no ability to influence or transform the social reality.

In an exemplary way, and going beyond the Latin American context, it is possible to internationally evoke the milestones of the Legal Psychology participation, even before its being called as such or being recognized as an applied area of psychology. Some authors place the antecedents of Legal Psychology in the eighteenth century, with the publication in Germany of Eckartshausen’s work *On the need of psychological knowledge to judge crimes* and of other publications that included the psychological aspects of delinquency, such as *Idea of a criminal psychology,* Schaumann*,* and *The influence of criminal psychology in a criminal law system,* Münch*.* At the end of the nineteenth century, several works were published: *Judicial psychopathology*, Krafft-Ebnis, and *The psychological basis of public law* by Vichelli, published in 1895. In the twentieth century, we can cite the cases of Alfred Binet who wrote in 1900 the book entitled *Suggestibility*. Later, Münsterberg in 1908 developed the text *On the witness stand: essays on psychology and crime*, and S. Freud wrote some essays on the neurotic delinquent and criminal law in 1933. Much later, Eysenck (1964) developed the environmentalist theory between biology and psychology to explain and intervene in antisocial behavior (Garrido, Masip, & Herrero, 2006).

These data extracted from Garrido et al. (2006) show that before the formal specialty of Legal Psychology existed, interdisciplinary activity was already taking place.

In Latin America the development of Legal Psychology has been uneven. Argentina, Chile, Colombia, and Brazil show the most formidable development of Legal Psychology in Latin America according to García, Jiménez, Varela, Maffioletti, and Díaz (2014). There are also two other countries mentioned, but this author omits them because there are no significant signs of development in those nations.

It is also important to note that in Latin American countries, three key moments for the development of Legal Psychology coincided: (1) emergence of classes in universities, (2) creation of graduate courses, and (3) reforms toward orality in criminal matters for the implementation of the accusatory system in Latin America and thus the promotion of private experts favoring controversy (García et al., 2014).

Parallel to these circumstances is the inclusion of psychologists in Latin American state entities dedicated to administering justice, developing forensic concepts or providing protection to families, as can be seen in the following Table 10.1.

This chart shows the extent of the support of psychologists who, without specialized training in Legal and Forensic Psychology, contribute to the administration of justice; but its work would be more effective if it were carried out in coherence with theoretical frameworks, methods, and updated techniques, which offer the knowledge accumulated and organized over the years by the discipline in question.

This circumstance may explain what Bohórquez (2017) points out when she states that another frequent situation in the Ecuadorian reality and one that predominates in Latin America is the confusion of roles between the legal psychologist and the forensic psychologist. So, professionals with health-oriented training try to adapt to the justice system, performing by trial and error. However, since they are linked to the state body to investigate and accuse, their training background becomes inadequate to diagnose and treat. On the other hand, if they are linked to penitentiaries with the mission of reeducating, they should not focus on individual clinical goals. In addition, they may be confused about professional secrecy, difficulties in selecting the suitability of the instruments, and misunderstanding of the legal consequences of their concepts (Ackerman, 1999, Vázquez, 2007).

While identifying this historical reality, attention is drawn to academia regarding its duty to train these professionals, that is, to invite them to specialized study in Legal Psychology, which will result in an increase of service quality for the user and greater access to science-based justice. This also implies a challenge for the associations of the specialty, to put forth a pedagogical endeavor with state institutions related to justice, around the need to incorporate specific profiles in judicial and administrative careers (Table 10.2).

It is possible to observe how in these institutes there is an outstanding mention of medicine, since the name of legal medicine, forensic doctor, or legal doctor is predominant, although medicine itself is one more forensic science. This is largely due to the antiquity of physicians in society, since their knowledge dates from the first century, unlike psychology, which began in the nineteenth century. Thus, medicine has centuries of tradition, positioning itself in the society, and has gained power over other forensic sciences, occupying the administrative management of forensic

**Table 10.1** Inclusion of psychologists in entities related to justice

| Country | Organization | Entrance of general psychologists | Inclusion of legal psychologists |
|---|---|---|---|
| Governmental organizations dedicated to families | | | |
| Bolivia | Ombudsman for children and adolescents<br>Brigades of attention to the family<br>Comprehensive legal service for women | 1997 | Few in relation to demand |
| Chile | Ministry of Women and Gender Equality | 2016 | Low percentage |
| Costa Rica | Judicial Power | 1930 | Some |
| Colombia | Family commissaries | 1991 | Moderate percentage |
| Ecuador | National Institute of Childhood and Family | 2007 | No |
| El Salvador | Attorney General of the Republic and Family Courts | 1993 | Only courses and short specializations because in the country there are no postgraduates programs |
| Mexico | Integral Family Development (DIF) | 1977 | Some |
| Panama | Superior Family Court<br>Child and Adolescent Court.<br>Ministry of Social Development<br>National Secretariat of Childhood, Adolescence and Family<br>National Women's Institute | 1995<br>1995<br>1997<br>2009<br>2008 | Some<br>Some<br>No<br>No<br>No |
| Paraguay | Judicial Power | 1980 | Low percentage |
| Dominican Republic | Judicial Power Directorate of Children, Adolescence and Family | 1998 | Few |
| Governmental organizations dedicated to infancy | | | |
| Bolivia | Public Ministry | 2000 | Few in relation to the demand |
| Mexico | Foundation for the Protection of Childhood (IAP) | | Some |
| Chile | National Children's Service | 1990 | Low percentage |
| Costa Rica | Judiciary Family, Childhood and Juvenile Courts | 1930 | They do not have this specialization |
| Colombia | Colombian Family Welfare Institute (ICBF) | 1969 | Low percentage |

(continued)

**Table 10.1** (continued)

| Country | Organization | Entrance of general psychologists | Inclusion of legal psychologists |
|---|---|---|---|
| El Salvador | National Council for Children and Adolescents [CONNA] and the Salvadoran Institute for the Integral Development of Children and Adolescents (ISNA) | 2011 | Some |
| Guatemala | Attorney General of the Nation (PGN)<br>Childhood Refuge Ombudsman for Children and Adolescents | 1948 | No |
| Panama | Judicial Body: Children and Adolescents' Court<br>National Secretariat of Childhood, Adolescence and Family | 1995<br>2009 | Some<br>No |
| Paraguay | Ministry of Children and Adolescents<br>Childhood Council | 2000 | Low percentage |
| Dominican Republic | National Council for Children and Adolescents (CONANI) | 1979 | No |
| Uruguay | Institute of Children and Adolescents of Uruguay—Family Courts | | No |
| Prosecution and research entity | | | |
| Chile | Public Ministry | 2001 | 50% |
| Colombia | Attorney General of the Nation | 1991 | Low percentage |
| Costa Rica | Attorney General | 1967 | Some |
| Ecuador | State Attorney General | 2009 | None |
| El Salvador | Attorney General of the Republic | | Some, at the level of short specializations and courses, related directly or indirectly to the area of legal and forensic psychology; those who possess masters are in areas not specifically related to legal and forensic psychology |
| Guatemala | Public Ministry | 1993 | There are many psychologists who are not experts in legal matters |

(continued)

**Table 10.1** (continued)

| Country | Organization | Entrance of general psychologists | Inclusion of legal psychologists |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mexico | General Procurator of Justice of Mexico City<br>General Procurator of the Republic (PGR) | 1955<br>1901 | Some |
| Panama | Public Ministry | 2008 | Some |
| Paraguay | Public Ministry | 2000 | Low percentage |
| Peru | National Public Prosecutor's Ministry | | |
| Dominican Republic | General Procurator Office (Public Ministry) | Created in 1845 by law, and it has been modified on multiple occasions, the last time in 1964 | Some |
| Uruguay | Ministry of Education and Culture on which prosecutors depend | | They do not have psychologists |
| Penitentiary organizations | | | |
| Country | Institution | Participation of psychologists | |
| Argentina | Penitentiary Service | Many psychologists | |
| Bolivia | Penitentiaries, Custodial Centers, Special Establishments | Insufficient for the population and specialized formal education does exist | |
| Chile | Gendarmerie of Chile | Some psychologists have master's in the area | |
| Colombia | National Penitentiary and Prison Institute (INPEC) | Few psychologists for the population and a minority have specialized studies | |
| Costa Rica | Justice Ministry | | |
| Ecuador | Social rehabilitation centers and centers of adolescent offenders (CAI) | Some psychologists are employed, and a group of them with expert training | |
| El Salvador | General Directorate of Penal Centers | There are psychologists hired only with training courses and short specializations | |
| Guatemala | Prison system | Only a few with training courses and short specializations | |
| Mexico | Undersecretary of the penitentiary system | | |
| Panama | Penitentiary System | There are psychologists with general training | |
| Paraguay | Directorate of penal institutes | Few with expert training | |
| Peru | National Penitentiary Institute (INPE) | | |
| Dominican Republic | General Directorate of Prisons | | |
| Uruguay | National Institute of Rehabilitation | Few unspecialized psychologists | |

**Table 10.2** State Forensic Institutions

| Forensic science institutes | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Country | Institution | From what year | Specialized training |
| Argentina | Forensic Medical Corps of the National Courts | 2000 | Few corresponding to the demand |
| Brazil | Brazilian Center for Studies and Research in Forensic Psychiatry and Legal Psychology | | |
| Bolivia | Forensic Research Institute (IDIF) | | |
| Chile | Legal Medicine Service | 1995 | Forensic Psychology |
| Cuba | Legal medicine Institute | 1980 | No |
| Costa Rica | Forensic Science Complex of the Judicial Branch | | |
| Colombia | National Institute of Legal Medicine and Forensic Sciences | | Some |
| Ecuador | National Service of Legal Medicine and Forensic Sciences | 2016 | No |
| El Salvador | Legal Medicine Institute Dr. Roberto Masferrer | | |
| Guatemala | National Institute of Forensic Sciences (INACIF) | 2008 | No |
| Mexico | National Institute of Penal Sciences | 1996 | Some |
| Panama | Institute of Legal Medicine and Forensic Science | 1992 | Most did their postgraduate course while working there |
| Paraguay | Directorate of Legal Medicine and Forensic Sciences, Public Ministry | 1980 | Some |
| Peru | Institute of Legal Medicine and Forensic Sciences | | |
| Dominican Republic | National Institute of Forensic Sciences (INACIF), ascribed to PGR | 2005 | Some |
| Uruguay | Forensic Technical Institute | | Yes |

agencies, granting the coordination of psychology and psychiatry groups to medical professionals and even competing or taking hold of job positions or thematic fields. An example of this situation in Colombia are the evaluation guides (*guides, protocols, and regulations* of the National Institute of Legal Medicine and Forensic Sciences, INMLCF) in cases of comprehension and determination that limit this expertise to the field of psychiatry, ignoring the work and academic competencies of psychologists, skills that *are* recognized by Education, Health, and Work Ministries.

Díaz (2011) agrees that "In Latin American justice organizations, there is a marked tendency to overestimate the medical-psychiatric opinion, thereby underestimating that of the psychologist. Obviously, in this particular case, the responsibility lies with the scant participation and diffusion of psychological advances in the legal field, which psychologists themselves have not dared to provide." The preeminence of the psychiatric opinion over the psychological, in the criminal, family, and civil

fields, indicates the need for a huge effort of dissemination and training of the judicial authorities, which emphasizes the true scope and limitations that the psychological science has, to contribute to judicial investigation and justice entities.

This precedent is not an obstacle to recognize the importance of all the forensic sciences and the need for interdisciplinarity and equity in forensic institutes. At present, the competence of forensic ballistics experts, chemists, dentists, anthropologists, etc. is evident, so that, as a complementary team, each one of them could assume the leadership of the institution or of the internal sections. As García, Domínguez-Trejo, Varela, and Tapias (2008) affirm: "it is for the sake of science that a better administration of justice is sought, not the supremacy of one discipline over the other."

Situations that make psychology and psychiatry converge abound, so both disciplines must interact and collaborate to achieve the cherished value of justice (García et al., 2008). It is relevant here to emphasize that "psychiatry mostly constructs its explanations and interventions on a mainly biological-pharmacological substrate, which together with its strictly pathological orientation, can offer little integrated explanation of the psychic reality, that is to say, psychiatry lacks a global vision of the personality, and usually with very limited reference to the behavior considered *normal*. On the contrary, psychology (without excluding the pathological orientation), often tries to describe *normal* behavior and, of course, proceeds with a more mentalistic and integrative attitude of the whole personality. This may allow it to be closer to the legal needs." In fact, "forensic psychology has better elements to define the IQ or to validate the testimony", and surely psychiatry will have them in cases of mental disorders handled with medication. Therefore, both the psychiatrist and the forensic psychologist are equally suitable to attending the Court's call and are trained and legally recognized to make a diagnosis and can provide the precise guidance that is required of them if they are well-prepared.

These realities make the discussion pertinent between the "what is and what ought to be" of the role of the professional, a point alluded to by Bustos (2008) who deepens the analysis between the role assigned, assumed, and potential of the professionals. The *assigned* role is understood to be the activities carried out corresponding to the norms and expectations of the place or position that is dealt with; they are not the product of autonomous decisions. The *assumed* role is the internalization of these social norms and expectations, and the *potential* role would be the questioning of activities by the professional, with the awareness of the need for a different practice and the possibility of new proposals for action based on concepts or specific theoretical discourses, as well as the proposed area for action.

Bustos (2008) points out that there is a gap between the assigned, assumed, and potential roles of psychologists in the prison context, where the clinical and organizational areas are accommodated; however, it is Legal Psychology that sets its sights on the organization's mission. Therefore, the potential role should primarily focus on the treatment, obviously derived from the evaluation.

It is clear then how most of these professionals started their work in these institutions without specialized training; nevertheless, the development of the specialty in national and international contexts shows the need for advanced formal education because there is a lack of clarity regarding the role and functions of the legal and

forensic psychologist, and it would be expected that, gradually, the professionals of these institutions will join the specialization, master, or doctorate programs.

This contrast, between what is and what ought to be, could be solved if the person who receives the assignment of psycho-legal work already has the specialized training. The obstacle in doing this is that professionals often adapt submissively to their duties, either because of ignorance about the *ought to be* or for personal comfort in the assumed role, without generating progress in best practices or without producing knowledge in the area.

This situation allows us to envisage a challenge which is to raise the entry requirements of these professionals and to demand them to have postgraduate training in Legal or Forensic Psychology and at the same time transforming state institutions into centers of practice, research, and academic sites. That is, experienced professionals located in state institutions, preferably with postgraduate training, would be the first ones called to establish specializations, master's, and doctorates in Legal and Forensic Psychology.

## Graduate Programs in Legal and Forensic Psychology in Central and South America

Many pioneers were leaders in the universities without having had formal training in the area, as Ardila (2013) indicates. In the case of Colombia, there were Nancy Vargas, Emilio Espejo, Fernando Diaz, Consuelo Hoyos, and Angela Tapias (although the last mentioned did start with specialized training). The fact of beginning with enthusiastic leaders without expert training is similar to that of most Latin American countries. The generation of graduate courses in Latin America has contributed decisively to the positioning of the area in the countries that are at the forefront because they have maintained specialized preparation for more than 10 years, as seen in the cases of Colombia, Argentina, Brazil, and Chile.

The first *Specialization* in Latin America took place at the University of Saint Tomás in Bogota (Colombia) in 1999, the same institution where the first *master's degree* in the country was developed (García et al., 2014). Other countries also began postgraduate programs in the first decade of the twenty-first century, including Argentina, Brazil, and Chile.

Also worth noting is the specialization of the University of Buenos Aires, which consists of 3 years of academic training and annually has an enrollment of many students (Table 10.3).

It is possible to note the important increase and academic diffusion of this field of knowledge, mainly at the level of specializations, and also of master's, which allows one to affirm the validation of this area in the educational context. However, obviously the desirable scenario is that all the countries of Central and South America have specific postgraduate education.

Much of the educational material used in these graduate studies comes from Spain. This school of thought has influenced the Spanish-speaking academia, and

**Table 10.3** Postgraduate studies in legal and forensic psychology

| Country | Institution |
|---|---|
| Argentina | University of Buenos Aires<br>University of Business and Social Sciences (UCES) |
| Brazil | University of Rio de Janeiro<br>Newton Paiva University<br>Lutheran University of Brazil |
| Bolivia | Catholic Bolivian University<br>University of San Andrés La Paz<br>Santo Domingo Savio, Tarija and Sucre University<br>Juan Misael Saracho Tarija Autonomous University<br>Central La Paz University, Cochabamba Sucre<br>Privada del Valle University, La Paz<br>Nur University, Santa Cruz |
| Chile | Diego Portales University, Short and deeper specializations<br>University of the Frontera<br>University of Viña |
| Cuba | None |
| Costa Rica | Iberoamerican University (UNIBE) |
| Colombia | University of Saint Tomas Bogotá, Master's in Legal Psychology (2008); Specialization in Legal and Forensic Psychology<br>Catholic University in Bogota, Specialization in Legal Psychology<br>Konrad Lorenz University Bogotá, Specialization in Legal Psychology<br>University del Norte, Barranquilla, Specialization in Legal Psychology<br>Libre University of Cali, Specialization in Legal and Forensic Psychology |
| El Salvador | Francisco Gavidia University, Short specializations and courses<br>Technical University of El Salvador<br>Autonomous University of Santa Ana<br>Oriente University<br>Modular Open University |
| Guatemala | Galileo University, Behavioral Sciences, Study and Research of the Human Being |
| Mexico | Valle University, Mexico City campus<br>Benito Juárez Autonomous University of Oaxaca<br>University of Puebla |
| Panama | University of Panama, Master's in Legal and Forensic Psychology<br>Metropolitan University of Education, Science and Technology: (It has a program of Specialization in Forensic Psychology and a Master's program in Legal and Forensic Psychology)<br>Latin University of Panama (It has a Master's program in Forensic Psychology) |
| Paraguay | Private University of Guairá (UPG) |
| Peru | Federico Villarreal University, Forensic and Criminological Psychology<br>Peruvian Wings University, Master's in Legal and Criminological Psychology |
| Dominican Republic | Pontifical Catholic University Madre y Maestra (PUCMME) Specialization in Psychosocial Intervention in the Forensic Sciences |
| Uruguay | None |

obviously this has happened because the same language is shared. Other countries with comprehensive development in the area, such as the United States, Germany, and Italy also contribute a huge amount of related publications, which is not significantly consumed by Latin Americans. Some examples of indexed journals in English whose reading would allow the Latin American professionals to be at the forefront are *Law and Human Behavior*, *Legal and Criminological Psychology, Journal of Forensic Psychology*, and *European Journal of Psychology Applied to Legal Context*. Therefore, it is recommended, as a challenge to the future, to consult databases containing these materials.

The consumption of international texts must allow access to the latest generation of knowledge, but that does not mean neglecting the production of domestic scientific material, which implies the need to promote research and writing by Latin Americans for Latin Americans, appropriate to the idiosyncrasies of these cultures. With the open mentality of a scientist, but without falling into the logics of coloniality, there are various forms according to Castro (2012): "the coloniality of power, which refers to the economic-political dimension of the colonial inheritance; the coloniality of knowledge, which refers to the epistemic dimension of the same, and the coloniality of being, which refers to its ontological dimension" (p. 219). Likewise, Rivera (2010) also draws attention to postcolonial discourse, which is not just ideas, but is also granting scholarships, diplomas, and invitations to teach and warns of falling into clientelism as the new mode of colonial domination. In America this replicates in miniature in the "internal colonialism" scenario. The treelike structure of internal colonialism articulates with the centers of power of the northern hemisphere, called universities, foundations, or international organizations. This author alludes to this crucial theme—the role of intellectuals in the domination of the "empire"—because they bear the collective responsibility of not contributing to this domination.

Submission is identified by Díaz (2011) when he states that in Latin America there is a tendency to consider an article to be truly scientific if it is plagued by textual references citing foreign authors. The strength of the argument is supported by the reasoning given by the foreigner who is quoted, and not by the judgment of the domestic scholar in the matter; there is an excessive reverence, and it seems impossible to discuss or debate the issues. It is important to take a pause in order to critically analyze these advances and adapt them to the particular reality, to carry out a continuous criticism of our own actions, and to promote a respectful but sincere debate with European, Asian, African, Central American, and North American academic organizations. These are, among others, some of the urgent tasks that require timely initiation.

It is fundamental to generate a Legal Psychology with a Latin American identity that develops a focus toward working with indigenous people and Afro-descendants and also one capable of addressing the continent's frequent problems such as kidnapping, forced disappearance, drug trafficking, gangs, and corruption, among others, with a critical, liberating, and propositional approach that offers viable alternatives for developing countries.

## Professional Associations and Leadership

According to Ardila (2013), two associations have made important contributions in the area: the Latin American Association of Legal and Forensic Psychology (ALPJF) and the Ibero-American Association of Legal Psychology (AIPJ). Vargas, Rodriguez, and Norza (2017) agree that ALPJF and AIPJ have encouraged the development of congresses and courses that occur in Colombia, although this observation is also applicable to other countries in Central and South America. These authors likewise mention the Colombian Association of Criminology (ACC), although this organization only has recent activism and is limited to Colombia.

To be considered relevant, we will mention a little more about the activities of these two associations. ALPJF arose as the website www.psicologiajuridica.org, with the sole aim of offering free and affordable knowledge to the entire Latin American region, addressing the shortage of training and scientific bibliography. Currently it has hundreds of non-indexed articles, which is one of its weaknesses, but these documents written mostly by Latin Americans receive a high level of monthly visits and a high ranking of international web traffic. Additionally, this website offers training through short digital learning specializations. In order to favor dialogue, the ALPJF formed a virtual community that allowed an exchange of views through electronic mails juridica@egrupos.net, a group that finally became the Latin American Network of Legal and Forensic Psychology, registered in Colciencias (in Colombia). It also set up the ALPJF publishing house registered in the Book Chamber of Bogotá, where four books have been published.

ALPJF annually develops a free cybernetic Congress, which for the year 2017 celebrated the 13.0 version, including written or video presentations that are sent to the participants' email and which are also posted on the organization's website (García et al., 2014).

The formal inscription of ALPJF was registered at the Bogota Chamber of Commerce, where initially it appeared as a Colombian Association and soon developed into a Latin American Association. It then sponsored face-to-face on-site courses and conferences, holding its 19th Congress in Argentina in 2017. At present it has 17 Scientific Directors (http://psicologiajuridica.org/alpjf/directores) representing Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Mexico, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, the Dominican Republic, Uruguay, and Venezuela.

The ALPJF motivated the formation of other local associations such as the Paraguayan Association of Legal and Forensic Psychology, the Panamanian Association of Legal and Forensic Psychology, the Bolivian Scientific Society of Forensic Psychology, and the Bolivian Association of Legal and Forensic Psychology. This is outlined by Bohórquez (2017), who also reports that "Angela Tapias, ALPJF president in 2005, motivated and guided the Scientific Director of Ecuador to found an organization that disseminates this specialization in Ecuador." These ties with international organizations facilitated the exchange of experiences and relationships with scientists. This association has cooperated several times with state institutions concerning action guidelines. In 2015 the Ecuadorian Association

of Legal and Forensic Psychology (AEPJF) and the ALPJF developed four Latin American courses of continuous training with 400 h each, this as a way to compensate for the lack of postgraduate education, since there is a limitation by the Secretariat of Higher Education, Science, Technology and Innovation SENESCYT.

The Ibero-american Legal Psychology Association (AIPJ) presents on its website the beginning of the association, whose founding took place within the Official College of Psychologists of Spain in 1993. The AIPJ began the biennial face-to-face conferences in 1995 in Chile, Cuba, Brazil, Spain, and Colombia, holding the eleventh event in 2017. It has had a significant presence of Spanish authors and educators and as stated on its website, "it has a strong calling power to bring together professionals on both sides of the Atlantic." It consists of a Spanish board of directors made up of 9 professionals and another international board of 14 people. This association has Spanish authors recognized for their indexed production, which is a valuable example and has meant a recognition of relevance among Latin American professionals, although it has not significantly boosted Latin American production and this becomes a decolonization challenge, since within the new colonial forms lies the dominance of ideas.

Latin American countries face the challenge of creating guilds with a strong identity, with their own knowledge and with ecological validity, which implies adapting theories, producing viable treatments in developing countries, and designing instruments with adequate scales suitable for these human geographies and a differential approach that adjust to indigenous populations or groups with low schooling, two frequent realities in these latitudes. Even Latin American professionals, who use psychological tests from international publishers, should be empowered to demand that such tests offer population scales of a national character, since these publishing houses profit from this activity and often only have to analyze the data derived from applications with an electronic PIN by the Internet, which archives the data to the parent company. This would favor the professionals and also all the people linked to the justice system.

The empowerment of the identity of the Latin American guild is an educational, work, research, and association necessity.

## Distinguished Promoters

Some Latin American psychologists mentioned below are outstanding for making significant and permanent contributions to the area according to a consultation by the community of colleagues. They are prolific authors and founders of academic programs, who have dedicated themselves to the promotion and strengthening of this specific field.

*Argentina*: Osvaldo Varela, Stella Puhl, and Graciela Llarul.
*Bolivia*: Guiomar Bejarano and Carlos Velásquez.
*Chile*: Francisco Maffioletti Celedón, Lorena Contreras Taibo, Carlos Madariaga Dallez, and Elias Scaff.

*Colombia*: Fernando Díaz, Olga Lucía Valencia, Angela Tapias, and José I. Ruiz, who is from Spain but has been working in Colombia for more than a decade.
*Costa Rica*: Carlos Saborio Valverde, Ronald Lin Ching, and David Ramírez.
*Ecuador*: Zoraya Bohórquez for association and policy work.
*El Salvador*: Marcelino Díaz Menjívar, Luis Alfredo Turcios Morales, Rafael Armando Rivas Ordoñez, and Ivett Idayary Camacho Lazo.
*Paraguay*: Fátima Figari for promoting associations and education.
*Peru:* Emilio García and Jenny Junco.
*Mexico*: Eric García.
*Panama*: Although there are no prolific authors with the criterion of the association, Iris Ayala, Olivia Morán Núñez, Nixia Herrera, and Carlos González are recognized for being founders of the Panamanian Association of Legal and Forensic Psychology.
*Uruguay*: Gustavo Alvarez for his association work.

## Milestones by Country

To conclude this chapter, relevant and particular events are presented in each of the countries.

**Argentina**

- The Association of Forensic Psychologists of the Republic of Argentina (APFRA) constituted a team of experts.
- In 1906 the office of psychology and anthropometry in a penitentiary was created, oriented toward clinical criminology, led by José Ingenieros.
- In 1950 psychologists assisted forensic physicians in prison services.
- In 1960, the Legal Psychology course at the National University of Rosario began and in 1980 at the University of Buenos Aires (UBA). In 1985 it starts at the University of Aconcagua. Currently there are postgraduate programs at the UBA and University of Business and Social Sciences (UCES).
- In 1997 the Directorate of Criminal Matters becomes the Criminological Technical Organization.
- The specialization is accepted, although formal accreditation is not required.

**Bolivia**

*Margarita Foster (now a PhD in Psychology in the area of "Prisoner Rehabilitation" in Japan) began as a psychology professor at the National Police Academy in 1976; she reactivated the Law on Penalty Execution and Penitentiary Regime and created the first Vigilance Court in 1978, its first judge being Vargas Romero.

- Formal expertise in general has effect through Right to Present Evidence, applying the New Criminal Procedure Code of 1999 (effective from 2001).

- In 1996, for the first time, a Legal Psychology course at the undergraduate level was taught at the Law School of the San Pablo Catholic University in the city of La Paz, with Guiomar Bejarano Gerke as the professor.
- The first Specialization in Legal Psychology was held in 2004 with the participation of Angela Tapias as the guest lecturer from Colombia.
- Foundation of the *Scientific Association of Forensic Psychology* in May 2001, with two offices in the cities of Tarija and Cochabamba and another one now being set up in Sucre.
- Active participation rooted to the new laws, such as the early application of the "Comprehensive Law on Violence against Women" and other legislative bills, such as the use and application of the Unidirectional Vision Chamber (the Gesell Dome) to question children who are victims of physical, sexual, and/or psychological violence.

**Brazil**

- In 1962 empirical psychology professionals appear. The profession of psychologist is recognized by the Brazilian law.
- In 1984 the Criminal Enforcement Act takes effect, and the role of psychologists is focused on evaluation and classification.

**Chile**

- In 2003 the Legal Psychology Commission at the College of Psychologists of Chile and the Chilean Legal Psychology Association are founded.
- In 2003 psychologists are advising family courts.
- In 2004 the First National Legal Psychology Day is held on August 24.
- 2004–2006 The journal *Cuadernos de Psicología Jurídica (Notes on Juridical Psychology)* is launched.
- In 2006 the Second National Legal Psychology Congress is held.
- Currently there is a group of professionals active in the practice and in the academia, including Francisco Maffioletti Celedón, Lorena Contreras Taibo, Carlos Madariaga Dallez, Carolina Navarro Medel, Sofía Huerta Castro, Paula Vergara Cortés, Decio Mettifogo Guerrero, Aída Leiva Chacana, Paula Alarcón Bañares, Ricardo Pérez Luco, Juan Manuel Gálvez Villarreal, María de los Ángeles Aliste, Alvaro Aliaga Moore, David Bautista Menares, Elizabeth Leon Mayer, Chistian Anker Ullrich, Gonzalo Lira Mendiguren, Jennifer Miranda, Katherine Cereceda, and Diego Quijada, among others.

**Colombia**

- Since the foundation of the Colombian College of Psychologists (COLSIP) in 2006, the unit, division, and field of Legal and Forensic Psychology have existed; this is why this field has had great visibility. In this organization the Experts List was created, one which already has several years of service.
- In 2013 Ardila touches upon how from COLSIP the Professional Competence Profiles were generated (Vargas & Tapias, 2012).

- The area of Legal Psychology is recognized in COLSIP and in the National Quality Exams for Higher Education (ECAES) 2004.
- The requirements for public and private experts are raised by the implementation of the Criminal Procedure Code, as well as for the psychosocial teams by the Children and Adolescents Law, the Family Violence Law, and the Penitentiary Code.
- The Ombudsman's Office offers job opportunities for psychologists who are experts in Legal Psychology to work in criminal investigation and operative units throughout the country. In addition, it includes administrative career positions as public servants for legal and forensic psychologists.
- The Family Defense Commissary Agencies offer formation of short specializations in Legal and Forensic Psychology for their psychosocial teams, many of whom continue to study prolonged specializations and some master's, and currently almost 40% of them have expertise in the area and use this as one of the criteria for selection.
- The Penitentiary and Prison Institute of Colombia develops nationwide research to characterize the prison population, with the intention to formulate penitentiary treatment programs, hire educators, and plan specific programs to deal with convicts incarcerated for sexual offenses and homicides.

**Ecuador**

- The Ecuadorian Association of Legal and Forensic Psychology (AEPJF) cooperated in the invitation of the Prosecutor's Office to carry out the expert assessment guide on crimes of psychological violence against women and members of the family group.
- The regional association participated in the selection and evaluation of judicial officials.
- At the initiative of the State and with the leadership of Zoraya Bohórquez, more than 400 professionals, including technical psychologists from the judicial units, were trained in Legal Psychology by 50 Ibero-American professionals.

**Mexico**

- The Attorney General of Justice Office has 170 empirical psychologists.
- There is great development in criminology but slow headway in Legal Psychology; many of the experts have studies in that area.

**Panama**

- 1970–1980: The Guardianship Court of Minors of the Ministry of Government and Justice assigns a team of psychologists and social workers to evaluate and attend minors in matters of family, protection, illegal acts, etc.
- 1980: On December 31 of that year, in compliance with the Torrijos-Carter treaties, the US authorities handed over to Panama the facilities of the Gamboa Penitentiary Center, which became a rehabilitation center now known as El Renacer, in which there was an interdisciplinary team composed of a psychologist, a social worker, a criminologist, and educators, responsible for selecting

and treating the detainees. The psychologist's tasks included developing personality profiles, doing case studies as a team, sorting offenses by type, designing rehabilitation programs, and giving technical opinions, among others.

- 1990: The psychologist Rodríguez was requested as an expert in a hearing (the Giroldi case), an event that constituted the first time in Panama that a psychology specialist participated as such in the trial. He was chosen as a forensic psychologist in the Public Ministry, *ad honorem* and *interim*, and 2 years later was formally appointed.
- 1999: Law 40 of August 26, 1999, on the Special Regime of Criminal Responsibility of Adolescents, includes requesting the practice of the psychosocial study of the adolescent, among the functions of the adolescent prosecutor.
- 2001: Law 38 of July 23, 2001, states (Chapter V, article 215) that psychological aggression for crimes of domestic violence and mistreatment of minors must be proven by a forensic psychiatrist or psychologist.
- 2003: General psychologists are appointed at the Institute of Legal Medicine to perform expert work in different agencies of the country. Later, a forensic psychologist trained abroad was hired.
- During the following years, the Panamanian Association has promoted regional formation and participation in activities of the ALPJF.

**Dominican Republic**

- In 2005, the National Institute of Forensic Sciences was created, under the Public Ministry, with a Department of Psychology.
- The Pontifical Catholic University Madre y Maestra (PUCMM) offered a Specialization in Psychosocial Intervention in Forensic Sciences. It was taught from August 2013 to July 2014.
- Wilfredo Mora in the 1980s registered the Dominican Society of Legal Psychology, but it did not achieve full operation.
- In 1996 psychologists Huberto Bogaert García and Alberto Peralta, together with psychiatrists Carlos de los Ángeles and Máximo Beras Goico, participated in the evaluation made of the infamous confessed murderer of the child José Rafael Llenas Aybar.

*Rafaela Burgos and Evelyn Soraya Lara were dedicated to research, production of books, practices, and the foundation of the Board of Assistance to Cases of Abused Women (PACAMM) and provided support to the Public Ministry.

- Ángela Caba has worked with children and adolescents and has performed important academic and guild work.
- Recently the Italian-Dominican, Annalisa Staffa, a social scientist, has contributed extensively to the recent issue of obstetric violence in the Dominican Republic and supported the guild.

**Venezuela**

- There is a course in the Central University of Venezuela and in the Andrés Bello Catholic University.

- The laws that include the psychologist are Forensic Medical Instruction Code, Criminal Code, Psychologist's Code of Ethics, Psychotropic Substances Act, Family Violence Act, and Child and Adolescent Protection Act.
- It is important to note that the association growth and training activities were slowed down by the current political regime that suppresses any kind of critical thinking of the system.

## Conclusions

In Latin American countries, there is evidence of more than three decades of psychology professionals working in state forensic, family, childhood, and penitentiary institutions serving the justice administration, which implies a widespread recognition of the need of psychology for addressing cases. However, many of the related professionals are general psychologists or clinical psychologists, which diminish the professional competence and may even lead to improper practices and hinder the achievement of the mission of these organizations.

The development of postgraduate programs specifically in Legal and Forensic Psychology in the countries of Central and South America since 2000 is growing, which favors the qualification of the professionals who are already doing this work, and it raises the probabilities of promoting research and thus fosters knowledge for the particular problems of the Latin American context. However, scholars face the need to have access to the information of cutting-edge production in English and at the same time keep vigil of intellectual decolonization.

There are international professional associations that have supported the international confluence of intellectuals, boosting the holding of events and the formation of local associations. Nevertheless, the guilds and the academia could lead the formalization of the inclusion of psychologists with postgraduate training in the state institutions.

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# Chapter 11
# Current Trends and Perspectives


**Reynaldo Alarcón**

**Abstract** This closing chapter points out the trends and perspectives of psychology in Latin America, referring to its main work fields in the near future, its challenges, and its projections within the overall context of psychology as a science and as a profession. The author analyzes this dual scientific and applied nature of psychology, indicates that original theories and research are being proposed, points out the different methodologies in process, and touches on other related topics. No doubt psychology in this part of the world is more focused on human beings than on other species and places more emphasis on applications than in basic research. It seeks to be a recognized profession and be valued in the twenty-first-century society.

## Psychology Features in Latin America

In previous publications (Alarcón, 2008, 2011), the most significant characteristics present in psychology in Latin America toward the end of the twentieth century were identified, in an attempt to determine what they have in common, beyond the differences that may exist among the countries of the region. The current aim is to reflect upon those features and others subsequently noticed. Here they are.

### *The Scientific Viewpoint*

The dominant interest of European pioneers of psychology who migrated to South America was to make psychology an empirical science, freed of philosophy, in spite of the fact that most of them have a philosophical training. This interest is observed in Waclaw Radecki, Walter Blumenfeld, Emilio Mira y Lopez, Mercedes Rodrigo, and Helena Antipoff. This concern is also present in the Argentinean pioneers Horacio Piñero, Victor Mercante, José Ingenieros, Enrique Mouchet, and Alfredo

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Calcagno, as well as in the Brazilians Lourenco Filho and Noemy da Silveira, among others, plus the Mexicans Ezequiel Chávez, Jesús Pacheco, and Rafael Serrano. The European forerunners settled in South America founded experimental psychology laboratories, reported the scientific methods they used in their research, worked with psychological tests, made use of statistical methods in the treatment of the data obtained, and introduced and promoted psychometrics.

The influence of the pioneers, through their publications or from the university psychology lectures, was decisive, but not easy, to establish an objective, empirical, experimental, and quantitative psychology separated from philosophy in the decades of the 1930s and 1940s. Indeed, this was a time where there was a strong predominance of intuitionism, phenomenology, and other expressions of German idealism. The professors of the liberal arts departments, in which experimental psychology courses were offered, acted as resistance forces. In some countries, such as Perú, opposition to the introduction of experimental psychology was very strong; in university philosophical circles, there was some fear that positivism would return, a philosophical approach that had been rejected a decade before. Scientific psychology only became accepted in the mid-1950s, when the psychology profession was established. Today, no one disputes the scientific nature of psychology; rather it is wondered what kind of science it is. Is it a natural science or is it a social science? The truth is that psychology is a science that studies human behavior, in two dimensions, as internal processes (psyche, mind) and as an external manifestation of these processes expressed in terms of behavior or conduct. Both are the topics of psychology. It is science because of the scientific method that is used to obtain knowledge. The breadth of application areas of psychology has often generated labels such as social psychology, clinical psychology, community psychology, sports psychology, educational psychology, organizational psychology, and many other branches of applied psychology. These branches of applied psychology and related research areas will probably continue to expand. New subareas will be created by the intersection between psychology and biology, pharmacology, physiology, genetics, and microbiology, which will probably opt for a more scientific orientation. In the case of social psychology, for the complexity of its problems, it will require multiple methodologies, which can range from content analysis to experimentation (Triandis in Ardila, 2002).

Latin American psychological research has adopted the scientific method; it is predominantly empirical, objective, and quantitative and makes use of objective instruments to collect data, with a clear predominance of tests, scales, inventories, and questionnaires, and it is correlational with an ex post facto character. The processing of data collected by statistical tests will become increasingly sophisticated to achieve greater accuracy. The experimental method and the use of laboratory instruments will be used increasingly more by psychology in relation to biological, physical, or other variables. Computers and the Internet will become increasingly important in psychological research.

In the groundbreaking days, behavioral research preceded practical applications. However, upon being established as a university degree program, psychology has developed more as a profession than as a science. Currently, its application areas are vast and diverse, marching to the beat of the complexity of society and its problems,

to the point that social demand often exceeds the professional training psychologists have received. This has led, on some occasions, to address the new problems with outdated intervention techniques, pointing out the urgency that the training curricula be reviewed regularly at the graduate psychology levels.

## *The Dependent Character Has Been Overcome*

In one of our studies (Alarcón, 1997), it is shown that Latin America had been a very receptive and wonderful host of imported doctrines, acting as a subsidiary of European thinking and afterward of Anglo-American thought. This situation was not recent. Our colonial universities imparted philosophical knowledge from a scholastic approach, an orientation that dominated for nearly three centuries. When the winds of intellectual renewal blew, Cartesian rationalism, Locke empiricism, and Condillac sensualism spread. In the early years of the Republic, Cousin's eclecticism, Destutt de Tracy's ideology, Thomas Reid's common sense philosophy, and Krause's idealism stood out. In the mid-nineteenth century, Comte's positivism managed to capture the most lucid minds of our countries, who embraced it as a creed, to the point that it guided the political destiny of some Latin American countries. When positivism is questioned and rejected very vehemently for its antimetaphysical view, Bergson and his vitalism are hailed as the savior of authentic philosophical thinking. Nowhere in the world was Bergson welcomed with more devotion and enthusiasm as in Latin America. The scientific dogmatism of positivism was replaced by Bergson's spiritualistic dogmatism. After the Second World War, the European philosophical doctrines from whose parameters psychology was taught gave way, and it was the turn of the United States to exert its influence, in proposing other approaches to psychological topics, among them Skinner's radical behaviorism. This scientific orientation movement was well received, and its theories, principles, and technology were used. What had happened in colonial and early Republic times once again took hold in Latin America: to embrace a new psychological movement alien to our environment. This condition was denounced by Rogelio Díaz-Guerrero (1971) in his presidential address at the 11th Inter-American Congress of Psychology held in Montevideo, Uruguay. He thoughtfully and vibrantly proposed that in order to forsake this dependency there needs to be rational questioning of the hypotheses and foreign theoretical constructs, and there must be scientific testing and the development of distinct psychological ideas that correspond to the idiosyncrasies of the people of our land. His attitude, eminently scientific, was free of the chauvinist symptoms in vogue during the years when he made his proposal. Some psychologists (Marín, 1980) have suggested that psychosocial research in Latin America up to the late 1960s simply imitated the classic topics of international psychology, expressing in it a clearly dependent standpoint, a replication of the themes in vogue in the United States and Europe. During the 1970s this situation was questioned, and there was a debate on the social significance of the findings, suggesting the formation of a socially relevant discipline, one which

sought to carry out research on the problems immersed in the reality of our countries and whose discoveries could be used in favor of disadvantaged Latin American groups.

Latin American psychology will end its cultural dependency once it becomes an active generator of theoretical and technological knowledge, and this can be achieved through scientific research, and certainly it is headed in that direction.

## *The Search for Originality*

Associated with the dependent character or as a consequence of it is the meager originality that Latin American psychology has shown since its beginning. This was witnessed when the psychometric movement in our countries took place, a trend whose work was orientated more toward the adaptation of foreign tests and much less to the production of original tests (Alarcón, 1997). This fact is attributed to the absence of original theories on the measurable behavior areas developed in Latin America. As is known, tests are based on theoretical formulations grounded on basic research. The original tests produced in the region in the first period are the Mira y Lopez Myokinetic Test, the Lourenco Filho ABC Test, the Barranquilla Rapid Survey Intelligence Test developed by Francisco del Olmo, the Vocational Interest Inventory of Arrigo Angelini, and the A-51 Test constructed by Walter Blumenfeld.

Currently, psychometric measurement has made substantial progress in several Latin American countries. The idea of a revision of the theoretical constructs of foreign tests was well received, particularly in México, and in recent decades a persistent interest has been observed about submitting foreign tests to rigorous statistical verifications of validity and reliability. This has led to reject more than one theoretical construct and replace them with new formulations in accordance with the characteristics of the individuals of the adopted culture of the tests, as well as giving rise to the construction of original tests.

An indication of the originality of Latin American psychology is the formulation of the historic-bio-psycho-socio-cultural theory of human behavior of Rogelio Díaz-Guerrero (1972a, 1972b) and his ethnopsychology, which seeks to develop indigenous psychologies based on the dominant features of the individuals of a socioculture (Díaz-Guerrero & Pacheco, 1994).

Additionally, the work of Rubén Ardila in several publications is notable including the book *Experimental Synthesis of Behavior* (*Síntesis Experimental del Comportamiento,* Ardila, 1993), in which he proposes a unifying psychology paradigm (see Ardila, 2006; 2010). Beyond the agreement or disagreement with the proposal, the Ardila paradigm starts from very well-developed premises and offers a definite and solid framework.

Another sign of the originality of Latin American psychology is the recent development of original psychological tests constructed in our milieu for the investigation of various positive psychology topics. Thus, the translation problems are overcome

by seeking terminology equivalence among different languages. However, international recognition of psychological tests developed in Latin America is pending. This should be a goal to achieve.

## *The Human Being as the Central Problem*

One key aspect observed in Latin American psychology is having the human being as the central topic of its research. Unlike US psychology, where nonhuman species are frequently used and findings are extrapolated to explain areas of human behavior, as what happened, for example, with behaviorism in the area of learning, Latin American psychologists carried out a great deal of their work with people. Placing the human being at the center of interest coincides with humanistic psychology, which does the same and insists that human beings should be part of the research on humans (Quitmann, 1989). However, in humanistic psychology, the scientific method does not have the same relevance as it has in the objective psychologies; the method is subject to the criterion of human experience, and "in order to study experience and human work, a phenomenological approach is preferred because of the important role of self-consciousness as a specific human trait" (Auer, 1997, p. 5).

Latin American psychology is interested in humankind, in describing, understanding, and explaining it. But beyond that, it is concerned with getting to know the people in these lands. Examples of this interest are the books of Rogelio Díaz-Guerrero (1972a, 1972b) on the psychology of the Mexican individual and Rubén Ardila (1986b) about the Colombian one. This motivation led Díaz-Guerrero to create a line of research called ethnopsychology, which seeks to develop homegrown psychologies, as was noted above.

## *Between Social Relevance and Political Permeability*

Latin American psychologists have shown to be very sensitive to the strenuous problems of their communities, where research and psychological intervention can contribute to the problems being understood and being solved. The issue was put to debate at the 11th Interamerican Congress of Psychology, which met in Mexico in 1967 and which was entitled *The Contribution of the Psychological and Behavioral Sciences to the Social and Economic Development of Peoples*. The aim was to connect psychological inquiry with the problems of developing societies or, to put it another way, to guide psychological research toward problems related to social development. The emphasis was to investigate problems and then use the findings that could be helpful for the country's development, to understand the behavior of individuals living in deprived environments and promote psychological research relevant for development and welfare. This interest was motivated by the presence of health problems, malnutrition, illiteracy, political violence, terrorism, child labor,

crime, drug addiction, political frustration, and other problems that plague our countries.

These problems, certainly lacerating, were the subject of a great deal of research conducted by psychologists who worked with samples of children, adolescents, adults, men, and women living in marginal areas of the cities and in extreme poverty. Under the name of *Psychology, Poverty and Underdevelopment (Psicología, Pobreza y Subdesarrollo)*, the results of the research on the subject were published (Alarcón, 1986). Previously it was stated that social psychologists proposed making psychology an entirely relevant science and then that the psychologist should make a political commitment to combat the existing social structure, described as unjust and oppressive. Proposing the expertise of psychology for the service of political liberation and social change was encouraged, seeking to make psychology a politically engaged science. Strictly speaking, the political option of a psychologist, like of any citizen, is a personal decision. To politicize a psychological movement is an unnecessary risk for psychology and science.

## *Main Areas of Research*

An appropriate way to observe the trends that Latin American psychology research has followed over time is to analyze the frequency of research topics presented by Latin American authors at the Interamerican Congresses of Psychology (see Natalicio et al., 1969). This bibliometric procedure has been successfully used by some authors. Ardila (1986a, 1986b) found that in the congresses held in Miami Beach (1964), Lima (1966), and Sao Paulo (1973), clinical psychology ranked first, with the highest number of presentations, although it suffered a considerable reduction in the Bogotá Congress (1974), occupying the fifth place, with only 10% percent of presentations. Another area that has always attracted the attention of Latin American psychologists is social psychology, which received the largest number of papers (25%) in the Bogotá Congress. Ordoñez (1995) examined the scientific programs of the SIP Congresses and articles published in the *Interamerican Journal of Psychology* (*Revista Interamericana de Psicología*) from 1983 to 1993 and found that both in the Interamerican Congresses of Psychology (SIP Congresses) and in the *Journal*, the applied areas with the highest proportion of works were clinical psychology, social psychology, and educational psychology. Meza (1997) analyzed 566 articles published in the *Interamerican Journal of Psychology* (*Revista Interamericana de Psicología*) from 1969 to 1993; he found that the areas with the highest percentages were clinical psychology (11.8%), social psychology (11.7%), and general psychology (10.6%). In the SIP Congress held in Santiago de Chile (1993), the largest percentage of papers was on health psychology (13.9%), followed by educational psychology (12.4%), then social psychology (11.1%), and, finally, clinical psychology and psychotherapy (10.8%). The differences between the percentages are very narrow; in total these percentages account for 48% of all presentations. The other half corresponds to 16 other specialties. At the San Juan

Congress in Puerto Rico (1995), health psychology stands out (16.9%), followed by educational psychology (9.8%). Lesser percentages are split among developmental psychology, social psychology, teaching of psychology, and professional matters.

In the course of the twenty-first century, research on the history of Latin American psychology has increased with very active working groups having been created in several countries in the region, Brazil, Argentina, Colombia, Perú, and Chile (Klappenbach & Jacó-Vilela, 2016), and has become professionalized during the first decades of the twenty-first century.

## *Types of Research*

The kinds of research that have been used most frequently in empirical work are the following ones: experimental, quasi-experimental, correlational, descriptive, psychometric, and case studies. At the Interamerican Congress of Psychology in Santiago de Chile (1993) and in that of San Juan (1995), *correlational research studies* prevail, with percentages of 39.5% and 37.9%. They are followed by *descriptive studies*, with 28.1% in Santiago and 32.2% in San Juan. The third research prevalence is occupied by *psychometric work*, 16% in Santiago and 18.6% in San Juan. Quite less is the *experimental work*, with just 7% in 1993 and 3.8% in 1995. The data allows us to infer that psychological research in Latin America is predominantly correlational and descriptive *stricto* sensu. Indeed, the instruments for data collection used in the empirical research in Santiago (1993) were tests, inventories and scales (50%), questionnaires (16.9%), and interviews (15.3%), for a total of 82.2%. Then, in San Juan (1995), they were tests, inventories and scales (53.2%), questionnaires (16.7%), and interviews (9.7%), for a total of 79.6%. There are very few studies that have used experimental equipment or devices, projective tests, and/or personal documents.

The majority use of psychometric tests, inventories, scales, and later questionnaires is explained by the dominant correlational and descriptive character of the research presented, which, as is known, makes use of such instruments. Naturally, these instruments apply to human participants, and it can be inferred that in Latin American psychological research, work involving human participants and not subhuman species prevails. However, in the recent years of the twenty-first century, experimental research with nonman animals has increased significantly in countries like Mexico, Chile, Colombia, and Brazil, among others.

At first glance, what catches the eye with the results is the displacement of clinical psychology from the leading positions of preference. Indeed, at the Interamerican Congresses of Psychology in 1964, 1966, and 1973, clinical psychology ranked first. Similarly, Guillén and Ordóñez (1993) found that in the Congresses held between 1983 and 1991, clinical psychology was also ranked first. On the other hand, in the Congresses of 1993 and 1995, that preference corresponds to health psychology, a term broader than clinical. In addition to the explanation given above on this fact, it could be argued that the inclination to work with "patients" has experienced some change in regard to the type of ailment. In the past, they were mental health patients;

now they are physical and holistic health patients. The scenario has changed; before it was the psychiatric hospital or mental health center, and now it is the general hospital. However, it is almost always the hospital, maintaining the clinical vocation.

One of the oldest areas of Latin American research is psychometrics; nonetheless, its contribution in creating original psychological tests has been very limited. It has worked mostly with standardized tests, probably due to the difficulty of constructing original tests. Times have changed, and psychometrics is now flourishing as a technique of constructing original psychological tests, as was stated earlier. It has progressed a lot, revamped with the addition of statistical techniques such as factor analysis, multiple regression analysis, discriminant analysis, canonical correlation, and many other techniques for the handling of the data obtained. Anxious to develop original tests and submit the theoretical constructs underlying the foreign tests to scrutiny, some Latin American psychologists have gotten interested in developing original instruments for research in positive psychology (Alarcón, 2009), which is the latest psychological area of interest.

## The Future of Psychology in Latin America

At the end of the twentieth century, Latin American psychology had made significant progress as a science and as a profession. In the pioneer days, behavioral research preceded the practical applications due to the academic nature assumed by our universities. By establishing it as a professional career, it has been developed more as a profession than as a science. Currently, its application areas are diverse and go along with the social and economic development of society and its problems to the point that occupational demand has led the universities that offer a degree in psychology to include new applied psychology specializations. The fact that in Latin America professional work overshadows scientific research in psychology does not mean that the latter has not been developed. The region has a very active scientific community working in various problem areas. Its work reveals a good scientific level that is published in accredited international journals. Chapter 2 of this book on scientific research is an example of this high development in Latin America.

Current Latin American psychology shows a clearly scientific face, and I think this trend will continue progressing. There is evidence that suggests that scientific research will not be based only on the experimental method, which has been privileged many times for its explanatory nature (Alarcón, 1997). Latin American researchers also extensively use field methods and designs: quasi-experimental, correlational, psychometric, descriptive, and exploratory, all framed in the guidelines and requirements of the scientific method. Research in Latin America is predominantly ex post facto and quantitative, and it will likely remain being that way. It primarily works with samples from human participants, and it seeks to understand behavior through data obtained in samples of people; it shuns making inferences from observations obtained in nonhuman animals to explain human behavior. Its key interest is to know humankind through doing research on people.

Despite economic constraints, psychology in Latin America has achieved significant development in the leading countries, having garnered valuable achievements in the generation of psychological knowledge. It is fair to say that the Interamerican Society of Psychology (SIP), founded on December 17, 1951, in Mexico City, has contributed very actively to this development of psychology in the region. SIP organizes every 2 years an Interamerican Congress of Psychology, the first of which was held in Santo Domingo (Dominican Republic) in 1953, attended by 50 participants. The 35th SIP Congress met in Lima from July 12 to 16, 2015. The publication mouthpiece of the Interamerican Society of Psychology is the *Interamerican Journal of Psychology/Revista Interamericana de Psicología*. It has always been affirmed, rightfully so, that science seeks the universality of its findings to establish general laws. However, this principle has been questioned by some when applied to the field of human psychology. The cross-cultural research of the twentieth century set boundaries to exaggerated generalizations of the findings obtained from foreign country participants different from our citizens and contributed to question the ethnocentrism to which we were accustomed. These observations from cross-cultural research were not new. Kurt Koffka (1924) cautioned: "… we should not forget that the subject of a psychological investigation is usually the mature and cultured 'West European…' The world appears otherwise to us than does to a negro in Central Africa. We must not forget then than without comparative psychology, without animal, folk-, and child psychology, the experimental psychology of the human adult is and must remain deffective…" (Koffka, 1959, p. 2; original 1924). These reflections opened, many years later, the path that Latin American psychology could follow: to inquire about the problems of its social environment but without neglecting the central matters of the discipline.

The internationalization of knowledge is one of the characteristics of the globalized world of the twenty-first century; it is important because it permits communication with the whole world but without overlooking the psychological and social problems faced by many of our fellow citizens. A problem needing to be solved for the Latin American psychology of the future will be to build an identifiable psychology profile of the people of their countries, because surely we do not know it yet (Zea, 1971, 1986). Rogelio Díaz-Guerrero began this task with his *Psychology of the Mexican* (*Psicología del Mexicano*, 1967) and concluded with his ethnopsychology. The cross-cultural research of the twentieth century put a limit to the exaggerated generalizations of findings from sociocultural subjects other than the native subjects of the country.

A key feature of the future of psychology in the world is the variety of specialties that will arise because of its connection with related disciplines such as biological sciences, social sciences, and mathematics. In this way, psychology is becoming a very diverse and complex discipline, and the experts in the biological approach will continue making psychology advance as a natural science; some authors mention neuroscience research, genetics, evolution, and development as areas of research. R.K. Silbereisen (in Ardila, 2002, p. 166) conceptualizes that research will be based on the dynamic interplay between biological, psychological, and social factors. M.R. Rosenzweig (in Ardila, 2002, p. 108) argues, "it could be said that one of the

main features of psychology is its diversity, and behavior being so varied, then, the approaches to study it will also be, ranging from laboratory studies to naturalistic environments." H. C. Triandis (in Ardila, 2002) considers that the central feature of psychology in the near future is going to be much more interdisciplinary and more intercultural; he believes that it will have many more links with biology, with anthropology, and with other neighboring disciplines. Psychology will have problems because of the diversity of specialties, but at the same time, the main issue will be the fundamental topic of maintaining the integrity of psychology as an autonomous discipline. This is how it is expected to be.

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