

ERNESTO “CHE” GUEVARA: A PSYCHOBIOGRAPHICAL STUDY

by

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I know it! I know it!

If I get out of here the rover swallows me. . .

It is my destiny: Today I must die!

But no, willpower can overcome everything

There are the obstacles, I admit it

I don't want to come out.

If I have to die, it will be in this cave.

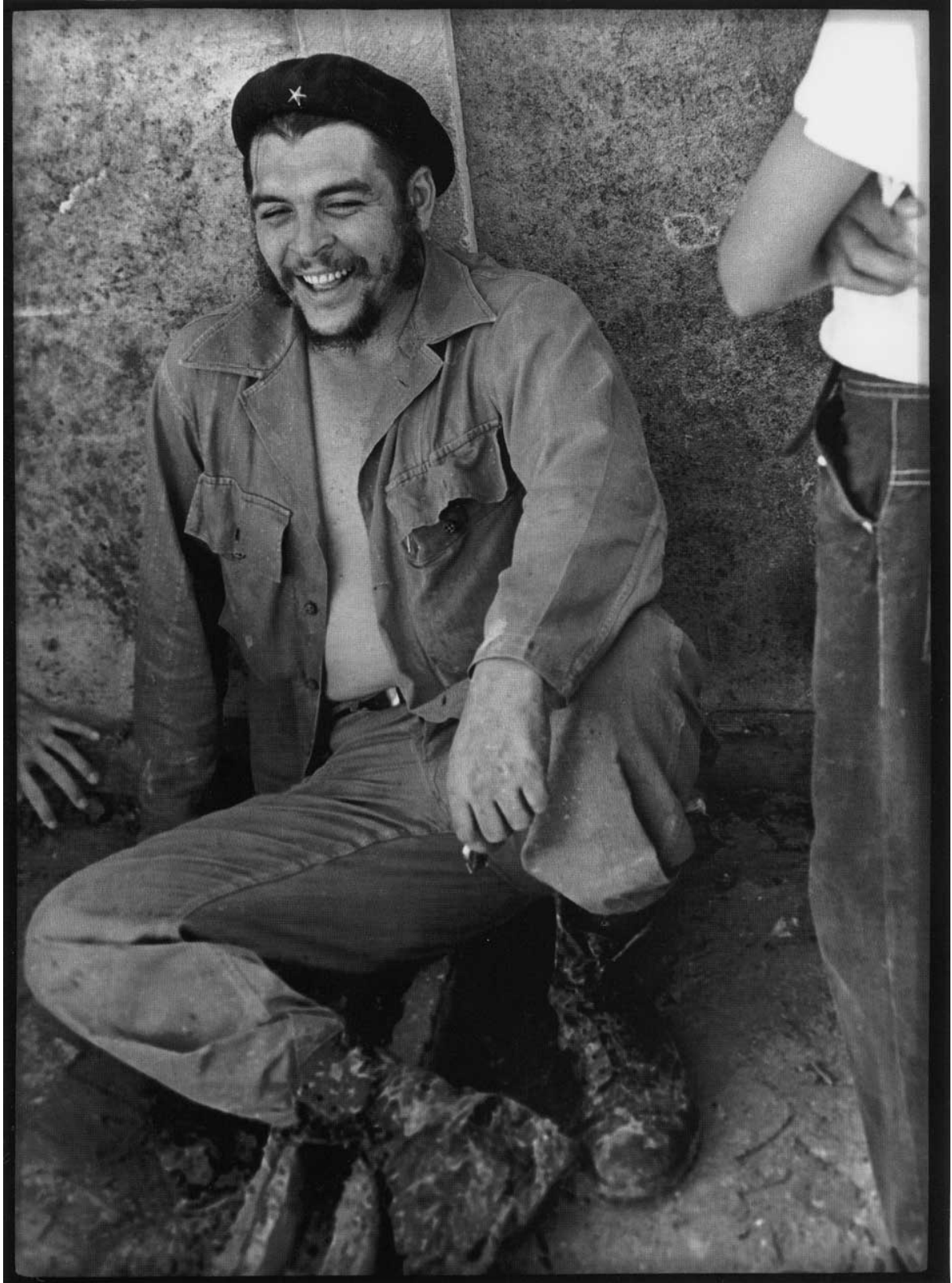
*The bullets, what can the bullets do to me if
my destiny is to die by drowning. But I am
going to overcome destiny. Destiny can be
achieved by willpower.*

*Die, yes, but riddled with
bullets, destroyed by the bayonets, if not, no. Drowned, no . . .
a memory more lasting than my name
Is to fight, to die fighting.*

-Ernesto Guevara

January 17, 1947

Source: Anderson, 1997



Source: (Hunt, 2008)

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ABSTRACT

Psychobiography is a qualitative approach to exploring and understanding the life story of an individual through the lens of psychological theory. The application of theory is typically done on the finished lives of well-known or enigmatic people. This study explores and describes the psychological development across the lifespan of Ernesto “Che” Guevara, by applying the Individual Psychology of Alfred Adler. Che Guevara was an Argentine Marxist revolutionary, physician, author, guerrilla leader, and major figure of the Cuban Revolution. Since his death, his image has become a symbol for revolution within popular culture. Extensive data has been examined in this work to ensure an accurate description of Guevara’s life. Alexander’s model of identifying salient themes was used to analyze the data within a conceptual framework derived from the theory. Guevara was fiercely loyal to his cause, at the expense of the lives of many Cuban citizens as well as his own family, whom he spent little time with. He justified this with his firmly held belief that the end justified the means and that he was always fighting for the greater good. He quite literally dedicated his life to his cause, which is the reason that he has become a modern day symbol for revolution. It is however unfortunate that this came at such a great personal expense.

Key Concepts: psychobiography, Che Guevara, Alfred Adler, Ernesto Guevara, Individual Psychology

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND PROBLEM STATEMENT

1.1. Chapter Preview

This chapter is a general introduction to the research study. As such, it contains a brief outline of the psychobiographical approach to research, as well as Alfred Adler's (1929) theory of Individual Psychology. The most relevant aspects of Ernesto "che" Guevara's life history are highlighted. This is followed by an outline and description of the research problem. Finally, an overview of all the chapters comprising this treatise is given.

1.2. Context of the Research

The value of studying human lives has been recognized and advocated by many scholars (Alexander, 1988; Carlson, 1988; Runyan, 1984). More specifically, psychobiographical case studies are of significant value for the development and testing of theories related to human development (Alexander, 1988). By thoroughly investigating the entire life of an individual, the findings should either confirm or refute a feature of theory (McLeod, 1994). Roberts (2002) argued that a life history study delivers information which forms a realistic basis for conceptions of underlying processes and so serves the purpose of checking assumptions, illuminating organization and reorienting stagnant fields; in other words, creating the opportunity to re-evaluate opinions regarding the subject.

1.2.1. An overview of the psychobiographical approach.

The proposed research is a psychobiographical study, which is essentially grounded in case study research. According to McAdams (1994), a psychobiography is the study of an entire life, from birth to death, with the aim of discerning, discovering, or formulating the central story of the entire life, understood in the context of psychological theory.

Psychobiography is largely concerned with the study of the ‘finished lives’ (Carlson, 1988) of prominent, enigmatic or great individuals. Psychological theory is used to trace behavioural processes and patterns of human development over time (McAdams, 1994). The findings can then be generalized to the theories used, which is known as analytical generalization (Yin, 1994). The researcher thus presents a narrative that faithfully portrays an engaging, captivating and comprehensible unique life story that is articulated with psychological theory. This scientific reconstruction and interpretation of a biographical subject represents an effective synthesis of psychology and biography (Fouché & van Niekerk, 2005a). It also provides powerful insights into how individuals conduct their lives and social relations in response to socio-cultural and economic status (Roberts, 2002).

Although it has been considered a neglected area of study by South African researchers, there has been a recent increase in the use of psychobiography to understanding human lives (Fouché & van Niekerk, 2005a). Runyan (1984) noted a lack of psychobiographical studies conducted in academic institutions the world over. A reason for this could be the criticisms regarding the presumed lack of generalizability and subjective methodology employed in the approach (Roberts, 2002).

1.2.2. An overview of the theoretical psychological framework.

Adler’s (1929) Individual Psychology is holistic and stresses the uniqueness of each person and the unity of personality, contending that people can only be understood as integrated and complete beings that strive toward self-determined goals and organize their lives accordingly. Adler emphasized the importance of childhood social experiences, believing that all individuals experience inferiority from their earliest dependence on adults (Meyer, Moore & Viljoen, 2003). This perception of inferiority persists throughout life as a

natural source of creativity, the individual construction of which constitutes individuality (Adler, 1929).

In the first five years of life, children learn to deal with an unpredictable environment by testing various means of coping. From this experience, they develop the prototypical life-plan to cope with real or imagined difficulties in life as well as a private logic, which is a subjective apperception about the self, others and the world (Dinkmeyer, Pew & Dinkmeyer, 1979). As both creators and creations of their lives, children develop a fictional image of what it is to be safe, superior and to have a sense of belonging (Dinkmeyer et al., 1979). This fictional goal or guiding self-ideal determines the creative choice of what is accepted as truth, how to behave, and how to interpret events and experiences (Corey, 2005). The actualization of this unconscious fictional goal becomes the unifying central theme of a person's lifestyle that provides a feeling of belonging and purpose as well as a self-defined superiority (Meyer et al., 2003).

Even though the goal may be fictional, Adler (1958) believed that individuals act 'as if' it is attainable; they have considerable freedom to determine their own destinies. Adler (1929) stated that an individual's behaviour is directed by this striving and this behaviour will provide the picture of an integrated life-plan and goal. All behaviour is considered purposive and therefore continuity in behaviour may be noticed in themes running throughout a life (Adler, 1958). Owing to the relation between the flexible guiding fictional goal and lifestyle, Dinkmeyer et al. (1979) indicated that an observer can infer the life-plan and guiding fiction from an individual's lifestyle.

Lifestyle is the visible expression of personality. The continuity in behaviour reflects a person's basic orientation towards life that developed from a life-plan and private logic powered by self-determined fictional goals developed in childhood (Dinkmeyer et al., 1979).

This lifestyle is influenced by the person's subjective perception of genetic endowment and the environmental situation (Fouché, 1999).

Adler regarded striving for superiority as the overall human motivation that manifests as *striving for power* and *social interest* (Meyer et al., 2003). The goal of superiority for each individual is personal and unique, depending upon individual meaning given to life (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956) and is attained through *compensation*. Individuals compensate for inferiority by developing a particular function to an extraordinarily high degree (Meyer et al., 2003) to behave in line with their fictional goal. The resultant *striving for power* is related to personal growth and not superiority over others (Meyer et al., 2003). *Social interest* refers to the innate desire to be part of and serve the human community (Meyer et al., 2003). Although social interest is inherent, it must be developed consciously by striving for significance in a way that contributes to the whole of mankind (Adler, 1958). Adler (1958) did not use structural components or delineate stages of development, but saw individual lifestyle as a creative expression of striving for superiority and finding meaning while dealing with the occupational, social and sexual tasks of life.

Adler (1958) also recognized the importance of birth order in the family of origin in contributing to unique consistency in thinking, perceiving, feeling and acting (Corey, 2005). Adler (1958) stated that first-born children are dethroned when siblings come along and typically react with anger or struggle against giving up the powerful position of only child.

The dynamism of Adlerian theory cannot be staged as the unity of personality requires the integrated influence of various factors on the person at any time. Adlerian theory provides a dynamic perspective that enhances psychobiography, as opposed to a static psychodiagnostic view of the individual's pathology.

1.3. The Life of Ernesto “che” Guevara

The word ‘che’ is the familiar diminutive for ‘you’ in Argentina, as in "hey, you!" It was an affectionate term that became his semi-official name and the one which he used for a signature, always with a lower-case ‘c’ (Sierra, 2009).

Ernesto Guevara de la Serna was born on the 14th of June 1928 in the city of Rosario, Argentina. He was the firstborn child to his parents Ernesto Guevara Lynch and Celia de la Serna y Llosa. Guevara developed asthma at the age of four and these attacks plagued him for the rest of his life. Due to his asthma, he did not start school until he was nine years old, until which time his mother tutored him at home, teaching him to read and write (Anderson, 1997). Guevara had four younger siblings namely: Celia (born in 1929); Roberto (born in 1932); Ana Maria (born in 1934) and Juan-Martin (born in 1943) (Anderson, 1997).

According to Anderson (1997), Guevara was described as having a fiercely competitive personality as a child and engaged in a lot of attention-seeking behaviour. It was after witnessing his grandmother’s agony and death that he abandoned the idea of studying engineering, and started studying medicine. While a student, Guevara spent between 12 and 14 hours a day studying, with the aim of finishing his studies early. By December of his first year he had completed all the subjects needed for the first three years.

On the 29th of December 1950 he began a long tour of several countries in Latin America with his friend Alberto Granado. They departed from the city of Cordoba on a motorbike they christened “Powerful II”. During this trip, they visited and worked at the leper communities of Huambo and San Pablo. Guevara then returned to Argentina to finish his studies (Hunt, 2008).

In August 1952, he returned to Buenos Aires, and shortly after returning received his medical degree from the University of Buenos Aires (Anderson, 1997). In July 1953 Guevara left for Bolivia from Buenos Aires. A little over a year before there had been a nationalistic revolution in Bolivia. His friend, Carlos Ferrer, believed that Guevara's political coming of age occurred in Bolivia. He took a keen interest in discussion on the political climate of the region and this was his first genuine experience of the complex and contradictory world of politics. A short time later, he decided to leave for Peru, where he had his first contact with Cubans, meeting two exiled survivors of the Moncada assault that took place in Santiago de Cuba. It was then that he learnt of the incredible story of Fidel Castro trying to overthrow the regime of Fulgencio Batista by storming a military garrison (Hunt, 2008).

In December 1953, Guevara travelled to Guatemala where he would experience his true political rite of passage. His days were filled with politics, his unsuccessful search for a job as a doctor, his perennial struggle against illness, and the beginning of his relationship with Peruvian, Hilda Gadea, who would become his first wife. There he contacted Latin American exiles and met other Cubans who had been involved in revolutionary actions, intensifying his political involvement (Hunt, 2008).

Much of Guevara's life in Guatemala revolved around Hilda; she took care of him, lent him books, and talked endlessly with him about psychoanalysis, the Soviet Union, the Bolivian revolution, and daily events in Guatemala. Hilda fell pregnant with Guevara's child and seeing it as the honourable thing to do; he married her on the 18th of August 1955 in Mexico (Anderson, 1997). The following summer, his first daughter, Hilda Beatriz Guevara Gadea was born. It was around this time that Guevara met Fidel Castro and discovered the path that would eventually lead him to prominence. Fidel's influence over Guevara slowly grew and it was during this period that he decided to take an active role in the upcoming armed struggle in Cuba (Hunt, 2008).

In June 1956 together with several Cubans, including Fidel Castro, Guevara was arrested by the Mexican police at the Santa Rosa ranch in Chalco for his involvement with the Cuban revolutionary struggle. On the July 31st 1956, Guevara was released after serving more than a month in jail. After their detention and later release, Fidel Castro and his comrades resumed preparations to overthrow Batista (Hunt, 2008).

In November 1956 Guevara traveled to Cuba as part of a group led by Fidel Castro. In the rebel troops Guevara was made lieutenant, was a member of the staff of the rebel forces and had been assigned the post of head of health services. On the 5th of June 1957 Guevara was appointed commander of the fourth column of the Rebel Army. The Rebel Army fought several battles against the dictatorship in the Sierra Maestra Mountains. Despite having fewer men and fewer weapons, Guevara successfully led an invading column from the Sierra Maestra to help further the war efforts in the central part of Cuba (Hunt, 2008).

In October 1958 Guevara and the members of his column covered the last stretch of the invasion, to complete the mission Fidel Castro had entrusted to them. In December 1958 as part of the final rebel offensive drive, the guerrilla fighters stormed Santa Clara under the command of Guevara. New Year's Day of 1959 saw the final fall of the Batista regime. For his contribution to national liberation, Guevara was declared a Cuban citizen by birth. The Cuban revolution entered into a more peaceful phase after the demise of the Batista regime (Hunt, 2008).

After the revolution, Guevara gradually started to get involved in the consolidation of the new Cuban government and its policies. Unbeknown to his first wife, Guevara moved in with Aleida March. It was only when Guevara sought a divorce from Hilda that she heard of this new relationship. Guevara and Aleida had four children: Aleida, Camilo, Celia and Ernesto.

He became increasingly involved in day-to-day politics with the aim of fostering Cuba's establishment of trade, cultural and diplomatic links with different countries (Hunt, 2008).

Guevara's decision to join the rebel groups in Congo was made some months before he actually arrived there. In April 1965 with a changed personal appearance and a false passport, Guevara left Cuba for Congo to contribute to the revolutionary struggle there. Almost as soon as he had arrived, he contracted acute tropical fever which damaged his fragile health even more. Due to the climate, he suffered constant asthma attacks coupled with loss of body weight. Guevara was gradually losing his self-control and was having frequent outbursts. His state of mind was also being affected by his health, which was deteriorating day by day. He also had a problem with low morale which was affecting the Cuban camp. In October, it was obvious that the Cubans would leave but Guevara was adamant that he wanted to stay behind and help the struggle (Hunt, 2008).

In July 1966 Guevara secretly returned to Cuba and prepared to leave later for Bolivia with the aim of developing the revolutionary struggle there. On the 23rd of October with another false passport he headed for Bolivia (Hunt, 2008). While engaged in the struggle there, Guevara was wounded in the leg. He was captured and immediately taken to a small school in La Higuera, where he was held prisoner for nearly 24 hours (Hunt, 2008). On the 9th of October 1967 in the school in La Higuera, the soldiers executed the order to kill Ernesto "che" Guevara. He was shot and at the age of 39, Ernesto Guevara was dead (Anderson, 1997).

1.4. The Research Problem

The primary aim of this study is to explore and describe the psychological development of Ernesto "che" Guevara in terms of Alfred Adler's theory of Individual Psychology. It is not the aim of this study to generalize findings to a larger population. Rather, this study aims to

generalize the results of the research to theory. According to Yin (1994), this process of generalization is known as analytical generalization, in which case the case study does not represent a “sample” as the investigator’s goal is to expand and generalize to the theory and not to enumerate frequencies. Runyan (1988) has asserted that using a theory of psychological development gives a better understanding of a subject’s relevant cultural and historical background and allows for the generation of new interpretations and explanations of the individual case or person.

1.5. An Overview of the Treatise

This treatise consists of seven chapters, the first being this introduction. The life of Ernesto Guevara is discussed in Chapter Two. Chapter Three discusses Alfred Adler’s Individual Psychology. Chapter Four deals with the research methodology employed in the current study while the findings of this research are discussed in Chapter Five. Chapter Six which concludes the study discusses the conclusions, contributions and limitations of the study. Additionally, it offers suggestions for future research in the field.

1.6. Chapter Summary

This study is a psychobiography of Ernesto Guevara. The study employs a qualitative psychobiographical research method, which aims to describe Guevara’s psychological development in relation to Alfred Adler’s theory of Individual Psychology.

CHAPTER 2

THE LIFE OF ERNESTO “CHE” GUEVERA

2.1. Chapter Preview

This chapter explores the life of Ernesto “che” Guevara. This entails a description of various aspects of his life, including but not limited to his political awakening, political journey and relevant political beliefs. Emphasis is also placed on his family life, personality, health, travels and the social and cultural significance of his life after his death. This is integrated into his development from childhood through adulthood, particularly in relation to his social, educational, political, and occupational life tasks.

2.2. Introduction

Celia de la Serna was a true blue blood of undiluted Spanish noble lineage. Her paternal grandfather had been a wealthy landowner, and her father had been a renowned law professor, congressman and ambassador. After both her parents died while she was still a child, she and her six siblings were raised by an aunt. Despite her parents’ death, the family had maintained their wealth and Celia was due a good inheritance when she turned 21 (Anderson, 1997).

Ernesto Guevara Lynch was also born into privilege. He was the great-grandson of one of South America's richest men, and his ancestors included both Spanish and Irish nobility. Over the years, however, the family had lost most of their money (Anderson, 1997).

On November 10th, 1927, Celia and Ernesto were married in a private ceremony in Buenos Aires (Anderson, 1997).

2.3. Birth

Ernesto Guevara de la Serna was born on June 14th, 1928 in the city of Rosario, Argentina. He was the firstborn child to his parents Ernesto Guevara Lynch and Celia de la Serna y Llosa (Hunt, 2008).

Guevara's birth certificate stated that his date of birth was the 14th of June 1928, but many years later, it was revealed that Guevara had actually been born a month earlier, on May 14th. His mother had guarded this secret closely for most of Guevara's life. Guevara's mother stated that the deception had been necessary as she was three months pregnant when she married Ernesto's father. When she was ready to give birth, the couple travelled to the city of Rosario, where a doctor friend of the couple's falsified the birth certificate to help shield them from scandal. They then told their family that Celia had gone into labour prematurely (Anderson, 1997).

Guevara had four younger siblings namely: Celia (born in 1929); Roberto (born in 1932); Ana Maria (born in 1934) and Juan-Martin (born in 1943) (Anderson, 1997).

"...it seems strangely fitting that Guevara, who spent most of his adult life engaged in clandestine activities and who died as a result of a secret conspiracy, should have also begun life with a subterfuge" (Anderson, 1997, p. 4).

2.4. Childhood

Guevara developed asthma at the age of four (Hunt, 2008). One night in May 1930, after a day spent swimming with his mother, Guevara developed a coughing fit. He was diagnosed with asthmatic bronchitis, and despite normal remedies, the fit persisted. This condition would affect Guevara for the rest of his life. Young Ernesto's affliction caused discord in the Guevara household, as his father blamed Celia for provoking his illness (Anderson, 1997).

The family moved around a lot in order to find a stable and dry enough climate to ease Guevara's illness, and eventually settled in Alta Gracia, where they found some relief. Ernesto's asthma remained a source of anxiety for his parents and they did everything they could to remedy the situation. They went to extreme measures and did things such as monitoring his diet, the humidity and what clothing he wore (Anderson, 1997). His father kept a notebook in an attempt to track the illness. Eventually, they realised that there was no fixed pattern but even so, there were strict restrictions placed on him, especially in terms of diet (Anderson, 1997). These restrictions resulted in a very strong self-discipline, and having to spend lots of time confined to his bed, which served to reinforce his interest in reading and learning (Anderson, 1997).

Their disorderly household was described as 'bohemian'. The family observed few social conventions and the children made friends indiscriminately but it was Celia who made the most notable impression as a free-thinking individual. The headmistress of the local school recalled Celia setting the record for many 'firsts' for women in this socially stratified community by doing things such as driving a car herself and wearing trousers (Anderson, 1997).

Unlike most of their neighbours, the Guevara's espoused anticlerical views. Guevara Lynch had been raised in a secular household and while Celia had a more traditionally religious upbringing and maintained a certain level of spirituality, she also by no means was considered religious or traditional (Anderson, 1997).

Neither Celia nor Ernesto Guevara Lynch were practical with money and they lived far above their means. While living in Alta Gracia, they became fixtures on the social scene and hosted dinner parties, employed servants, and went on summer holidays. Even though they had no money, they knew the right people and were described as a stylish couple. It was

some time before Guevara Lynch obtained paying work in Alta Gracia and they lived off of Celia's inheritance for the most part (Anderson, 1997).

Guevara Lynch was never able to discipline his eldest son and Celia never tried. The result was that Ernesto became increasingly wild and disobedient. To escape punishment for his transgressions, Ernesto would run off into the countryside and only return when his parents' concern over his safety overcame their anger (Anderson, 1997). According to a family friend, Ernesto's escapes to the countryside were actually his way of escaping his parents' fights. With both of them having hot tempers, these fights are reported to have turned into regular shouting matches. These arguments were attributed to their constant economic troubles, and Guevara Lynch's inability to find work. According to one of Celia's close friends, the real source of the discord was Guevara Lynch's affairs with other women (Anderson, 1997).

It was the Alta Gracia's education authorities ordering Celia to send Ernesto to school that ended his home school days. Ernesto was now almost nine years old and Celia had no choice but to relinquish him. Due to this chronic asthma, his mother had tutored him at home until this time, teaching him to read and write, and this allowed him to skip first grade and start his schooling at second grade level, already a year older than his peers (Anderson, 1997).

According to Anderson (1997), Guevara was described as having a fiercely competitive personality as a child and engaged in a lot of attention-seeking behaviour. There are many examples of the kind of attention-seeking behaviour Guevara used to display, such as drinking ink out of a bottle, eating chalk during class and shooting out the streetlights in Alta Gracia with slingshots. These kinds of behaviours earned the Guevara family some degree of notoriety (Anderson, 1997). As a young man, he showed an early predilection for going his own way. He was an individualist and an iconoclast, interested in literature, archaeology, girls, and adventure (McCormick, 1998). During his asthma free spells, Guevara was eager to play sports and took up soccer, table tennis, golf, horseback riding, target shooting and

swimming. He developed a competitive personality and even despite the inevitable wheezing that would ensue, he competed until he could physically not continue (Anderson, 1997).

According to Anderson (1997), Guevara inherited his father's hot temper and it is reported that he became uncontrollable with rage if he felt he had been reprimanded unfairly. This temper carried through to adulthood, and although Guevara learnt to control it, usually substituting it with his razor sharp tongue, he did on rare occasions strike out physically (Anderson, 1997).

The Spanish Civil War, lasting from 1936 to 1939, was probably the first political event to impact significantly on Guevara's consciousness. Beginning in 1938, a number of Spanish Republican refugees began arriving in Alta Gracia. One of these families became close friends with the Guevara's, with the children attending school together and sitting out of religion classes together (Anderson, 1997).

For a time, the Guevara's shared their home with Celia's older sister, Carmen, and her two children, while their father, the Communist poet and journalist Cayetano "Policho" Cordova Iturburu, was in Spain covering the war for the Buenos Aires newspaper *Critica*. When Policho's letters and dispatches arrived in the post, Carmen read them aloud to the family, bringing the impact of the war home in a way no newspaper article could do (Anderson, 1997). Surrounded by people so emotionally involved with the Spanish Republican cause, ten-year old Ernesto developed a keen interest in the conflict himself. While the war lasted, he followed its developments by marking the Republican and Fascist armies' positions on a map with little flags (Anderson, 1997).

2.5. Adolescence

During his adolescence and his time at the Colegia Nacional Dean Funes, Ernesto delighted in shocking his teachers and classmates, by doing things such as lighting up his anti-asthma cigarettes during class, openly arguing with his mathematics and literature teachers about inaccuracies he had caught them in and general daredevil stunts (Anderson, 1997).

Escaping his own home, which was constantly full of people, Ernesto spent a great deal of time at his aunt Beatriz's apartment. Throughout his childhood, Beatriz had mothered Ernesto in ways Celia never did, sending him books and gifts, new asthma remedies, encouraging him with his studies and worrying about him (Anderson, 1997).

During the summer of 1943, the Guevara's moved to Cordoba. This move was sustained by a brief upswing in their economic fortunes, but it was also the beginning of the end of their days as a united family (Anderson, 1997). Although they tried to keep the family together, the strains between Celia and Ernesto deepened, and by the time they left for Buenos Aires four years later, their marriage was over (Anderson, 1997).

As an adolescent, Ernesto began increasingly to assert himself, questioning his bickering parents' values and forming his own worldview. It was in Cordoba that he met Tomas and Alberto Granada. Alberto was a first year student at the time at the University of Cordoba, and was described as having a good sense of humour, and a taste for wine, girls, literature and rugby (Anderson, 1997). Although Ernesto and Alberto were separated by their difference in age, they soon developed a strong friendship. Alberto was the coach of the local rugby team, which Guevara joined (Anderson, 1997).

Shortly after the Guevara's move to the city of Cordoba, political tensions broke out in Argentina. In June 1943, a secret group of military officers banded together and overthrew

President Castillo. Within 48 hours, a new leader had emerged, namely; War Minister General Pedro Ramirez, representing the military's ultranationalist faction. Very quickly he took repressive measures to silence all domestic opposition. Declaring a state of siege, his regime postponed elections indefinitely, gagged the press, dissolved congress, intervened in the country's universities, and fired protesting faculty members (Anderson, 1997).

In Cordoba, teachers and students took to the streets in protest. Arrests followed, and Alberto Granado was imprisoned along with other students. Many weeks passed with no sign that the students were to be charged with anything or released anytime soon (Anderson, 1997). The detainees asked the Cordoba's secondary school students to march in the streets demanding their liberty. Alberto asked the 15-year old Ernesto if he would join but surprisingly he refused. He would do so, he told Alberto, only if given a revolver. He saw the proposed march as a futile gesture that would accomplish little (Anderson, 1997).

In early 1944, after a couple of months in detention, Alberto Granado was released from police custody. Despite Ernesto's refusal to demonstrate on his behalf, their friendship remained intact. Considering his penchant for daredevil stunts, and apparent unconcern for Argentine politics, it does seem strange that he was unwilling to assist his friend as a matter of principle. Yet this paradoxical behaviour of expressing radical-sounding declamations while displaying a complete apathy about political activism was to become a consistent pattern during Ernesto's growing up years (Anderson, 1997). Despite some retrospective attempts to see the early hint of socialist ideals in the teenaged Guevara, virtually all his Cordoba schoolmates recalled him as politically disinterested. He was described as being without a defined political ideal (Anderson, 1997).

In the provincial Argentina of the mid-1940's, prevailing values concerning sex and marriage were still very much those of a traditional Catholic society. For sex, boys of

Ernesto's social milieu either visited brothels or looked for conquests among girls of the lower class, where their social and economic differences gave them the advantage (Anderson, 1997). For many, their first sexual experience was with the family mucama, or servant girl, usually an Indian or poor mestiza from one of Argentina's northern provinces. When he was 14 or 15 years old, Guevara had his first sexual encounter with the family mucama, a woman named "La Negra" Cabrera (Anderson, 1997). In the summer holidays of 1945 and 1946, Ernesto's cousin, Carmen Iturburu came to visit. They shared a passion for poetry and literature and a short-lived romance soon started between them (Anderson, 1997).

Ernesto Guevara spent five years at the Colegia Nacional Dean Funes, where he displayed some of his typical anti-authoritarian and daredevil behaviour. His behaviour was duly noted by school authorities and in 1945, in his fourth year at Dean Funes, he received ten admonishments, for acts of indiscipline and for having entered and left the establishment outside of hours, without permission (Anderson, 1997). His grades, on the whole, were good. They reflected his proclivity for subjects such as mathematics, natural history, geography and history. His extracurricular book-reading continued unabated. His tastes were eclectic, and he read from authors such as Freud, Jack London, Neruda, and even an abbreviated edition of *Das Kapital* (Anderson, 1997). An intellectual and an idealist, able to speak coherently about Aristotle, Kant, Marx, Gide or Faulkner, he also loved poetry, and was equally at home with Keats as with Sara De Ibáñez, his favourite writer (Sierra, 2009).

2.6. Adulthood

During his final year of high school in 1946, while continuing with his studies, Guevara started his first paying job, in the laboratory of Cordoba's Direccion Provincial de Vialidad, a public works office that oversaw road construction in the province. His friend Tomas Granado was with him. The two youths were already discussing plans to study engineering

the following year (Anderson, 1997). They had obtained their jobs after Ernesto's father had asked a friend to allow them into a special course given for field analysts at Vialidad. They passed the course and their jobs entailed examining the quality of materials used by the private companies contracted to build roads. When they graduated from Dean Funes, they began working full-time and were assigned jobs in different parts of the province (Anderson, 1997).

It was while Guevara was away on one of these assignments that he learnt of his grandmother having suffered a stroke and being gravely ill (Anderson, 1997). Guevara quit his job and raced back to Buenos Aires to be by her side (Anderson, 1997). After witnessing his grandmother's agony and death, he decided to abandon the idea of studying engineering, and started studying medicine. While a student, Guevara spent between 12 and 14 hours a day studying, with the aim of finishing his studies early. By December of his first year he had completed all the subjects needed for the first three years (Hunt, 2008).

During his time at university, Ernesto began taking a keener interest in philosophy and literature. He had been reading extensively on sexuality and social behaviour in books by Freud and Bertrand Russell, and displayed a growing interest in social philosophy (Anderson, 1997). This was when his exploration into the concepts and origins of socialist thought was gathering momentum. He consulted Benito Mussolini on Fascism, Josef Stalin on Marxism, and many others including 'The Communist Manifesto', speeches by Lenin, and had dipped again into 'Das Kapital'. He began to show a special interest in Karl Marx. He kept journals in which he filled dozens of pages with a thumbnail biography of the philosopher's life and works (Anderson, 1997).

Yet for all his curiosity about socialism, now, as before, Guevara showed no inclination to become formally affiliated with the left. In fact, throughout his university years, he remained

on the political sidelines – observing, listening, and sometimes debating, but studiously avoiding any active participation himself (Anderson, 1997).

Guevara had a passion for debate and during this time, he would eagerly put what he read to the test and debate with his family and friends about politics, philosophy and ethics. It was in such personal encounters, rather than any militancy in Argentina's politics, that Ernesto's emerging worldview began to reveal itself. But none of his friends and family saw him as a Marxist; and indeed, neither did he, at the time. They attributed his outspoken espousal of unfashionable positions to his "bohemian" upbringing and his iconoclastic personality (Anderson, 1997).

At the time, Peron was in power in Argentina, and his Machiavellian exercise of power illuminated a formula for effecting radical change in spite of powerful opposition. Observing Peron, Guevara saw at work a political master who could manipulate the keys to political success. The lesson was clear: what was required to make political headway in a place such as Argentina was strong leadership and a willingness to use force to meet one's goals (Anderson, 1997).

By his early 20's, Guevara stood out socially as an attractive oddball whom others found difficult to categorize. He dressed eccentrically and seemed to be perfectly aware of the stir he was creating by defying social convention. It is said that he was a shameless womanizer and even learned to dance only to get closer to girls. He had few inhibitions about trying to seduce available-seeming women, and was unconcerned by appearances or age differences (Anderson, 1997).

2.6.1. Travels.

It was on Guevara's travels away from home that he experienced the most freedom. In January 1950, at the end of his third year in medical school, he took off on a bicycle outfitted with a small Italian Cucchiolo engine, heading into Argentina's interior, on his first trip alone (Anderson, 1997). He headed towards Cordoba, from where he planned to go to San Francisco del Chanar where Alberto Granado was now working at a leprosarium. Guevara arrived at the leprosarium and after several days there wanted to extend his journey and invited Granado, who owned a motorbike, to join him. After Granado tried pulling Guevara along behind his motorbike with the rope endlessly breaking, they abandoned this trip and Guevara went on alone, where he travelled further north and eventually turned back toward home (Anderson, 1998).

On the 4th of January 1952, Ernesto and Alberto Granado finally began their waylaid tour of several countries in Latin America (Anderson, 1997). Guevara and Granado departed from the city of Cordoba on a motorbike they christened "Powerful II" (Hunt, 2008). Soon into their trip through Latin America, their resources ran out and it became a competition to see who could outdo the other in the art of grubbing for survival. They were successful most of the time and spent nights in the barn, garage or kitchen of a willing family (Anderson, 1997).

During this trip, they met some Chilean doctors and passed themselves off as experts on leprosy. By the time they had reached the city of Valdivia, there had been an article written about them in the local newspaper reinforcing their claims as being experts in leprology (Anderson, 1997). They used this fame to get more free meals and accommodation, often leaving their hosts irate, once dancing with married women while their husbands looked on, another time accidentally shooting their host's beloved dog. The motorbike began to fail them and eventually stopped working completely (Anderson, 1997).

The pair intended to make their way to Easter Island but having arrived at the dock, and hearing that there were no ships to Easter Island for the next few months, they managed to stow away on a ship heading toward northern Chile. From there, they continued on their mission and again found willing hosts along the way, and explored the Valley of the Incas and Machu Picchu (Anderson, 1997). After witnessing the working conditions of the locals in American-owned mines as well as the perceived disregard for the indigenous people's struggle by American tourists, Guevara became increasingly anti-American (Anderson, 1997).

From the Andean town of Abancay, they made their way to the Huambo leprosarium. Here they stayed for a few days and then moved onto Lima where they met and stayed with Dr. Hugo Pesce, the founder of the Huambo leprosarium (Anderson, 1997). They developed a special relationship with him, staying there for three weeks and spending the evenings talking about leprosy, physiology, politics and philosophy. Dr. Pesce was a prominent member of the Peruvian Communist party and the first man of medicine Guevara had met who was consciously dedicating his life to the common good, pursuing the kind of highly principled life Guevara hoped to lead (Anderson, 1997).

From there, they went on to the San Pablo leper colony, which was also founded by Dr. Pesce. They stayed there for two weeks. After this journey and leaving Granado in San Pablo working at the leper colony (Anderson, 1997), Guevara returned to Argentina to finish his studies (Hunt, 2008).

2.6.2. Romantic.

It was in his fourth year of medical school that Guevara fell in love for the first time. It was at his cousin, Carmen Iturburu's wedding in Cordoba that he met and fell in love with 16-year old Maria del Carmen Ferreyra. The attraction was mutual and for Guevara, the

ensuing romance was serious. Maria was true blue-blooded Argentinean gentry, heiress to the Ferreyra family empire. The romance blossomed and Guevara made regular trips back to Cordoba to see Maria. Despite his unconventional and messy appearance, her family took to him (Anderson, 1997).

It was when Guevara proposed and suggested that he and Maria spend their honeymoon travelling through Argentina in a motor caravan that the tension began and his presence began to take on a subversive quality among the family (Anderson, 1997). Maria continued to see Guevara in secret but the romance eventually ended.

2.6.3. Occupational.

While Guevara was studying medicine, he held down a number of part-time jobs, the longest lasting of which was that of an unpaid research assistant to Dr. Salvador Pisani in his treatment of asthmatic conditions (Anderson, 1997). Guevara started a few impractical but inventive business ventures, one of which was buying shoes and selling them door to door. Another one was manufacturing cockroach poison, which was promptly abandoned when everyone working on it became ill (Anderson, 1997).

In August 1952, he returned to Buenos Aires and shortly after returning received his medical degree from the University of Buenos Aires (Anderson, 1997). Once his studies had been completed and he had obtained his medical degree, Guevara wasted no time in planning another trip, this time with Calica Ferrer. They planned to go to Bolivia to work for a short while and then find their way to Europe. This however did not play out as planned and Calica eventually left for Venezuela and stayed there for ten years before heading back to Argentina (Anderson, 1997).

2.6.4. Political.

In July 1953 Guevara left for Bolivia from Buenos Aires. A little over a year before, there had been a nationalistic revolution in Bolivia. This was his first genuine experience of the complex and contradictory world of politics and he took a keen interest in discussion on the political climate of the region (Hunt, 2008). A short time later, he decided to leave for Peru, where he had his first contact with Cubans, meeting two exiled survivors of the Moncada assault that took place in Santiago de Cuba. It was then that he learnt of the incredible story of Fidel Castro trying to overthrow the regime of Fulgencio Batista by storming the military garrison (Hunt, 2008).

In December 1953, Guevara travelled to Guatemala where he experienced his true political rite of passage (Hunt, 2008). His days were filled with politics, his unsuccessful search for a job as a doctor, his perennial struggle against illness and the beginning of his relationship with Peruvian Hilda Gadea who would become his first wife. There he contacted Latin American exiles and met other Cubans who had been involved in revolutionary actions, intensifying his political involvement (Hunt, 2008).

Much of Guevara's life in Guatemala revolved around Hilda Gadea; she took care of him, lent him books and talked endlessly with him about psychoanalysis, the Soviet Union, the Bolivian revolution and daily events in Guatemala (Hunt, 2008). Hilda fell pregnant with Guevara's child and seeing it as the honourable thing to do; he married her on the 18th of August 1955 in Mexico (Anderson, 1997). The following summer, his first daughter, Hilda Beatriz Guevara Gadea was born.

It became clear in a letter to his aunt Beatriz in December 1954 that Guevara had finally settled on a political ideal. His recent travels had reinforced his anti-capitalist anti-American stance and he began to take on the role of an authentic revolutionary (Anderson, 1997).

It was around the time of his marriage to Hilda Gadea that Guevara met Fidel Castro and discovered the path that would eventually lead him to prominence. Fidel's influence over Guevara slowly grew and it was during this period that he decided to take an active role in the upcoming armed struggle in Cuba (Hunt, 2008). In June 1956 together with several Cubans, including Fidel Castro, Guevara was arrested by the Mexican police at the Santa Rosa ranch in Chalco for his involvement with the Cuban revolutionary struggle. On July 31st 1956, Guevara was released after serving more than a month in jail. After their detention and later release, Fidel Castro and his comrades resumed preparations (Hunt, 2008).

In November 1956 Guevara travelled to Cuba as part of a group led by Fidel Castro. In the rebel troops Guevara had been assigned the post of head of health services. He was a lieutenant and member of the staff of the rebel forces. On June 5th 1957, Guevara was appointed commander of the fourth column of the Rebel Army. The Rebel Army fought several battles against the dictatorship in the Sierra Maestra Mountains. Despite having fewer men and fewer weapons, Guevara successfully led an invading column from the Sierra Maestra to help further the war efforts in the central part of Cuba (Hunt, 2008).

In October 1958 Guevara and the members of his column covered the last stretch of the invasion, to complete the mission Fidel Castro had entrusted to them. In December 1958 as part of the final rebel offensive drive, the guerrilla fighters stormed Santa Clara under the command of Guevara. New Year's Day of 1959 saw the final fall of the Batista regime. For his contribution to national liberation, Guevara was declared a Cuban citizen by birth and the Cuban revolution entered into a more peaceful phase (Hunt, 2008).

Guevara's decision to join the rebel groups in Congo was made some months before he actually arrived there. In April 1965 with a changed personal appearance and a false passport, Guevara left Cuba for Congo to contribute to the revolutionary struggle there. Almost as soon as he had arrived, he contracted acute tropical fever which damaged his fragile health even

more. Due to the climate, he suffered constant asthma attacks coupled with loss of body weight. His state of mind was also being affected by his health, which was deteriorating day by day (Hunt, 2008). Guevara was gradually losing his self-control and was having frequent emotional outbursts. He also had a problem with low morale which was affecting the Cuban camp. In October, it was obvious that the Cubans would leave but Guevara was adamant that he wanted to stay behind and help the struggle (Hunt, 2008). In July 1966 Guevara secretly returned to Cuba and prepared to leave later for Bolivia with the aim of developing the revolutionary struggle there. On October 23rd, with another false passport he headed for Bolivia (Hunt, 2008).

After the revolution, Guevara gradually started to get involved in the consolidation of the new Cuban government and its policy. Unbeknown to his first wife, Guevara moved in with Aleida March. It was only when Guevara sought a divorce from Hilda that she heard of this new relationship. Guevara and Aleida had four children: Aleida, Camilo, Celia and Ernesto.

During the course of the Cuban Revolution, Guevara developed a reputation as a decisive leader with a taste for action and a flair for organization. He also adapted well to the unregulated nature of guerrilla life. For all of his adaptive qualities, however, Guevara could also be strict and unyielding (McCormick, 1998). This proved to be both a strength and a weakness. On the one hand, this uncompromising feature of his character made him who he was in that, as an idealist and a man of principle, he scorned any attempt to take the easy road if this meant yielding on his convictions (McCormick, 1998).

The growing desperation of Guevara's position and that of his men is expressed in the pages of his Bolivian Diaries. He kept this diary faithfully from the first day of the campaign on November 7th 1966, until the day before his capture 11 months later on October 8th 1967 (McCormick, 1998). In one passage Guevara recognizes that the extreme physical and mental stress of staying one step ahead of the army through the rugged Bolivian jungle was posing

an increasingly difficult challenge (McCormick, 1998). Exhausted, but walking beside his mare that day in an effort to preserve her energy, Guevara lashed out in frustration at the equally tired animal with his knife, stabbing it in the side. After the incident he wrote in his diary that there are moments when he loses control over himself but that it would change. Guevara's handling of the incident reveals something about who he was. Guevara looked at difficulties as personal challenges that provided a man with the opportunity to demonstrate what he was made of. Confronting and overcoming such challenges, he seemed to believe, was a mark of character (McCormick, 1998).

Guevara's personal qualities evoked both admiration and fear among his followers. He was uncompromising. He set a high standard for himself and applied the same yardstick to those who served him. He led by example, shared the risks, hardships, and deprivations of his subordinates, and never complained. He was an ascetic, who seemed to be unaffected by the day in and day out sacrifices of living in the bush (McCormick, 1998). For Guevara, these privations were seriously aggravated by a severe asthmatic affliction that would periodically leave him virtually immobile. He could be kind and even paternal to those among his men who made the grade. He was characteristically hard on those who did not (McCormick, 1998).

Ernesto Guevara appears to have been one of those rare individuals who are able to live up to their ideals. The character of his journey through life, in this respect, was as important to him as the destination. It was not enough to win, it was important to conduct oneself with nobility. These qualities were admired during his lifetime by his friends and enemies alike. He fought hard, stood by his beliefs, and died well at the hands of his opponents (McCormick, 1998).

2.7. Death

While engaged in the struggle in Bolivia, Guevara was wounded in the leg. He was captured and immediately taken to a small school in La Higuera, where he was held prisoner for nearly 24 hours (Hunt, 2008). The only published eyewitness account of Guevara's final hours is provided by Felix Rodriguez, a Cuban exile and CIA (Central Intelligence Agency) advisor then attached to the Bolivian army. Rodriguez described Guevara as a wreck, with filthy, ripped clothes and without proper shoes, only pieces of leather wrapped around his feet and tied with cord. This visual impression clearly did not reveal the inner man (McCormick, 1998).

Despite the circumstances, Rodriguez reports, Guevara remained implacable, reflective, and analytical until the end. He even showed glimpses of his well-known sardonic sense of humour (McCormick, 1998). When he was told by Rodriguez that he would be shot, like two of his comrades earlier that morning, he took it calmly and his last request was that Fidel be told that he will soon see a triumphant revolution in America and that his wife should remarry and try to find happiness. On October 9th 1967 in the school in La Higuera, the soldiers executed the order to kill Ernesto Guevara. At just past one o'clock in the afternoon Guevara was executed. He was 39 years old (McCormick, 1998). After his death, his hands were cut off and preserved in formaldehyde to prove to his followers that he had been captured and killed. They were later smuggled out of Bolivia to Cuba. The rest of his remains simply vanished (McCormick, 1998).

At least part of this mystery has now been solved. In late June 1997, near the remote Bolivian town of Vallegrande, Cuban and Argentinean forensic specialists uncovered the grave of seven individuals. One skeleton, partially covered by a decaying olive drab army

jacket like the one worn by Guevara in the last photograph taken of him while he was alive, had no hands (McCormick, 1998).

2.8. After his Death

"The tyrant dies and his rule is over, the martyr dies and his rule begins" (Kierkegaard & Hannay, 2006, p. 352).

So it was with Guevara. Although his revolutionary convictions inclined him toward tyranny, he died a martyr's death. As influential as he was in life, his influence and power over others increased dramatically after he was gone (McCormick, 1998). Over the next three decades, he would be held up repeatedly as a model of fortitude, self-denial, and heroism (McCormick, 1998).

In the immediate aftermath of his death, and into the 1970s, he was the darling of the New Left. His image could be found in campus dormitory rooms across the United States, next to posters of Jimi Hendrix, Janis Joplin, and other similar fallen heroes (McCormick, 1998). He has since re-emerged as a figure of pop culture. In Cuba, he increasingly represents the memory of what might have been (McCormick, 1998). In the West, Guevara has long been a romantic symbol of personal rebellion and of the power of individual expression (McCormick, 1998).

Guevara's continuing influence, at some level, appears paradoxical. He was, first and foremost, a hands-on professional revolutionary. As such, however, he left a mixed legacy. His theory of revolutionary warfare, which was highly influential, was flawed and arguably contributed to the defeat of scores of attempts throughout the hemisphere since 1959 to replicate the Cuban insurrection (McCormick, 1998). His own efforts to employ his theories failed dramatically. Guevara's track record is far from impressive. In his own efforts he only

won one out of three, winning in Cuba but losing in the Congo and Bolivia. To these failures could be added those of his numerous doctrinal followers, who sought to apply his theories with what should have been predictable results. Every attempt to do so has ended in defeat. For all of their often significant limitations as true revolutionaries, many of Guevara's critics, in the end, were correct (McCormick, 1998).

Despite these failures, Guevara became a powerful symbol of popular struggle, the very image of a revolutionary man. His symbolic influence grew significantly after his death (McCormick, 1998). The key to this paradox lies in the qualities of the man himself, which helped sell his revolutionary concept in life and defined his life and ultimate death as an ideal example of heroic self-sacrifice and revolutionary struggle. These qualities, and the enduring symbolic power of his revolutionary image, make 'che' Guevara a significant figure three decades after his death (McCormick, 1998).

As Berman (1997) writes, the legend of Guevara lives on, and his image has become symbolic of revolution despite many criticizing and despising him for his Machiavellian views that saw the demise of many people during the struggles in which he participated. Berman (1997) does not attribute this to being because of the doctrines of communism. It is because of the doctrines of glory, which are much more primitive. Berman (1997) describes the concept of glory as an absolute commitment to your own principle, whatever it may be. It is a kind of commitment that expresses itself in only one way - by a willingness to kill other people on its behalf and to be killed in turn. A commitment to defeat for victory is always partial and compromised, but defeat and death are total and grand. Victory is secular, defeat is sacred.

A che who, like any ordinary communist politician, had never killed anyone; a che who had survived his guerrilla adventures, and was today an elderly figure,

administering some grim bureaucracy for Fidel Castro or, alternatively, writing books at home in Argentina, surrounded by his anti-communist grandchildren--a che like that would cause no stir at all today, and writers around the world would not be straining their brains to draw ever finer distinctions between the man's calamitous influence and some indefinable greatness (Berman, 1997, para. 7-9).

2.9. Chapter Summary

This chapter provided an overview of the salient events and developments in the life of Ernesto Guevara. Significant themes relating to his sexual, occupational, educational and political development are integrated into his development through childhood, adolescence and adulthood, including his death and the impact of his death on popular culture and modern-day society. His family atmosphere, culture, and political climate that he grew up in are highlighted in order to foster a better understanding of the environment in which he developed.

CHAPTER 3

THE INDIVIDUAL PSYCHOLOGY OF ALFRED ADLER

3.1. Chapter Preview

In this chapter, the Individual Psychology of Alfred Adler is explored. The various aspects of the theory are individually discussed, including the Adlerian view on the development and structure of the personality, and how birth order, family atmosphere, culture and motivational dynamics affect this development and structure. Further, life tasks, specifically those of social interest, love and occupation are described.

3.2. Development and Structure of the Personality

Adler's (1929) Individual Psychology is holistic and stresses the uniqueness of each person and the unity of personality, contending that people can only be understood as integrated and complete beings that strive toward self-determined goals and organize their lives accordingly. Adler (1958) does not use structural components or delineate stages of development, but sees individual lifestyle as a creative expression of striving for superiority and finding meaning while dealing with the occupational, social and sexual tasks of life.

3.2.1. Private logic.

As we grow, develop and mature, we experience countless events, the experience of which allows us to draw conclusions about life in general, others and ourselves. We do not experience reality objectively; instead, reality is subjectively filtered through our own personal lenses, i.e., we each have our own way of seeing things that uniquely focuses the world. In such a way we distort or shape objective reality to confirm our own internal attitudes (Eckstein, 2008).

This subjective creation of reality is shaped at a very early age as a result of interactions within the family unit. According to Adler, it is from this subjective view of life (which he called the “schema of apperception”) that we construct a *private logic*. This private logic is the collection of attitudes and reactions we have about life, and our place in it. Adler stated that:

“In considering the structure of a personality, the chief difficulty is that its unity, its particular style of life and goal, is not built upon objective reality, but upon the subjective view that the individual takes of the facts of life” (as cited in Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956, p. 183).

Adler (as cited in Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956) spoke of the need for having empathy when trying to understand the personal views of another individual by saying that we must be able “to see with the eyes of another, to hear with the ears of another, to feel with the heart of another” (p. 135).

Peluso (2006) notes that a beginning sense of one’s personal style takes place by about the age of six. It is at this time that children make decisions about their place in the world. The social feeling innately possessed by the individual and the extent to which it gets expressed, is tied into the overall family atmosphere and the conclusions that the individual draws from it. Hence, the family, or the family equivalent, is the prototypical social group for the child. It plays a crucial role related to the development of this private logic and eventual *style of life* (Peluso, 2006).

3.2.2. Style of life.

Adler was influenced by the writings of Jan Smuts, the South African philosopher and statesman. Smuts felt that, in order to understand people, we have to understand them more as

unified wholes than as a collection of bits and pieces, and we have to understand them in the context of their environment, both physical and social. This approach is called holism, and Adler took it very much to heart (Boeree, 1997).

To reflect the idea that we should see people as wholes rather than parts, he decided to label his approach to psychology Individual Psychology. Instead of talking about a person's personality, with the traditional sense of internal traits, structures, dynamics, conflicts, and so on, he preferred to talk about style of life or life style. Life style refers to how you live your life, how you handle problems and interpersonal relations (Boeree, 1997). Adler (as cited in Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956) believed that the individual was an active participant in the creation of this life style.

Life style is the visible expression of personality. The continuity in behaviour reflects a person's basic orientation towards life that developed from a life-plan and private logic powered by self-determined fictional goals developed in childhood (Dinkmeyer et al., 1979). This lifestyle is influenced by the person's subjective perception of genetic endowment and the environmental situation (Fouché, 1999).

According to Adler (as cited in Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956), this life style becomes the response set for life, and is the common thread that weaves together an individual's thoughts, feelings and actions into a coherent pattern. In the personality theory, there are contrasting state and trait issues. The former are more situational; the latter are more long-term, throughout life. Like the Jungian concept of temperament, life style is more of a life-long personality trait. This is not to say that the style of life is static and unchanging, but that it comprises the stable and predictable aspects of the person throughout his or her life. In fact, Adlerians believe that individuals can learn how to make their particular style of life work

better for them either through life experiences or psychotherapy (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956).

Personality disorders, mental illness and other problematic symptoms and/or behaviour cannot be separated from the style of life. Thus, it must be recognised that the style of life is neither all good nor all bad (Peluso, 2006).

3.3. Motivational Dynamics

As both creators and creations of their lives, children develop a fictional image of what it is to be safe, superior and to have a sense of belonging (Dinkmeyer, Pew & Dinkmeyer, 1979). This fictional goal or guiding self-ideal determines the creative choice of what is accepted as truth, how to behave and how to interpret events and experiences (Corey, 2005). The actualization of this unconscious fictional goal becomes the unifying central theme of a person's life style that provides a feeling of belonging and purpose as well as a self-defined superiority (Meyer et al., 2003).

Even though the goal may be fictional, Adler (1958) believed that individuals act 'as if' it is attainable and thus have considerable freedom to determine their own destinies. Adler (1929) stated that an individual's behaviour is directed by this striving and this behaviour provides the picture of an integrated life-plan and goal. All behaviour is considered purposive and therefore continuity in behaviour may be noticed in themes running throughout a life (Adler, 1958). Owing to the relation between the flexible guiding fictional goal and life style, Dinkmeyer et al. (1979) indicated that an observer can infer the life-plan and guiding fiction from an individual's life style.

3.3.1. Inferiority.

Adler emphasized the importance of childhood social experiences, believing that all individuals experience inferiority from their earliest dependence on adults (Meyer et al., 2003). This perception of inferiority persists throughout life as a natural source of creativity, the individual construction of which constitutes individuality (Adler, 1929).

Adler (as cited in Boeree, 1997) also noted an even more general form of inferiority: The natural inferiority of children. All children are, by nature, smaller, weaker, and less socially and intellectually competent, than the adults around them. Adler suggested that, if we look at children's games, toys, and fantasies, they tend to have one thing in common: The desire to grow up, to be big, and to be an adult. This kind of compensation is really identical with striving for perfection.

Everyone suffers from inferiority in one form or another. According to Boeree (1997), Adler began his theoretical work by focusing on *organ inferiority*, that is, the fact that each of us has weaker, as well as stronger, parts to our anatomy or physiology. Some people are born with heart problems, or have weak eyes or poor hearing. Adler soon saw that this is only part of the picture. Another form of inferiority is psychological. Despite having no organ inferiorities, some people are simply told as children that they are somehow inferior to those around them, be it weak or unintelligent. These are not matters of true organic inferiority but one can learn to believe that they are. Some compensate by becoming good at what they feel inferior about. More compensate by becoming good at something else but otherwise retaining their sense of inferiority. And some simply never develop any positive self esteem at all (Boeree, 1997).

Despite the fact that we are all naturally inclined to self-actualize, to reach our goals, to seek fulfilment, and perfection, some individuals still fail and end up unfulfilled, imperfect,

and far from self-actualized. Adler (1958) attributes this kind of failure to a lack of *social interest*, or simply because we are too self-interested. According to Adler, being too self-interested is a matter of being overwhelmed by our inferiority. When one is doing well and feeling competent, one can afford to think of others. If not, one's attentions become increasingly focused on oneself.

If an individual is overwhelmed by the forces of inferiority, whether it is actual organ inferiority or a perceived psychological inferiority, they can develop an inferiority complex. This neurosis often leads to the individual becoming shy and timid, insecure, indecisive, submissive or compliant. Further this can lead to dependence on other people to carry you along, even manipulating them into supporting you (Adler, 1958).

Another way in which people can respond to inferiority besides compensation and the inferiority complex is the development of a superiority complex. The superiority complex involves covering up one's real or perceived inferiority by pretending to be superior. The narcissistic personality style is a prime example of this. More subtle examples are the people who are given to attention-getting dramatics, the ones who feel powerful when they commit crimes, and the ones who put others down for their gender, race, ethnic origins, religious beliefs, sexual orientation, weight or height (Boeree, 1997).

3.3.2. Compensation.

Adler (1929) regarded striving for superiority (striving for perfection) as the overall human motivation that manifests as *striving for power* and *social interest* (Meyer et al., 2003). The goal of superiority for each individual is personal and unique, depending upon individual meaning given to life and is attained through *compensation* (Ansbacher &

Ansbacher, 1956). The natural and healthy form of striving for power is related to personal growth as opposed to superiority over others (Meyer et al., 2003).

Through the process of compensation, individuals respond to their inferiorities to make up for their deficiencies. The inferior organ (or aspect of the self) can be strengthened and become even stronger than it is in others; or other organs can be overdeveloped to make up for the shortfall; or the person can psychologically compensate for the organic problem by developing certain skills or even certain personality styles (Boeree, 1997).

3.3.3. Striving for perfection.

Motivations for one's behaviour can be reframed as purposeful or goal-directed. Almost everyone is striving for some type of significance or perfection. Adler (as cited in Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956) disagreed with Freud's emphasis that people are driven by instincts or moulded by heredity, experience or environment. Rather, it is goals or a guiding self-ideal that energised individuals in a chosen direction.

Adler (1929) stated that basic life goals, while generally unknown to the person, give direction to all behaviour. To the extent that goals are aligned with social interest, the direction of the person's life is useful, positive and healthy. Conversely, if goals lack social interest and are simply an expression for overcoming perceived inferiorities by achieving personal superiority, the direction of the person's life tends to be useless, negative and unhealthy (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956).

Dreikurs (1973) identified four classic misguided goals of behaviour which are formulated in early childhood: undue attention, power, revenge, and inadequacy. These are short-hand descriptions of consistent patterns of misbehaviour in children. Dreikurs (1973) declared that all misbehaviour in children could be understood from the perspective of one of these four

goals. These goals are largely unconscious in children because a lack of awareness facilitates fluidity of action and safeguards the child from having to consciously confront the uselessness of certain behaviours.

Such goals are discouraged methods of striving for significance. Striving for significance is in essence a movement towards fulfilment of the goal to achieve unique identity as well as to belong. This movement towards a unique identity is the motivating force behind all human activity, which can be called a type of master motive (Dreikurs, 1973). According to Dinkmeyer, Dinkmeyer & Sperry (1987), Adlerians see this process from a teleological rather than causal perspective, i.e., as a pull by the goal rather than a push by the drive.

Another way of reflecting on how our behaviour is purposeful and goal-directed relates to Kefir's (as cited in Eckstein, 2008) concept of the number one priority. Kefir (as cited in Eckstein, 2008) originally defined four number one priorities, namely: comfort, pleasing, control and superiority. Dewey (1978) also noted that, although it is often difficult for an individual to determine his or her own style of life, the relative order of priorities is generally recognisable. Dewey (1978) elaborated on Kefir's concept by recognising that at the opposite side of each number one priority, there is something that individuals want to avoid at all costs.

The following table compares the four priorities with what is to be avoided at all costs:

<i>Number one priorities:</i>	<i>To be avoided at all costs:</i>
Comfort	Stress
Pleasing	Rejection
Control	Humiliation
Superiority	Meaninglessness

Although people seldom give up their number one priority, it is possible to become more aware through insight and to catch oneself being over-involved in each priority. Adler used various terms, such as the need for completion, mastery, perfection and the guiding fiction, before finally settling on superiority as the master motive. What Manaster and Corsini (1982) call a growth drive is similar to Maslow's self-actualisation. Rogers (1951, p. 487) similarly described the upwardly light seeking tendency towards growth when he observed "the organism has a basic tendency and striving - to actualise, maintain and enhance the experiencing organism". People move towards self-selected goals that they feel will give them a place in the world, provide them with security and preserve their self-esteem. Life is a dynamic striving (Eckstein, 2008).

3.3.4. Equality.

Equality is a pivotal principle of Adlerian psychology that replaces the authoritarian stance with a dialogue between equals in an atmosphere of mutual respect and acceptance. Equality may be demonstrated by describing the vertical versus the horizontal in terms of relationships with others. The horizontal approach to life views all people as being equally worthy of respect and consideration, although people are obviously unequal in some other

respects. Such equality does not mean sameness but rather a stance that all people, irrespective of race, gender or socioeconomic status have the basic birthright of unconditional mutual respect and dignity. By contrast the vertical approach measures people in either a one-up or one-down perspective (Eckstein, 2008).

Adler pointed out that the horizontal view leads to contentment and happiness, while the vertical view offers no security at all. Anyone seeing social structure as being on a vertical plane remains highly vulnerable. As Dreikurs (1973, p. 116) said “The competitive individual can stand competition only when he wins.” Social interest is related to mental health based on equality and democratic living in contrast to striving for a personal superiority that is above others.

3.3.5. Social interest.

Social interest refers to the innate desire to be part of and serve the human community (Meyer et al., 2003). To be a human being is to be a fellow human being. One does not exist outside of the obligations of community (Orgler, 1963). Although social interest is inherent, it must be developed consciously by striving for significance in a way that contributes to the whole of mankind (Adler, 1958). Adler felt that social concern was not simply inborn, nor just learned, but a combination of both, in that it is based on an innate disposition, but it has to be nurtured to survive. So the tendency to empathize must be supported by parents and the culture at large. Even if we disregard the possibilities of conflict between my needs and yours, empathy involves feeling the pain of others (Boeree, 1997).

Second in importance only to striving for perfection, is the idea of social interest or social feeling. In keeping with Adler’s holism, it is easy to see that anyone striving for perfection can hardly do so without considering his or her social environment. As social animals, we

simply do not exist, much less thrive, without others, and even the most resolute misanthropists form that hatred in a social context (Boeree, 1997). Social interest is the most distinctive concept in Adlerian Individual Psychology. It is, however, also the most difficult to define and one of the major concepts that has received the least recognition in the general psychological literature (Eckstein, 2008).

Cooperation has always been required between people. This cooperation begins for each individual at birth, and as Adler sees it, is the only thing that keeps the child alive. The mother is responsible for teaching the child to cooperate. She must extend the child's interest to the father, siblings and the community at large (Orgler, 1963).

The notion of social interest is not to be confused with adaptation out of blind obedience or conformity to authority. Nationalism, racism, sexism and ageism too often typify prevalent societal norms. The rebellion or confrontation of such systems and individuals characterises aspirations of a better world for all people (Eckstein, 2008). Social interest paradoxically may take the form of civil disobedience to preserve the environment. Rebellion may actually have considerable community focus. The goals of such rebellion are motivated by a sense of social interest, a concern for the highest good of all life. Social interest should be the yardstick by which an individual measures what the Buddhists call the path of 'right action'. Such legendary individuals as Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King, Jr. have been imprisoned and/or assassinated for their rebellion. Yet a higher commitment to such universal principles as non-violence and basic civil liberties are contemporary examples of rebellious social interest (Eckstein, 2008).

Kaplan (1991, p. 83) has described in very concrete ways the specific behaviours, feelings and cognitions associated with social interest. These are as follows:

Behaviours associated with social interest:

Helping, sharing, participating, respect, cooperation, compromise, empathy, encouragement, and reforming.

Feelings associated with social interest:

Belonging, feeling at home, commonality, faith in others, being human, and optimism.

Cognitions associated with social interest:

‘As a human being, my rights and obligations are equal to the rights and obligations of others’ ‘My personal goals can be attained in ways consistent with the welfare of the community’ ‘The ultimate measure of my character will be to what extent I promote the welfare of the community’ (Kaplan, 1991, p. 83).

The more a person behaves, feels and thinks as charted above, the more others will respond positively to him or her. This enhances self-confidence, which further expands social interest for both present reality and for building a better future. A balance of practicality and idealism also correlates highly with a high degree of mental health (Eckstein, 2008).

One misunderstanding Adler (1958) wanted to avoid was the idea that social interest was somehow another version of extraversion. Adler (1958) meant social concern or feeling not in terms of particular social behaviours, but in the much broader sense of caring for family, for community, for society, for humanity, even for life. Social concern is a matter of being useful to others. Social interest can be seen as a barometer of effective mental health; conversely, mental illness is characterised as the absence of social interest. The goal of success for psychologically unhealthy individuals is that of personal superiority, and their triumphs have meaning only to themselves (Adler, 1958).

3.4. Social Environment

3.4.1. Social embeddedness.

Human psychological life is not capable of doing just as it likes but is constantly confronted with tasks which have arrived from somewhere. All these tasks are inseparably tied up with the logic of man's communal life (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956).

The conditions of life are determined socially, by the fact that men live together and by the rules and regularities that spontaneously arise as a consequence of this. The demands of society essentially regulate human relations, for before the individual lives of people there was the community. In the history of human culture, there is not a single form of life which was not conducted as social. Never has a person appeared otherwise than in society (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956).

3.4.2. Culture.

Difficult questions in life, disappointments, worries, losses, social pressures of all kinds, may always be seen as included within the framework of the inferiority feeling, mostly in the form of the emotions and states of mind such as anxiety, sorrow, despair, shame, shyness, embarrassment, and disgust (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956). Inferiority feelings are not in themselves abnormal. They are the cause of all improvements in the position of humankind. Progress occurs only when people feel their ignorance and their need for betterment. It is the result of the strivings of human beings to improve their whole situation, to know more of the universe, and to be able to control it better. Indeed, it seems that all our human culture is based upon feelings of inferiority (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956).

One of Adler's (1958) earliest phrases was *masculine protest*. He noted something pretty obvious in his culture (and by no means absent from our own): Boys were held in higher

esteem than girls. Boys wanted, to be thought of as strong, aggressive and in control, i.e. traditionally masculine and not weak, passive, or dependent, i.e. traditionally feminine. The point, of course, was that men are somehow fundamentally superior to women (Boeree, 1997).

In a culture that inherently values that which can be defined as masculine over what it defines as feminine, both men and women suffer negative consequences. For women, the protest has to do with overvaluing the masculine; for men, paradoxically they too struggle in having an almost unattainable ideal of a real man to which they are often compared (Eckstein, 2008).

Adler (1958) did not see men's assertiveness and success in the world as due to some innate superiority. He saw it as a reflection of the fact that boys are encouraged to be assertive in life, and girls are discouraged. Both boys and girls, however, begin life with the capacity for protest. So many people misunderstood him to mean that men are, innately, more assertive, and this led him to limit his use of the phrase.

3.5. Family

3.5.1. Family atmosphere.

From the moment of birth a baby seeks to connect itself with its mother. This is the purpose of its movements. For many months the mother plays overwhelmingly the most important role in the baby's life and it is almost completely dependent on her. It is in this situation that the ability to cooperate first develops. The mother gives her baby the first contact with another human being, the first interest in someone other than itself. This connection is so intimate and far reaching that we are never able, in later years, to point to any characteristic as the effect of heredity. Every tendency which might have been inherited

has been adapted, trained, educated and made over again by the mother. Her skill, (her ability to cooperate with her child and to win the child's cooperation) or lack of skill has influenced the child's entire potentiality (Adler, 1958).

It is not the child's experiences which dictate its actions; rather it is the conclusions that it draws from these experiences. Among problem children we find thousands of varieties of spoiled children struggling for the attention of their mothers and resisting every demand from the environment. A child quickly becomes experienced in finding out the means by which he can best succeed in occupying attention. Sickness is often a refuge for pampered children; for when they are sick they are pampered more than ever. It often happens that such a child begins to show itself a problem child sometime after an illness and it appears at first that it is the illness that made them a problem child. The fact is that the child has, during its illness, discovered that he can manipulate its parents into giving it what it needs, be it attention, care or boundaries.

The part of the father in family life is equally as important as the mother's part. At first his relationship with the child is less intimate and it is later on that his influence has its effect. It is from the marriage of the parents that children gain their first idea of marriage and the partnership of the sexes. The way in which the parents individually play out their paternal roles in the family will have far-reaching consequences for the child's view on relationships, marriage and family (Adler, 1958). Should the mother be unable to spread the child's interest towards the father, the child suffers a serious block in the development of his social feeling. Therefore, when the marriage is unhappy, the family situation is full of danger for the child. The mother may feel unable to include the father in the family life. If children find dissension between their parents they are very skilful at playing them off against each other thus a competition may arise to see who can govern the child better or spoil the child more. It is impossible to train a child in cooperation in such an atmosphere (Adler, 1958).

The task of the father is to prove himself a good husband to his wife, father to his children and member of society. He must be able to solve the problems of life, i.e., occupation, friendship and love, and he must cooperate on an equal footing with his wife in the care and protection of his family. The father's influence on his children is so important that many of them look on him, throughout their lives, either as their ideal or as their greatest enemy. The function that everyone expects most definitely of a father is a solution of the problem of occupation. He must be able to support himself and his family. By his own attitude he helps to prepare his children for the task of occupation (Adler, 1958).

3.5.2. Birth order.

Birth order refers to the order in which siblings are born into a family. Although siblings may be ranked numerically according to their order of appearance, four positions typically are recognized: first, middle, youngest, and only child. Adler (1958) recognized the importance of birth order in the family of origin in contributing to unique consistency in thinking, perceiving, feeling and acting (Corey, 2005). He is the first theorist to include not only a child's mother and father and other adults as early influences on the child, but the child's siblings as well. His consideration of the effects of siblings and the order in which they are born is probably what Adler is best known for. Adler considered birth order a heuristic idea that while contributing to understanding people, should not be taken too seriously (Corey, 2005).

Adler specifically theorized about the effects of birth order on personality development (Stewart & Stewart, 1995). Adlerian psychology and contributions from developmental psychology and role theory suggest that personality variables may relate more meaningfully to the roles that siblings construct or are ascribed rather than to actual birth order (Adler, 1929; Hoffman, 1991). That is, although a child may be the youngest, the gender mix of the

siblings, the differences in ages, and other unique variables may combine to create a firstborn role for the youngest child. Since the inception of Adler's theories, many journal articles and dissertations have been written about birth order and its relationship to a wide variety of psychological topics (Stewart & Stewart, 1995). In addition to personality, birth order research has also largely focused on its relation to intelligence and scholastic achievement. The literature in this area reveals inconsistent results that have stemmed largely from confounding variables present in many birth order studies, including socioeconomic status, race and ethnicity, and age of participants (Rodgers, Cleveland, van den Oord & Rowe, 2000; Steelman, 1985; Sulloway, 1996). Additionally, much of the research in this area indicates that birth order effects are inextricably related to family size, with stronger effects appearing in larger families (Heer, 1985; Sputa & Paulson, 1995).

Several studies found achievement motivation, rather than intelligence, to be associated with ordinal position in the family (Vandergriff & Rust, 1985). Later research on birth order and achievement began to focus on aspiration levels and achievement attributions more than simply on academic achievement. Firstborns attribute success or failure to internal causes and may even underestimate how their situations might have affected success, compared to those born later (Phillips & Phillips, 1994). Falbo (1981) observed a significant relationship between birth order and competitiveness. First and middle children scored significantly higher than lastborns on competitiveness. Only children did not differ significantly from any of the other groups on this variable. As with everything in Adler's system, birth order is to be understood in the context of the individual's own special circumstances (Boeree, 1997).

3.5.2.1. First Born.

According to Orgler (1963), the oldest children find themselves in a unique situation in that due to their birth being greeted with such joy, they become the centre of attention, and

become used to having everything they say and do applauded. A tragedy occurs for this child when a sibling is born, as the child is essentially dethroned and is then forced to share this attention with the new child. They realise that they are no longer the omnipotent ruler. It is theorised that the more they have been pampered, the more intensely they will feel the loss and the harder they will fight to retain their perceived power (Orgler, 1963). They may regress only to be rebuffed and told to grow up. Some become disobedient and rebellious, others sullen and withdrawn. Adler believed that first children are more likely than any other to become problem children. They tend to be relatively solitary and more conservative than the other children in the family (Boeree, 1997).

Adler's opinion is that every child first prefers its mother, and only when it is disappointed in its love of its mother, does it turn to the father. The older children, unless they gain insight, will always try to recapture the old situations of their lost paradise. Their vision is directed backwards. They are admirers of the past and often great pessimists about the future. They have once tasted power, and they remain worshippers of power (Orgler, 1963). The oldest children usually have some authority over their younger siblings, and thus learn the advantages of power. This develops their interest in authority and law, and they see to it that authority is maintained. Eldest children frequently become very good civil service or government officials, and are known for their conscientiousness. They are often the heads of large organisations because they had to learn to organise at an early age (Orgler, 1963).

3.5.2.2. Middle Child.

This child is in a good position in that from birth they have to learn to cooperate with others (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956). According to Boeree (1997), the second child sees the first child as a sort of pace-setter, and tends to become quite competitive, constantly trying to surpass the older child. They often succeed, but many feel as if the race is never

done. Other middle children will tend to be similar to the second child, although each may focus on a different competitor.

3.5.2.3. Youngest Child.

The youngest child is likely to be the most pampered in the family and they are the only children who are never dethroned, which may hamper their ability to develop independence. As a result, the youngest children are the second most likely source of problem children, just behind first children (Boeree, 1997). Sometimes a younger child may suffer from extreme inferiority feelings as everyone in the environment is older, stronger and more experienced (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956). But, with all those pace-setters ahead, the youngest can also be driven to exceed all of them (Boeree, 1997).

3.5.2.4. Only Child.

According to Adler (1958), an only child is in a special position. Like the youngest child, they are never confronted with the tragedy of dethronement, but do not have the advantage of growing up in a community of children. When the parents fail to provide this child with the company of other children, the only child never learns what cooperation means. As a young child, surrounded by adults, they run the risk of maturing too early and becoming precocious. They can later experience shock and disappointment when they realise that not everyone is as interested in them as their parents have been (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956).

3.6. Life Tasks

In observing a human being, Individual Psychology never sees them as isolated but always in their relation to the world. Only in the attitude toward the environment does the individual reveal themselves. We can understand them best from the way they solve the three great

problems of life. Social interest, love and marriage, and occupation are the three great questions which everyone must answer (Orgler, 1963).

3.6.1. Social interest.

From this life task being dealt with in many ways, we have a continuum that people find themselves on. On one side, we have people that will look no further than their own interests, and on the other, people that look only to serving the whole community, with little regard for the individual (Orgler, 1963). As the concept of social interest has been discussed at length in Section 3.3.5., it will not be repeated here.

3.6.2. Love and marriage.

It is easy to understand that if an individual is interested in his/her fellows and in the welfare of humankind, everything they do will be guided by the interests of their fellows, and they will try to solve the problem of love and marriage as if the welfare of others were involved. Adler (1958, p. 263) offered the following definition of love and marriage:

“Love, with its fulfilment, marriage, is the most intimate devotion towards a partner of the opposite sex, expressed in physical attraction, in comradeship, and in the decision to have children. It can easily be shown that love and marriage are one side of cooperation – not a cooperation for the welfare of two persons only, but a cooperation also for the welfare of [hu]mankind.”

According to Adler (1958) the problem of love is that it is a task for two people. Although this may prove a new task to most, the difficulty may be overcome if these two people have developed an interest in their fellows, for then they can learn more easily to be interested in each other. We could even say that for a full solution of this cooperation of two, each partner must be more interested in the other than in himself. This is the only basis on which love and

marriage can be successful. If each partner is more interested in the other partner than in himself, there can only be equality. It should be the effort of each to ease and enrich the life of the other. In this way each is safe.

According to Adler (1958), love is not a purely natural task. Sex is a drive or instinct; but the question of love and marriage is not quite simply how we are to satisfy this drive. Wherever we look, we find that our drives and instincts are developed, cultivated and refined. We have repressed some of our desires and inclinations, on behalf of our fellow beings. Our drives have all been adapted to our common culture, in that they all reflect the efforts we have learned to make for the welfare of humankind and for our life in community with humankind (Adler, 1958).

We are always better prepared if the marriage of our parents has been harmonious. Children gain their earliest impression of what marriage is like from the life of their parents. If the parents are not able themselves to cooperate, it will be impossible for them to teach cooperation to their children. We know that an individual is not determined by their environment but by the estimate they make of their environment (Adler, 1958).

The physical attraction of adult life is already being trained in childhood. The impression the child gains with regard to sympathy and attraction, the impressions given by members of the opposite sex in the child's immediate surroundings are the beginnings of physical attraction. When a boy gains these impressions from his mother, sisters, or the girls around him, his selection of physically attractive types in later life will be influenced by their similarity to these members. Sometimes if children experience difficulty with their parent of the opposite sex, they look for the antithetic type (Adler, 1958). The sexual attraction toward the other partner is necessary, but it should always be moulded along the line of a desire for human welfare. If the partners are really interested in each other, there will never be the

difficulty of sexual attraction coming to an end. This always implies a lack of interest; it tells us that an individual no longer feels equal and cooperative towards their partner, and no longer wishes to enrich the life of their partner (Adler, 1958).

The solution of the problem of love and marriage in our practical and social life is monogamy. There is always the possibility of a break in that relation, but it is easier to avoid if we are regarding marriage and love as a social task which confronts us, a task that we are expected to solve. Breaks in the monogamous relationship usually happen because one or both partners do not understand the marriage and the task of love from the perspective of social interest (Adler, 1958). According to Adler (1958) those people who are most spontaneously interested in the welfare of humankind are the most likely to have children, and those who are not interested, consciously or unconsciously, in their fellow beings, refuse, or are hesitant to take on this burden of procreation. People that are always demanding and expecting, never giving, tend not to like children. They are interested in only their own persons and they regard children as a bother. We can say, therefore, that for a full solution of the problem of love and marriage, a decision to have children is necessary (Adler, 1958).

The attitude of every individual towards marriage is one of the expressions of their style of life. We can only understand it if we understand the whole individual. It is coherent with all their efforts and aims. The attitude of people who remain pampered children is one of always looking for relief or escape. In relation to marriage, they want to have it on a trial basis. If they cannot get what they want, they see life as purposeless, become pessimistic and conceive a death wish. They make themselves sick and neurotic and out of their mistaken style of life they construct a philosophy. They feel that their mistaken ideas are of unique and tremendous importance: they feel that it is a piece of spite on the part of the universe that they have to repress their drives and emotions. They are trained in this way (Adler, 1958).

3.6.3. Occupation.

One can easily recognise a person's life style from the way people handle the task of occupation. Those individuals who do their work well usually have self-confidence. However, there are others who cannot make up their minds about which profession to get into, others keep changing professions without achieving anything, or they find other ways to postpone completing this task. These people can be said to have an inferiority complex. This often happens with children that have been spoilt. They find it very difficult to do independent work as they have grown up with the belief that they must be helped by others (Orgler, 1963).

In contrast to these people who fail in their occupation, there are others who live only for their profession, and do nothing else. These occupation fanatics also have a mistaken attitude toward life. An overemphasis on their profession usually means a flight from the solution of other problems. Having no time for anything else is often the reason given for avoiding the tasks imposed by social interest and by love. Professional success gives them the desired recognition in their striving for superiority (Orgler, 1963).

An exaggerated striving for recognition is a hindrance to great achievement. Adler (1958) further explained that exaggerated ambition prevents a really great achievement as it produces too much mental tension in people and inhibits the full development of their ability. Only when people have an objective attitude to their work are they in a position to fully develop their abilities (Adler, 1958).

3.7. Psychological Types

We cannot consider human beings as types, because every person has an individual style of life. If we speak of types, therefore, it is only as a conceptual device to illustrate the

similarities between individuals. We can judge better when we postulate a conceptual classification, such as a type and study its special peculiarities (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956). Although all neurosis is, for Adler, a matter of insufficient social interest, he did note that three types could be distinguished based on the different levels of energy they involved:

The first is known as the ruling type. These people are characterised by a tendency to be dominant and at times aggressive toward others. Their energy, the strength of their striving after personal power, is so great that they tend to push over anything or anyone who gets in their way. The most energetic of them are bullies and sadists and the somewhat less energetic ones hurt others by hurting themselves (self-destructive) (Boeree, 1997).

The second is known as the leaning type. These are sensitive people who have developed a protective shell around themselves. They rely on others to carry them through life's difficulties. They have low energy levels and so become dependent. When overwhelmed, they develop what we typically think of as neurotic symptoms, such as phobias, obsessions and compulsions, general anxiety, hysteria, amnesias, and so on, depending on individual details of their lifestyle (Boeree, 1997).

The third type is known as the avoiding type. This is the hesitating individual who does not have the confidence to overcome difficulties and to advance, but who initiates their steps with the greatest caution and who prefers to stand still or to retreat rather than to take any risk. This is an individual in whom indecision gains the upper hand and who usually is inclined to think more of themselves than others, so that this type has no points of contact for the great possibilities of life (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956).

There is a fourth type as well: the socially useful type. This is the healthy person, one who has both social interest and energy. Note that without energy, you cannot have social interest

(Boeree, 1997). The socially useful type appears to be the one who, in their childhood, was least exposed to the feeling of inferiority, who showed few noticeable organ inferiorities, and who was not subjected to strong irritations, so that they could develop undisturbed, learn to love life and to come to friendly terms with it (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956).

3.8. Chapter Summary

In this chapter, we have explored the most salient concepts in Alfred Adler's Individual Psychology. This has included his ideas on the structure of the personality, motivational dynamics, inferiority, compensation, birth order and the influence of family, society and culture on the development of the personality. We have seen that he regards social interest, i.e. an interest in the community at large, as opposed to self-interest, as one of the key factors in living a fulfilled life. We have further explored his views on the various life tasks that one has to complete, namely those of occupation, love and social interest. In Chapter 5, Adler's theory will be applied to the life of Ernesto Guevara, described in Chapter 2.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

4.1. Chapter Preview

This chapter discusses the primary aim of the study, methodological considerations, research design, and procedures involving data collection, reliability, trustworthiness and the validity of the data. It also explores the nature of psychobiographical research, its value and the relevant ethical considerations to be aware of while undertaking a psychobiographical study.

4.2. The Aim of the Research

The primary aim of this study is to explore and describe the psychological development of Ernesto “che” Guevara in terms of Alfred Adler’s theory of Individual Psychology. The aim of this study is not to generalize findings to the larger population. Rather, it aims to generalize the results of the research to theory. According to Yin (1994), this process of generalization is known as analytical generalization, in which sense, the case study does not represent a “sample”, and the investigator’s goal is to expand and generalize theories and not to enumerate frequencies. Runyan (1988) has asserted that using a theory of psychological development gives a better understanding of a subject’s relevant cultural and historical background and allows for the generation of new interpretations and explanations of the individual case or person.

4.3. The Research Design

The proposed study may be specifically defined as a single-case psychobiographical study over a lifespan (Fouché, 1999). The design serves as means of inquiry into an individual case through the systematic use of psychological theory to coherently reconstruct and reinterpret a

life through an illuminating narrative (McAdams, 1994) that contributes to both knowledge and theory-building.

This qualitative psychobiographical study can be described as being both exploratory-descriptive and descriptive-dialogic in nature (Edwards, 1990). The exploratory-descriptive nature refers to the provision of a rich and accurate description of Guevara's psychological development over his lifespan so as to provide an in-depth understanding of his individual case within its socio-historical context. The descriptive-dialogic nature refers to the faithful portrayal and description of phenomena and to clarify and test the content of specific theories (Edwards, 1990).

By applying the selected psychological concepts to Guevara as a singular case over his entire lifespan, a dialogue will be created between the exploratory-descriptive findings and the theoretical concepts and propositions for analytical generalization.

4.4. Psychobiographical Research

The psychobiographical field relates to studying "finished lives" (Carlson, 1988, p. 106) with an emphasis on offering explanations for features or characteristics of the life history as comprehensively as possible (Alexander, 1988). Elms (1994) described a psychobiography as a way of doing psychology and not merely a way of doing a biography. According to him, psychologists have much to learn from studying individual lives in detail.

Psychobiography has been described in several ways since its initial conceptual development. Shared by most definitions is an acknowledgement of both a psychological analysis of an individual's life and a biographical depiction of an individual's life history and achievements. The researcher seeks to combine these to insightfully understand, interpret and explain the individual's psychological development.

The value of psychobiographical case studies can be found in the following five areas.

4.4.1. The uniqueness of the individual case within the whole.

Psychobiographical research has a morphogenic nature that allows the researcher to investigate and provide a unique and holistic description of the individual within the subject's entire socio-historical context (Carlson, 1988; Elms, 1994). The researcher is thus able to study individualized patterning processes of the whole personality rather than singular elements (Elms, 1994).

4.4.2. The socio-historical context.

To foster a holistic understanding of a person, attention must be paid to the bigger picture in viewing the person's background. Life history research provides a framework to uncover cultural influences on human development (Fouché & van Niekerk, 2005a). The unique description and understanding of the individual provides the researcher with a larger contextualized background from which to portray the subject's socio-historical culture, process of socialization, and family history (Runyan, 1984).

4.4.3. Process and pattern over time.

Psychobiographical research is conducted on finished lives in order to trace patterns of human development and behaviour that can be fully described across an individual's entire lifespan (Carlson, 1988). This, in turn, provides an integrated and more comprehensive picture of human development over time, and as Fiske (1988) states, makes it possible to form a more comprehensive understanding of the personality in action. This longitudinal research benefits the researcher of life history with an integrated and more complete representation of human development within the particular time setting (Alexander, 1990).

4.4.4. Subjective reality.

The Adlerian perspective holds that objective reality is less important than how reality is interpreted and how meanings are subsequently attached to experiences (Corey, 2005). The knowledge and understanding of subjective reality allows the researcher to develop a level of sympathy and empathy with the subject (Runyan, 1984), forming the basis upon which to construct an emotionally compelling narration of the individual's life story.

4.4.5. Theory testing and development.

Life history material provides an ideal laboratory to test and develop theories of human development (Carlson, 1988). Theory guides the identification of objectives and design in data collection and acts as a template for generalization. Analytical generalization is used to compare the empirical results of the study to previously developed theory in order to test, extend and develop it further (Yin, 1994), as opposed to making a statistical inference to a population. The theory can thus be viewed as a template or model against which the collected data are analyzed and compared.

4.5. The Psychobiographical Subject

Interpretation in a qualitative study means to assign significance or coherent meaning that reflects the view of the individuals studied, that is, how they see the world and define situations (Neuman, 2003). Thus, in the qualitative interpretation of historical documents or the text of spoken words or human behaviour, the researcher must learn about the individual's motivations for his actions. Adler (1929, p. 5) believed that one must be "in possession of an intimate knowledge of the whole individual, so that an understanding of one part becomes possible only after we have understood the whole".

Purposive sampling, a non-probability sampling procedure, was employed to select the psychobiographical subject. In purposive sampling, the researcher's judgment is particularly prominent in determining the characteristic attributes desired and to ensure the richness of data (Strydom & Delport, 2005). Guevara was selected on the basis of interest value to the researcher, as well as an attempt to foster a greater understanding of his motivations and underlying psychological workings as these are unclear. Being familiar with some opinions regarding Guevara and his life's work, it is clear that these opinions are conflicting, with one side seeing him as a hero figure, while another views him as being a persecutor of innocent people. I feel it is important to provide as much clarity as possible regarding Guevara's actual motivations and psychological workings.

4.6. Methodological Considerations

Yardley (2000) suggested three broad principles as guidelines to evaluate the quality of qualitative psychological research. The first principle is sensitivity to context. This can be accomplished by the researcher being conscious of the existing literature, taking into account the degree to which the study is sensitive to the data and paying attention to the way in which the socio-cultural milieu of the study may have influenced its management and outcome. One also has to be sensitive to the relationship between the researcher and the participant. Her second principle is embraced by commitment to the research and subject, scientific rigour, and transparency and coherence of the research and the results thereof. Her third notion is impact and importance. According to Yardley (2000), a crucial test of validity is whether the research conveys anything of use, anything that would make a difference, or anything important.

Several methodological difficulties related to the effective execution of psychobiographical studies should be taken into account whilst employing the

psychobiographical approach (Anderson, 1981). These difficulties, as well as means of lessening their influence, are addressed below.

4.6.1. Researcher bias.

Psychobiographers often experience countertransference as a result of the relatively in-depth and long-term nature of the psychobiographical approach (Stroud, 2004). At times the psychobiographer will idealize the subject and enjoy the status of being connected to such an exalted figure (Fouché & van Niekerk, 2005b). At other times, they may find fault with their subject as a way of persuading themselves that they are more rational, smarter or friendlier than the subject (Anderson, 1981).

In order to negate these criticisms, Anderson (1981) suggests that psychobiographers examine their feelings about the subject and develop empathy with the subject but sustaining empathy is also useful against any inclination to belittle the subject. Psychobiographers should enlist the assistance of biographical specialists by allowing them to comment on the psychobiographer's relationship with the subject. The researcher of this study consulted with her supervisors, Professors Hoelson and Stroud, on a regular basis to receive comment on her relationship with the subject.

4.6.2. Reductionism.

One of the chief criticisms of psychobiographies is that of reductionism. This takes many forms such as: Psychobiographies are said to neglect the complex social, historical and cultural context within which the individual existed (Runyan, 1988). Another criticism is that psychological factors are overemphasized at the expense of external social and historical factors (Runyan, 1984) as well as that psychobiography focuses excessively on psychopathological processes and gives insufficient attention to normality and creativity.

Runyan (1984) further stated that reductionism also explains adult character and behaviour exclusively in terms of early childhood experience while neglecting later formative processes and influences.

Elms (1994) suggested that psychobiographers should avoid overpathologizing by adopting a more eugraphic than pathographic approach. In the eugraphic approach the psychobiographer looks at the process of how the subject becomes and remains psychologically relatively healthy (Fouché & van Niekerk, 2005b).

4.6.3. Cross-cultural differences.

According to Anderson (1981), psychobiographical studies may be considered a form of cross-cultural research in that the culture in which the subject lived would have differed significantly from our present-day culture. The cross-cultural application of psychological concepts has been criticized because of the likelihood that the cultures within which the subjects lived would have been sufficiently different from the culture of the biographer. Therefore, present-day psychological concepts might not be applicable or cross-culturally sensitive (Stroud, 2004). Anderson (1981) recommends that the researcher undertake extensive historical research in order to develop a culturally empathic understanding of the subject.

4.6.4. Analyzing an absent subject.

Some researchers believe that psychobiographers are at a disadvantage because they have limited or no direct contact with the subject and hence less information is available. In response, Anderson (1981) contended that psychobiographers are in fact at an advantage because they are able to access various information sources which cover the subject's entire lifespan and affords the researcher the opportunity to analyze events in the light of their

eventual effects. This, in turn, results in a more accurate and objective view of the subject's life (Anderson, 1981). The entire body of work created by or about the subject, such as public speeches, diaries, drawings, written books and other creations could be researched (Anderson, 1981). However, Anderson maintained that the greatest possibility for research comes when the research subject is still alive, allowing the psychobiographer to interview him or her.

4.6.5. Validity and reliability criticisms.

The quality of a research design involved in any empirical social research can be assessed by means of four tests namely: construct validity, internal validity, external validity and reliability (Yin, 1994).

1. *Construct validity* refers to the establishment of correct operational measures for the concepts being studied. To meet the test of construct validity, the researcher has selected appropriate and specific constructs to be studied in relation to the objectives of the study. Yin (1994) states that the use of multiple sources of evidence would increase the study's construct validity. This is accomplished through the triangulation of data and using multiple sources of primary as well as secondary data.
2. *Internal validity* pertains to the establishment of a causal relationship, as distinguished from erroneous relationships (Runyan, 1984). The concern is that inferences may be made without sufficient evidence. To enhance internal validity in the current study, multiple sources of data have been utilized to achieve data triangulation. Fouché (1999) states that internal validity is primarily relevant when doing explanatory or causal studies, and is not used for descriptive or exploratory studies.
3. *External validity* refers to the establishment of a domain to which a study's findings can be generalized (Runyan, 1984). The researcher aims to analytically generalize

findings, whereby a previously developed theory is used as a template with which to compare the empirical results of the study.

4. *Reliability* refers to demonstrating that the operations of study such as data collection procedures can be repeated with similar results (Alexander, 1988). In this study, reliability has been enhanced by making use of a data collection matrix (Appendix B).

4.6.6. Elitism and easy genre.

According to Stroud (2004), arguments have been made that psychobiographical research is both easy and elitist. Regarding elitism, researchers have been accused of focusing too much on political and military leaders, and the privileged, while ignoring the lives of ordinary men and women. Runyan (1988) has argued that it can be honourable to learn more about the oppressed and the neglected. He warned, however, that it is not the social class, but rather the extent of influence that should be considered. Runyan (1988) contended that a superficial biography may be written quickly and easily, but a good biography demands consultation with numerous sources, extensive knowledge of the subject's socio-historical context, psychological knowledge and good literary skill.

4.6.7. Inflated expectations.

Psychobiographical explanations should be recognized as speculative, and not viewed as the final word about the subject (Anderson, 1981). Thus, psychobiographers need to be aware of the shortcomings of the approach and must recognize that psychological explanations do not replace, but add to other explanations (Vorster, 2003).

4.7. Data Collection and Analysis

The goal of the psychobiographer was to highlight the salient defining events in an individual's life and apply psychological theory in order to organize the data into a

compelling narrative. Thus, the life must be understood within its particular social, cultural and historical context and not merely reduced to causal notions of early experience or force-fitted into theory.

Alexander's (1988) model of data extraction is a way to organize and prioritize qualitative biographical data and assist the psychobiographer to clearly demarcate which content may be set aside and safely ignored, and which content will be considered. A conceptual framework (Appendix B) that guided and determined the relevance of the data was constructed with the use of Adler's (1929) Individual Psychology perspective. This ensured that the study's aim was met (Yin, 1994).

Primary data are documents produced by the subject, such as personal correspondence and interview material. Secondary materials are those produced by others, focusing on the subject's life history, development, personality and individuality. In this study, predominantly published primary and secondary materials have been used because of their stability, factual accuracy, relative accessibility and corroboration with other sources (Yin, 1994). Data was triangulated so as to ensure objectivity, thereby increasing the internal validity of the study. Sources were noted in the reference list to enhance reliability by creating an accessible database.

Once gathered, a central problem is to order the data in a way that reveals the information it contains (Alexander, 1988). Identifying core themes from the narrative occurs through two methods: (a) 'letting the data reveal itself', by identifying salient points that help to reduce information into manageable quantities and (b) 'asking the data a question', by extracting and systematically categorizing information into themes of personality development that correspond to the theory used. A vital dialogue is created between the extracted data and the theory, which allows for analytical generalization. This data management process allows for

data reduction, theme identification and comparison with theory for accurate conclusions that increase trustworthiness. A more detailed description of these two methods follows:

(a) Letting the data reveal itself

Alexander (1988) reported that the primary concern is the method of extracting the most meaningful units of personality structure. He identified nine principal criteria of salience which serve as guidelines to extract salient data:

1. *Primacy*
2. *Frequency*
3. *Uniqueness*
4. *Negation*
5. *Emphasis*
6. *Omission*
7. *Error or distortion*
8. *Isolation*
9. *Incompletion*

The nine identifiers of salience outlined above provided a relatively consistent and systematic way in which to approach collected materials, thus enhancing reliability of collected data. A more detailed overview of these principles is provided in Appendix C.

(b) Questioning the data

Alexander's (1988) second technique that supplements data extraction is to ask the data a question based on the theoretical approach applied to the study. This technique facilitates sorting large amounts of information for specific answers to specific questions operationalized within the psychological theory used. This helps to unravel intricacies of the

subject's worldview that the data was not necessarily designed to reveal in the current study. An integrated framework was used to conceptualize data extraction. The researcher implemented the following questions:

The first question was: "How is psychological development conceptualized in this study?" The second question was: "How will a dialogue be created between the data extracted and the content of the theory applied?" The researcher critically compared the information extracted (see Appendix B) with the dynamics explored in question one and subsequently, analytically generalized the findings.

Ensuring trustworthiness

Case study research allows an accurate description and in-depth understanding of the individual case. The truth value and logic of the study is shaped by trustworthiness of the research process and findings. According to Lincoln and Guba's (as cited in Krefting, 1991) model of trustworthiness, a qualitative study must have *credibility*, *transferability*, *dependability* and *confirmability*. These concepts and several strategies to meet these qualitative requirements are discussed next.

Credibility is perhaps the most important criterion as it is based on researcher credibility, methodological rigour, and the belief in the value of qualitative inquiry (Krefting, 1991). Triangulation is a powerful strategy to enhance the quality of research, particularly in the area of credibility (Krefting, 1991). Triangulation of data sources was used to maximize the range of data that contributed to the complete understanding of the subject, increasing accuracy and decreasing distorted findings (Schultz, 2005). Peer examination was sought from colleagues and supervisors who are knowledgeable in the theories and methods employed.. Reflexivity is increased by seeking disconfirmation in interpretations; and discussing the process, insights, findings, problems and evolving design of the study with an impartial source (Flick, 2006).

Transferability is used to judge the extent to which findings may be applied to other contexts. In the proposed study, transferability is one of the less significant criteria as the aim is analytical generalization to the theory used as opposed to statistical generalization (Yin, 1994). To achieve a measure of transferability, the researcher used purposive sampling and ensured that a sufficient database of information was presented. Further, substantial descriptions were provided allowing the reader to judge the themes and constructs of the study.

Dependability relates to the consistency of findings (Krefting, 1991), where the recommendations and conclusions are consistent with the presented data. There must be a fit between the research question, data collection procedures and the analytic techniques to present all interpretive elements with purpose and focus. In qualitative research, variability and atypical situations in a single life are valued as they provide the opportunity to learn from, rather than control, information (Krefting, 1991). Descriptions of variability and detailed methodology provided information as to how repeatable the study might be or how unique the situation (Krefting, 1991). Supervisors were consulted to check the research methodology and implementation. Triangulation, to ensure an inclusive exploration of multiple realities of subjective experience was also used to enhance dependability (Flick, 2006).

Confirmability of data and interpretations refers to the degree to which findings are a result solely of information and conditions of the research (Krefting, 1991) and not researcher bias. The researcher used reflexive analysis, triangulation as well as a specially designed data collection matrix (Appendix B) to guard against bias and to accurately evaluate the research findings. The researcher kept documentation regarding raw data, data reduction and analysis, data reconstruction and synthesis, process notes and materials related to intentions and dispositions (Byrne, 2001) to facilitate this process.

4.8. Ethical Considerations

According to Elms (1994) and Runyan (1984), the nature of the psychobiographical study raises ethical concerns about privacy and confidentiality. The American Psychiatric Association (APA, 1976) (as cited in Elms, 1994) has published broad guidelines stipulating that, firstly, psychobiographies should ideally be conducted on long-dead individuals, preferably those who have no close surviving relatives who may be made uncomfortable by any revelations. Secondly, psychobiographies may not be conducted on any living person without their prior consent to being studied or interviewed, information collection, or subsequent publication of findings.

The information collected in the current study was archival information that exists in the public domain and is freely accessible. This limited the possibility of information that could potentially make living relatives of Guevara uncomfortable becoming public knowledge.

The psychobiographer's values and biases were considered in the process as this awareness is crucial for objectivity. All intimate knowledge obtained was documented accurately and objectively and its relevance carefully assessed to accord the subject with relevant respect. Subjective responses were managed in a way that preserved scientific rigour.

4.9. Chapter Summary

This chapter highlighted the primary aim, research design and method, as well as the psychobiographical subject of this study. Additionally, the research procedure, the data collection methods, and the data analysis procedures used, were explained. Further, the nature and value of the psychobiographical method as well as relevant ethical considerations were explored.

As the research process advances and is refined, multiple explanations and re-explanations take place. It is important that the meanings are interpreted in a stable context, and to this end, Chapter Six will present and discuss the findings of this study in a comprehensive and integrated manner.

CHAPTER 5

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

5.1. Chapter Preview

This chapter serves as the integration of the life of Ernesto Guevara, as described in Chapter 2, with the Individual Psychology theory of Alfred Adler, as described in Chapter 3. Here we will explore how Adler's theory relates to the life of Guevara, specifically to but not limited to his theory regarding birth order, family atmosphere, culture and life tasks. This chapter does not seek to establish causation but rather to explore and describe Guevara's life in the context of Adler's theory.

5.2. Development and Structure of the Personality

5.2.1. Private logic.

We do not experience reality objectively; instead, it is subjectively filtered through our own personal lenses, i.e., we each have our own way of seeing things that uniquely focuses the world. In such a way we distort or shape objective reality to confirm our own internal attitudes (Eckstein, 2008). According to Adler, it is from this subjective view of life that we construct a *private logic*. Private logic is the collection of attitudes and reactions we have about life, and our place in it. According to Peluso (2006) it is around the age of six that a beginning sense of one's personal style takes place. It is at this time that children make decisions about their place in the world. Family atmosphere plays a crucial role related to the development of this private logic and eventual *style of life* (Peluso, 2006).

Guevara consistently cast himself in a strong leadership role. He took a hands-on approach and wanted to be in the heart of social change. Although it was some time before his political opinions solidified into a belief system, there seemed to be a pervasive desire for order and he

felt, what seemed to be a strong pressure to uphold this order (Anderson, 1997). As Peluso (2006) said, it is around the age of six that children begin to gain a sense of their personal style. This was about the time that Guevara started becoming exposed to ideas of politics, revolution and the importance of social change (Anderson, 1997). He seems to have firmly believed that he had a very significant part to play in the world, in the fight for order, justice and advocacy for the oppressed and minority. His private logic was that of leading everyone to freedom, no matter the cost.

5.2.2. Style of life.

Life style refers to how you live your life, how you handle problems and interpersonal relations (Boeree, 1997). Adler (as cited in Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956) believed that the individual is an active participant in the creation of this life style. It is seen as the visible expression of personality. The continuity in behaviour reflects a person's basic orientation towards life that develops from a life-plan and private logic powered by self-determined fictional goals develops in childhood (Dinkmeyer et al., 1979). This lifestyle is influenced by the person's subjective perception of genetic endowment and the environmental situation (Fouché, 1999). According to Adler (as cited in Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956), this life style becomes the response set for life, and is the common thread that weaves together an individual's thoughts, feelings and actions into a coherent pattern.

In a time when it would be considered something quite out of the ordinary, Guevara was brought up in a household that espoused very liberal and secular views. His siblings and he sat out of religion classes together, his mother was known for her liberal outlooks on life and their house was open to anyone who wished to enter (Anderson, 1997). Guevara would have had to be influenced by this to some degree and it would most certainly have shaped or contributed to his style of life.

Guevara had always stood out amongst his peers. He was known for being unenthusiastic about personal hygiene and general appearance. He was known to be fiercely loyal and unwavering in his beliefs, irrespective of the outcome (Anderson, 1997). This feature of his character, however, was one-dimensional, in that it only extended as far as his political and social beliefs. According to Anderson (1997), even when Guevara was in the same country as his family, he would allocate very little time to them. He instead would spend most of his time in his office. What we can assume from this is that he placed his commitment to revolutionary struggle and social change above his commitment to his family. In other words, he felt passionately about his political values, social change and revolution, and saw everything that he contributed toward these things as for the greater good, and his family fell into the greater good. This in itself is contrary to societal norms. We can therefore say that his style of life is certainly contrary to what one would expect from an individual, specifically one growing up in the mid-1900's. What caused this we do not know, but what we do know is that he had a very liberal upbringing and we further know that his family unit was decidedly not average, in views, in beliefs, in morals and in behaviour.

5.3. Motivational Dynamics

5.3.1. Inferiority.

Everyone suffers from inferiority in one form or another. Adler (1929) began his theoretical work focusing on *organ inferiority*, that is, the fact that each of us has weaker, as well as stronger, parts to our anatomy or physiology. Children born with inferior organs experience their bodies and its pains and weaknesses as a burden. They, much more than normal children, develop inferiority feelings, strive to compensate these lacks and to arrive at a goal in which they foresee and presume a feeling of superiority. In this movement from below to above, from a felt minus to a presupposed plus, they are attacked much more by the

difficulties of life and live as though they were in enemy country (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956). Guevara developed asthma at the age of four and these attacks plagued him for the rest of his life (Hunt, 2008).

5.3.2. Compensation.

Adler (1929) regarded striving for superiority (striving for perfection) as the overall human motivation that manifests as *striving for power* and *social interest* (Meyer et al., 2003). The goal of superiority for each individual is personal and unique, depending upon individual meaning given to life and is attained through *compensation* (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956).

Through the process of compensation, individuals respond to inferiorities to make up for their deficiencies. The inferior organ (or aspect of the self) can be strengthened and become even stronger than it is in others; or other organs can be overdeveloped to make up for the shortfall; or the person can psychologically compensate for the organic problem by developing certain skills or even certain personality styles (Boeree, 1997).

It is not the child's experiences which dictate his actions; rather it is the conclusions which he draws from his experiences. Among problem children we find thousands of varieties of spoiled children struggling for the attention of their mother's and resisting every demand from the environment (Adler, 1958). A child quickly becomes experienced in finding out the means by which he can best succeed in occupying attention. Sickness is often a refuge for pampered children; for when they are sick they are pampered more than ever. It often happens that such a child begins to show himself a problem child sometime after an illness and it appears at first that it is the illness that made him a problem child. The fact is that the child has, during his illness, discovered that he can manipulate his parents into giving him what it is that he needs, be it attention, care or boundaries (Adler, 1958).

We cannot establish causation but we can certainly point out relevant correlation in the scope of this study. One interesting correlation is that Guevara developed asthma the year after his first sibling was born. Celia was born in 1929, and he developed asthma in 1930 (Hunt, 2008). He was four years old. This could mean that on an unconscious level, Guevara developed asthma as a means to maintain power in the family.

5.3.3. Striving for perfection.

Striving for significance is in essence a movement towards fulfilment of the goal to achieve unique identity as well as to belong. This movement towards a unique identity is the motivating force behind all human activity, which can be called a type of master motive (Dreikurs, 1973).

Almost everyone is striving for some type of significance or perfection. Adler (1929) stated that basic life goals, while generally unknown to the person, give direction to all behaviour. To the extent that goals are aligned with social interest, the direction of the person's life is useful, positive and healthy. Guevara's goals were aligned with social interest, up to a point. When we talk about social interest, we talk about a better world for everyone. He believed this and fought for it, but we cannot ignore the fact that there were certainly shortfalls when it came to his family life (Anderson, 1997). It seems as though he considered them as solely part of humanity and he was fighting for humanity. Guevara perceived his life's purpose as part of a struggle against imperialism (Franklin, 1997).

From Guevara's style of life we can see that his style was one of dissimilarity to societal norms. He was a liberal and a communist in the true sense of the word (Anderson, 1997). Try as hard as he might, he would however not be able to escape being human and in that be subject to the same power of influence and unconscious strivings that we all are subject to. Of these are striving for power and social interest. It is clear that social interest in one of its

forms, being that of political and social change for the greater good, is very prominent in his life style and motivations. This social interest informs his striving for power. From the very beginning of life, we are striving to overcome inferiority (Adler, 1958), and Guevara has achieved this in a rather spectacular fashion. He was at the absolute seat of power when he was fighting for his cause. Not only was he hands-on in changing the Cuban government and overthrowing the existing regime, but he actually led the troops that won that battle, and he did this while fighting his organ inferiority, being the asthma that he suffered from since childhood (Anderson, 1997).

Another way of reflecting on how our behaviour is purposeful and goal-directed relates to Kefir's (as cited in Eckstein, 2008) concept of the number one priority. Kefir (as cited in Eckstein, 2008) originally defined four number one priorities, namely: comfort, pleasing, control and superiority. Simply based on what we know about Guevara's private logic and style of life, we can identify his primary motive and number one priority as that of gaining superiority. This does not just extend to superiority over others but on a more intrinsic and personal level, it could reflect gaining superiority over his physical being, or at least compensating for his frailty with what is clearly the complete flipside of it. He was a soldier, a guerrilla fighter, he lived in horrendous conditions, and engaged in behaviour that he, as a medical doctor, would surely have known would be absolutely counter to what his physical needs were, given the fact that he was frail, sickly and asthmatic (Anderson, 1997; Hunt, 2008). In this instance, we can see that Guevara's striving for superiority manifested in a physical and psychological compensation. Psychologically speaking, his organ inferiority could have led him to feel like he was lesser than people who were in better health. In his attempt to strive for perfection, he compensated for his illness by going beyond what most healthier people would be capable of and willing to do. In this way, he made up for his organ inferiority.

5.3.4. Social interest.

The notion of social interest is not to be confused with adaptation out of blind obedience or conformity to authority. Nationalism, racism, sexism and ageism too often typify prevalent societal norms. The rebellion or confrontation of such systems and individuals characterises aspirations of a better world for all people (Eckstein, 2008). Social interest paradoxically may take the form of civil disobedience to preserve the environment. Rebellion may actually have considerable community focus. The goals of such rebellion are motivated by a sense of social interest, a concern for the highest good of all life. A higher commitment to such universal principles as non-violence and basic civil liberties are contemporary examples of rebellious social interest (Eckstein, 2008).

This is true of Guevara, and is quite clear from his style of life, his beliefs and the way in which he exercised his political power. Guevara adopted a Machiavellian attitude with regards to his revolutionary views and strivings. He believed in armed struggle and that there was simply no other way in which to ensure social change (Hunt, 2008). To Machiavelli and to Guevara, the end justified the means. Guevara was fiercely loyal to his cause, and anyone on his side that was considered a traitor was executed (Anderson, 1997). Many people lost their lives during the Cuban Revolution, some of them at Guevara's hand (Berman, 1997), but this is something that he was comfortable in accepting simply because the end goal was worth the sacrifice of human lives to him.

5.4. Social Environment

5.4.1. Culture.

Inferiority feelings are not in themselves abnormal. They are the cause of all improvements in the position of mankind. Progress occurs only when people feel their ignorance and their

need for betterment. It is the result of the strivings of human beings to improve their whole situation, to know more of the universe, and to be able to control it better. Indeed, it seems that all our human culture is based upon feelings of inferiority (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956).

Since the 1870s, the country of Argentina had become more politically stable. Up until that point, it had been balanced in a state of perpetual tension between savagery and enlightenment. This was as a result of being in the process of change from a war-riddled country to a democratic independent republic. In the Argentina of 1927, political and social change was inevitable, but had not yet come (Anderson, 1997).

It would have been difficult for someone to not have some interest in or idea of the political climate in Argentina in the early to mid-1900s. Change was inevitable. Guevara would have, as everyone else, been influenced by this impending change. The cultural and political factors at play, coupled with his developing private logic and style of life, informed the personality style that is described in this chapter.

5.5. Family

5.5.1. Family atmosphere.

The social feeling innately possessed by the individual and the extent to which it gets expressed, is tied into the overall family atmosphere and the conclusions that the individual draws from it. Hence, the family, or the family equivalent, is the prototypical social group for the child (Peluso, 2006).

The part of the father in family life is equally as important as the mother's part (Adler, 1958). The task of the father is to prove himself a good husband to his wife, father to his children and member of society. He must be able to solve the problems of life, i.e.,

occupation, friendship and love and he must cooperate on an equal footing with his wife in the care and protection of his family. The father's influence on his children is so important that many of them look on him, throughout their lives, either as their ideal or as their greatest enemy. The function that everyone expects most definitely of a father is a solution of the problem of occupation. He must be able to support himself and his family. By his own attitude he is helping to prepare his children for the task of occupation (Adler, 1958).

Guevara Lynch, however, did not solve the problems of love or of occupation. Although there were many attempts by Lynch to find a stable job and income, the family ended up living off of Celia's inheritance. This, as well as the fact that Lynch and Celia's personalities clashed frequently and Lynch was known for his affairs with other women was no secret (Anderson, 1997).

Between 1932 and 1935, Paraguay and Bolivia fought an intermittent, bloody conflict over control of the *chaco* wilderness shared by the two countries. Ernesto Guevara Lynch followed this conflict closely and at one point declared that he was willing to take up arms in defence of Paraguay (Anderson, 1997). Caught in his father's enthusiasm, Guevara began following the war's progress. As an adult, Guevara recalled his father's passion for the conflict and, in tones that were both affectionate and sarcastic, told Argentine friends about his father's bombastic threats to join the fighting. For the son, it summed up one of the bittersweet truths about his father, a well-intentioned man who spent his life coming up with schemes, but who rarely managed to achieve anything concrete (Anderson, 1997). One could even go as far as to say that Guevara compensated for his father's inferiority.

His father never seemed to understand what made Guevara tick, just as he never completely understood his wife. To him, Celia was imprudent and attracted to danger and she was at fault for passing these traits onto her son (Anderson, 1997). Guevara Lynch,

meanwhile, who admitted to being overly cautious, was fretful and forever worrying about the dangers and risks in life. In some ways, he was the more maternal of the two parents, while Celia was her son's confidante and co-conspirator. Exaggerated or not, Guevara Lynch's famous temper was something he passed onto his oldest son (Anderson, 1997).

Their disorderly household was described as 'bohemian'. The family observed few social conventions. It was Celia who made the most notable impression as a free-thinking individual. Because there were always people in and out of the Guevara household (Anderson, 1997), we could say that his sense of family was somewhat distorted. There would have been a much stronger leaning toward to a communally focused as opposed to an individualistic perspective on life, family and the world in general. This is clear in the way that Guevara lived his life. He was absolutely committed to his cause for the greater good. He sacrificed his life and the lives of many others in an attempt to create a better world for the majority.

Guevara has been described as a strict and sometimes harsh leader. He seemed to have little sense of the intimidating effects his words could have on others. He was as strict with Aleida and his own family. She was once ordered to return a gift of a pair of Italian leather shoes, because the average Cuban citizen was not wearing imported leather shoes. She was refused the use of his car to take one of the children to the hospital during an illness, and was forced to use the bus "just like everyone else". When food rationing began, Guevara found out that his own family were eating well thanks to a special food supplement; he investigated, found it to be true and withdrew the benefit. He simply would not allow his family to receive any special favours (Anderson, 1997, p. 568).

Whether or not Guevara was as severe as these stories suggest, his widow would not say; she felt a duty to protect the image of the man who has become an international myth, and insists that he was “a man without defects” (Anderson, 1997, p. 568).

5.5.2. Birth order.

According to Orgler (1963), the oldest child finds itself in a unique situation in that due to its birth being greeted with such joy, it becomes the centre of attention, and becomes used to having everything it says and does applauded. A tragedy occurs for this child when a sibling is born, as the child is essentially dethroned and is then forced to share this attention with the new child. It realises that it is no longer the omnipotent ruler. It is theorized that the more the child has been pampered, the more intensely they will feel the loss and the harder they will fight to retain their perceived power (Orgler, 1963).

The time that elapses before this dethronement is important for the impression it makes on the child and for the way this impression is utilized. If the time is three years or more, this event meets with an already established style of life and is responded to accordingly. When the time interval is less, the whole process takes place without words and concepts; hence it is not susceptible to a correction by later experiences (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1958). Of course, if the parents have allowed the first-born to feel sure of their affection, if they know that their position is secure, and above all, if they are prepared for the arrival of a younger child and has been trained to cooperate in its care, the crisis will pass without ill effects (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1958).

Among such oldest children, we find individuals who develop a striving to protect others and help them. Sometimes they develop a strong talent for organization. On the other hand, even a striving to protect others may be exaggerated into a desire to keep those others dependent and to rule over them (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1958). This is once again true of

Guevara. We can describe his behaviour and occupational choice as the striving to protect and help others but this was distorted by the Machiavellian attitude that he took toward it. It goes to show that one cannot separate influences and that all experiences in the life of the child will add to an overall picture and outlook on life. This view would serve to contradict what was previously mentioned about Guevara's development of asthma. However, it can also serve to illustrate how he, and humankind, function on a continuum. As has been mentioned, we can describe some of Guevara's views as completely aligned with Adler's theory, but with some slight distortions along the way. What this illustrates then is that we all function somewhere along the continuum but are not any less influenced by life experience as a result.

First born children tend to be relatively solitary and more conservative than the other children in the family (Boeree, 1997). They have once tasted power, and they remain worshippers of power (Orgler, 1963). The oldest children usually have some authority over their younger siblings, and thus learn the advantages of power. This develops their interest in authority and law, and they see to it that authority is maintained. Eldest children frequently become very good civil service or government officials, and are known for their conscientiousness. They are often the heads of large organisations because they had to learn to organise at an early age (Orgler, 1963). While this is true of Guevara, it has certainly taken on a rebellious nature in his character which can be attributed to his liberal upbringing.

Sometimes children who have lost their power, the small kingdom they ruled understand better than others the importance of power and authority. When they grow up, they like to take part in the exercise of authority and exaggerate the importance of rules and laws. Everything should be done by rule, and no rule should be broken; power should always be preserved in the hands of those entitled to it. Influences like these in childhood give a strong

tendency towards conservatism (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956). We could say that Guevara was conservative in his ideas, insofar as he was completely unyielding in them. Any challenge to his belief system was seen as at best an attack and at worst, traitorous. He was well-known for his harsh views and sometimes harsh treatment of his people. He valued integrity above all else. To many, he seemed altogether too serious about revolution, unrelentingly moralistic, and holier-than-thou (Anderson, 1997).

5.6. Life Tasks

5.6.1. Social interest.

As this has been mentioned before, it will not be explored too deeply here. In summary regarding the social interest task of Guevara, he certainly took the concept to heart. He has certainly displayed a knowledge and passion for the greater good of humanity and believed strongly that there is a better life for all humankind that could be achieved (Anderson, 1997). This is clear. However, Guevara had his sights on one aspect of this and seemingly discarded all others. When we talk about social interest, we talk about a better world for everyone. He believed this and fought for it, but we cannot ignore the fact that there were certainly shortfalls when it came to his family life. It seems as though he considered them as solely part of humanity and he was fighting for humanity.

5.6.2. Love and marriage.

The problem of love is that it is a task for two people. Although this may prove a new task to most, the difficulty may be overcome if these two people have developed an interest in their fellows, for then they can learn more easily to be interested in each other. We could even say that for a full solution of this cooperation of two, each partner must be more

interested in the other than in himself. This is the only basis on which love and marriage can be successful (Adler, 1958).

Since their meeting in December 1953, in Guatemala, much of Guevara's life in Guatemala revolved around Hilda Gadea, who would become his first wife. She took care of him, lent him books and talked endlessly with him about psychoanalysis, the Soviet Union, the Bolivian revolution and daily events in Guatemala (Hunt, 2008). Hilda fell pregnant with Guevara's child and seeing it as the honourable thing to do; he married her on the 18th of August 1955 in Mexico. The following summer, his first daughter, Hilda Beatriz Guevara Gadea was born (Anderson, 1997).

The solution of the problem of love and marriage in our practical and social life is monogamy. There is always the possibility of a break in that relation, but it is easier to avoid if we are regarding marriage and love as a social task which confronts us, a task that we are expected to solve. Breaks in the monogamous relationship usually happen because one or both partners do not understand the marriage and the task of love from the perspective of social interest (Adler, 1958). In this Guevara failed. While we cannot say that Guevara was a known womaniser, we also cannot say that he was a faithful husband to Hilda. According to Anderson (1997), in the spring of 1958, while in the Sierra Maestra Mountains, and while married to Hilda, he began an affair with a woman named Zoila Rodriguez. Zoila was a single mother of 18 and living on her father's farm when she met Guevara. She started helping the rebels by running small errands and eventually Guevara asked her to stay on permanently. She helped out in the kitchen and hospital. By the end of that year, the rebel army had moved on and Guevara left Zoila behind with his mule, asking her to care for the animal. It was said by one of his men that while there were a lot of women that "went crazy" over Guevara, he was always very strict and respectful in that sense, but he really liked Zoila (Anderson, 1997, p. 311). However, later while living in Cuba and married to his second

wife, Aleida, Guevara was described as steadfastly monogamous, contrary to most Cuban men at the time, who had second and sometimes third wives (Anderson, 1997).

After overthrowing the Cuban government, Guevara's personal life was becoming complex. At the time, Guevara was in a relationship with Aleida March and he inevitably had to face Hilda. She arrived from Peru with their three-year-old daughter, Hildita, in tow. Hilda recorded the encounter in her memoirs. Here she described how Ernesto had told her that he was with another woman, and they had agreed on a divorce. Hilda would stay on in Cuba. She and Guevara would get divorced and he would marry Aleida. On May 22nd, 1959, he obtained his divorce from Hilda. On June 2nd, he and Aleida were married. They had four children: Aleida, Camilo, Celia and Ernesto (Anderson, 1997).

According to Adler (1958) those people who are most spontaneously interested in the welfare of mankind are the most likely to have children, and those who are not interested, consciously or unconsciously, in their fellow beings, refuse, or are hesitant to take on this burden of procreation. People that are always demanding and expecting, never giving, tend not to like children. They are interested in only their own persons and they regard children as a bother. We can say, therefore, that for a full solution of the problem of love and marriage, a decision to have children is necessary (Adler, 1958).

Guevara spent little time with his family, and even when he was at home, he spent hours closeted away in his office reading, writing and studying. There was never much time to be with Aleida or the children as duty called. Sunday afternoons were all he spared for his family (Anderson, 1997). In Appendix D and E, Guevara's distance from his children is illustrated by letters he had sent to them while engaged in struggles in other countries. We can extend this to say that essentially he failed at the task of fatherhood. Although Adler himself does not describe a specific task relating to parenting, but rather emphasizes the

actual desire to have children as the task, we can quite safely assume based on what we know about Adler, that because it relies on social interest as the foundation, parenting could be and should be considered an extension of putting others before oneself. Guevara has not done this in relation to his children and family (Anderson, 1997).

We are always better prepared if the marriage of our parents has been harmonious. Children gain their earliest impression of what marriage is like from the life of their parents. If the parents are not able themselves to cooperate, it will be impossible for them to teach cooperation to their children (Adler, 1958).

Guevara Lynch and Celia both had hot tempers and their fights are reported to have turned into regular shouting matches. These arguments are attributed to their constant economic troubles, and Guevara Lynch's inability to find work. According to one of Celia's close friends, the real source of the discord was Guevara Lynch's affairs with other women. By the time they left for Buenos Aires in 1947, their marriage was over (Anderson, 1997).

According to Adler (1958), the physical attraction of adult life is already being trained in childhood. The impression the child gains with regard to sympathy and attraction, the impressions given by members of the opposite sex in his immediate surroundings are the beginnings of physical attraction. When a boy gains these impressions from his mother, sisters, or the girls around him, his selection of physically attractive types in later life will be influenced by their similarity to these members (Adler, 1958).

Celia taught Guevara how to read and write and how to speak French. She was essentially the first person to teach him. She was a liberal and strong woman. She was known for her free-thinking individuality (Anderson, 1997). This theme has quite clearly pervaded his life. When Guevara met Hilda Gadea, who would become his first wife, she quickly assumed the role; she took care of him, lent him books and talked endlessly with him about

psychoanalysis, the Soviet Union, the Bolivian revolution and daily events in Guatemala (Hunt, 2008). This relationship did not last and he then met and later married Aleida March. The youngest of six children, Aleida was from a once-affluent Spanish émigré family who had lost their wealth. By the time Aleida had graduated from college she was an active member of the local July 26 underground. She eventually became chief liaison for the movement and earned a reputation as extremely audacious, smuggling weapons and bombs around the province under her skirt (Anderson, 1997). She was described as being fearless, completely dedicated and very serious. Given their divergent beliefs, they made an unlikely couple. Aleida came from the faction within the Cuban revolution most despised by Guevara. She was from the llano, she was anti-Communist and still possessed some of the social prejudices she had been brought up with. By contrast, Guevara was a radical Communist, the arch-nemesis of most of her colleagues. She was however, worthy of respect, for she was undeniably brave, having proved repeatedly that she knew how to face death (Anderson, 1997).

5.6.3. Occupation.

One can easily recognize a person's life style from the way people handle the task of occupation. In contrast to people who fail in their occupation, there are others who live only for their profession, and do nothing else. These occupation fanatics also have a mistaken attitude toward life. An overemphasis on their profession usually means a flight from the solution of other problems. Having no time for anything else is often the reason given for avoiding the tasks imposed by social interest and by love. Professional success gives them the desired recognition in their striving for superiority (Orgler, 1963).

Guevara literally dedicated his life to his work. He saw the revolutionary struggle as his absolute life goal. Although there was an attempt at solving the other life task of love and

marriage, those of occupation and social interest seem to have merged, become one and basically been the only driving force in his life. The conclusion is reinforced by the fact that he had clearly failed at the task of love and marriage.

An exaggerated striving for recognition is a hindrance to great achievement. Adler (1958) further explained that exaggerated ambition prevents a really great achievement as it produces too much mental tension in people and inhibits the full development of their ability (Adler, 1958). It was described in Chapter 2 how after the fall of the Batista regime, Guevara gradually started to get involved in the consolidation of the new Cuban government and its policies. He became increasingly involved in day-to-day politics (Hunt, 2008). However, he quickly tired of this role and started making plans to get involved in armed revolutionary struggle, which was his life's passion, elsewhere (Hunt, 2008). This could be seen as an avoidance of the other tasks of life.

It is clear from this that there remained a drive within Guevara to be actively involved in revolutionary struggle. So much so that he left Cuba and tried to start revolutions in other parts of the world (Anderson, 1997). We know that he failed in these parts, and tried to apply revolutionary theory that was clearly flawed to other struggles (McCormick, 1998). We can deduce from this that firstly, the actual success of the struggle was secondary to the struggle itself, which leads us to believe that primary importance is on the recognition, perhaps fame / infamy that came along with it, or that there was some internal dynamic and validation coming from being the poster child for revolution. We have seen that even before his death, Guevara became this poster child (McCormick, 1998) and perhaps revelled in it. Knowing what we know about his father, we can even go as far as to say that perhaps he was desperately trying to be the antithesis of the man for whom he had little respect.

Secondly, we can deduce that there was absolute significance placed on an active, as opposed to passive role in these struggles. It was not enough for him to be involved in the day to day running of the government, even a successful one. He simply needed to be on the ground, with the gun in his hand and people's lives at his mercy. He was followed, loved, and revered for his beliefs, and based on his actions, it seemed that this was more important to him than anything else. Perhaps that is a harsh statement, but the reality of the situation is that regardless of background, upbringing, culture, birth order and family atmosphere, we have the free will and able mind to make decisions every day that affect not only our lives but those of the people around us. In Guevara's case, these are the lives of his children, his parents, his siblings and his wife. When we use Adler's teleological approach to human striving, we can say that Guevara was pulled toward the goal of being the hero, and to some, the anti-hero, but as long as he was on the pedestal, he was content.

“...Personally I noted something I had never felt before: the need to live. That had better be corrected in the next opportunity.” (Anderson, 1997, p. 327).

This is an excerpt from Guevara's diary written in June 1958, in response to a small victory over the Batista army at Altos de Merino. This quote confirms that Guevara was absolutely willing to give his life for what he perceived as the greater good. We know that his strategy was not necessarily a successful one, with it only being effective in the Cuban revolution and nowhere else (McCormick, 1998), and this could make one wonder how much of this sacrificing his life for the greater good was for the greater good, and how much served as an escape.

5.7. Psychological Types

In Section 3.7, the different psychological types as outlined by Adler were discussed. Guevara seemed to be a combination of two of the types, namely the ruling type and the

socially useful type. According to Adler (as cited in Boeree, 1997), ruling types are characterized by a tendency to be dominant and at times aggressive toward others. Their energy, the strength of their striving after personal power, is so great that they tend to push over anything or anyone who gets in their way. The most energetic of them are bullies and sadists; somewhat less energetic ones hurt others by hurting themselves (self-destructive).

If we were to apply this to Guevara, it seems rather harsh, and I believe that that side of his is tempered by the other side, being the socially useful one. Socially useful people are the healthy people, those who have both social interest and energy (Boeree, 1997). The socially useful type appears to be the one who, in his childhood, was least exposed to the feeling of inferiority, who showed few noticeable organ inferiorities, and who was not subjected to strong irritations, so that he could develop undisturbed, learn to love life and to come to friendly terms with it (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956).

We know that Guevara was in fact exposed to organ inferiority (Hunt, 2008), and that he compensated for this in certain ways. So we could say that while he did develop undisturbed, and did come to friendly terms with life, there is definitely an element of the ruling type that has informed his personality development and led to the personality structure that has been described in this chapter.

5.8. Chapter Summary

In this chapter the life of Ernesto Guevara, as described in Chapter 2 was integrated with the Individual Psychology theory of Alfred Adler, as described in Chapter 3. Here we explored how Adler's theory relates to the life of Guevara, in respect of the development and structure of the personality, motivational dynamics, social environment, family, life tasks and psychological types. This chapter served as an exploration of the life of Guevara.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS, LIMITATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1. Chapter Preview

This chapter describes the conclusions of this research by revisiting the purpose of the study and summarising the findings. Further, the limitations and value of the study are discussed, specifically with regard to the theory applied, the psychobiographical subject as well as the psychobiographical approach. Finally, recommendations for future research are made.

6.2. Revisiting the Purpose of the Study

The primary aim of this study was to explore and describe the psychological development of Ernesto ‘che’ Guevara in terms of Alfred Adler’s theory of Individual Psychology. It was not the aim of this study to generalize findings to a larger population. Rather, this study aimed to generalize the results of the research to theory. According to Yin (1994), this process of generalization is known as analytical generalization, in which case the case study does not represent a “sample” as the investigator’s goal was to expand and generalize theories and not to enumerate frequencies. Runyan (1988) has asserted that using a theory of psychological development gives a better understanding of a subject’s relevant cultural and historical background and allows for the generation of new interpretations and explanations of the individual case or person.

6.3. Individual Psychology in the life of Ernesto ‘che’ Guevara

A brief summary of the findings related to a biographical account of the life history of Ernesto Guevara within the conceptual framework of Adler’s Individual Psychology is provided.

As Peluso (2006) said, it is around the age of six that children begin to gain a sense of their personal style. This was about the time that Guevara started becoming exposed to ideas of politics, revolution and the importance of social change (Anderson, 1997). He seems to have firmly believed that he had a very significant part to play in the world, in the fight for order, justice and advocacy for the oppressed and minority. His private logic was that of leading everyone to freedom, no matter the cost.

In a time when it would be considered something quite out of the ordinary, Guevara was brought up in a household that espoused very liberal and secular views. His mother was known for her liberal outlooks on life and their house was open to anyone who wished to enter (Anderson, 1997). Guevara would have had to be influenced by this to some degree, and it would most certainly have shaped or contributed to his style of life.

Guevara had always stood out amongst his peers. While he was known to be indifferent to social norms, personal hygiene and general appearance, he was also known to be fiercely loyal and unwavering in his beliefs, irrespective of the outcome. This feature of his character, however, was one-dimensional, in that it only extended as far as his political and social beliefs (Anderson, 1997). He was a liberal and a communist in the true sense of the word (Anderson, 1997).

It is clear that social interest in one of its forms, being that of political and social change for the greater good, is very prominent in his life style and motivations. This social interest informed his striving for power. From the very beginning of life, we are striving to overcome inferiority (Adler, 1958) and Guevara achieved this in a rather spectacular fashion. He was at the seat of power when fighting for his cause; was hands-on in changing the Cuban government and overthrowing the existing regime, and he actually led the troops that won that battle, while fighting his asthma (Anderson, 1997).

Based on what we know about Guevara's private logic and style of life, we can identify his primary motive and number one priority as that of gaining superiority. This does not just extend to superiority over others but on a more intrinsic and personal level, it reflects gaining superiority over his physical being, or at least compensating for his frailty with the manifestation of a completely opposing style of life. He was a soldier, a guerrilla fighter, living in terrible conditions, and engaging in behaviour that he would surely have known would be absolutely counter to what his physical needs were (Anderson, 1997), given the fact that he was frail, sickly and asthmatic. In this instance, we can see that Guevara's striving for superiority manifested in a physical and psychological compensation. Psychologically speaking, his organ inferiority could have led him to feel like he was lesser than people who were in better health. In his attempt to strive for perfection, he compensated for his illness by going beyond what most healthier people would be capable of and willing to do. In this way, he made up for his organ inferiority.

Guevara adopted a Machiavellian attitude with regards to his revolutionary views and strivings. He believed in armed struggle and that there was simply no other way in which to ensure social change (Hunt, 2008). To Machiavelli and to Guevara, the end justified the means. Guevara was fiercely loyal to his cause, and anyone on his side that was considered a traitor was executed (Anderson, 1997). Many people lost their lives during the Cuban Revolution, some of them at Guevara's hand (Berman, 1997), but this is something that he was comfortable in accepting simply because the end goal was worth the sacrifice of human lives to him.

It would have been difficult for someone to not have some interest in or idea of the political climate in Argentina in the early to mid-1900s. Change was inevitable (Anderson, 1997). Guevara would have, as everyone else, been influenced by this impending change.

The cultural and political factors at play, coupled with his developing private logic and style of life, informed the personality style that is described in this chapter.

Eldest children frequently become very good civil service or government officials, and are known for their conscientiousness. They are often the heads of large organisations because they had to learn to organise at an early age (Orgler, 1963). While this is true of Guevara, it has certainly taken on a rebellious nature in his character which can be attributed to his liberal upbringing. First born children have a strong tendency towards conservatism (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956). We could say that Guevara was conservative in his ideas, insofar as he was completely unyielding in them. Any challenge to his belief system was seen as at best an attack and at worst, traitorous. He was well-known for his harsh views and sometimes harsh treatment of his people. He valued integrity above all else. To many, he seemed altogether too serious about revolution, unrelentingly moralistic, and holier-than-thou (Anderson, 1997).

When we talk about social interest, we talk about a better world for everyone. He believed this and fought for it, but we cannot ignore the fact that there were certainly shortfalls when it came to his family life. It seems as though he considered them as solely part of humanity and he was fighting for humanity. Guevara spent little time with his family, and even when he was at home, he spent hours closeted away in his office reading, writing and studying (Anderson, 1997). Although Adler himself does not describe a specific task relating to parenting, but rather emphasizes the actual desire to have children as the task, we can quite safely assume based on what we know about Adler, that because it relies on social interest as the foundation, parenting could be and should be considered an extension of putting others before oneself. Guevara did not do this in relation to his children and family.

Guevara literally dedicated his life to his work. He saw the revolutionary struggle as his absolute life goal. Although there was an attempt at solving the other life task of love and

marriage, those of occupation and social interest seem to have merged, become one and basically been the only driving force in his life. The conclusion is reinforced by the fact that he had clearly failed at the task of love and marriage.

Relating to psychological types as described by Adler, Guevara seemed to be a combination of two of the types, namely the ruling type and the socially useful type. He demanded the impossible from those around him but was above reproach himself because he lived up to his own severe dictates. He was respected and admired, despised and feared, but nobody was indifferent to him (Anderson, 1997).

6.4. The Value of the Study

The value of the study is discussed by referring to the theoretical model of psychological development, the psychobiographical case study research approach, as well as the subject under study, Ernesto Guevara himself.

6.4.1. The theoretical model of Individual Psychology.

Striving for significance is in essence a movement towards fulfilment of the goal to achieve unique identity as well as to belong. This movement towards a unique identity is the motivating force behind all human activity (Dreikurs, 1973). According to Dinkmeyer et al. (1987) Adlerians see this process from a teleological rather than causal perspective, i.e., as a pull by the goal rather than a push by the drive. This takes the emphasis off perceived drives and on some level gives the power back to the individual, instilling the sense that their life, goal and future is in their hands.

When relating the theory to a lived life, as opposed to a living patient, this is reframed as such: When we are taking into account not only backwards-facing factors such as family influence, culture, social interest and birth order, but also forward-facing

ones such as the striving for significance, life tasks and life goals, we are invariably going to get a more holistic view of the individual. This holistic view is a cornerstone of Adlerian theory and is not only achieved through this dual-view approach, but is also of infinite benefit to the process of understanding of any individual.

The uniqueness and benefit of Individual Psychology consists in its having made the knowledge of human nature teachable. It is from this point that it has developed practical advice on how to lead a happy life. Adler's teachings show us how to prevent destructive tendencies, such as pessimism, hate, envy, enmity, how to avoid the development of an inferiority complex, and how to further the growth of optimism, understanding for others, cooperation, courage and humanness (Orgler, 1963).

6.4.2. The psychobiographical case study method.

The value in following a psychobiographical research approach is firstly that the study emphasizes a different dimension to the life of Guevara that has not previously been portrayed. Secondly, the longitudinal and life history approach confirms that the biography as a means of studying human development over the entire lifespan is valuable. A third advantage is that it illustrates the value that biography has for psychology, and in turn, the value of psychology for biography (Fouché, 1999). Fourthly, this study reflects the value and significance of studying human lives within their socio-historical and cultural contexts (Stroud, 2004). This psychobiography has illustrated the value of uncovering Guevara's development against the background of larger societal contexts which impacted on and influenced his life. A fifth general value was made up of the various biographical sources which were available to the researcher. It enabled the researcher to triangulate the most important findings and it also enhanced the internal validity of the study. The last advantage is that this psychobiography has contributed to the limited number of psychobiographies that

have been completed in the discipline of psychology in South Africa. It has also enriched the understanding of a number of theoretical areas (Fouché, 1999).

6.4.3. The psychobiographical subject.

One cannot dispute that Ernesto Guevara has left his mark on modern-day popular culture. His image has become popularized to an enormous extent as a symbol of revolution and social change (McCormick, 1998). However, his methods of implementing this change, as well as his enduring views despite his many failures have caused a split. While some agree with his Machiavellian view in which the end justifies the means, others are vehemently opposed to this stance towards social change. Guevara firmly believed that significant political and social change could not occur without armed struggle (Hunt, 2008) and his actions proved this in Cuba, the Congo and in Bolivia. There are many people that believe in a more pacifist approach and disagree with the choices he made. This divide in public opinion is what makes Guevara a perfect subject for a psychobiographical study.

With the help of Adler's theory of Individual Psychology, we can better understand the dynamics that led Guevara to the choices he made and in so doing create understanding and empathy for his actions. Empathy does not mean that one agrees with the choices of an individual. It simply means that one can better understand the choices made. Even though the results of this study are not designed to be generalized to the larger population, the effects of creating empathy for a fellow human being, without having to agree with the choices they made, can and should most certainly be generalized.

6.5. Limitations of the Study

This section discusses the limitations of this research study. This is done with reference to Adler's theory of Individual Psychology, the psychobiographical case study research method, as well as the life of Ernesto Guevara.

6.5.1. The theoretical model of Individual Psychology.

Criticisms of Adler tend to involve the issue of whether or not, or to what degree, his theory is scientific. The mainstream of psychology today is experimentally oriented, which means, among other things, that the concepts a theory uses must be measurable and able to be manipulated. This in turn means that an experimental orientation prefers physical or behavioural variables. Adler, however, uses basic concepts that are far from physical and behavioural (Boeree, 1997). It would prove difficult, if not impossible to quantify constructs such as striving for perfection, compensation, feelings of inferiority or social interest. The experimental method also makes a basic assumption that all things operate in terms of cause and effect. While Adler would agree that physical things do so, he would adamantly deny that people do. Instead, he takes the teleological route, that people are determined by their ideals, goals and values. Teleology takes the necessity out of things: A person does not have to respond a certain way to a certain circumstance. In other words, an individual has choices to make and creates his or her own personality or lifestyle (Boeree, 1997).

Even from a teleological perspective, it can be argued that significant events in the lives of individuals can influence the life view of an individual and in so doing, alter the fictional goal. In other words, drive theory and teleological theory are not mutually exclusive. Many of the details of his theory are too anecdotal, that is, are true in particular cases, but do not necessarily have the generality Adler seems to claim for them. A first child does not

necessarily feel dethroned, nor does a second child necessarily feel competitive, for instance. All of his concepts are useful constructs, not absolute truths (Boeree, 1997) and one has to use a certain amount of professional judgement when it comes to interpreting the constructs of Adler.

If taking Adler's theory at face value and applying it in contemporary culture, some of the ideas can seem rather archaic. For instance, Adler (1958), when referring to the life task of love, did not separate it from marriage and further, believed that it could not be completed without the couple having children. Considering that this belief in having children is related to social interest as opposed to any genetic or biological imperative, it can be assumed that this extends to having non-biological children as well. However, should we take into account economical, social, political or family considerations, to mention a few, we could counter that on some level it may not be practical to in the first place, get married and in the second, to have children. So it seems as though Adler's theory is mostly relevant to individuals higher on the Maslowian hierarchy. It could even be said that only once an individual has reached a certain level on Maslow's hierarchy can we apply Adler's theory to them.

Further, it cannot be disputed that modern-day western society has a much more individualistic attitude than 50 years ago. Although this is not necessarily the ideal situation, it is certainly the reality of the situation. I am not arguing that we should discredit Adler's theory simply because we live in a self-obsessed society, but that perhaps we need to adapt his theory slightly to make it more relevant to contemporary culture.

6.5.2. The psychobiographical case study method.

Psychobiographical methodology is most likely the activity in psychological research to receive the most criticism. The difficulties and constraints encountered with the methodology

of psychobiography, such as researcher bias, reductionism, cross-cultural differences, validity and reliability issues, elitism and inflated expectations have already been discussed in Chapter Four (see section 4.6.). Additionally, the methodological considerations which were applied to this study were discussed in the same section.

However, this study has certain limitations and these will be discussed next. Firstly, this study has a relatively low external validity. This means that the findings regarding Guevara's psychological development should not be generalized to a larger population group. The aim of this study was analytical generalizability and not statistical generalizability. This in effect means that the findings are compared with the content of the theory of Individual Psychology of Adler (1929).

Secondly, the level of internal validity is not high, regarding causal explanation. This is because the primary aim of this study was not to explain cause and effect issues regarding the psychological development of Guevara. Rather, the primary purpose was to explore and describe his psychological development. However, in the pursuit of improving internal validity within this study with the intention of improving the credibility of the study, as well as any inferences made by the researcher, a number of preventive measures were implemented. These included spending adequate time with the psychobiographical data, doing comprehensive psychobiographical research to test for misrepresentations in the material as well as using several sources of biographical data (Fouché, 1999; Stroud, 2004).

Thirdly, the researcher's findings are tentative and within the context and conceptual framework of Adler's theory of Individual Psychology. There are various other possible descriptions and explanations which could provide further insight into human development. The descriptions and explanations provided as a result of this research should not give rise to

any inflated claims. Instead, they should enhance other, alternative types of descriptions and explanations regarding the psychological development of Guevara.

A fourth limitation of a psychobiographical study is that it is lengthy, comprehensive and time consuming (Stroud, 2004). The psychobiography has a qualitative character and a storied or narrative dimension. Therefore the analysis, presentation and discussion of the findings require a great deal of time, complicated documentation and, at times, replication (Fouché, 1999).

6.5.3. The psychobiographical subject.

Biographies on the life of Guevara are limited, and most sources provide information only relating to his involvement in the Cuban Revolution. Other sources explore his role in other revolutionary struggles, and some focus primarily on his death and his influence on popular culture after his death. In other words, it was difficult to find a variety of sources of data on his early life, family and development. Therefore, Anderson (1997) was relied on quite heavily as a source of information as this was essentially the first comprehensive account of his early and personal life, and included information previously guarded by his widow, Aleida March.

The quality and objectivity of some of the biographical sources used in this study were questionable. As has been mentioned, the views on Guevara are varying, with some seeing him as the 'hero' figure while others see him as a villain. As a result, the sources of information are generally biased to one or the other view and there are little objective data available. With his influence being so pervasive, it is difficult to separate objective truth from subjective feelings and opinions, which are likely also a result of cultural and media interference. Simply the fact that he is such a pervasive figure in popular culture is a limitation.

As a result of the focus of the study, some themes have not been adequately explored. This is another possible limitation as deeper exploration of certain themes could significantly contribute to the richness of the study. This has, however, been overcome to some degree by making recommendations for future research.

6.6. Recommendations for Future Research

It is recommended that a study exploring the psychological, specifically personality dynamics of martyrdom be undertaken. Although this topic is relevant to the current study, it was considered out of the specific focus and scope of the current study. This area of study could, however, prove interesting as well as useful in the further understanding of personality development theory.

It is further recommended that future studies be undertaken in the vein of Pieterse (2009) that included a quantitative element such as the NEO-PI-R Form R. With this specific version of the test, people that are knowledgeable in the life of the subject are asked to complete the test (based on the Five-Factor Model) in an attempt to describe the subject's perceived personality traits. This approach utilizes personality theory, biographical information as well as quantitative data and can be seen as a method of quantifying a primarily qualitative construct.

Future researchers could consider utilizing different theoretical approaches on Guevara, in an effort to either corroborate findings or highlight discrepancies in the research. A more in-depth study into the subject's personality structure and development would serve to accommodate the intricacies of the subject, thereby doing greater justice to both the perplexing nature of such an undertaking and the legacy of the subject. Interviews with the subject's family members would prove useful in this endeavour and contribute meaningfully to the value of the study.

6.7. Chapter Summary

This chapter summarized the conclusions of the study as well as the value and limitations with regards to the theoretical framework applied, the psychobiographical case study method, and the psychobiographical subject himself. The purpose of the study was revisited in an effort to determine whether the primary aim was in fact achieved. Based on the primary aim, it is concluded that the study has achieved what it set out to accomplish and that it offered a comprehensive, unbiased, and psychologically, socially and historically responsible and relevant account of the life of Ernesto ‘che’ Guevara in accordance with Adler’s theory of Individual Psychology.

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APPENDIX A: Concise Biographical Outline of Ernesto “Che” Guevara

- June 1928 - Ernesto Guevara de la Serna was born in Argentina.
- March 1947 - Guevara witnessed the death of his grandmother and started studying medicine.
- December 1950 - Left on a motorcycle trip with friend, Alberto Granada. It was during this trip that he worked at the Leper colonies.
- August 1952 - Received his medical degree.
- July 1953 - He went to Bolivia where he first became involved in the world of politics.
- August 1955 - Married Hilda Gadea. Shortly after their marriage, his first daughter was born.
- Early 1956 - Guevara meets Fidel Castro for the first time and becomes involved in the armed struggle in Cuba.
- January 1959 - The Cuban guerillas, led by Guevara, overthrow the Batista regime.
- Mid - 1959 - After separating from Hilda, Guevara marries Aleida March (they have four children).
- April 1956 - Guevara joins the rebel forces in the Congo.
- October 1966 - Guevara goes to Bolivia to assist the revolutionary struggle.
- October 1967 - He is captured and executed.

APPENDIX B: Adlerian Data Collection Matrix

DEVELOPMENT AND STRUCTURE OF PERSONALITY	Constitutional Attributes	LIFESTYLE	
	Social Environment		
FAMILY	Birth Order	Family Atmosphere	
CULTURE			
MOTIVATIONAL DYNAMICS	Striving for Superiority	Striving for Power	
		Social Interest	
LIFE TASKS	Social	Love and Marriage	Occupational

Adapted from Source: Adler (1929)

APPENDIX C: Alexander's (1988) Nine Principal Identifiers of Saliency

Alexander's (1988) nine guidelines to sort and extract salient information are as follows:

Primacy refers to the fact that information presented first is commonly perceived to be most important or foremost in mind.

Frequency refers to repetition of information. Repeated reference to a message is an indication of increased certainty regarding its importance.

Uniqueness refers to departures in information that are worth closer inspection because they are unusual or singular.

Negation refers to that which is denied or turned into its opposite. A subject's perception of who he is is as important as the emphasis on who he is not (Elms, 1994).

Emphasis refers to information that has been stressed or noticeably underscored. Alexander (1988) noted that information may be overemphasized, underemphasized, or emphasis may be misplaced.

Omission refers to that which is missing. Elms (1994) states that by questioning what is missing, a vital piece of information may be identified.

Error or distortion refers to the presence of mistakes, such as hidden motives revealed through verbal slips as well as distortions and miscommunications.

Isolation refers to information that does not fit (Fouché & van Niekerk, 2005b). Important material may be contained in instances where one questions the sense or logic of information within the presented context (Elms, 1994; Schultz, 2005).

Incompletion is essentially an indication of a topic that is introduced but then terminated without closure. The outcome lacks an explanatory means-end relationship (Fouché & van Niekerk, 2005b). That is, one is left with the distinct impression that something valuable is lacking.

APPENDIX D: GUEVARA'S LETTER TO HIS CHILDREN

To my children

Dear Hildita, Aleidita, Camilo, Celia and Ernesto,

If you ever have to read this letter, it will be because I am no longer with you. You practically will not remember me, and the smaller ones will not remember at all.

Your father has been a man who acted on his beliefs and has certainly been loyal to his convictions.

Grow up as good revolutionaries. Study hard so that you can master technology, which allows us to master nature. Remember that the revolution is what is important, and each one of us, alone is worth nothing.

Above all, always be capable of feeling deeply any injustice committed against anyone, anywhere in the world. This is the most beautiful quality in a revolutionary.

Until forever, my children. I still hope to see you. A great big kiss and a big hug from

Papa

Source: Hunt (2008)

APPENDIX E: GUEVARA'S LETTER TO HIS DAUGHTER

February 15. 1966

Dearest Hildita,

I am writing you now, although you'll receive this letter much later. But I want you to know I am thinking about you and I hope you're having a very happy birthday. You are almost a woman now, and I cannot write to you the way I do to the little ones, telling them silly things or little fibs.

You must know I am still far away and will be gone for quite some time, doing what I can to fight against our enemies. Not that it is a great thing, but I am doing something, and I think you will always be able to be proud of your father, as I am of you.

Remember, there are still many years of struggle ahead, and even when you are a woman, you will have to do your part in the struggle. Meanwhile, you have to prepare yourself, be very revolutionary – which at your age means to learn a lot, as much as possible, and always be ready to support just causes. Also, obey your mother and don't think you know it all too soon. That will come with time.

You should fight to be among the best in school. The best in every sense, and you already know what that means; study and revolutionary attitude. In other words: good conduct, seriousness, love for the revolution, comradeship, etc.

I was not that way at your age, but I lived in a different society, where man was an enemy of man. Now you have the privilege of living in another era and you must be worthy of it.

Don't forget to go by the house to keep an eye on the other kids and advise them to study and behave themselves. Especially Aleidita, who pays a lot of attention to you as her older sister.

All right, old lady. Again I hope you are very happy on your birthday. Give a hug to your mother and to Gina. I give you a great big strong one to last as long as we don't see each other.

Your Papa

Source: Hunt (2008)