Abraham Maslow's Hierarchical Needs in *No Friend but the Mountains: Writing from Manus Prison* by Behrouz Boochani

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Abstract
The paper attempted to analyze the character of Boochani in his memoir No Friend but the Mountains: Writing from Manus Prison, in the light of Abraham Maslow's Theory of Hierarchical Needs. Boochani wrote his novel while he was still locked in the Manus Island detention center. It narrates the story of a man who followed his dream to reach his dreamland. The study was carried out using a descriptive qualitative research methodology through textual analysis design. Since the study was text-based, a meticulous reading process of the text was done. We used the text as the primary source for data collection. Therefore, a portion of the sentences, paragraphs, and phrases related to the study's objective were taken as examples and excerpts and analyzed using Abraham Maslow's hierarchy of needs. The results revealed that Boochani, like all humans, was driven by physiological and psychological needs, ranging from the most fundamental to the most extreme. His journey aimed to get self-actualization but never could get it and hardly fulfilled other basic needs completely. Boochani's voyage is depicted as a series of rising and falling waves. He occasionally satisfies some needs, but he never succeeds in meeting the need for self-actualization and self-esteem. And hardly does

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he fulfill the other three levels of the hierarchy of needs. His entire story serves as a metaphor for everyone who strives for self-actualization yet encounters obstacles.

Keywords: Abraham Maslow, Behrouz Boochani, novel, psychology, hierarchy of needs, theory of motivation.

1. INTRODUCTION

The most significant and influential American psychologist after William James and even possibly Carl Jung was Abraham Maslow (1908-1070) (Valiunas, 2011). Maslow worked on the psychological aspects of human beings; beyond his major, he had a great role in enlightening other aspects such as society and education. He built some theoretical understandings as basic tools to endeavor more flexibility for those who want to obtain more elaboration regarding the difficulties in the experience of their lives to reach the highest point, which is seen as the most reliable spot in life that can be pronounced as Self-Actualization (Cherry, 2020).

Regarding socio-psychology, Maslow, with the dependence on his education that was a strain studying psychology at college, made up his mind to offer some informative methods regarding the different sides of life. In his noticeable texts, *Motivation and Personality* (Maslow, 1954) and *Toward a Psychology of Being* (Maslow, 1962), he discussed that everyone in life requires some necessities without which the life of humanity will not be on the right path. Eventually, he collected the basic needs in a structure that was later known as 'hierarchy needs'. Maslow thought that every healthy person is self-actualized because s/he has the potential for application. As a humanistic psychologist, Maslow has guided everyone toward positive potentiality (Schacter et al., 2011).

Maslow (1954) shed light on the life lessons that eventually emerged in the theory which is known as the 'hierarchy of needs'; he introduced another approach to psychological motivation which is beneficial for human beings. The foundation of the hierarchy of needs is the idea that human behavior is driven by a desire to satisfy particular needs that exist in society (Aruma & Hanachor, 2017). Based on this idea, some human needs are more fundamental than other needs in society. Maslow created a pyramid to visualize his theory and show the hierarchy of needs (McGuire, 2012), as shown in Figure 1.

Literature is exquisite in how it unites the diversity of life to provide another window of thinking and vision that creates various meanings of life. It is common knowledge that literature reflects society (Wildan et al., 2023). In other words, it tells the story of life. It acts as a means for the authors to express their feelings and experiences. Many writers have used a range of literary techniques to express their feelings, describe their experiences, and inform readers about the difficulties they confront. Boochani (2018) followed the same path as the previous authors. He shared his experiences on Manus Prison in *No Friend but the Mountains: Writing from Manus Prison*. As he was trying to get asylum in Australia, he was imprisoned on Manus Island, Australia, for six years. Boochani used a smartphone to write his novel. He used WhatsApp messaging to send the chapters and sections of his book through text and voice messages to his colleague, Omid Tofighian (Leurs & Patterson, 2020). Then

he translated from Farsi into English (Scobie, 2021). His experience can be seen as representative of hundreds of other immigrants who endured a similar calamity. The novel illustrates a part of the Eastern people's life in a way that every single human being gets affected easily; it drives our psyche to be motivated and curious concerning the concrete fact of being that is known as freedom, which the story characters' lack (Baldi, 2021).

1.1 Maslow's Five Components of The Hierarchy of Needs

Abraham Maslow, a renowned researcher in the field of psychology and motivation, believed that people in life are motivated by five different levels of needs, namely (1) physiological needs, (2) safety needs, (3) belonging needs, (4) esteem needs and (5) self-actualization needs (Aruma & Hanachor, 2017). Human motivation can be viewed as a lifelong pursuit for satisfaction, depicted by a pyramid-shaped diagram with self-actualization at the top. However, before one may realize their full potential, basic human needs must be appropriately satisfied. Each level of Maslow's hierarchy explained these fundamental needs in terms of psychological tensions that one must overcome to progress toward self-actualization (New & Cochran, 2007).

People desire to fulfill their basic needs and then move up to the next level until they get to the highest one and get self-actualized (see Figure 1). Maslow (1943) first argued that before addressing higher-level growth needs, people must first fulfill lower-level deficit needs. He acknowledged that his prior words may have given the impression that satisfying a need is an 'all-or-none' phenomenon, but he later stressed that this is not the case. He believed that people sometimes, try to get satisfied on different levels at the same time, and seek fulfillment at a higher level of needs before lower levels of needs have been fully—or even partially—met (D'Souza & Gurin, 2017).
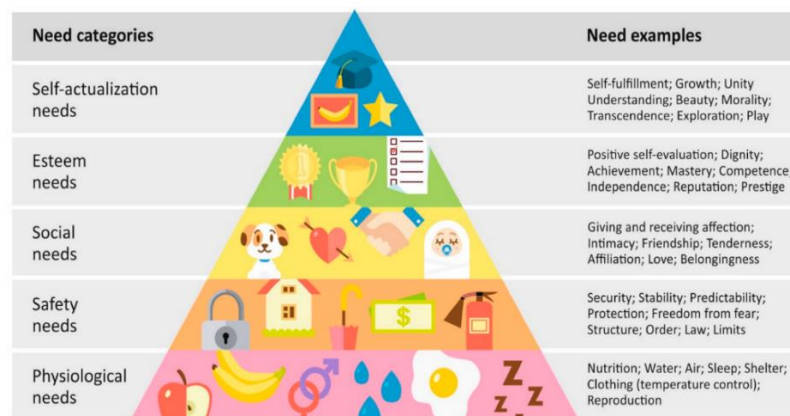

Figure 1. Abraham Maslow's hierarchy of needs (Desmet & Fokkinga, 2020, p. 4).

Maslow's theory of the hierarchy of needs has been applied to many different fields including psychology, education, economics, marketing, management, sociology, political science, and others. Wherever it is taught, it has deeply ingrained itself into the minds of the public and left its mark (Bouzenita & Boulanouar, 2016). Maslow's theory has been used in literature as well, including novels. Many different researchers (Bahuwa, 2018; Ghozali, 2020; Lestari et al., 2019; Lubis, & Satria, 2021; Ronie & Hellystia, 2020; Sitepu & Putri, 2020) have used the theory as a lens to read

many different novels. Mostly, the researchers who applied Maslow's theory tried to focus on one character, which is the main character of the novels being investigated.

1.2 Behrouz Boochani's *No Friend but the Mountains: Writing from Manus Prison*

We attempted to bring Maslow's hierarchy of needs and use it as a tool to explain how Boochani ventured and left his birthplace in order to reach the top of the pyramid and get self-actualization in *No Friend but the Mountains: Writing from Manus Prison*. To understand the application of the theory in the novel, we tried to find paragraphs and sentences in the novel that illustrate the journey of motivation of Boochani and how each level of the hierarchy is shown in the text. As a result, each of the five levels of the hierarchy of needs is thoroughly examined.

Boochani is an Iranian-Kurdish writer, journalist, and refugee. His novel is based on his experience as an asylum seeker (a person who has left their home country as a political refugee and is seeking asylum in another) that ended up in the Australian offshore detention center on Manus Island. He stayed there for six years. In the story, he narrates the risky journey of reaching the land of his dreams and the harsh conditions he and his fellow refugees encountered while detained in Manus Prison. He clearly illustrates the abuse and brutality they experienced in the detention center. The story is not only a simple account of life in prison but explore the physical, psychological, and emotional effect of the indefinite suffering, isolation, and abuse experienced by the refugees (Tofighian, 2018).

In concern to this research significance, it is necessary to work on this text: Boochani's perilous journey. His story can be seen as a representative of the risky journeys of all the asylum seekers, of people from war-ravaged areas to find a better place to live. It focuses on the collective human struggle for dignity and justice (Kaiku, 2020). On the other hand, there was Maslow's theory of the hierarchy of needs, which is about how human beings in life try and fulfill their needs from the basic ones to the highest ones. The novelty of the study lies in the fact that Boochani's text has not yet been a subject for investigation by scholars from a psychological perspective. We tried to bridge the discipline of literature and psychology and investigate the novel from the perspective of a psychological theory, Maslow's hierarchy of needs. We tried to address the question of how Boochani attempted to fulfill and get satisfied with his needs from the beginning of the journey in Indonesia in 2013 to the end of the story on Manus Island Prison (Ali MC, 2023; Gessen, 2019). The significance of the application of Maslow's theory to the novel can be perceived from two aspects; the first one is to prove and show that the theory is still important and relevant today. The second one is to understand how Boochani as a human being driven by his motivation and reacts differently in different situations.

3. METHODS

In this paper, we used a descriptive qualitative method to conduct the study. Jeyaraj (2016) stated that most of the literary papers used textual analysis methods in their research. Smith (2017) defines textual analysis as a method of study utilized by researchers to examine messages as they appear through a variety of mediums. Works

of literature, documents, films, and newspapers can be a source of data for researchers. As researchers apply textual analysis to a text, they try to make their guesses and give their interpretation of the message of the text. As there is not a single correct interpretation of any text, no researchers should claim to have reached the final and correct meaning of the text (McKee, 2003). Hence, we employed the textual analysis method to conduct this study.

3.1   Source of Data

For the study, an online version of the novel has been used as the primary source. *No Friend but the Mountains: Writing from Manus Prison* by Behrouz Boochani (Boochani, 2018) was written while he was imprisoned on Manus Island, Australia. The novel was published in 2018 by Picador in Australia, spanning 374 pages, translated from Farsi by Omid Tofighian. Behrouz Boochani, a young Kurdish writer and poet who fled Iran and sought asylum in Australia, wrote the novel while he was imprisoned on Manus Island, an Australian Offshore detention center. The author narrates the story of his risky journey from Iran to Australia. The first two chapters are devoted to his two attempts to reach Australia through Indonesian waters, the greatest challenge for asylum seekers. Boochani faces many difficulties, sometimes very close to death. The other chapters narrate the brutality, cruelty, and inhuman situations he and his fellow asylum seekers encountered at the hands of the detention center guards and managers. The story is a careful and truthful witness to the dehumanization and abuse of the refugees on the island. We focused on the author's reaction toward different situations and applied Abraham Maslow's hierarchy of needs to interpret how each reaction depends on his motivations and desires. We read the text of this novel many times to have a clear understanding of the text.

3.2   Technique of Data Collection and Analysis

The novel, *No Friend but the Mountains: Writing from Manus Prison,* was used as the primary source to collect the data. The procedure was divided into different stages. The first stage was the first reading of the novel to get familiarized with the plot, characters, and setting of the novel. The second reading was to identify and highlight the excerpts relevant to the hierarchy of needs. The third reading was to separate the highlighted excerpts and categorize each one according to the five levels of the hierarchy of needs, namely physiological needs, safety needs, belongingness, and love needs, self-esteem needs, and self-actualization needs (see Desmet & Fokkinga, 2020, p. 4).

We conducted a thematic analysis to find out how the character's actions, emotions, behaviors, and decisions align with Maslow's hierarchy of needs. Then we analyzed and provided a descriptive interpretation of the relevant data according to the five levels of needs, starting by satisfying the basic one, physiological needs, and then moving on to others until reaching the highest one, self-actualization. Hatch (2002) believes that data analysis is a 'systematic search' to find meaning. We analyzed and interpreted the text to find its meaning, but our meaning is not the only correct one. As Belsey (2013) clarifies any unique textual analysis is conducted from within a certain cultural context and historical period.

4.   RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.1   Physiological Needs

Physiological needs contain the prior needs that are known as the life pillars, such as food, water, a place to sleep, and breathing. Maslow thinks and proves that such needs are the very basic ones, and all other types of needs are regarded as secondary ones, and as long as human beings are alive they need physiological supplements to stay alive and breathe (Maslow, 1954).

Regarding the bottom of the pyramid, it is obvious that Boochani does not have a problem meeting his physiological needs in his hometown—at least, nothing is mentioned about the lack of this need. Thus, it is not the satisfaction of this desire but rather the other demands that we encounter in the subsequent sections that motivate the author to leave Iran. However, when he begins his perilous journey, he finds himself in circumstances where he is unable to meet his most fundamental physiological needs like food, water, breathing, shelter, clothing, and sleep. During his stay in Kendari, Indonesia, he says:

(1)   My life during these last three months has been mainly fear, stress, starvation and displacement–but also those short hours sitting on the log in the divine plantation. (Boochani, 2018, p. 21)

Starvation and displacement are physiological needs. The narrator openly admits that sometimes he was unable to satisfy them. Despite the psychological problems, such as fear and stress, he suffered in fulfilling his physiological needs. There was a lack of food and shelter. However, his condition changed with time, sometimes for better and sometimes for worse.

When the voyage begins, we see more terrifying scenes, especially the time the boat sinks. Phrases like 'reach for oxygen', 'am out of breath', 'gasping for air', and 'I am suffocating' illuminate that Boochani finds himself in a condition where he just wants to survive. When survival matters, the ready to fight and raid anyone with food is there, as is crystal clear in the following quote when Boochani threatens other passengers.

(2)   I recall the exact phrase I blurted: 'Look here, I'm hungry and it's completely natural for me to raid anyone with food…I'm about to do it!' (Boochani, 2018, p. 39)

In pursuit of his self-actualization, in the end, he finds himself in Australia, but not the one he dreamed of, but on an island that resembles a prison, Manus Island. The author on this island faces hardships and difficulties that are no less than the Indonesian shores and the ocean's tides. Food and shelter are provided but not enough and mostly they are used as mechanisms for torturing rather than as basic needs for survival. Even though, according to the rules of Manus Prison, the physiological needs are provided as it says:

(3)   • Every prisoner needs to eat.
• Every prisoner who smokes needs cigarettes.
• Every prisoner needs access to the phone sometimes.
• Every prisoner might fall ill and require medicine.
(Boochani, 2018, p. 103)

But the author recounts something opposite to the readers. Most of the time, a very small portion of food is provided in a way that would not satisfy them. That is why Boochani refers to the prisoners as 'hungry prisoners' and he explains that "hungry actually means starving" (Boochani, 2018, p. 95). Although it is clear that Boochani started his journey to self-actualization, in many circumstances, he discovers that he cannot meet the most basic physiological needs and sees the face of death.

4.2   Safety and Security Needs

Security needs to contain the effort for safety and security. Security needs are significant in staying alive and surviving, but they are not as important as physiological needs, such as fighting to make good money, a healthy lifestyle, a good and safe place for a living, and a safe environment. These needs are higher than the physiological needs but not as important as them. They are a bit more complicated. When the first level of needs is fulfilled, people think and make efforts that they need more focus on their life qualities with high safety, which can be seen in Boochani's story very clearly (Mukuka, 2010).

Despite not being explicitly acknowledged during the course of the novel, Boochani's status as a Kurd does not allow him to fulfill this need under the rule of the Islamic Republic of Iran. He never feels secure back in Iran as his people, the Kurdish people, are governed by Iranian Persians. They are secure only if they do not express their national, political views. These all together oblige him to leave Iran and begin his risky journey. It can easily be noted in the translator's story at the very beginning of the book, as it is shown in the following excerpt:

(4)   Everything you need to know about his life in Iran is encapsulated in the tale about the first boat journey. Everything you need to understand about oppression and discrimination back in Iran is right there in the ocean. All the political turmoil is narrated when he describes the waves. All the state suppression is explained when he depicts the vortex in the sea. (Omid Tofighian, in Boochani, 2018, p. 14)

Therefore, when a person is in such a position, they obviously cannot meet this type of need. According to Poston (2009), individuals from nations where establishing a stable way of life is difficult would feel 'stuck' at this level and lack the motivation to advance to the next. Behrouz departed from Iran to satisfy all of his needs and became a self-actualized being. However, the journey's path would quickly turn into a nightmare for him, and he would encounter numerous difficult situations where he would be on the verge of losing his safety and security.

In Chapter 2, it is made clear that when it comes to gaining or losing safety and security, people are willing to use violence when necessary.

(5)   When humans struggle over territory /
It always reeks of violence and bloodshed /
Even if the conflict is over a location the size of one body /
On a small boat /
And only for a period of two days.
(Boochani, 2018, p. 22)

Everyone strives to find a safe and secure space for themselves aboard the boat when it leaves the shore. Even though it will only be for two days and be on a small

boat, they are willing to fight for a small place, because they know that securing a location for themselves means fulfilling their safety and security needs.

This level of need, according to Poston (2009), is flexible rather than fossilized. Depending on the people and circumstances, different people would have different safety needs. A child's perceived need for safety may not be the same as an adult's need. This requirement changes for Boochani and his boatmates as they are ready to embark on a risky voyage. The sole objective for them, when they get on the boat, is to locate and find a good and comfortable position to sit, but for some of them, that task is the most difficult because things are about to go wrong, as demonstrated in:

(6)   A conflict between frenzied men vying for a place to sit has reached fever pitch. (Boochani, 2018, p. 23)

Fulfilling this need is more difficult when they get to Manus Prison. Boochani abandoned his family and has not spoken to them since. His health is in danger and occasionally teeters on the brink of death. Manus Prison, as the narrator calls it, is a 'soul-destroying prison', a place of 'an unknown land, and a prison of 'filth and heat'. Additionally, as if all the physical and psychological torture were not enough, the Kyriarchal System is deployed in the prison. He explains it as:

(7)   This is the objective of the prison's Kyriarchal System, to drive prisoners to extreme distrust so that they become lonelier and more isolated, until the prison's Kyriarchal Logic triumphs with their collapse and demise. (Boochani, 2018, p. 70)

In Manus Prison, the inhuman system, and nature are harsh and ruthless towards Boochani and his fellows. The managers of the prison could provide coolers and reduce the tough conditions the refugees lived in. Through using a simile, Boochani provides an incredible description of their chamber and the heat of the location.

(8)   On some days when the clouds are thinner than usual, or the sky is filled with only sparse pockets of cloud, the heat in the tunnel reaches temperatures that could cook a human body. Prisoners are like pieces of meat in a metal pressure-cooker. During the day almost no one dares sleep or lie down on their beds inside the tunnel. No-one even feels like sitting down inside because every second spent in there means experiencing heat that sears eyeballs. (Boochani, 2018, p. 81).

It is not only the prison guards and administrations who put their safety at risk, also nature is merciless and harsh for them. The heat and weather are simply part of the natural world, but they have a profound impact on the refugees' lives. They turn the tunnel into an inhospitable and unsecure place. The prison administrators do not provide anything to reduce the harshness of nature because they already dehumanized the prisoners and consider them as objects 'pieces of meat', not a human beings.

4.3   The Belongingness and Love Needs

Social needs consist of needs for belonging and affection that are seen in relationships such as romantic, friendship, family, intimacy, sense of connection, and affiliations such as religious, political, and social ones. These needs are less important than the previous two other needs of physiology and safety (Mawere et al., 2016). The person realizes the absence of friends, a sweetheart, a wife, or children more keenly than ever before. He desires affectionate relationships with people in general,

specifically a place in his group or family, and he will work hard to achieve this goal. He will desire such a position more than anything else in the world, and he may even forget that once when he was hungry, he sneered at love as unreal, unnecessary, or unimportant (Maslow, 1954).

We can see that Boochani hardly develops friendships with the other migrants throughout the course of the narrative. When the author is in Indonesia, his sense of isolation is obvious. He never brings up previous romantic or friendly relationships. During their journey to Australia, the social and affection needs of the other characters would encounter dangers and difficulties. The author paints a picture of the time in the following excerpt:

(9) The sovereignty of the waves has collapsed the moral framework. Even the young Sri Lankan family, whose bond is maybe the strongest of all on board, has fallen apart. The husband is in the arms of the man next to him, the wife has her head on the bicep of another man, and their child has ended up across the thighs of a different woman. (Boochani, 2018, p. 24)

It is clear that humans only give some consideration to the third level of requirements if the first two levels of needs are met. The Sri Lankan family is extremely attached and has the strongest bond at the beginning of the adventure, but as the aggressive waves hit and exhausted them, their strong relationship breaks down. When Boochani finds himself in a situation that is engulfed by death, as stated in:

(10) I accept death, and while engulfed in this maelstrom of noise and oppressive anxieties… (Boochani, 2018, p. 29)

We can tell how much he needs love in that painful moment. He senses that his mother is standing on top of the waves next to him as they become stronger. She displays a range of emotions, including a smile, sobs, grief, and joy. Even though we know it is all in Boochani's imagination, we are aware of how thirsty he is for his mother's love and close family connections. Alternatively, we can say that the image is the result of his unconscious mind becoming active and conjuring it up.

The Kurds are one of the nations present in the Manus jail. The need for affection and belonging drives the Kurdish prisoners to form relationships based on their nationality. They are all gathered in 'Corridor M' which is known as 'Little Kurdistan'.

(11) Kurdish prisoners live in the rows of rooms alongside these fences. They have brought their repressed political aspirations with them into the prison and adorned one of the rooms with the tricolour flag: white, red, blue, with the image of the sun painted brightly on it. It is interesting how even though they have been deprived of even a single pen, on one morning they awake to find the Kurdish flag emblazoned on the door. Something akin to a miracle. (Boochani, 2018, p. 112)

It is interesting to see how they band together and create an 'unspoken fraternity' for themselves based on their ethnicity. They share and split the mango fruit among themselves as a sign of respect for one another. However, this solid connection only holds when the two additional demands from the preceding level are not in danger. The next excerpt demonstrates how their strong bonds and sense of belonging to the group start to collapse as their lives get more challenging and they struggle to find enough food for their daily lives.

(12) This terrain is marked as Kurdistan. Whoever knows the Kurds understands very well the level of respect they have for one another. But the respect embedded in their culture begins to wane as

hunger takes its toll, day after day. Slowly but surely starvation lowers their flag from the pole. (Boochani, 2018, p. 114)

This excerpt illustrates how humans put priority on physiological and safety needs over belongingness and love. When humans encounter risks to their own physiological well-being and safety, their survival instinct emerges, and try to focus on self-preservation and ensure their safety. The excerpt clearly shows how the strong connection, respect, and love between the Kurds 'begins to wane' only when their physiological needs are in danger. It is the starvation lowers their flag of unity and connection. Fear and anxiety, about losing their physical well-being and security, shift their priority from higher levels of needs to fundamental needs. It is the instinct that leads them to prioritize their survival over social connection and belonging.

4.4 Self-Esteem Needs

After the first three needs are accomplished, esteem needs are required. Esteem needs contain the need for things that make up self-esteem, personal requirements, and social position. At this level, it is very needed to get the reinforcement and enhance others. People need to accomplish things and then have their efforts recognized. People sometimes subscribe to or participate in professional activities to get this need. When people are satisfied with this need in society and among their groups leads to feelings of 'self-confidence', 'worth', 'strength', 'capability', and 'adequacy' of being a useful individual in the world. But failing to get satisfaction creates a feeling 'of inferiority', 'of weakness', and 'of being helpless (Maslow, 1954).

We observe that Boochani has more difficulties meeting his needs as we ascend the hierarchical structure. He experiences suffering throughout the entire novel and barely ever has the opportunity to consider meeting this need. Their boat battles the ocean's 'mountain waves' as they go through the deep oceans toward Australia. The asylum seekers are trapped in their boat as it slowly fills with water and have no chance of rescue. Boochani ponders the absurdity of existence, his fear of dying, and the mortality of his fate. Instead of 'crying and surrendering to the oppressive fear', this causes him to accept and embrace death. When he gets to that point, he displays his courage and confidence by saying:

(13) This realisation makes me brave. So, right at that moment, I light a cigarette, take a few drags, and inhale the smoke into my lungs, into the most abused organs of my body. I have accepted death. (Boochani, 2018, p. 29)

The excerpt above shows his self-confidence when 'terror reigns' and there are 'oppressive anxieties', which is situational irony. According to Hopper (2020), a person can only satisfy this need when they feel good about themselves, and other people appreciate them in return. The narrator finds himself in a position that is far from what he imagined when he gets to Manus Island. The prison staff never treats the asylum seekers like humans. They adhere to a philosophy that consistently dehumanizes inmates. Never think of them as being human, Boochani says, providing numerous examples.

(14) The prisoners are aware that at the start of the queue in front of the tent, a few G4S guys sit on chairs and order groups of five to enter the dining area. The Manus Prison Logic is about domination. (Boochani, 2018, p. 95)

Another method of torturing prisoners physically and psychologically is to make them wait in lines. They had to wait in lengthy lines every day to use the restroom and get food. The prison's Kyriarchal System, according to Boochani, never saw them as human beings and always expected them to live like animals. In addition, as stated in:

(15) The Kyriarchal System presents the prisoner with the blueprint. That's right. And that blueprint is manifested in The Cow. In simpler terms: whoever wants to endure less suffering must live like The Cow. Eat. Sleep. Don't come up with any questions. (Boochani, 2018, p. 103)

They should not contemplate or question the cruel prison regulations. Boochani incredibly illustrates this situation, he says:

(16) There are so many times the prisoner is forced to straddle the border between human and animal. One has to decide whether to uphold human values or live life like The Cow. In most cases, the human is reduced to an animal in order to survive. However, not the kind of animal that is totally dependent on its instincts and acts according to its predetermined condition. Rather, an animal with intelligence and will, a human being. (Boochani, 2018, p. 111)

The cruel treatment of the system obliged the prisoners to live 'like The Cow'. When the asylum seekers face oppression and inhuman treatment to choose 'the border between human and animal' survival instinct arise and they choose to live like animal to increase their chance of survival rather than focusing on their self-esteem need, like dignity or respect. In such a situation, it is difficult to say that one can satisfy the fourth level of needs because he does not feel good about himself, and others do not value or show any respect to him.

4.5 Self-Actualization Needs

Even when we are fully satisfied with the other needs, we may still feel that there is 'a new discontent and restlessness' in our life. Satisfaction with this need varies from one individual to another. Each may find self-actualization in a different form, one may find it in being an ideal actor, an athlete, a writer, or a mother (Maslow, 1954). Self-actualization, as defined by Maslow, signifies an individual's progression toward satisfying their highest needs, especially those related to finding meaning in life. The traits of self-actualizing individuals include personal creativity, the pursuit of spiritual enlightenment, a thirst for knowledge, realism, acceptance, problem-solving focus, autonomy, a sense of humor, and strong interpersonal relations (Gholamnejad et al., 2019). It is important to note that not everyone needs to possess all these qualities. This level is the hardest and highest level one can get in Maslow's hierarchy of needs. Hopper (2020) asserts that how each individual is satisfied with this need varies. For one person, self-actualization might mean 'helping others', while for another, it might mean 'achievements in an artistic or creative field'. Boochani, a Kurd in Iran, finds it challenging to ascend to all levels of the hierarchy and achieve self-actualization. For Boochani, getting there is achieving self-actualization, which is why we believe he takes the dangerous trek to his desired destination of Australia. But in the end, Manus, a place that can be described as dystopian, is where he finds himself. Tofighian (2018) described Manus prison as 'a modern manifestation of systematic torture'. Boochani's experience in prison thus turned into a nightmare making self-actualization nearly impossible. He illustrated the difficult existence he had endured in the horrifying,

harsh, and brutal Manus jail by recounting numerous incidents, as illustrated in the following excerpt.

(17) Once dinner is over, no-one can find anything else to eat. In the dead of night, the smell of hunger wafts through the entire prison. No-one is allowed to take even one potato from the dining area. Anything that can be eaten has to be eaten right there under the tent. It is the last chance to fill their stomachs, stomachs that take over from the mind, stomachs with full authority over the body. (Boochani, 2018, p. 95)

This excerpt demonstrates the hardships of prison life quite well. Even the most fundamental necessity for sustenance is problematic for the prisoners. They do not have enough food to last until their next meal in the morning. They were all so ravenously hungry that their thoughts were only focused on food and their stomachs. Therefore, it would be hard to think of self-actualization when your stomach had control over your intellect. Boochani adds further, saying in:

(18) The Manus Prison Logic is about domination.
Domination: five people need to leave the dining area so that five people can take their places. The community has to wait until five people leave, and then the officer can control the next five with his finger, giving permission to enter. We are like puppets on a string, put in motion with the flick of a finger. Every mind is caught up in a process, a process that has become normalised. A domesticating process. (Boochani, 2018, p. 95)

How can self-actualization occur to you when you are being dominated? According to Maslow's hierarchy of needs theory, asylum seekers are unable to advance and remain at the bottom of the pyramid since the prison administrators never want them to think of anything other than meeting their basic needs.

5.   CONCLUSION

Behrouz Boochani wrote *No Friend but the Mountains: Writing from Manus Prison* from Manus Prison about his risky journey to get to Australia, his dreamland. We used Abraham Maslow's hierarchy of needs to examine how Boochani in his trip faced many difficulties and tried to fulfill the different levels of the hierarchy starting from the basic at the bottom to the highest one, self-actualization. It can be concluded that Boochani even had difficulty in fulfilling the basic needs, physiological needs. He is partially satisfied with the first three levels of the hierarchy, physiological needs, safety and security needs, and belongingness and love needs. However, Boochani never fulfilled the last two levels, self-esteem needs, and self-actualization needs as these needs require much higher and stronger motivations. The paper highlights the fact that when individual faces an extreme threat to their physiological needs and safety needs, their priority shifts toward self-preservation, and they leave very little room for cultivating social connection and other higher levels of needs.

Boochani's voyage is depicted as a series of rising and falling waves. He occasionally satisfies some needs, but he never succeeds in meeting the need for self-actualization and self-esteem. And hardly does he fulfill the other three levels of the hierarchy of needs. We can simply say Boochani's entire story serves as a metaphor for everyone who strives for self-actualization yet encounters obstacles.

The implication depicted in this paper lies in the fact that Abraham Maslow's theory of the hierarchy of needs is still a valuable framework for understanding human motivations and behaviors. Boochani's *No Friend but the Mountains: Writing from Manus Prison* is a real testament to the theory's validity. It demonstrates how individuals give priority to the basic needs over the higher ones as Maslow discussed. On the practical level, humanitarian organizations and authorities need to deal with displaced people to understand human motivations and desires. They need to know how individuals react and behave based on their needs. In a context where their physiological and safety needs are at risk, they cannot think of other higher-level needs such as belongingness, self-esteem, and self-actualization.

The paper had its limitations, and it lies in focusing only on the main character of the study. Also, only specific excerpts were chosen from the text to avoid unnecessary details. Future studies can delve deeper into research topics, including how the novel portrays the experience of refugees and how colonialism and imperialism contributed to the imprisonment of refugees.

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