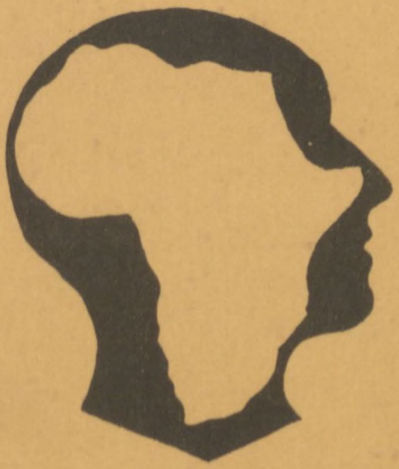
PSYCHOLOGY IN SOCIETY



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EDITORS' INTRODUCTION TO THE PAPERS IN THIS ISSUE

The focus of *Psychology in Society* has always been on or around the theme of the practice of psychology in South Africa. In this issue this theme is manifested in a number of articles which deal with various aspects of social science practice under apartheid.

Within the blithe empiricism/positivism which characterises most psychological practice in this country there is seldom a noticeable awareness of the ideological and political roles which social science practice plays. This point has been made many times before; the 'tragedy' (if it deserves so august a label) is that it needs to be made again.

Social science practice under apartheid follows many directions. Three of the most obvious ones are: (1) to support or promote apartheid, (2) to oppose apartheid and (3) to opt for 'scientific neutrality'. The first two directions, if they are followed consciously, are 'honest' in as much as the political aims behind them are not concealed (even though they may be quite confused). The third direction is often favoured by psychologists who thereby conceal (from themselves at least) their political aims; in it the practice of ideology achieves its most subtle form in which it (ideological practice) functions while pretending that it doesn't exist.

These three directions are discussed in various ways by the papers in this issue of *Psychology in Society*.

Webster's paper is an abridged version of the original published in 1981. It serves to focus our attention on a crucial moment in the history of social science practice. The Botha government has attempted to reform apartheid from an overtly racist and oppressive system to an elitist system. Written

during the early period of this reform, Webster's paper looks both at the crude control and co-option of social science practice and at the emergent more subtle forms of control and co-option. In this paper one sees the ways in which social scientists were enlisted as 'servants of apartheid' (the first direction) and the problems experienced by the few who attempted to oppose apartheid.

Cloete, Muller and Orkin pick up the thread of Webster's argument and extend it historically up to the present. These writers portray a more subtle attempt by the State to co-opt social scientists. The State seeks 'scientific' legitimisation for its reforms; the social scientists in return are offered funding with a semblance of academic freedom. The key element of this attempt is seen to be the HSRC, and the key method employed is to disguise the first direction as 'scientific neutrality' through the *apparent* transformation of the HSRC from an obvious state ideological apparatus into an independent scientific institution. An important thread running through this paper is the observation that a number of 'neutral' social scientists are willing to be co-opted once the disguise becomes effective.

Louw's paper examines a much earlier period in social science practice in South Africa and examines the role of psychologists and educationists in the Carnegie Commission of the 1920's. The historical nature of this paper is valuable in its own right. This paper illustrates the way in which social scientists at the time used the social-political 'poor white' problem as a vehicle for establishing the value and credibility of their disciplines. The single greatest achievement of these social scientists was, arguably, the PR work done for social science: their contribution to the resolution of the 'poor white' problem was perhaps merely to lend some 'scientific credibility' to an essentially political resolution. An important lesson to be drawn from this is that the co-option of social scientists is not a one-way initiative by a dominating State; the scientists themselves may seize opportunities presented by the State and the co-option is in fact a

collusion. The political resolution of the 'poor white' problem led in good time to the establishment of the apartheid state and its ideological apparatuses: an important area of research opened here is the development from the Carnegie Commission's coterie of social scientists to the programmes of the HSRC and its ideological brethren.

Fullagar and Paizis' paper, in the area of Industrial Psychology, examines a tension between the first and second directions mentioned above. Again the forces of co-option, particularly in the forms of sponsorship and funding, are examined. An important further development in this discussion concerns the behaviour of those social scientists who choose the second direction. In choosing to work against apartheid or for the oppressed, researchers are not free agents: they need to accept direction from the oppressed. The possibility that the oppressed may not particularly want nor need the ministrations of 'friendly' social scientists is revealed through a survey of trade unionists' attitudes towards psychologists and their services. This points out an important distinction within the ranks of 'second direction' social scientists between those who, like the 19th century welfare workers, know what is 'good for the poor' and thus set the aims and methods of the work, and those who choose a more radical approach and allow the oppressed to know what is good for themselves. This more radical approach is likely to be more frustrating and more humbling but in the long run more constructive.

Turton's paper examines the problems encountered by an attempt to provide a counselling service to the residents of an African township. The service is seen to be liberal, humanistic and, by implication, politically neutral: in short, a 'third direction' ('neutral scientific') initiative. The analysis of the service's failure exposes the nonsensicality of its supposed political or, to be more precise, ideological neutrality and attributes its failure, in large part, precisely to its ideological bias. Two lessons may be drawn from it. The first is that 'neutral scientific' initiatives are,

outside of academia, less viable than might be supposed and and even less viable still if not confined to operating within essentially bourgeois communities. The second lesson is that a 'neutral scientific' stance (with liberal/humanist dimensions) is a liability to those who would oppose apartheid through their work. As with Fullagar and Paizis' paper, the implication here is clearly that a more radical approach is required.

It is to be hoped that the papers published in this issue of *Psychology in Society* make useful contributions to the central debate with which this journal is concerned. Hopefully too they will prompt more psychologists and other social scientists to take up this debate and use this journal as their forum.

INTRODUCTION TO THE EXCERPT FROM WEBSTER'S "SERVANTS OF APARTHEID"

This paper was first published in 1981 under the title 'Servants of Apartheid? A survey of social research into industry in South Africa' (Rex: Apartheid and Social Research, pp. 85-113). In a note written during July 1986, Webster says the following about this paper:

> This was one of a number of papers commissioned by UNESCO in 1978 and published by UNESCO in 1981. In a number of areas events have overtaken this paper. The most dramatic is the case of restrictions introduced under the state of emergency declared on 12th June 1986. These provisions go well beyond any obstacles identified in this paper.

Webster also refers readers of this excerpt to two further papers written by himself which develop the topic further. The first was published in Perspectives on Education in July 1982. The second was delivered at a one-day workshop on labour studies in South Africa (on the 25th October 1985 at the University of the Witwatersrand). "Both papers," writes Webster, "take my argument beyond this initial attempt to examine the emergence of social science in South Africa."

We have chosen to reproduce the bulk of "Servants of Apartheid" in this issue of Psychology in Society for two reasons. In the first place, the debate opened by Webster is of central importance to the central theme of this issue and his paper provides a frame for the papers which follow it. In the second place, the excerpts published here bring the core of Webster's argument to a number of readers, particularly psychologists, who have not encountered it before.

The abridging of this article was done entirely by the Johannesburg editorial group which takes responsibility for any lack of clarity or distortions which may have resulted.

Excerpt from "Servants of Apartheid"

Eddie Webster
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It has become commonplace in the last two decades to argue that much of industrial sociology is 'managerial sociology'. By labelling sociology as 'managerial', it is being suggested that sociology is being used, to put it simply, to facilitate management's task of increasing the profitability of the enterprise. For Merton: 'of the limited body of social research in industry, the greater part has been oriented towards the needs of management (1957: 625)'. Alan Flanders, summing up the literature in industrial and organizational sociology, writes that it does not study how 'to make management formally more accountable to the managed' but rather the 'employees more accountable to the management (1970: 131)'. Loren Baritz (1965), concluding his comprehensive history of the use of social science in American industry, was to label social scientists as the servants of power.

In trying to account for the 'managerial' nature of industry sociology, at least four different explanations are usually offered. Firstly there is the argument of the essentially middle-class social background of the sociologist.

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Secondly, there is the widespread acceptance of capitalist values by sociologists. Thus Burns writes that 'frequently sociologists may accept more or less uncritically the aim of making industrial and business undertakings more efficient or less troublesome as instruments of private profit-making - with very few exceptions they tend to accept the existence, values and purposes of industry and individual undertakings at their face value (p. 185).'

In the third place, 'this (managerial) bias', Wiendick argues, 'can probably be explained in terms of a sponsorship effect, since most industrial research is paid for by management to solve management's problems (1979: 231-2).' Or: ...access to industrial undertakings for research purposes is only granted by the controlling authorities when they are assured that the research will further the interests of the establishment (Burns, p. 195). 'Therefore', says Brown, 'the problems to be studied are restricted to those preoccupying the clients (1967: 41).'

A final explanation for the direction taken by research into industry is the manner in which it can be used to build up a career in the university. 'It is true that professors certainly welcome the small increases in salary that may come with new research activities and consultantships - the ambitious type of consultant is able to further his career in the university by securing prestige and even small-scale powers outside it (Mills, 1959: 94).'

Clearly, evidence can be found of managerial bias in industrial sociology to substantiate any one or all of these explanations, yet none of them would explain why industry turned to social science at a particular stage in the development of capitalism. Foucault has suggested that 'the historical emergence of each one of the human sciences was occasioned by a

problem, a requirement, an obstacle of a theoretical or practical order (p. 345).' What was the 'problem' that led to the emergence of industrial sociology? In the first place, argues Baritz, the increase in the size of the firm made the manager 'desperate in his need for assistance - to manage the organization of his firm (1965: 7)'. However, the focus of Baritz's explanation for research into industry is not only on developments internal to industry, but also on the growth of organized labour. Describing the massive increase in union membership from 3 million in 1914 to 15 million in 1945 in the United States of America, Baritz suggests that management began to realise that 'the more thoroughly they understood their workers, the less chance would there be to make those drastic errors which had nurtured unionism. If the social scientists were right an understanding of human behaviour would show how to control men'.

To deal adequately with the challenges facing management, it would be necessary to show how 'capitalism wrenched itself out of the paralysing fetters of the outmoded free market system and on to the open ceiling economics of monopoly capitalism. (Sohn-Rethel, 1978: 147).' However, the concern of this paper is not to show how scientific management is introduced to facilitate capital accumulation in South Africa, but rather to show how management, faced by various challenges, turns increasingly to harness the wider intellectual resources of the social scientific community. What is suggested is that a dynamic interaction exists between structural change in the economy, particularly the challenge of Black labour, and the emergence and growth of social research into industry.

Social research into the mining industry begins in the 1930s when, faced by a profitability crisis and competition for labour from manufacturing

industry, the mining industry turned to more 'scientific' methods of management. Industrial psychologists contributed in four main areas. The first task was to develop a series of simple repetitive tests to assist in the placement of new recruits into the categories of semi-skilled, unskilled and 'boss-boys'. The second was to introduce more systematic methods of acclimatizing a mineworker to the extremely high temperature underground. The third strategy was training of workers through the standardization of all jobs. Finally, the system of labour control operating through the compounds was increasingly streamlined and bureaucratized.

The relationship established in the 1930s was to grow more rapidly with the crisis of the 1940s. The rapid proletarianization of Africans as well as Afrikaners, had led to the growth of industrial unrest which culminated in 1946 when 71,000 miners went on strike. The war years saw a marked tendency towards increased and more intensive trade union activity. By the end of the war the Council of non-European Trade Unions (CNETU) claimed a membership of 158,000 and 119 unions, covering more than 40 per cent of the 390,000 Africans employed in commerce and industry.

Four developments expressed the growing relationship between social science and industry in the 1940s. First, there was the appointment in 1946 of J.D. Rheinalt-Jones, a leading exponent of the liberalism prominent among some public figures at the time, as adviser to Anglo-American. In a speech to the Institute of Personnel Management in 1948, Rheinalt-Jones stressed the inevitable growth of an organized African labour movement. He also stressed the need for personnel management to take five main considerations into account : '(a) the right selection of workers for specific kinds of work; (b) the training of workers in

occupations where training will yield greater efficiency; (c) improvements in working conditions and methods; (d) incentives to effort that can be offered to workers; (e) relations between workers and their immediate supervisors (Reinhalt-Jones, 1948)'. He then mentioned that work was being done by the National Institute of personnel Research (NIPR) under the direction of Dr Biesheuvel on these areas of research on the mines.

The second development was the growing interest of the universities in academic work on industry and the economy. In 1932, H.P. Pollak published her pioneering sociological study on Women in Witwatersrand Industries. This was followed by a number of other studies on the sociology of work. E. Batson was to begin his pioneering work on poverty during this period and the UCT School of Social Science was to publish numerous studies of the PDL. African trade unions became a matter of academic interest at this time. Writing from their perspective of active involvement in trade unions, Eddie Roux published Time Longer than Rope, and Kadalie, My Life and the ICU, in 1949. The first university-based study of unions was produced by H.G. Ringrose entitled Trade Unions in Natal (1956).

In 1932 the Report of the Carnegie Commission on the poor-White problem in South Africa was published. Within the Afrikaans universities the 'poor-White question' was to be the main area of focus, particularly after Dr Verwoerd was transferred to the Chair of Sociology and Social Work at the University of Stellenbosch in 1933.

A third development expressing the growth of social research in industry was the establishment in March 1946 of the National Bureau for Personnel Research (later the National Institute of Personnel Research, NIPR), as a division of a state-subsidized Council of Scientific and Industrial Research (SCIR). The initial preoccupations of the bureau were

research into problems of job evaluation and selection and training. Several of the early investigations were 'concerned with the important question of scientifically testing the aptitude of the native for industrial work both as an operative and in more responsible positions (CSIR Second Annual Report, 1946/7).' The third annual report of the CSIR in 1947/48 maintained that, due to the number of inquiries received and the increased research undertaken for both industry (under contract) and for government departments, it was evident that interest in personnel research was being sustained. In this period, industrial personnel research was confined to large undertakings such as ISCOR, the gold mines and the clothing industry. The battery of performance and selection tests used by the mines were systematically reformulated and improved and were extended in 1949 to include methods for the selection of artisans and European officials in the mines.

Nearly a third of the total social research done by the NIPR since 1946 has been on the selection and training of personnel. This is followed by studies on productivity and efficiency, job evaluation and classification, attitudes towards work and absenteeism and turnover. The first study undertaken on industrial relations was in 1977, the second in 1978. No study has been undertaken of trade unions or industrial conflict.

A fourth development in the 1940s was the emergence and growth of personnel management. In 1944, the demand in industry for 'welfare supervisors' and personnel managers provided the impulse to institute a postgraduate diploma in personnel welfare and management at Rhodes University. In 1948, the National Development and Management Foundation of South Africa was founded by Sir Ernest Oppenheimer with the object of helping all those involved in management functions, from the supervisor to

the managing director. Earlier, in 1945, Mrs I.H.B. White of the Leather Research Institute at Rhodes University was instrumental in establishing the Institute of Personnel Management.

We have suggested that the crisis of the 1940s, in particular the growth of Black labour, was to provide the impetus for the growing relationship between social science and industry as manifested through the involvement of liberal reformers such as Rheinalt-Jones, the involvement of the universities in research in industry, the establishment of the NIPR and the emergence of personnel management. The dilemma facing the state and capital can be succinctly stated :

> On the one hand it was believed that secondary industry required a more skilled, more contented worker, with lower job turnover and less incentive to malinger or sabotage the production process. This meant permanent urbanization for the manufacturing work force, at least. On the other hand such a work force could not but acquire the bargaining power to challenge the socio-political structures which sustained its comparative cheapness.

Faced by these challenges of the 1940s, two directions were open to the state. The one was to settle the labour force in the urban areas, allow certain rights such as controlled trade unions and improve production in the 'reserves'. This was the path of liberal reform, particularly that of manufacturing, ambiguously and inconsistently represented by the United Party. The other was to try to stem the flow of Africans into the cities, control labour relations through in-plant bargaining instead of trade unions, control its rate and direction of absorption into industry through influx control and labour bureaux, redirect labour to White agriculture and then attempt to deal with the reserve problem. Legassick (1974) argues

that the latter path is essentially what apartheid constitutes and this direction represented a political victory for a class alliance, in the form once again of Afrikaner nationalism, of White workers, capitalist agriculture, and the petty bourgeoisie. It was this class alliance which was to reject the Botha Commission's cautious proposals for recognition of African unions. In fact African trade unions had, by 1950, declined significantly and approximately sixty-six had become defunct.

While the late 1930s and 1940s produced boom conditions, these slackened to stagnation and even recession in the 1950s. During the 1950s, the Institute of Personnel Management actually experienced a decline in membership, although it picked up again in the late 1950s. It was at this time that Black workers experienced a new wave of militancy in the form of bus boycotts and stay-aways, on the one had, and the organization of Black workers into trade unions, on the other. C. Pearce in an address to the Institute of Personnel Management in 1958 made clear the importance of personnel management in monitoring this unrest when he said:

> we have next to no knowledge of how and what our African employees are thinking...A discussion group with a number of sound African leaders proved most valuable during the period of the Alexandria bus boycott. This was an interesting experiment in joint consultation and a proof of its success was that we were in touch with African leadership, and with African thought and opinion, this at a time when other contact was virtually non-existent and at a period of lamentably bad relations and great hostility. (Personnel Management, No 1, 1958: 21).

However, in spite of these appeals to use personnel management skills, Lagenhoven (1975), was to note how little personnel management's skills were used with Black employees. He records that only 0.9 per cent of the

South African employers studied used psychological tests for the selection and placing of African workers, only 21.8 per cent inducted new Black workers and only 33.6 per cent kept records of their job performance.

Jubber (1979) explains the failure of employers to use personnel management's skills in these terms. First, he suggests that 'individual capabilities are of relatively little importance and the kinds of performance which pass for competence are easily achieved by almost anyone'. In other words, most African workers in the manufacturing sector are machine operators doing jobs which require very little skill. Secondly, 'the low average wage paid to Black workers implies that organizations can tolerate fairly low levels of individual competence without the overall competence of the organization being seriously affected'. And thirdly, 'the high rate of labour turnover in certain groups of black workers is cited by some managers as the reason for not inducting training or monitoring the performance of black workers'. In an earlier part of the same article, Jubber provides the clue to the stalled relationship which begins in the 1940s between industry and social science and only really takes off in the 1970s - a lack of an organized labour force.

By the 1960s the resurgence of African trade-union activity that characterized the late 1950s and early 1960s had been crushed. South Africa was to experience a decade of relative industrial peace. However, it was a decade in which the economy experienced a structural transformation through the massive influx of foreign capital, accelerated expansion of industry, and a corresponding growth of the African working

class, which brought African workers firmly to the centre of the industrial stage. Coupled with these changes was the restructuring of capital and the growing concentration and centralization of firms between the years 1969 and 1973. In particular, we see the growth of a semi-skilled Black labour force - the organizational base for industrial unionism.

From 1972 onwards, this pattern of industrial peace was to change dramatically. Faced by rapid inflation, 60,000 - 100,000 Black workers in Durban went on strike in February 1973. It was out of this wave of working-class militancy that five distinct Black union groupings of approximately 60,000 workers were to emerge in the 1970s. South Africa's townships were to experience a massive wave of internal unrest in 1976 culminating in the September stay-aways where nearly half a million participated.

It is in the context of this structural transformation of the economy and growing working-class organization, that social research into industry grew rapidly in the late 1960s and 1970s. In the heady atmosphere of boom conditions, the thesis that the logical imperative of industrialization will break down apartheid assumes widespread acceptance, and becomes the source of a major liberal/radical debate in the 1970s. Two other developments indicate the growing involvement of sociologists in industrial questions. First, there is the emergence of separate courses in industrial sociology at various universities.

The second development is the growing interest of the universities in research into industry. There are two types of institutes which have developed an interest in the study of industrial behaviour. First, there are those institutes, such as the Centre of Applied Social Studies, at the

University of Natal (Durban), which were set up in the 1950s, and have increasingly focussed on industrial questions in the 1970s. An analysis of the publication lists covering the period 1954 to 1978 reveals little research interest in industry, until 1973 when studies on managerial strategy, employment opportunities and race, organized labour and the African, the African worker, turnover, African occupation advancement, and the effects of economic growth, are published. The second category of research institutes are those set up in the 1970s, many to focus specifically on labour and industrial relations.

We quoted Foucault earlier to the effect that 'each one of the human sciences was occasioned by a problem'. We have suggested that the structural transformation of the South African economy, particularly the challenge of Black labour, is the occasion for the emergence and growth of social research into industry. But, continues Foucault, 'this may explain the set of circumstances that led to this focus, it cannot explain why the human sciences take the form they do' - this, he says, 'is an event in the order of knowledge'. It seems possible to select six different examples of the type of studies done in the 1970s as examples of 'events in the order of knowledge'.

In the first place, there are state-initiated studies, usually in the form of Commissions of Inquiry, which attempt to provide government with a solution to a problem arising in industry. The Wiehahn Commission, set up in part to control the emerging African trade-union movement, is the most recent of this type. These commissions tend to rely on academics and publications emerging from the more conservative universities.

The second type of research is that sponsored by management to investigate a specific problem. Jubber (1979) has argued that 'management

in South Africa has never strongly supported industrial sociology, as has been the case in the United Kingdom and the United States'. Although he does not provide any specific evidence of this, an analysis of the budget allocation to the HSRC and the Human Resources Laboratory (HRL) of the Chamber of Mines, indicates a very low percentage of total research money spent on social research. In the case of the HSRC it averages 7 per cent between 1975 and 1978 and in the case of HRL about 14 per cent of the total research budget. What is clear is that the bulk of money went into technical research, in particular, in the case of the Chamber of Mines, in attempts to restructure the labour process through mechanization.

The third type of research into industry could be loosely labelled interactionist because of the emphasis on the participant's perception of events. Gordon's Life in a Namibian Compound (1977) describes how Blacks cope with the alien and hostile environment of the compound. African workers, he says, develop two distinct social worlds. One is a private or enclave culture, which is located in the interstices of the formal organizational structure and grounded in the compound. This private culture, of which the White supervisors are largely unaware, is analysed under the blanket term of Brotherhood. The second social world of the Black workers is the one in which the Black has to interact with the Whites.

The fourth category of research, 'structural-functionalist perspective', is possibly best illustrated by S.P. Cillier's study of absenteeism in a Cape industry. Defining absenteeism as 'a form of deviant industrial behaviour which occurs when individuals or groups in the organization act contrary to the terms of the formal structure and goal of the organization', and using a rigorous methodology, he undertook a

three-phase study. In the third phase he argues that

> it was found that while absence and labour turnover are generally regarded as forms of deviant industrial behaviour, no direct relationship could be established in its incidence. Further analyses showed that absenteeism among this category of workers is primarily a function of factors outside the work place. Yet organization practice cannot be disregarded since a definite relationship was established between absentee rates, and the level of worker satisfaction, attractivness of work and relationship with superiors on the other hand (1979: 229).

The fifth category can be illustrated by the IIE book The Durban Strikes 1973. While radical in the sense of locating its critique of capitalism in terms of the inequality of power relationships, it presents, in the last chapter, a 'reformist' solution. In the chapter dealing with the creation of a labour supply and the legitimization of authority, it draws on largely conventional historiographical and sociological literature. No attempt is made to develop a systematic Marxist analysis. The South African Labour Bulletin could possibly be similarly classified.

The final category is that of studies done clearly within the framework of historical materialism. In large part these do not deal with contemporary South Africa but the recent study of The Mozambique Miner by the University of Maputo is one of the exceptions. Concerned essentially with the export of labour from the three southern provinces of Mozambique to South Africa mines, it focuses on two central issues. First, in the attempt on the part of the mines to establish a more stable labour force, partly through mechanization, WENELA is increasingly pursuing a recruitment strategy that excludes novices and only recruits holders of the

re-engagement certificate or bonus cards. This, it is argued, must be understood in the context of the Chamber of Mines 'policy of maximising the number of labour supplier states around South Africa and of distributing the demand for foreign labour across them'. Its second focus is on the degree of penetration of mining capital in these three provinces.

The fifth and sixth categories of research share two characteristics in common. In the first place, they both involve attempts to apply a class analysis to South African society. In the second place, they both attempt to link their class analysis to organization - in the cast of The Durban Strikes 1973 the last chapter makes a case for trade unions for all industrial workers, while The Mozambique Miner laid the basis for a strategy of rural development among peasant-workers in southern Mozambique.

What effect does apartheid have on social research into industry in South Africa? For the President of the HSRC (known until 1968 as the National Council of Social Research and the central state body concerned with funding and directing social research) this question has a simple answer:'...in the Republic social science research is not a dogma super-imposed from above as an instrument of national policy; the aim of the HSRC is to encourage and stimulate research in the social sciences by free and independent scholars... (HSRC First Annual Report, 1969/70).' While it may be true that the state has not attempted to impose directly an apartheid view of social research on the universities, it has been widely argued that the effect of South Africa's racist structures and governmental policy is to compound the biases inherent in industrial research in a capitalist society in at least two ways:

a. by encouraging social scientists to develop separate theories for Black and White industrial behaviour that take as given the social structure, they legitimize and reproduce intentionally or unintentionally, apartheid;

b. through direct or indirect pressure make it difficult, if not virtually impossible, to undertake research in controversial areas.

The first criticism seems to be the thrust of Gerd Wiendieck's critique of the attempt by industrial psychology to develop a theory of Black motivation:

> The theories of industrial psychology also reflect a capitalist bias, since managerial philosophies are capitalist philosophies in most western countries. South African industrial psychology reveals the same biases, but here the most general biases are compounded by those arising from the racist structures in this society. Given the fact that South Africa is an apartheid society, the South African industrial pscyhologist is solicited into producing motivation theories for racial groupings, because the society dictates that the various race groups may not be motivated in terms of the same opportunities for development, promotion, self-expression, renumeration, security, achievement, self-determination and so forth (1979: 232).

A more direct example of research within the framework of apartheid is that undertaken by the institutes of the HSRC. Of particular relevance to our topic is the Institute of Manpower Research. An analysis of their publications since 1969 reveals that 23 per cent of their research publications that deal with industrial behaviour focus on employment opportunities in the homelands and border areas.

The second area in which apartheid affects social research is through the difficulties experienced by social scientists in doing 'controversial' research. Four arguments have been put forward.

The first is that the HSRC may prefer to allocate funds to non-controversial research. Welsh (1979) argues that the Advisory Committees, which recommend funding of research projects, are 'numerically dominated by academics from conservative institutions. No blacks serve on any of the committees and nor, indeed, are black universities represented (p. 391)'. Furthermore, 'it is believed by some scholars that the HSRC accords preferential treatment to those research projects that do not impinge upon controversial areas (p. 392)'.

Although Welsh makes it clear that it is not possible to confirm or deny the validity of these feelings, 'those who make this assertion do so emphatically and cite examples of refusals in support (p. 392).' Hammond-Tooke (1970) feels that 'it has not been too difficult to obtain research funds and some important work has been done under the auspices of the Council, for example Mayers' well-known work on migrancy and urbanization'. However he does add the rider that difficulties sometimes arise in publishing material if the findings do not meet with the Council's approval.

An analysis of the Advisory Committee for 1977, bears out Welsh's argument that they tend to be numerically dominated by academics from the conservative universities. Furthermore, an analysis of research money granted in the field of industrial research, reported in the HSRC bulletin, does not indicate any obvious direction and quite likely represents the sort of interests held by postgraduate researchers at the universities. However, ultimately, such an analysis would not be able to prove that bias

did not exist, as those who fear discrimination may simply not apply for funds in the first place.

Secondly, research into controversial areas is made difficult by the hierarchic structure of society which leads the subordinate groups to structure their communication with the superordinate groups in such a way as not to antagonize them. On the other hand, racial tension is such that one may well experience sharp hostility from respondents to being interviewed. Webster and Kuzwayo (1977) record a high refusal rate in their survey among African workers in Durban, because fear and suspicion in the townships aggravated the feeling that the interviewer was involved in the feud between Buthlezi and a cabinet colleague.

Thirdly, it is argued that research on controversial areas is controlled by the government through the requirement that scholars who wish to conduct research in the African reserves must first obtain a permit from the relevant government department. Hammond-Tooke (1970) writes that

> permits are necessary for entrance to non-white areas and can be summarily withdrawn with no reasons given. One suspects that reasons for withdrawing permits are in some cases trivial and in some cases based on the information or opinion of some petty local official. The general effect of the uncertainty is to force the research worker to 'play it safe', either by selecting as politically neutral topics as possible, or by failing to push his interaction with the people or questioning as far as he should. This uncertainty also affects publication of results - there is a danger that if a report is published which criticises government policy either implicitly or explicitly, further field-work facilities will be withdrawn.

A final but crucial area is the discouragement of research through

prosecutions, detentions, deportations, banning, withdrawal of passports, censorship and suppression of vital information and statistics. In 1971, Dr Barend Van Niekerk was charged with contempt of court for two article he had published in the South African Law Journal suggesting a racial bias in the number of cases of capital punishment. In 1977, David Russell was sentenced to three months imprisonment for refusing to divulge the names of three people who made statements to him for his publication The Role of the Riot Police and the Suppression of Truth. Tione Eggenhuizen was deported shortly after the publication of Another Blanket, a sharply critical study of compounds in Anglo-American mines in late 1975. Clearly research into political attitudes can be a hazardous task. Welsh (1979) describes several cases where security police have tailed research workers and subsequently questioned informants. 'This is naturally intimidating both to investigator and investigated, the former fearing that the information he has obtained could land his informant into trouble, and the latter fearing that the information could be prised out of the investigator' (see note 1 - Eds).

It is in the banning of books and journals dealing with controversial subjects that the state's disapproval or discouragement of research activities of a potentially controversial kind is made clear. In giving reasons for the banning of an edition of the South African Labour Bulletin, the Directorate of Publications submitted that 'any article advancing the application of Marxist theory to South African black labour problems, however academically it may be done, could be furthering the aims of communism. To do so is a statuary crime in South Africa'. The Publications Appeal Board, in giving reasons as to why it believed the journal 'was prejudicial to the safety of the state, the general welfare of

the peace and good order' said 'dozens of examples of illegal strikes appear in the publication, yet these strikes are nowhere condemned. If a paper serves an educational purpose, it should consistently oppose, deprecate and condemn these illegal and often criminal operations'.

Research into, and publication of, information of a critical nature relating to the Defence Force, the Department of Prisons, the Police, as well as foreign investment, is made extremely difficult by legislation. Publication without ministerial authority of any statement, comment or rumour relating to any member or activity of the Defence Force which is 'calculated to prejudice or embarrass the government in its foreign relations or to alarm or depress members of the public', constitutes a criminal offence. The Prisons Act makes it a criminal offence to publish false information about prisons without taking reasonable steps to verify the information. Since neither the legislators nor the courts have spelled out what the words 'reasonable steps' mean, a great deal of uncertainty exists.

The recent amendment to the Police Act similarly makes it an offence to publish 'any matter' about the police 'without having reasonable grounds for believing that the statement is true'. The wording of Section 2 (2)f of the Terrorism Act, which carried a mandatory five-year gaol sentence, could be read to mean that, for example, a study of the role of foreign investment in South Africa that recommended disengagement was an offence. This is certainly the fear among scholars and has led some to avoid this area of research.

The effect of apartheid on social research will remain a matter of controversy. On the one hand, we see the bland optimism of Henry Lever when he concludes that 'the impediments to social research in South Africa

are not very great. South African sociologists are far freer to pose controversial questions than their colleagues in...most African countries and have fewer restrictions placed on their choice of topics or on the manner in which they are discussed'. On the other hand, there is the cautious optimism of David Welsh: 'There are ways around most, if not all problems; but the investigator's ingenuity and resourcefulness may often be taxed to the limit. Social research, it seems to me, is the art of the impossible; it can be done even in the most hostile of environments (p. 398).' What is clear is that, for any sociologist who wantsto do beyond a sociological analysis, from a liberal, and certainly from a radical or Marxist perspective, to link up with practical activity, South Africa can become a very dangerous society. The banning of sociologists such as Richard Turner, Fatima Meer, Loet Douws-Decker, Charles Simkins, Mary Simons and Jack Simons is evidence for this assertion. Similarly, the director of The Mozambique Miner, Ruth First, is in exile and, as a listed 'communist', her work may not be published inside South Africa. (see note 2 - Eds).

The pressures on South African sociologists to serve apartheid are likely to increase in the unfolding of 'total strategy' as expressed by P.W. Botha. In the 1977 White Paper, he wrote that

> the process of ensuring and maintaining the sovereignty of a state's authority in a conflict situation has, through the evolution of warfare, shifted from a purely military to an integrated national action : the resolution of conflict in the times in which we now live demands interdependent and coordinated action in all fields - military, pscyhological, economic, political, sociological, technical, diplomatic, ideological, cultural, etc. Germany had already realised

this before World War II, and Russia has maintained a multi-dimensional campaign against the West since this war. Consequently we are today involved in a war, whether we wish to accept it or not (quoted in Work in Progress, Number 8, May 1978, p 5).

Faced by the crisis of the 1970s, the apartheid state is finding it increasingly necessary to mobilise social scientists to serve apartheid. Similarly the strategy of capital is now becoming clearer. Harry Oppenheimer expressed this best when, at the 1979 annual conference of the South African Institute of Race Relations, he called on liberal institutions to move away from 'the politics of protest to the politics of power'. He goes on to suggest that 'all liberal institutions must examine how they can become more directly and positively engaged in promoting and encouraging the process of change which is now underway in South Africa'. The initiative by H.F. Oppenheimer and Anton Rupert, in November 1976, in establishing the Urban Foundation, with the clear objectives of creating a 'black middle class' illustrates this strategy.

The response of university social scientists to P.W. Botha's 'total strategy' and Oppenheimer's call to encourage 'evolutionary change' is not yet clear. However, constrained in direct and indirect ways to avoid controversial areas of research, most sociologists will be tempted to take advantage of the money and access offered to do research to assist capital and the state in their new strategy of limited 'reform'. Increasingly, the social scientific community will find it difficult to avoid 'taking sides' in the wider ideological debate surrounding the form and nature of change in South Africa. Influenced by the growing presence of the liberation movements in Southern Africa, university social science departments will increasingly become areas of ideological debate.

Editors' Notes:

1. The interested reader is referred to the article by Mike Savage in Pyschology in Society, Number 1, 1983.

2. Richard Turner and Ruth First were assasinated subsequent to the date of the original writing of this article.

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How we Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the HSRC

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In the concluding paragraphs of his article on "Servants of Apartheid" (1981) Eddie Webster raises the question about how social scientists would respond to P W Botha's "total strategy" and Harry Oppenheimer's complementary call for "evolutionary change". These reform statements were made during 1979, just when the South African Plan for Social Science Research was being formulated. This plan, says Webster (1981), was a "deliberate act of policy" to politicize social science research (p 3). The main instrument through which the politicization would occur was to be the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC). This organisation is of crucial importance for social scientists because it controls most government funding for social science research.

To answer Webster's question, one needs to consider how the response of social scientists to the total strategy in the post 1979 period was mediated by the strategies used by the HSRC. This is the issue we shall analyse in this paper, which develops out of an earlier consideration of the HSRC (Muller, Cloete and Orkin, 1986).

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Legitimizing Inequality

By the late 1970s, the National Party began to realise that it had to take on board the English industrialists and many of their technical concerns about productivity and the needs of the labour market if it was going to survive at the helm of a racial capitalist South Africa. P W Botha tackled this by linking the reform commissions he had inherited, on labour and influx control, to others he initiated, on education, manpower and the new constitution. The connection with English industrialists was forged above ground by the Carlton and Good Hope conferences, and underground by inviting their contribution to the National Security Council (Muller, Cloete and Orkin, 1986). This "total strategy" reform programme for neo-apartheid was an attempt to protect the interests of whites and capital through the gradual inclusion of a black middle class and a labour aristocracy (Webster 1981).

A major requirement for any reform initiative is to obtain legitimacy. According to Habermas (1975), legitimation is a process whereby mass loyalty is obtained, consensus meaning is generated and disparate interests integrated. The crisis that faces most modern capitalist states is the difficulty of "distributing the surplus social product inequitably and yet legitimately" (Weiler, 1983, p 260). In South Africa this problem is compounded because the legitimation crisis consists of inequitable distribution with regards to both class and race.

Some of the strategies States employ to obtain legitimacy are discussed by Weiler (1983) in terms of legalisation (making laws that courts enforce), participation (certain citizen or community groupings) and the use of experts (who provide scientific knowledge or evidence in support of the social programme). In South Africa we have witnessed all three.

The early phase of Nationalist rule relied mainly on a strategy of "legalising" apartheid. The "Nationalist technocratic" government of Botha, in contrast to his more "ideological predecessors" (Adam, 1984: p 60) has tried to employ selective participation by extending token citizenship to 'Coloureds' and 'Indians' in the new constitutional dispensation. And since the late seventies it has also turned to the use of experts (Jubber, 1979).

The role of the expert in the legitimation process must be seen in the light of the symbiotic relationship between power and knowledge. Power legitimizes both knowledge and the process of its production and utilization, while on the other hand knowledge tends to be used in legitimizing arrangements for the exercise of power (Weiler, 1983). In the words of Weiler (1983b), such knowledge provides the "sheltering canopies over the existing institutional order" (p 11).

In a country such as South Africa where the State is structurally incapable of bringing about real reform (Saul and Gelb, 1981), a common strategy is to use rhetoric about reform and change in order to procure "compensatory" legitimacy (Weiler, 1983). In such a situation, the expert becomes even more important by fulfilling two main functions. The first is to provide experimental or scientific evidence that one programme is "better" than the other. An important aspect here is that "wrong" evidence (which is wrong in the view of the policy maker in that it does not suit his purposes) can be suppressed, either by controlling the publication of the results or by silencing the producer. An example is the HSRC's enquiry into university admissions criteria, which exposed appalling differences of standards between different kinds of matric and subsequent pass rates at university. The only publically available version censors the crucial

information i.e. which are the inferior matrics and universities (Stoker, 1983). Another example is those academics or informed commentators who have been silenced (see Websters 1981 article for some examples). On the other hand, evidence that supports the reform is made commonplace by media exposure and authorised by White Papers in Parliament.

The second function of experts, particularly salient if the reform operates mainly on the level of rhetoric, is that experiments in social engineering and associated studies provide political leadership with an opportunity to demonstrate their interest in or intent towards reform. Simultaneously they protect the existing programme from rival alternatives for the duration of the study. By having to wait "until the evidence is in", time is bought for the postponement of political decisions (Weiler, 1983). The de Lange enquiry into education is a pertinent example. In South Africa those "scientific" requirements have not been accepted by the majority of the population; consequently the security forces have to maintain order for the duration of the experiment.

Considering all these useful functions that experts can fulfil, the question for the State is how to get enough of them on the band-wagon. In South Africa the two main sources of social scientific knowledge are two major para-statal research institutes and the universities. First we will look at how these two research institutes (the HSRC and the National Institute of Personnel Research - NIPR) were transformed in the wake of reform and then at how these transformed structures were used to engage the university reseachers.

Transforming the Research Institutes

The foundation of the State survival strategy is unity between, on the one hand, the white Afrikaans ruling elite and on the other hand the majority fraction of capital which is controlled by the English minority . Co-operation between the English and Afrikaners would however not be automatic, because ethnic division and antagonism have a long history and have also been the basis for Nationalist policy. The HSRC and NIPR developed during the deployment of this ethno-centric policy and did not escape the effects of the cleavage. What follows is a brief history of each institute and the path of its transformation.

The first major development of human science as a tool for policy research in South Africa was the Carnegie Poor White Commission of the late 1920s and early 1930s. It was established to consider the dramatic impoverishment of Afrikaner families which were becoming proletarianised at this time. An important feature of the Commission was the psychometric testing programme. Psychometric research in the USA, funded by the Rockefeller Foundation, was just taking off as a means of rendering invisible the reproduction of class inequality via educational selection (Bowles and Gintis, 1977) .

Duly imported, psychometric testing in the service of national reconstruction was thereby launched in this country, and the current psychometric preoccupations of the HSRC follow from this pathbreaking study (see Louw 1986 for a more detailed account). Testing and survey research with a strong policy orientation became a feature of work at the National Bureau for Educational and Social Research established in 1953, and of the HSRC which it became in 1968.

Another lineage of testing in South Africa developed just after the

second world war amongst a group of English ex-servicemen like Hudson and Biesheuvel who had links with industrial personnel departments. They consequently pursued work bound up with the concerns of large English industries, principally the mines. This kind of research found a home in the NIPR.

Between the HSRC and the NIPR there developed a competitive rivalry that verged at times on hostility, and it is important to explore the roots of this and to analyse the startling implications of its aufhebung. First and most visibly, the HSRC was predominantly Afrikaner Nationalist while the NIPR was English and SAP (South African Party). Furthermore this meant that the NBESR and later the HSRC usually pursued research of national (and Nationalist) priority, while the NIPR pursued the prerogatives of maximising largely English-owned capital profits. Political differences aside, there was a difference in style of research too which is less easy to characterise. The Afrikaners at the HSRC, coming as they did from an idealist, hermeneutical, continental tradition of human scientific research, were always more concerned with the human (and political) side of social commerce, with research into attitudes, aptitudes and aspirations as empirical signposts to the state of health of the national spirit.

The English at the NIPR, following the British and American positivist tradition, were always more concerned with methodological niceties on the one hand and with technical improvements in human performance with a view to enhancing productivity on the other. In other words, the NIPR was what we might call unabashedly technicist from the outset. This crucial divide between the HSRC and the NIPR, encapsulating aspects of different research traditions, different social interests dressed up in different national systems as well, can be variously construed.

Our explanation above has emphasized the different moments in the historical trajectories of the respective articulations between fractions of capital and the ideological mobilization (of the "volk" for instance) or ideological rationalization. More commonly the divide is "explained" in terms of ethnic difference, in terms of trans-historical "volksgees", the Boer-Brit divide on the terrain of human science.

In any event the two research institutes existed side by side with very little love lost between them and little or no collaboration occurring (pretty much like the rest of the English and Afrikaans speaking population at the time). This separate but peaceful co-existence was to be dramatically altered with the implementation of the National Plan during the early eighties.

One off the main recommendations of this Plan was that the HSRC would "...obtain the co-operation of the universities, research institutes and government departments" (HSRC, 1984, p 1). Positive co-operation was "to be based on the principle of partnership and total autonomy of the participating parties" (p 1). What this turned out to mean in practice was that in July 1985 the NIPR was officially incorporated into the HSRC. The "partnership" developed roughly as follows. In response to the State President's call for "rationalisation and efficiency" the council of the HSRC approached the Council for Industrial and Scientific Research (CSIR), which was then in control of the NIPR. The executive director of the NIPR was invited to Pretoria, asked for his opinion, and then sworn to secrecy with respect to the already finalised plan. After formal ratification by Ministers De Villiers and Viljoen, the NIPR staff were informed of the fait accompli at a function addressed by the presidents of both the HSCR and CSIR - the brothers Garbers.

According to sources inside the NIPR, dissatisfaction with the manner in which the matter was handled was at least as great as with the outcome. An ethnic explanation of events would conclude that the Afrikaners had finally won this local tug-of-Boer war. Such a conclusion would be misleading. If anything, the victory belongs to the technicists. The tenets of this model, efficiency and rationalisation are intimately related to positivism and its technicist corollary, capitalist social engineering. This technicist model has two major features. It provides information for increased productivity whilst at the same time masquerading as scientifically neutral and objective. Both these aspects are fundamental to the technocratic regime's fight for the implementation of the new state capitalism. The HSRC may have swallowed the NIPR, but it ended up looking and indeed acting more like the NIPR (as the 'captive Greeks' were supposed to have caputred their Roman captors...).

A frequent consequence of greater efficiency is increased control. One effect on the old NIPR staff of their inclusion into the HSRC was a dramatic increase in the control exercised over them. The HSRC as a centralised bureaucracy has much greater control over its products than the more decentralised NIPR ever had. For example, before a research report can be published, it has to be cleared by the divisional head, then the group head, then the directorate, before the vice-president finally makes a recommendation to the president. After passing this daunting screening process, the report can only be published with the president's official, signed approval. What is even more worrying about this filtering sequence is that the organisation has no clear mechanism of appeal with respect to work rejected by any of these five filters. The National Plan asserts confidently that "research prospers in a milieu of optimal freedom" (p 1).

It seems that the HSRC's interpretation of freedom is as perverse as is their understanding of partnership.

New Staff : Competent, Unbiased, White Afrikaner Males.

After seeing how the "positive partnership" with the NIPR was forged, let's look at how the HSRC would be prepared for the task of enticing the academics into co-operation. Before 1979, the HSRC had, in the words of one of its most senior officers, little if any credibility as an institute for promoting independent social science of a high quality (Smit, 1985). The immediate issue raised here is that the status and legitimacy of the organisation had to be improved before it could get the co-operation of credible academics - particularly those in the English institutions. The "men" to do this could not be incompetent bureaucrats. Who would they be and where would they come from?

The "main man" drafted in 1979 to head the HSRC was one of the most distinguished Afrikaner social scientists, educationist Johan Garbers from RAU. He was joined on 1 April 1980 by Flip Smit, a reputable and efficient geography professor from Pretoria university. Within the HSRC the important committee into educational reform was led by De Lange, also from RAU. Was it coincidence that all those reform experts came to serve indirectly or directly under the previous RAU Principal of RAU - G Viljoen, then Minister of National Education?

The basis of a credible expertise system is meritocracy. That such a disproportionate number of new deal experts were white males from a very parochial provenance, the social science and education faculties at RAU (and headed, as we have noted, by big science's little brother), certainly

raises questions of legitimacy right from the start.

The new HSRC appointees exude an air of confidence and competence. Few people would dispute that the "watershed year" of 1979 brought about a greater efficiency and a more professional look (Smit, 1986). These men are, whatever the suspicions about their political alignment, professionals. Smit, however, goes further than professionalism when he claims that the watershed represents a break with the largely justified suspicion of ideological bias as well as bureaucratic incompetence of the pre-1979 HSRC. While the HSRC's new efficiency cannot be denied, its ideological bias is another matter. It is difficult to believe that a group of all-white, all-male, all-Afrikaner people acting on a directive from the Nationalist Cabinet and with the Scientific Advisory Council of the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning determining their research priorities can sincerely believe in "eliminating ideological bias". Perhaps they do. But in actual fact, as is so often the case with technicism and professionalism, bias has not been eliminated, but more efficiently obscured. The complex issue that we want to address in the rest of our paper, is the process of concealment and how social scientists at the universities have reacted to the result.

Co-opting the Academics

Academics cannot be co-opted by conscription or incorporation; academic freedom is a bulwark against such tactics. However, offer them both money and a whiff of academic freedom and the flesh becomes weak.

According to Smit (1986) "it has been shown repeatedly over the centuries that free, self-initiated and independent research delivers the

best result" (p 13). This admirable philosophy forms the basis for the pure research ("A" budget) of the HSRC where, in a "democractic funding process" the "books are open" and only the "merits of the applicant and scientific quality of the application counts" (p 13). How would one implement such high ideals? Smit's response was a system of peers reviewing grant applications.

This method is widely used in the scientific world and although it is not without its problems, it is probably the most accountable method currently available. The catch however is that the "peers" must have credibility. This required a vigorous recruitment drive at the English universities. Currently the HSRC has 10 discipline committees evaluating applications and on each of these there is at least one respected academic from an English university. In the economic sciences committee (hardly an Afrikaner dominated discipline) there are possibly three out of seventeen (HSRC, 1985). Roughly the same proportion applies to sociology. While there are four out of twelve English surnames on the African Studies Committee, it has only one African.

Has peer review eliminated bias? Looking at the composition of some of the committees referred to above, the answer can hardly be positive. The proportion of English speakers, blacks and women seems little more than tokenism. An even more serious shortcoming is the almost complete absence of academics who could be classified as representing leftwing, let alone radical, perspectives on their discipline. If these committees are to be neutral, surely their composition should be more representative of the different paradigms in the discipline. Or is it assumed that one is less biased when one holds a moderate to conservative perspective?

The case for less overall bias in the HSRC is based on the dramatic increase in funding for peer-review controlled, self-initiated, "free independent" research.

AGENCY FUNDS ADMINISTERED BY THE HSRC - 1985

Financial year	Amount available	% growth
1980/81	R1 380 800	45.81
1981/82	R1 805 000	30.72
1982/83	R2 520 300	39.63
1983/84	R3 169 600	25.76
1984/85	R5 239 492	65.30
1985/86	R6 587 200	25.72

As can be seen from the above, more money is available for autonomously conceived research than ever before, and it is certainly more neutrally administered than in the past (these figures are not adjusted for inflation).

The case against also relies on figures. The R7,2m set aside for self-initiated research in 1986 is just under 17% of the total budget of about R42m that the HSRC has at its disposal, the rest being spent on internal projects and "national priority" studies under their internal control. Actually, over half of that 17% goes towards bursaries for higher degree students, leaving less than 10% of the total budget, somewhat less than R4m, for self-initiated research by university academics. That is, the "unfree - dependent" scientists at the HSRC have access to seven times more public funds than their "free - independent" counterparts at all the universities put together (1).

The case can be put the other way around. The overwhelming proportion of public funds for human scientific research in this country is directly controlled by in-house committees not accountable to open academic screening procedures. The brief from the Cabinet is clear : it is to be directed mainly towards socio-economic and political problems. The

problems are defined by a Research Priorities Committee and ratified by the Scientific Advisory Council of the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning.

The issue that needs to be addressed, arising from the above, is not whether peer-review eradicates bias, but that a large number of academics have been co-opted into participating in HSRC research governance because of the impression that the agency had become "free of bias". Spending less than R4 million out of R42 million on the legitimation of an institution seems like a public relations bargain.

The co-option strategy has however not been uniformly successful. At the national conference of the Association of Sociologists of Southern Africa in July 1985, an exasperated Garbers and Marais failed to convince the sociologists that all was now rosy in the funding garden. In vain did Garbers try to explain that the peer review system made screening and allocation as neutral and interest-free as possible. In vain, and a lot less coherently, did the sociologists try to convey to Garbers that human scientific research is always interest-bound; that they continued to suspect that critical or radical interests were not represented at the HSRC nor in its peer review committees; worse still, that such interests would all too often be excluded on allegedly "neutral" methodological grounds.

The issue of radical interests is crucial. To begin with, in the symbiotic relationship between power and knowledge, the State often takes care of the more radical elements by driving them into exile, underground or sometimes into jail. The HSRC is thus left to administer neutrally and without bias amongst the rest. What does the ostensibly representative remainder think of the regime? At the same sociology conference Jubber

(1985) reported that in a survey of 73 sociologists, 52% of those from English universities had a negative view of the HSRC and only 20% reacted positively. Of the English-speaking sociologists 30% were against participation in HSRC committees. Respondents from the black universities had a slightly higher proportion of positive responses 37%, and 50% negative responses. Of the Afrikaans academics 59% were positive and 25% negative.

Some of the responses to open-ended questions in the qualitative section are worth quoting. A few were positive : "I am very impressed with Dr Garbers and his new top brass". "They are not ideologically closed minded...they deserve support...in some respect at least it has become more objective in recent years but it has a long way to go" (p 22 - 23).

On the negative side, typical views were :
"The HSRC has been an innately conservative body tied far too closely with the government"; "I have been prepared to reconsider this position since Dr. Garbers became president but have not been encouraged to do so following his political intervention in the recent referendum" (p 17); "It is a statutory body primarily concerned with the provision of instrumental knowledge to the apartheid state" (p 23); "As regards its 'open image', the HSRC confines it's research generally to the boundaries set by the "relations problematic" formulated by the government. 'Objectivity' is often manifested in an atheoretical collection of facts" (p 27); and lastly, much in line with the current analysis, "The provision of HSRC funds to researchers with no strings attached should not be allowed to detract from the patently state/ethnicist bias of the HSRC as seen in its structure and research programmes" (p 23).

The majority of non-participating social scientists work within a

critical paradigm and/or are doing projects in the disenfranchised community. This is the nub of the HSRC's present dilemma. Having perceived the original problem as one of ethnicity and not of class or race, it has gone out of its way to include more "Englishmen" in its deliberations; but not more black people, nor more radical academics, and certainly not more women ("waar is die vrou wat haar man kan staan?"). By their own admission, there has been a drastic curtailment of qualitative research and a boost for more 'technicist' research but not more research directed towards empowering disenfranchised and oppressed communities of our society.

It is clear that the very move designed to ditch the conservatives and their Afrikaner-community priorities by the same token precludes the radicals with their oppressed-community priorities. Not that priorities are eliminated altogether. The 1980 watershed simply changed direction. The HSRC began to close down research for Afrikaner survival only and began to concentrate on issues of technical efficiency representing the interests of a more desparate, largely white-dominated, state-guaranteed capitalism, snailing towards the Rubicon.

It would not be unjustified to conclude that the wrong problem had been addressed admirably. In the process, a fairly large number of credible academics in the social sciences had been deceived into participating in the "shaping of history". Others have simply dropped their knickers for a fiver. Both groups should remember Machiavelli's warning that those who would advise princes end up as their slaves, more especially those princes adept at serving their own interests through the exploitation of others.

Afterword : How to Respond to the HSRC

A comment on our earlier article regarding the HSRC (Muller, Cloete & Orkin, 1986) was that we critisized without being constructive. A first retort might be as Foucault (1981) has remarked, that "critique doesn't have to be the premise of a deduction which concludes : this then is what needs to be done. It should be an instrument for those who fight, those who resist and refuse what is" (p 13). In other words the main aim of our papers has been to analyse, not develop alternatives, although the types of alternatives we would espouse are not hidden too far beneath the surface in our argument. Rather than elaborate on these, we would like to outline briefly some possible tactical approaches to HSRC funds for social scientists who do not want to be servants of racial capital. The HSRC is the only major source of funding for travel to conferences, study bursaries, etc. One option is to use this type of money since once it is obtained there is not much control over how the reseacher spends it, and it should thus not compromise her academic freedom.

Another option is that the space which the new deal at the HSRC has provided can be used to obtain and apply funding to the interests of those constituencies not catered for by the HSRC, provided that the people who are the subjects of the research do not feel compromised by the connection. Two good examples of this use of agency money are Webster (1985) and Keenan (1986).

However, as far as co-operation in the HSRC's actual procedures and research programmes is concerned, the responses of at least one sociologist in the Jubber survey seem to us to hit the nail on the head :

"The HSRC cannot be 're-structured' because it is and remains the government's instrument, in the hands of the government to justify and legitimate the decisions and policies of the government, Research by bodies other than the HSRC must be encouraged" (p 31).

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Note.

1. The total amount of R42 million includes capital expenditure. The HSRC nevertheless controls it .

2. Thanks to Safiya Fredericks for typing and retyping.

White Poverty and Psychology in South Africa: The Poor White Investigation of the Carnegie Commission

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The Second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty and Development in Southern Africa, and its April 1984 conference in Cape Town, invited many rejoinders and comparisons to the first Carnegie Commission's investigation into poverty in South Africa. This first commission, from hereon simply referred to as the Carnegie Commission, was appointed in 1928 to investigate the phenomenon of the poor white in South Africa. Although social scientists often refer to the significance of this Commission's investigation for social science in South Africa, little or no attempt has been made to work this theme out in detail. Psychologists in particular have often overlooked the effect of this investigation on the development of their discipline.

In this rather brief paper, I would like to argue that the investigation of the Carnegie Commission, and their 1932 Report, formed an important divide in the development of psychology as a discipline in this country. The major thrust of the argument will be that the phenomenon of poor whiteism provided psychologists with an opportunity to demonstrate their usefulness in the solution of societal problems. That is, the poor white investigation was an ideal vehicle to bring the skills and techniques that psychologists possess in the public eye.

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This paper firstly presents a brief background sketch of the poor white phenomenon; followed by an indication of the concern social scientists showed with the problem; a description of the work of the psychologists on the Commission; the Commission's recommendations with regards to the fields of labour, education, and vocational guidance; and a final conclusion.

Background to the Carnegie Commission

The phenomenon of the poor white had a long history. A steadily increasing flow of landless whites to the cities occurred towards the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century. Factors such as adverse farming conditions, pressure on white "bywoners" to leave the land to free more land for cultivation, the sub-division of farms, and the opportunity to earn wages, all contributed to this process. When these whites arrived in the cities, it was difficult for them to find employment, as they couldn't fit into the pattern of industrial relations at the time. The result was that a growing number of mainly Afrikaans speaking whites became progressively poorer, until people could refer to a distinct group - the poor whites. Black poverty had been an accepted feature of South Africa's way of life, but not white poverty. Thus concern was expressed from a very early stage about this "shocking" increase in the number of poor whites (but not about poverty among blacks). In 1892, for example, the Minister of Agriculture of the Cape of Good Hope was struck by the prevailing poverty amongst the white farming population. He discussed this with the Rev. Andrew Murray, who subsequently convened a conference of the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) in Stellenbosch to discuss the "poor white problem" (Grosskopf, 1932).

In the years to follow, the poor white would continue to be a problem, and would periodically take centre stage in terms of attention received. In 1897, for example, the first Volksraad session of the Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek was dominated by this issue; in 1906 an Indigency Commission was appointed. Also in 1906 the Cape parliament produced a report on the "poor white question". The Dutch Reformed Church organized two major conferences on this problem: in November 1916 in Cradock and in July 1923 in Bloemfontein.

Social scientists and the poor whites

During the 1920's, social scientists initiated attempts to intervene in the poor white problem. In the early 1920's E.G. Malherbe, an educational psychologist, went on a few months' leave to go to a rural community and find out what it was like for a teacher in an isolated rural community. It was during his leave period among the woodcutters of the Knysna forest, that Malherbe came face to face with the poor white problem.

In June 1921 he published an article in The Cape Times, in which he argued for a scientific investigation into the problem, for the 100 000 or so poor whites were becoming a menace to the self-preservation and prestige of white people, "living as we do in the midst of the native population which outnumbers us 5 to 1". The problem could only be solved by obtaining "thorough and first-hand knowledge of the causes underlying this malady ... only when we have made a correct diagnosis and are certain of the causes can we remedy

them". Such work, it was suggested, could only be done by men trained in psychology, economics and sociology. This belief, that a "scientific" approach could solve social problems, was widespread among scientists of the time - see for example Legassick (1976).

During the 1920's psychologists in particular started to pay attention to the poor whites. Examples are Fick and Black's mental survey of children at Losperfontein (an agricultural placement and rehabilitation settlement), Truter's mental survey at the Pretoria Mental Hospital, Reyburn's mental tests developed at the University of Cape Town, and Wilcock's vocational tests at the University of Stellenbosch. The standardisation of vocational tests (by Wilcocks) during this time was especially important, as these were aimed at occupations that poor whites would normally be expected to fill (e.g. tailors, dressmakers, apprentices, etc).

A minister of religion, Nepgen (1923) wrote on other aspects, besides testing, that indicated the importance of psychology for the poor white problem. To him the reason why all attempts to uplift the poor whites had failed, was that these attempts were psychologically unsound. Knowledge of the poor white was lacking, and "kennis van die sielssamestel en sielswerking van die mens" was essential (Nepgen, 1923, p 144). He advised a systematic, scientific investigation: "... om deur noukeurige waarneming (met inbegrip van eksperimente) die eigenlike 'feite' of trekke van die arme-blanke sielssamestel en werking te versamel, dan die nodige hipotese te ontwerp om te verklaar hoe die biesondere trekke by die blanke ontstaan en ontwikkel het" (p 146).

In 1927 Dr F. Keppel, president of the Carnegie Corporation, toured Australia, New Zealand and South Africa to find out how to administer money that Andrew Carnegie had set aside in his will for educational and social research projects in the British dominions and colonies. E.G. Malherbe knew Keppel fairly well since his days at Columbia University (Malherbe, 1981). When asked what the most urgent social problem was in South Africa, Malherbe indicated the poor white question. Keppel established a Carnegie Trust Fund for South Africa with the trustees being Patrick Duncan (later to become Govenor-General of South Africa), Sir Carruthers Beattie (the principal of the University of Cape Town), and Dr C.T. Loram (member of the Native Affairs Commission).

In 1928, the Carnegie Commission was appointed to launch an investigation into the poor white problem. It was to be a five-pronged investigation, with the following components: economic (by J.F.W. Grosskopf), psychological (R.W. Wilcocks), educational (E.G. Malherbe), health (W.A. Murray), and sociological (J.R. Albertyn, with Dr K. Butterfield of Amherst College, Dr Coulter of Ohio State University, and Mrs M.E. Rothman). The terms of the inquiry were clear: to establish the extent of the problem, and its causes, and to suggest means by which it could be cured and prevented.

The work of the psychologists

The investigation started in 1928, and the report was published in 1932 in five volumes, corresponding to the abovementioned aspects. The members of this Commission conducted a massive investigation, even

for today's standards. They travelled more than 16 000 km throughout the country; interviewing, testing and examining poor whites "wherever they could find them". Malherbe and Wilcocks, for example, tested more than 15 000 pupils, poor whites as well as others, in 170 schools (Malherbe, 1932).

For the educational and psychological reports, Malherbe and Wilcocks conducted interviews with 300 poor whites and 333 teachers, magistrates, welfare officers, farmers, ministers of religion, etc; obtaining information from state departments, and from historical sources; and tested thousands of poor white and other children with a number of tests. For testing of intelligence, they administered the South African Group Intelligence Test and the American Army Beta Group Test. The intelligence tests were necessary, because "ordinary observation" indicated that poor whites showed a lack of intelligence. This observation was, however, not a satisfactory means of determining this group's level of intelligence. They in fact obtained enough data to standardise the SAGIT (Malherbe, 1981).

To measure scholastic and educational achievement, they used the Arithmetic Ability Test of Coetzee (1926), the Afrikaans Vocabulary Test from the Kaap-provinsie Indiwiduele Intelligensie Skaal vir Afrikaanssprekende Kinders, and the English Vocabulary Test as drawn up by Terman in "The Measurement of Intelligence". The intelligence tests served as a measure of general ability, the arithmetic test gave an indication of the effects of ad hoc schooling and instruction; and the vocabulary test "represents probably the best single scale for ascertaining the level of the cultural or intellectual milieu of a particular community" (Malherbe, 1932).

The extensive use of psychological tests in this investigation is the first noteworthy link with subsequent developments in South African psychology. An examination of the Commission's recommendations will reveal more factors of importance. Here I would like to highlight only a few remarks of the Commission pertaining to the role that psychology could play in the societal domains of labour and education.

Labour

The Commission made a number of statements on labour matters, and on applications of social science knowledge to these matters.

The importance of selection received emphasis in more than one volume of the Report. One of the most successful agricultural settlements of poor whites was at Kakamas, and Wilcocks suggested that this was because they were selected. For example, application to settle there would be approved only it was accompanied by certificates of the applicant's indigency, membership of the Dutch Reformed Church, and good character. Wilcocks advised that the initial selection be more rigorous to lessen the "weeding out" that occurred after initial placement. Wilcocks gave the following information from the Union Department of Lands on settlers at another settlement (in Magalieskraal): settlers were placed in three classes according to decreasing degrees of suitability. This was based on the Department's experience with each individual in actual practice. The criterion was the average number of places at which they had previously lived, and those who had moved about less were taken as more suitable. "It is also advisable

that use be made of the methods offered by modern applied psychology to select those who possess the qualities required for becoming successful agricultural settlers" (Wilcocks, 1932, p 117).

Malherbe (1932) argued that psychological tests, like the vocational tests standardised at Stellenbosch, were invaluable for selection. He advocated their use more at the industry end than at the school end of the selection process. For Grosskopf (1932) reliable selection was essential where a rural population that had not kept pace with economic change had to adjust itself to modern industry.

Linked to selection, was the type of work that different people performed best. The poor white child, on average, emerged from the tests as more suited for work of a mechanical kind than the white population as a whole. In fact, although the poor white child was 0,75 of a year behind the normal child, he/she was considerably nearer to the average white child in mechanical skill in simple number operations (Malherbe, 1932). This corroborated the observation that poor whites were often "useless" in types of work requiring judgement and reasoning, e.g. in independent farming. But they could be effectively and usefully employed in the routine operations of industry, reported the Commission. In fact, one of their recommendaitons was that a good solution was to let the adult poor white work in the factories. They observed that the factories indeed offered a steadily improving field of employment - especially for poor white girls.

The utilization of labour, it was suggested, could also be improved by the "modern" methods of industrial and scientific management. "That the unskilled white man who is keen on obtaining work, can by methods of scientific management be more productively utilized, many managers have yet to learn ..." (Grosskopf, 1932, p 178), and "Industrial psychology with its methods can here play an important part" (p 179). The fact that the unskilled white man of rural origin reacted favourably to a system of piece-rate pay was consistently stressed; that is, the principle of pay according to results. Furthermore, it was said he is sensitive to treatment that takes his customs and attitudes into account, and he is often remarkably adaptable and teachable.

Education

Education, or rather the lack of it, was seen by the Commission as one of the major contributing factors to poor whiteism, and was therefore the focus of attention. Only one aspect of these recommendations is mentioned here: the role of vocational guidance.

The field of vocational guidance/placement by the early 1920's was not yet a field of psychological practice, as vocational placement was still taking place without psychological help. The work was being done mainly by the Juvenile Affairs Boards, established in 1915 to assist urban youth with finding employment. This is generally recognised as the first organised attempt to provide advice on careers and assistance in finding employment.

Psychologists responded quickly to this situation. The nature of their response established a very close connection between vocational

guidance and psychological testing in South Africa. A few examples would suffice. Both Stellenbosch and Pretoria Universities were developing vocational tests to determine which trades individuals were best suited for. At Stellenbosch University the emphasis was more on tests for personnel selection, which could be used for vocational guidance as well. For example: tests for determining an individual's suitability for becoming a carpenter, farm overseer, smith, shoemaker, etc. At Pretoria University the emphasis was on vocational guidance in particular, and on the testee's "total mental structure", rather than on singular qualities or mental functions. Another example was the proposal submitted to the University of Cape Town by the Cape Divisional Juvenile Affairs Board, in terms of which an industrial psychological bureau be established where juveniles could be tested as to their fitness for industrial occupations. The Department of Psychology proposed to appoint a special lecturer, to analyse the principal occupations in the Cape along psychological lines, to develop a set of vocational tests for each, to test boys and girls upon leaving school to guide them in their selection of occupations, and so on (Notes of the month, 1926).

Vocational guidance received strong emphasis in the Report of the Carnegie Commission. Noting the total absence of systematic vocational guidance in (especially) the rural areas, the Commission pleaded for its extension to these areas. In a world of increasing complexity, the child was thrust into it without proper vocational guidance. This was calamitous for the child, argued the Commission, and it also stood in the way of discovering and utilizing South Africa's human resources. The implication was rather straightforward: psychologists could assist

the individual in making a career choice in an increasingly complex occupational structure. Via psychological tests, it could be determined which occupations someone is best suited for, and the person could be guided toward such a career. In that career, he/she would be happiest, because the demands of the career would be commensurate with his/her abilities.

This connection between vocational guidance and the poor whites, who were predominantly Afrikaans speaking, strengthened the tendency of Afrikaans speaking psychologists to gravitate toward educational applications of psychology. It could be said that this is the second noteworthy consequence of the Carnegie investigation for psychology. There is evidence that in present-day psychology Afrikaans speaking psychologists are best represented in the fields of counselling and educational psychology, and psychometrics (see Langenhoven & Potgieter, 1977). It is not surprising that Afrikaans speaking psychologists were drawn to vocational guidance and psychological testing, as it provided a way of improving the lot of the poor white child. There is evidence for example that the Reddingsdaadbond, the Christian-nationalist organisation concerning itself with the Afrikaner worker, moved into the area of vocational guidance (see Pauw, 1944).

Conclusion

The involvement of psychologists (and other social scientists) in the poor white question via the Carnegie Commission is a good illustration of the interplay between forces in society and developments

in the social sciences. Their efforts showed that social scientists could intervene in societal problems in an attempt to solve them. Just like science could solve material problems (of, for example, production), so could social scientists perhaps solve social problems.

The Carnegie Commission's investigation and report obviously did not solve the social problem of poor whiteism directly. It did however add a significant "scientific" voice to the debate about the issue. The Report was apparently well received by the public, and a press campaign was launched for a congress to consider the proposals of the Commission. As a result, a "Volkskongres" on the poor white problem was held in October 1934 in Kimberley, but it did little to alleviate white poverty. It was left to economic and political processes to finally solve this problem towards the end of the 1930's: the rapid expansion of industry, combined with the legal protection offered to white labour (something that the Carnegie Report recommended as a temporary measure).

Three developments that were important for social services can however be linked directly to the Carnegie Commission's Report and the "Volkskongres". These were the establishment of three state-aligned bodies: a Social Research Section in the National Bureau for Educational and Social Research to solve the problems of black and white unemployment in the cities (Malherbe, 1981); a Department of Social Welfare in 1934; and the "Armesorgraad" in 1936 (Van Jaarsveldt, 1982).

For psychology, the implications (and benefits) of this investigation were far-reaching. Apart from the two mentioned earlier, these implications included the following:

(i) The Carnegie Investigation would contribute substantially to making the societal domains of education and labour accessible for psychological intervention. Vocational guidance, for example, at first occurred largely without the assistance of psychologists; but would increasingly become a field of psychological practice. In fact, psychologists later on would exercise close to a monopoly over vocational guidance. It must be kept in mind that vocational guidance also involves the labour domain, and the recommendations of the Commission touched upon at least three aspects: selection, type of work, and scientific management. Selection of personnel would eventually (around World War II) become the dominant feature of psychological intervention in the labour domain.

(ii) The way in which psychologists approached the investigation corresponded closely to the trend to search for knowledge that is useful through practice. Thus the investigation reinforced the tendency toward application of psychological knowledge. This tendency accelerated after the Second World War, and still characterizes South African psychology at present.

(iii) This increasing tendency toward application had another long term effect: the eventual professionalization of South African psychology. Once psychology ceased to be an academic

discipline only, its status as an applied discipline raised the possibility of professional practice. Formal recognition of this would, however, occur relatively late in South Africa.

An importance stage in the professionalization of a discipline is reached when attempts are made by the emerging professional group to justify their actions. "To justify" here refers to the attempts made to prove the relevance and competence of the group's actions in a specific domain. This justification very often occurs via a demonstration that the occupational group has the necessary skills and techniques to intervene in certain problem areas. The extensive use of psychological tests by the psychologists in the Carnegie investigation fulfilled this function; namely, it showed that psychologists had the technology to underpin their interventions in the domains of labour and education. Selection, placement and vocational guidance could all be facilitated by the use of these measuring instruments. Furthermore, by applying these tests, psychologists could demonstrate their competence and usefulness in carrying out these activities. It should therefore come as no surprise that psychological testing dominated South African psychology for such a long time - and perhaps still does.

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Organised Labour and Psychology's Role: Some South African Perspectives

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There is a growing current debate concerning the relevance of psychology and its failure to locate itself within the South African context (see Dawes, 1986; Foster, 1986; Fullagar, 1984; Nzimande, 1984). Dawes (1986) has suggested that a nuance of "relevance" in this instance is the extent to which psychology addresses the problems and socio-political conditions of the majority, or the working class, in an africanist context. Taking this as a major criterion of relevance, one can say that organisational/industrial psychology in South Africa has, to a large extent, become irrelevant.

Since its inception as a separate area of applied psychology, industrial psychology has tended to ignore the needs of the blue-collar worker and the phenomenon of working class or labour organisations. Traditionally, organisational psychologists have allowed a managerial elite (the State, human resource managers, and administrators) to define their focus of enquiry. In addition, the theory of industrial psychology is firmly embedded in a Euro-American bourgeois ideology where the owners of capital have sponsored a psychology which caters for

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their own interests (1) but prevents the realisation of the interests, and consolidation, of labour organisations. For example, job enrichment techniques are perceived by unionists as increasing job dilution, and interfering with job classification and standards systems (Ranick, 1973; Shepard, 1974). Also the emphasis in psychometric testing on individual differentiation amongst workers goes against the labour principles of solidarity and seniority (Barkin, 1961; Rhoads & Landy, 1973). Furthermore, many industrial psychological techniques and assessments have been used as the bases of a rationale for retrenchment or in order to avoid union organising altogether. For example the techniques of work measurement and incentive bonuses are perceived by South African unionists as resulting in mechanisation and lowered employment levels (Maller, 1986).

There are other reasons for industrial psychology's irrelevance and the "mutual indifference" (Shostack, 1964) between psychology and labour. Industrial psychology has always regarded itself as a professional discipline which has been concerned with developing career potentialities and serving only those organisations capable of sponsoring research. Consequently, since its inception, the scope of industrial/organisational research has been limited to primarily non-union issues due to the discipline's dependence on capital to define its concerns and provide it with research opportunities. The schism

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(1) The application of behavioural science theory and methodology to industry in South Africa (as elsewhere) has been as a proposed solution to low production per man hour, high absenteeism and labour turnover, and general industrial unrest.

between psychologists and labour is further exacerbated by the predominantly middle class, white backgrounds of its votaries. As such it is difficult for psychologists to empathise with and conceptualise, let alone measure, the work experiences and problems of black workers. The solution to this dilemma has tended to be the development of separate approaches, often with racist undertones, to the understanding of the work behaviour of black and white employees (see Webster's article in the current edition).

Finally, the socio-political locus of much industrial psychology is American capitalism. The legacies of scientific management and human relations are founded in an American work ethic which has always emphasised individualism, achievement, productivity, and profit incentive systems. The cross cultural generality of American organisational theories has frequently been questioned. For example, the motivational approaches of McClelland, Maslow, Herzberg, and Vroom all emphasise the need for achievement. Hofstede (1980) has shown that the desire to achieve does not occupy an equally central position in a variety of cultures. He questions the universal validity of organisational theories developed in one country, such as the United States. Obvious across-country differences in work values, government policies and legislation, labour market situations and labour union power positions prevent a universal theory. Consequently the generalising of American theories to a workerist or africanist context is not only highly questionable but also "smacks" of cultural imperialism (see Dawes (1986)).

These are just some of the reasons (2) why organisational

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(2) For further suggestions see Fullagar (1984) and Nzimande (1984).

psychologists are largely ignorant of workers' perceptions, problems and organisations, while workers and unions remain skeptical and suspicious about organisational and psychological research. Even where the theory and context are homogenous (i.e., in America) unionists perceive "the contribution of psychologists, at best to be unrelated to their needs, at worst to be antithetical to their interests" (Huszczo, Wiggins, & Currie, 1984, p.432).

However, since the late 1970's, several organisational psychologists have begun to focus on organised labour. This growing interest among American and European psychologists can be evidenced in the formation of various committees within the American Psychological Association, a special edition of the International Review of Applied Psychology (1981), a special section of the American Psychologist (1984), and a growing body of empirical research, all specifically addressing the issue of psychology's relationship with, and contribution to, labour.

Unfortunately, a similar upsurge in union research has not been forthcoming in South Africa. Psychological articles on labour organisations and labour management relations are a scarcity in South African psychological and labour journals. Psychologists and their services are seldom employed by unions. Few courses are offered at tertiary institutions which attempt to outline a psychological theory of labour with the results that (a) most attempts to apply psychology to labour have been carried out by lay practitioners with common sense concerns and little theoretical or research rigour, and (b) students of industrial/organisational psychology know little about the needs and functions of labour organisations.

Nevertheless, the rapid growth and mobilisation of working class organisations and the corresponding impact on industrial relations in

South Africa has generated a small amount of research by several organisations and individuals. Webster (1985) has identified three broad categories of such research. Firstly, research which is initiated, defined and conducted for the State and undertaken mainly by the National Manpower Commission and the Human Sciences Research Council. Secondly, research undertaken within companies and initiated by management to understand and control the managment-labour interface. The third category consists of industrial relations research conducted by universities or associated institutions (such as the Institute of Industrial Relations and the Institute for Labour Studies). However, regardless of category, most of this research is not concerned with developing a psychology of labour but rather with understanding the history, economics and legality of employment practices, grievance procedures, collective bargaining and so forth. As such it is largely atheoretical.

Recently, however, there have been several "open-systems" aproaches developed by psychologists in an attempt to develop a psychology which is more relevant to labour organisations and blue-collar workers. This research distinguishes itself from the third category above in that its major theoretical and methodological resource is psychological. For example, Bluen (1986), locating his research in current models of stress, has investigated the psychological consequences of various industrial relations stressors. Several forms of role stress have been associated with being a shop steward or union official. Shop stewards report high levels of (a) role ambiguity because they have received no clear-cut guidelines or training, and (b) role conflict because they are continually required to interact with members of both management and workers, both of whom place conflicting demands on them. In addition,

union members are subjected to various sources of stress such as management victimisation, being discharged for being a member of a union, threatened with dismissal and plant closure, denial of privileges and transfer to lower paying jobs (Bluen, 1986). Strikes themselves are obviously stressful and include such stressful incidents as being physically chased and locked out of company premises and hostels, being threatened with permanent unemployment in an industry, being assaulted, evicted or arrested, being forced at gunpoint to return to work by security police, and being deported back to rural areas. Bluen has attempted to account for these factors in developing a model of industrial relations stress.

Psychological research has also been conducted in South Africa on commitment to labour organisations with the aim of improving union welfare (Fullagar, 1986). Commitment has been identified as an important variable both in terms of developing a psychology of unions and because it is a crucial variable with respect to union effectiveness (Gordon & Burt, 1981; Gordon & Nurick, 1981). Child, Loveridge and Warner (1973) have noted that

> "the general lack of appreciation of member orientations, of the processes leading to their emergence and the way they are acted out through behaviour in the union, have been serious omissions, not just of trade union studies, but much of organisational theory in general."(p.75)

Consequently, the definition of union commitment and its behavioural manifestations impinge on union democracy and deserve researching.

Other examples of psychological research on labour organisations are Donald's (1985) research on industrial relations climate which

identified key in-company industrial relations dimensions such as employee representation, grievance and disciplinary procedures, communications and supervisor influences; Rigby's (1984) investigation into some of the elements influencing the union-management relationship; and Van Zwam's (1986) study of the work consequences of trade union membership on job attitudes.

Despite the fact that the above research goes a long way toward rectifying the neglect of industrial/organisational psychologists of labour, it is characterised by a number of methodological and philosophical problems. For example, methodologically these studies tend to rely on self-report questionnaire measures which may produce artefactual results because of "priming" and "consistency" effects. Basically, these arguments rely on a postulated need for individuals to present consistent information about themselves, possibly distorting "true" information because of their memory of their earlier responses. This poses a serious threat to the validity of both the measures used, and the subsequent tests of empirical relationships. Ideally, to eliminate shared method invariance as a potential alternative explanation, different measurement devices should be used to study each variable. The difficulty of access to unions as well as the lack of union information with respect to the concepts studied make it difficult if not impossible to obtain independent, "objective" measures.

Another problem associated with these studies is that the samples necessitate caution in terms of the generalisability of the results to other unions and blue-collar workers. As Tannenbaum and Kahn (1958) have noted,

> "One of the major processes of social science is extrapolation from the specific to the general, from a sample population in hand to a universe beyond reach, from variables and measures of limited scope to ideas concerning broader, social processes. To stop short of such generalisations is to be less than scientific, but to attempt them from insufficient data is also less than scientific, and perhaps more dangerous." (pp.235-236).

The generalisation of results becomes more problematic if one takes into account that in South Africa there are many different independent unions and several affiliative bodies with essentially differing viewpoints, fundamental objectives and methods of obtaining them. Consequently what applies to one union may not be applicable to another. No judgements may be rendered nor generalisations made in regard to unionism as such from the study of any union or any small number of unions, or any group.

Webster (1985), although not specifically addressing the above psychological research, has identified a central philosophical or theoretical problem, which characterises this type of investigation and which we briefly mentioned above. That is the theory utilised and the variables measured are determined by industrial relations (and psychological) theory and practice which has been developed in a First World context.

> "Stable industrial relations....were developed in industrialized countries in Europe and North America in an intimate relationship with certain sets of values, institutions and economic and social structures. In other words, the incorporation of the working class required a set of material preconditions. Hyman identifies six as existing in Western Europe and North America:
>
> (a) the presence of a margin for concession to workers' demands without jeopardising the continued accumulation of capital,
> (b) a detachment of the state from the routine conduct of economic life,

(c) a tradition of moderate reformism within the trade union movement itself,
(d) the weakness or crushing of a revolutionary tradition,
(e) the early (and relatively peaceful) attainment of formal social and political rights by significant sectors of the working population,
(f) the emergence and consolidation of union organization independently of the existence of any socialist or distinctively working-class political movement. (Webster, 1985, pp. 7-8).

Webster points out that although some of these conditions are beginning to emerge in South Africa, most are not present. The extreme difference in the socio-political circumstances surrounding labour organisations in South Africa has probably facilitated the weak relationships which exist between the variables in the psychological research described above. For example, Van Zwam found that traditional, American measures of union attitudes, life satisfaction, organisational and demographic characteristics, had a weak effect on the job attitudes of both unionised and non-unionised workers. This contradicts the research findings of overseas research and may well be attributable to the different types of union in South Africa as opposed to America (Southall (1984) distinguishes between the political unions of South Africa and American business unionism); the totally different life and material circumstances of the South African black worker; and the disparities in organisational structure (South African organisations have been noted for their extreme form of racial bureaucracy (Wiendieck, 1979)). Consequently, instruments developed in the United States to measure these factors may have very little applied relevance in a South African context. This is well illustrated when one tries to generalise American theories of union commitment to black workers in South Africa. Research in the United States indicates that workers become attached to unions for extrinsic, calculative and economic reasons. This concords with

social theorists' perceptions of American unions as following a business unionism philosophy (Kochan, 1980); they are primarily concerned with satisfying the short-term economic and job-related needs of their members, rather than concentrating on long-term socio-political issues. This may be because of a work ethic which is "job" rather than "class" orientated. Attachment to unions in South Africa, in most instances, is dependent to a far greater extent on the perceptions of workers that unions are instrumental to achieving more intrinsic outcomes, such as the improvement of worker rights and dignity, greater control over the work process, participation in decision-making, political redress, as well as fincancial and job security. Furthermore, feelings of alienation and exploitation, together with a strong development of class consciousness have been found to be important determinants of union loyalty in South Africa (Fullagar, 1986). As Webster (1985) has noted,

> "It is precisely because of the different material and political conditions of labour in South Africa that we have seen emerge over the past decade a powerful and militant labour movement. In its wake it has also generated a quite distinct type of labour studies." (p.8)

But perhaps an equally serious problem with the psychological research that has been conducted on organised labour is the overemphasis on the experimental and survey traditions. These traditions are concerned with discovering a priori causal laws or data-based relationships. Experimenters working in these traditions control subject activities and define appropriate responses. Problems are defined either through a process of deduction from theory, or a process of induction from data. There are serious disadvantages associated with this type of approach, especially in ill-defined, under-researched areas. An

alternative, more appropriate approach is needed, especially at this stage of the relationship between psychology and labour and with the low levels of trust that exist between organised labour and psychologists. It is necessary to move away from doing research on labour to doing research with labour. A more participatory form of research is needed which places greater emphasis on a democratic process of investigation.

To this end, the authors conducted an exploratory investigation to ascertain various unions' needs for psychological services and their attitudes toward psychologists as a precursor to defining a more "relevant" role for organisational psychologists. To reiterate, although the psychological research outlined above is an attempt to bridge the gap between psychology and labour, the problems have been defined and researched by academics using theoretical models and research which may be totally inappropriate. Even though the study did not directly address many of the problems associated with survey information which have been outlined above, we felt it was important to attempt to describe the needs that unionists believe to be the most pressing and important.

The union sample consisted of 44 trade union officials representing a variety of unions from a number of federations (See Table 1). It must

Table 1: Descriptive statistics of the sample.

FEDERATION	No. OF UNIONS	No. INTERVIEWED	FEDERATION MEMBERSHIP PAID UP	FEDERATION MEMBERSHIP SIGNED UP
COSATU	33	11	430 000	565 000
TUCSA	55	15	40 000	-
CUSA	11	6	-	180 000
SACOL	13	6	100 000	-
AZACTU	9	6	-	70 000

be noted that because the sample consisted of office bearers, the

perceptions reported here may not be the same as those of shopfloor workers. The survey consisted of a semi-structured interview based on analogous research conducted in the USA by Huszczo, Wiggins, and Currie (1984). This research utilised a questionnaire which included a survey of organised labour's perceived need for various psychological services. In consultation with a number of trade unionists and social scientists involved in organised labour, several items were either altered or omitted to make the questionnaire relevant in the South African context.

The interview with union representatives started with a brief description of the educational requirements of industrial psychologists in South Africa. This was to provide unionists with a clearer picture of the services which psychologists are capable of offering. The second stage comprised of a number of open-ended questions which attempted to ascertain whether the union had ever sought the aid of a psychologist or other professional and in what capacity; what benefits were important for the union; whether the union would seek the help of a professional person to achieve its aims or whether this type of help would be detrimental to the labour organisation. Finally, the third stage of the interview consisted of the administration of the adaptation of Huszczo et al.'s (1984) scale which assessed the extent of the perceived need for psychological services by trade unions. This scale consisted of a list of twenty psychological services to which respondents had to indicate the extent of the union's need (4="Very Strong Need", 3="Strong Need", 2="Some Need", 1="No Need").

The frequency scores for unionists' perceived needs for psychological services are presented in Table 2. The questionnaire's four-point scale has been collapsed into two categories ("perceived need" or "no need") for convenience sake. The results indicate that the need for

psychological services was not a pervasive one, but one which expressed itself most strongly in certain specific areas. The highest expressed need was for the provision of skills which would enhance the effectiveness and the democratic function of the union. For example, there was a strong need for psychologists to play a strategic role and provide advice during negotiations with management (73%). This advice should include information concerning work study methods, the psychological and organisational consequences of automation and production line work, work stress and job overload, human factors involved in accidents and safety, and so on (this is the kind of service that is at present being offered by organisations such as the Organisation for Appropriate Social Services in South Africa (OASSSA) and the Technical Advice Group (TAG)). Furthermore, there was a positive need for the provision of training in bargaining techniques (58%). Psychologists have generated a considerable amount of research and theory which has focused directly on the psychological components which operate at the bargaining table. This could be adapted for, and located in, the South African context. In addition there was a high need (70%) for the development of leadership training programmes among union officials and the provision of classes/workshops for union members (59%). In terms of increasing union democracy, psychological services were perceived as being useful in conducting attitude surveys amongst union members (73%) and developing strategies to increase participation in union activities (64%). Also the majority of respondents expressed a need for psychologists to provide personal counselling for both union members (55%) and families of union members (56%).

There were a number of areas where there was little need for psychological services. For example, only 27% of the respondents saw the

Table 2: Percentage need for psychological services.

STATEMENT	PERCENTAGE NEED NEGATIVE	POSITIVE
1. Develop leadership training programmes among union leaders.	30%	70%
2. Conduct attitude surveys of the union members.	27%	73%
3. Provide advice during negotiations with management.	27%	73%
4. Develop strategies to increase participation in union activities.	36%	64%
5. Provide training in bargaining techniques.	42%	58%
6. Improve communications between union leadership and members.	55%	45%
7. Improve communications between union and management.	52%	48%
8. Reduce work related stress.	51%	49%
9. Establish alcoholism and other drug abuse assistance programmes.	55%	45%
10. Provide personal counselling.	45%	55%
11. Provide career planning counselling.	51%	49%
12. Provide counselling to families of members.	44%	56%
13. Evaluate disability cases.	52%	48%
14. Provide classes/workshops for union members.	41%	59%
15. Consult with union staff on techniques for improving the work environment.	45%	55%
16. Develop programmes aimed at increasing work commitment.	73%	27%
17. Train union leaders on management skills needed to work with their own office staff.	55%	45%
18. Conduct research on factors related to enhancing the union's public image.	47%	53%
19. Consult with unions on enhancing the union's public image.	67%	33%
20. Provide conflict resolution training.	57%	43%

need for the development of programmes aimed at increasing work commitment. Here one sees a strong contradiction of American psychological labour theory which has tended to emphasise the concept of dual allegiance. That is that individuals loyal to their union will also be loyal to their work, consequently the goals of the organisation and the labour organisation are perceived as similar. The present results indicate that increasing commitment to work was not seen as a priority by unions. Eighty percent of the respondents declared this to be a managerial task. As one union official pointed out,

> "We are not business unions involved in a "sweetheart" relationship with the owners of production. If management want increased job commitment, they must fight for it."(3)

Moreover, a large proportion of respondents (57%) felt that psychologists should not provide conflict resolution training. Again, this may be a reflection of the view that conflict is not easily resolvable, but inherent in the structure of industrial relations. The collective bargaining relationship is essentially an adversarial one and consists of a process which is antithetical to the traditional psychological concern of harmonious human relations. Also, most unions were not interested in psychological aid in enhancing the union's public image.

There were a number of areas where there was a relatively ambiguous response concerning the need for psychological services. These included the improvement of communication both between union leadership and rank-and-file members, and union and management, the reduction of

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(3) The anonymity of respondents' remarks has been respected.

work-related stress and the establishment of alcoholism and other drug abuse assistance programmes, and the provision of career planning and counselling. These services were not of high priority to many unions who are still concerned with negotiating basic substantive needs and recognition agreements.

Overall the results appear to confirm organised labour's scepticism and suspicion regarding the possible role of psychologists in trade unions. However, it must be pointed out that after completing the questionnaire and learning of the services that psychologists could provide, 67% of the respondents felt that they would seek psychological aid in the future. The results may therefore be an artefact of unionists not knowing the kinds of services which psychologists can offer. Nevertheless, compared to the need for other types of services, psychological aid was low on unionist's list of priorities (see Table 3). These results indicate that there is a strong need for professional involvement in unions. However, there is not necessarily a need for psychological services, or, if that need does occur, it is often a low priority. Lack of finances prevent the hiring of psychological services.

Table 3: Professional services needed by unionists.

Legal Aid	87%
Aid from economists and accountants	80%
Education in shop-floor and political issues	36%
Aid from computer specialists	24%
Training and advice during negotiations	21%
Health and safety	19%

At this stage of labour development, legal and economic advice, recruitment drives and salaries for full-time union staff are the most important financial demands. Many unions are still involved in issues such as recruitment, shop-floor participation, recognition by companies, and prevention of harassment by the State. Most South African labour organisations are involved in distributive bargaining for better wages, job security, physical work conditions and fair compensation. Consequently, psychological services, however beneficial, are less important than the basic prerequisites of union existence. Furthermore, unions appear more prone to seek the aid of professionals from fields other than psychology in order to perform services such as research, counselling, training and consulting. In terms of the use of professionals other than social scientists, unions consulted labour lawyers, engineers, industrial engineers, computer specialists, explosives experts, health and safety specialists, pension consultants, and accountants. Generally, there was a strong expressed need for expert advice, although the form this advice should take varied across unions. One opinion, held by a large number of unionists from TUCSA, CUSA, and COSATU was that professional aid was important in technical areas, but that unions should rely primarily on their workers. Most unionists acknowledged the need for advice in specialist or technical issues (e.g., law, health, safety, etc.). This need stemmed from the necessity to compete with sophisticated management advisors who were seen as "running rings" around the less developed unionists.

Two issues, however, did emerge from the interviews. One was that consultants, outside experts and researchers, should not adopt positions as neutral or "objective" observers. Any aid should be partisan in that it should incorporate, accept, and promote the goals of the labour

organisation. Research was seen as being inherently political in that it was a means for shifting the balance of power away from management towards labour. As one union official stated,

> "Routing is important, everything a psychologist does should be routed through the unions. He must work with us, not for us."

Thus, professional assistance was considered valuable if it was participative in nature and undertaken as a cooperative endeavour.

The other issue was the perceived social and ideological disparity between outside experts and labour organisations. In certain cases the contributions of outside experts were seen as a dilution of worker ideals;

> "..involvement by experts would be detrimental to our union. The only way to achieve our aims is through the backing of our members."

In other instances, the differences in background and experience were perceived as preventing outside experts from a true appreciation of worker problems;

> "Experts in all fields are useful and can be of great benefit. Social scientists are experts in their fields and we are specialists in ours. You could not possibly be able to help us. We grew up in the ranks of workers. We know our workers' problems and are capable of presenting our own cases."

However, it must be emphasised that these issues were raised by a minority of the respondents. Most union officials believed that there was a role for professionals and social scientists in the development of union welfare.

In conclusion, it can be said that there is scope for psychological

involvement in labour organisations. This must be done in areas in which labour itself has defined a need for research and not necessarily in areas deemed relevant by overseas academic practice. The above survey has attempted to identify some of these areas.

We started this paper by saying that there is a growing interest to establish a more relevant and systematic social science in South Africa. This interest is by no means limited to psychologists. Several social scientists, working individually or in groups (e.g., LMG, HIC, OASSSA, TAG, SALB, etc.,) have already begun to address many of the problems outlined above in what has been termed a "new labour studies" (Southall, 1984; Webster, 1985). Southall (1984) has commented that this new labour studies is,

> "highly committed politically, and makes no pretension whatsoever to "neutrality" as if workers and employers play equal but different roles in the unending process of capitalist production. It is unashamedly partisan on behalf of workers in struggle; and further, in the case of South Africa, it views the non-racial trade union movement as a major vehicle (but not necessarily the preeminent one) for radically transforming relations between capital and labour in the work place and between oppressors and oppressed in the polity." (p.89)

Webster (1985) has delineated five characteristics associated with the new labour studies; (1) labour is seen as part of a socio-political movement and not as an input within an industrial relations system; (2) the focus of concern moves beyond the boundaries of the workplace to take into account social and political factors which influence the quality of work life; (3) the major emphasis is on workplace democracy and the development of greater control and participation by workers; (4) there is a movement away from traditional positivist methodologies

toward more qualitative and phenomenological approaches; (5) the new labour studies is inter-disciplinary in nature in that it draws upon the theories, methods, and research findings of sociology, history, anthropology, economics, law, medicine, engineering, and political science as well as psychology. These same features must characterise any attempt to make organisational psychology more relevant to the majority of workers.

Psychology must show itself willing to research union issues and aid in union aims. Consequently a participatory form of research is called for. This would place a greater emphasis on social change and a democratic method of investigation. What is needed is joint research action to solve shared problems and encourage mutual participation in decision making. Furthermore, any skewed distribution of power between researcher and researched could be minimalised if researchers adopt the role of "resource" rather than "expert". Once a participatory relationship has been established, research will emerge that will both benefit the unions and establish a relevant body of theory for psychology to use. Perhaps the most appropriate approach at the moment is an actionalist one. Action approaches attempt to understand and explore the work community nexus as well as incorporating socially generated and distributed aims, attitudes and actions in any model of worker behaviour. The little psychological research which has been done on labour unions in South Africa has realised that the behaviour of workers will never be fully understood without paying attention to factors outside the organisation - whether these are community affiliations, social origins or national culture.

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Bourgeois Counselling and Working-Class Clients: Some Problems and Political implications

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During the mid-1970s an organisation which provides short-term counselling to mainly middle-class white clients established a centre in an african and largely working-class urban community near Johannesburg. This centre was established in response to a request from a group of persons living in the township and it was staffed by lay counsellors drawn from that african community. Despite this 'community base' the service in the township was underutilised and the centre was closed after about six years. Of the many factors which contributed to this closure, those of most interest here centre around the organisation's attempt to apply its counselling to african working-class clients in an unmodified form.

Although this kind of enterprise and its eventual failure is by no means unusual, there are still some useful lessons to be drawn from it. Some of these concern basic community work methods and will not be explored in depth

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here. Of more interest are those lessons which indicate that the theory and practice of counselling employed by the service in question were neither neutral nor value-free; that the implicit and explicit values underlying and shaping the counselling contributed to the service's ultimate failure to be viable in its setting. In short, it will be argued that the theory and practice of counselling were so shaped by bourgeois ideology and that the african counsellors themselves were so encapsulated in this ideology that the working-class african clients were unlikely to find the service useful or rewarding.

Going beyond the experience of this service and the lessons drawn from it, it will be further argued that the effort to locate essentially bourgeois counselling in african working-class communities is a politically problematical undertaking. The dangers of infusing bourgeois ideology into such communities through such efforts may not be neglected. The expression of such ideology through the theory and practice of humanist (in the North American sense) psychology and counselling is the focus of this article. Finally, it is suggested that 'progressive' psychologists can benefit from theoretical input from african working-class communities themselves.

The problems involved in providing North American- or European-derived counselling to african working-class clients can be examined through either a culture-based or a class-based analysis. A culture-based analysis would stress the cultural differences between white and african persons and would point to the conclusion that these differences can render a method of counselling ineffective. A class-based analysis on the other hand might start from the assumption that methods of counselling developed by and for members of the bourgeoisie are likely to be less effective when applied in response to the problems which are experienced by working-class persons but seldom by middle-class persons.

As will be seen, a class-based analysis appears to account more satisfactorily for the difficulties experienced by the service in question. Nonetheless, one of the concepts employed by culture-based analyses can, with modifications, be usefully employed. This is the concept of 'cultural encapsulation' (Pederson, 1976; Wrenn, 1962) and it leads, in a class-based analysis, to the understanding that counsellors can be so encapsulated in bourgeois ideology as to 'miss the point' when dealing with working-class clients.

Cultural encapsulation is said to lead a counsellor to perceive clients as if they have the needs and values common to the counsellor's cultural or subcultural group. The clients' own needs and values are not perceived with sufficient clarity (Pederson, 1976; Wrenn, 1968). As a result, the counsellor's interpretations, suggestions and advice may be of little value to clients 'of other cultures' as the counsellor in some fundamental sense fails to understand such clients properly.

The concept of cultural encapsulation was developed to explain the problems arising when white counsellors tried to deal with 'minority group' clients in the USA, i.e. to explain the problems encountered in 'cross-cultural' counselling. It must however be remembered that these cultural differences between counsellors and clients often coincided with class differences as counsellors were usually of middle-class extraction while 'minority group' clients were usually working-class.

In a class-based analysis one would focus on the counsellor's encapsulation in a specific ideology rather than in his or her culture. This focus extends beyond the individual experience (socialisation) and cultural milieu of the counsellor to the nature and functions of ideology and, ultimately, to the material bases of individual experience, culture and ideology. Within such an analysis the ideology which encapsulates a counsellor may be found

to have culture-specific elements, but attention might be more fruitfully directed towards those elements which reflect dominant social relations.

The counselling service in question provides some useful information for an examination of the nature and effects of encapsulation. On the one hand, cultural encapsulation *per se* seems to have been avoided as the counsellors working for this service were drawn mainly from the african petit bourgeoisie and the counselling which took place cannot be described as 'cross-cultural'. On the other hand, the theory and practice of counselling employed are definitely of bourgeois origin and reflect the influence of bourgeois ideology on North American humanist psychology. The training of the african counsellors included their encapsulation into this ideology and their partial estrangement from working-class africans. This encapsulation and estrangement was probably not extensive in 'real life' terms, but it was sufficient to impair the counselling itself.

The counselling practice employed by this service was essentially Roger's nondirective method, supplemented at the level of theory by Maslow's hierarchical system of needs (cf. Frick, 1971, Maslow, 1954 and Rogers, 1942, 1961, 1967). Its primary emphasis was on helping clients to gain insight into their emotions or feelings rather than on helping clients to solve material problems. The counselling was designed to help clients meet their 'actualisation needs' (which correspond to Maslow's 'need for belongingness and love', 'need for esteem' and 'need for self-actualisation') rather than their 'survival needs' (which correspond to Maslow's 'physiological needs' and 'safety needs') (cf. Holdstock & Rogers, 1977, Maslow, 1954 and Rogers, 1961). Implicit in this design is the assumption that 'actualisation needs' are the most pressing needs experienced by the clients. While this assumption can be justified with regard to white middle-class clients, it cannot be generally held with regard to african working-class clients.

Self-actualisation as defined by North American humanist psychologists is an individualistic concern, and this psychology's strong emphasis on the value of self-actualisation reflects the idealisation of individualism in bourgeois ideology. In its adoption of individualism, humanist psychology reveals its neglect of social relations; it neglects the social construction of individuals and the role which this plays in the reproduction of social relations. By locating the solution to an individual's problems inside the individual him/herself, this psychology avoids the challenge of changing 'pathogenic' social relations. It encourages its clients to attain a highly individualistic self-actualisation by means of idiosyncratic self-insights, but not to obtain a socialised self-actualisation by means of social and political awareness and actions. It limits the arena of insight to the clients' feelings about themselves and their experiences, urges them to take responsibility for the conditions they are in and holds out the promise of personal growth. It has, despite its frequent invocation of 'holism', an atomistic world-view as it reduces social problems to personal problems and social relations to personal relationships.

Through its adoption of a humanist theory and practice, the counselling service in question limited its ability to respond to its clients' needs. This is best illustrated through a series of points describing the training of one group of counsellors recruited for this service, with reflections on the needs and problems of the clientele.

1. The counsellors were taught to reflect feelings in order to facilitate insight and personal growth. This type of counselling can be beneficial to persons who are struggling with essentially emotional problems. Its value to people who are seeking help for financial, employment and accommodation problems is unclear, especially when these problems arise directly from the social, political and economic structures and practices of apartheid.

2. The counsellors were taught to avoid providing or attempting to provide direct assistance with material problems. The rationale for this was that material problems should be solved by the clients themselves: the counselling would help the clients to sort out their emotional problems and gain clarity about their situations, and this would enable them to deal with their material problems. This makes some sense when one is dealing with clients who have the material and social-political resources to meet their problems. Many of the clients approaching the service however presented problems which arose from a lack of material resources and from political repression.

3. The counsellors were taught to avoid giving advice as clients were supposed to find their own solutions to their problems. This was a fairly sensible rule as the counsellors might otherwise have adopted an undemocratic and overly directive style. Furthermore, the counsellors were initially inclined to make prescriptions without adequate understanding of the details of the problems or of the clients' wishes with regard to solutions, and the 'rule' against advice-giving helped to counter this. Many of the clients however found persistent advice-dodging to be frustrating and were alienated by it. In addition, many clients were ignorant of the few resources to which they could turn and of the legal constraints attached to these, and required fairly directive input in this regard.

At the beginning of their training, the counsellors were unresponsive to and sometimes resisted both the theory and the practice presented to them. Gradually they were won over and adopted the viewpoints of their trainers. This process was in fact an encapsulation of the counsellors in the ideology of humanist psychology, and it probably succeeded because (1) the trainers appeared to have superior knowledge and (2) the trainee counsellors themselves experienced counselling from the trainers during the training and

eventually found that it worked for them. One may assume that the counsellors were receptive to this process in part because they were petit bourgeois and had something in common with the white bourgeois clients catered for by the parent organisation. By the end of the training the counsellors were themselves partly equipped to cater for a bourgeois clientele but were not equipped to deal with a predominantly working-class clientele. Within a matter of months of beginning counselling work, most of these counsellors dropped out of the service.

One of the reasons for dropping out was the frustration experienced by these african counsellors. They had been trained to deal with essentially emotional problems (or the emotional aspects of problems), had been taught that 'emotional counselling' was the most important aspect of counselling and had been led to expect that 'emotional counselling' would meet the essential needs of their clients. What they in fact encountered was a large number of clients who sought help with basic material problems. The counsellors found that (1) the clients were often not satisfied with explorations of their feelings and (2) they (the counsellors) and the service did not have the material resources to help their clients with these problems. The counsellors from time to time advanced the argument that the clients did not benefit from the counselling because they (the clients) failed to understand it. This argument was surprising because it was so uncritical of the service and its training. It reflected the counsellors' encapsulation in the bourgeois ideology underlying the counselling theory and practice as well as their alienation from their working-class clients.

The mismatch between training and actual work requirements can be further illustrated by comparisons between the types of problems presented by the african clients and by the white bourgeois clients of the parent organisation. Material problems of accommodation, employment, finances, crime and violence were presented by 41,89% of the african clients and by 6,04% of the white clients. On the other hand, problems of depression, emotional

disturbance, loneliness, suicide threats and 'spiritual' matters were presented by 0,89% of the african clients and 20,49% of the white clients. Psychiatric problems were presented by 10,01% of white and 0,29% of african clients, and alcohol and drug abuse by 8,94% of white and 1,18% of african clients. The two groups were similar only with regard to problems concerning interpersonal relationships which were presented by 32,08% of white and 33,04% of african clients. This similarity is misleading however since other research has shown that relationship problems in african families are affected by poverty and unemployment (Turton, 1986). Family problems accounted for 85% of the relationship problems presented by the african clients and 41% of the relationship problems presented by white clients.

To a large extent, then, the african counsellors were presented with problems which they had not been trained to handle. This situation arose mainly through an uncritical application of theories and practices of counselling: at some level the parent organisation assumed that the model it employed with white middle-class clients would be equally useful in the township provided that african counsellors were involved and the problems of 'cross-cultural' counselling avoided. At first glance it might seem that this situation could easily have been rectified: the service should have modified its approach to make it more suited to the conditions under which it worked and the circumstances of its clients' lives. Such an adaptation, however, would have met with several difficulties.

1. *The personalisation of problems.* The humanist paradigm underlying the counselling offered by the service focuses attention on individuals and their problems. This approach is aptly labelled 'person-centred' (Holdstock & Rogers, 1977) and, despite its claim to be holistic, it obscures and ultimately 'relegates out' the wider social, economic and political factors involved in the genesis of personal problems. In this the humanist paradigm is seen to have a passive acceptance of the poli-

tical *status quo* (despite any liberal rhetoric which may be employed). This paradigm would have limited the organisation's attempts to make the service more relevant, and these limitations would have been justified by the 'person-centred' approach's prescriptions regarding the clients' personal responsibility for their situations.

2. *The idealisation of individualism.* Related to the personalisation of problems, the idealisation of individualism further removes the social-structural base from view. As long as the greatest good aimed at is an individualistic self-actualisation through personal growth, the social-structural origins of individuals' problems will remain neglected. As long as problems are theoretically located within individuals, the solutions will also appear to be located within individuals and will be perceived as issues of intrapersonal changes or changes in interpersonal relationships rather than of social changes.

3. *The lack of a community base to the service.* The service in question was physically located in the community but was not created by the community. One result was that it lacked community support and was underutilised. Another result was a lack of theoretical interaction between it and the community, which left the theoretical underpinnings of the service unchallenged and unchanged. A further result was that the service was unrelated to community-based resources upon which it could draw and to which it could refer clients, and it was not in a position to contribute to or stimulate the creation of such resources.

The individualistic paradigm underlying the service's activities undoubtedly contributed to its isolation. It set itself up to help individuals with their personal problems, and expected people to respond on an individual basis to its advertisements of its offers of help. Those

few who did respond were often not impressed and probably did not encourage many others to use the service.

Given its non-directive, non-interventionist, person-centred and individualistic approach, it is unlikely that the service would have been able to adapt successfully to the requirements of its situation in the township. The parent organisation's perceptions of the role of such a service effectively precluded the service from being community-created, community-based and socially active. These perceptions also failed to prompt the parent organisation to undertake preliminary community work with a view to establishing the needs of the community, participation by the community and the degree of support which the service would receive from the community. The parent organisation and its affiliates had found it possible, in white communities, to set up shop and advertise and get good responses from a largely middle-class clientele. It was approached by a few petit bourgeois members of the african community and, trusting the perceptions of these persons, it set up shop in the township. The individuals who requested the organisation to establish this service found the counselling provided to be useful for themselves: this reflected their own encapsulation in bourgeois ideology. They did not represent the community either in terms of the needs and perceptions of its working-class members or in terms of their own positions in community organisations: they acted as atypical individuals and ultimately could not integrate the service into the community.

The discussion so far has suggested that the variant of bourgeois ideology which shaped the counselling service contributed to the service's ineffectiveness in the township. It has in effect been a fairly 'practical' discussion as it has focused on problems encountered by the service. As such, it does not do much more than suggest that other attempts to locate counselling services in african townships should avoid some of the 'mistakes'

made by the service in question. There is however a larger and possibly more important question to be considered as well, namely whether an essentially humanist service should be provided at all (taking 'humanist' in its contemporary bourgeois form). In order to answer this question, it is necessary to spell out briefly some of the political functions and implications of this brand of humanism.

Humanism in general includes among its premises the notion that '"man" is the measure of all things'. The variant of humanism underlying contemporary bourgeois humanistic psychology has effectively substituted 'the individual' for the generic term and 'the centre' for 'the measure'. Thus it stresses the primary importance of individual persons and deals in the propositions that each individual is unique, is irreplaceable, has a unique and special value, has a unique and special destiny. The goal of self-actualisation is based squarely on this cult of individualism as it proposes that within each person is a unique and special personality, set of interests and motives, and destiny which must be actualised. That self-actualisation is theoretically and often in practice asocial (if not antisocial) and idiosyncratic is clear (cf. Maslow, 1954). What is also clear is that self-actualisation is a luxury which depends on the prior attainment of sufficient wealth, comfort and individualistic autonomy (this is clear even in Maslow's hierarchical system of needs). Self-actualisation is, in short, a thoroughly bourgeois ideal and luxury.

The cult of individualism within bourgeois ideology serves to both disguise and maintain the social relations of capitalism. On the one hand it disguises coercive and exploitative relations behind the masks of 'free choice' and 'all persons are equal'. On the other hand it helps to meet capitalism's requirements for competitive, exploitative and selfish 'managers' and a weak and divided workforce. Humanist psychology (a la Rogers and Maslow, *inter alia*) attempts to preserve the cult of individualism while simultaneously re-presenting it in the guise of concern and caring for oth-

ers. It provides a safe channel for caring and concern, a channel which ultimately does not encourage the expression of caring and concern through revolutionary or other activities which might really challenge the social relations of exploitation. It focuses caring and concern onto the 'wounded' individual and away from many of the social, economic and political structures which wound people. It focuses helping into helping the individual lick his or her wounds and away from changing those structures which cause wounds. All of this is rationalised in terms of the centrality of individuals as the primary units of society. It even results in the notion that individual intrapersonal changes or changes in interpersonal relationships are most, if not all, of what is required for social change (this is the atomism inherent in it: the notion that the microcosm determines the macrocosm). Finally, the illusion of 'free choice' suggests that the fundamental structures of society be left alone, since it seems that individuals have freely chosen them and may, when they love each other enough, freely choose to change them in an harmonious fashion (the 'lion' will lie down with the 'lamb').

In the context of an oppressed class' struggle to change the structures of its oppression, humanist psychology presents an ambiguous face. At one level it must be acknowledged that care and concern for others is an essential element of such a struggle. At another level it must be acknowledged that the diversion of too much energy into the care and concern for individuals can be extremely conservative of the *status quo*. The facilitation of highly individualistic efforts for personal growth and self-actualisation is dangerously close to the obstruction of the development of the class unity which is essential to social change. Above all, the infusion of the bourgeois ideology of individualism into the oppressed class is likely to obstruct social change. Members of that class who become encapsulated in bourgeois ideology are in danger of diverting their energies into pursuits which do not properly challenge the *status quo* (the understanding that this may happen motivates the efforts to create an african petit bourgeoisie with a 'stake

in the system' as a buffer between the ruling class alliance and the african working classes).

The question which arises here is whether psychological counselling can infuse bourgeois ideology into african working-class clients. The answer which I propose is based on the understanding that counselling is seldom (if ever) a neutral, value-free helping; it is in fact most often an educative or socialising process. Clients do not only receive help; they also 'receive' the values (ideology) which the counsellor transmits through the interaction. The more the client benefits by or feels benefit from the counselling, the more likely he or she is to adopt values and points-of-view (ideology) transmitted by the counsellor. It is common for clients to adopt the paradigms of their therapists and to perceive themselves and other persons in the terms predicated by their therapists' theories. Thus the answer which I give to the question is yes, counselling can and usually does infuse values into clients and humanistic counselling, based in individualism, can and probably will infuse elements of bourgeois ideology into working-class clients.

This presents 'progressive' persons or organisations which would like to assist african communities develop counselling services with a tricky problem.

At a tactical level, it means having to argue against and sometimes oppose well-intended liberal attempts to provide such services. Liberals are often important allies of progressives and when the latter oppose the efforts of the former, the liberals may become alienated from and accuse the progressives of excessive radicalism, bloody-mindedness and, sometimes, an inhuman desire for fomenting strife through suffering etc. (this can be seen in the anger which many liberals have directed at those 'radicals' and 'revolutionaries' who have so severely disrupted african schooling in recent years).

At the level of praxis, the problem is tricky because it is often difficult to divest one's psychological theory and practice of bourgeois ideology. Psychology is a 'bourgeois science' *par excellence*; it is permeated through and through by a bourgeois world-view and values, which give rise to some of its most basic axioms. One should regard every assumption underlying one's theory and practice, no matter how elementary or 'obvious', with suspicion in this respect. Even basic techniques, which appear simple and so obviously work, need scrutiny. Part of this problem too is the dearth of worked-out alternatives. Criticisms of bourgeois psychology and broad theoretical frameworks for alternatives abound, but worked-out alternative theories *and practices* do not. At present, most progressive persons and organisations are struggling with greater or lesser degrees of success to adapt bourgeois theories and practices, keeping one eye on critical social theory, another eye on the political implications of their work and yet another on the concrete situations of the people they hope to serve. Their achievements do not constitute an alternative and integrated praxis yet, but they are far preferable to uncritical liberal efforts.

One of the difficulties facing progressive psychologists arises from their expertise. It was mentioned earlier that the counselling service discussed above was unable to engage in a theoretical interaction with the african working-class community it hoped to serve and the community was unable to challenge the service's theoretical underpinnings. Expertise may easily become a barrier between the 'expert' helper and the 'naive' beneficiaries. The experts 'know' what psychology is, what the correct methods of helping are. The beneficiaries, who lack the appropriate educative experiences, seemingly do not. (An analogous situation exists in the hostile relationships between the orthodox medical profession and alternative practices such as homeopathy etc.). An exciting challenge faced by progressive services is to open their theoretical preserves to members of working-class

communities and to allow these communities to contribute to and shape theory as well as practice.

This goes beyond the goal of giving expertise (knowledge and skills) to communities. It does not assert that 'experts' do not exist as experts; it does assert that not only 'professionally' qualified experts are experts. As communities develop their own praxes so they develop their theories. Issues which are central to the domain of psychology, such as how persons come into being, are constituted and structured, interact and so on, what their needs and motives are, what is good for them and bad for them, how they can be helped or hindered, liberated or oppressed, are issues equally central to community praxes. Communities do have expertise on issues central to the 'science of men and women'. To the extent that communities are free of bourgeois ideology, so their knowledge and skills may be free of it. The point is not magnanimously to share *our* knowledge and skills with them, but to share in their knowledge and skills as well as giving what is valuable in ours. Which includes allowing them, as experts, to criticise and reshape ours.

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CONTRIBUTIONS

Psychology in Society is a journal which aims critically to explore and present ideas on the nature of psychology in apartheid and capitalist society. There is a special emphasis on the theory and practice of psychology in the South African context.

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