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Psychology in society is a journal which aims to critically 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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Editorial

Over the past year some 40 percent of all detainees have been persons under the age of 18. In addition many young people have faced charges under the State of Emergency Regulations and other legislation such as the Internal Security Act and the Public Safety Act. During this time, various groups both internal to South Africa and abroad have protested strongly about these events and have voiced their concern regarding the traumatic consequences of such practices for young people. Clearly not only politically active youths have been affected by these measures. On occasions whole schools have been arrested. Children as young as 8 years of age have been subject to teargassing, sjamboking and other practices simply because they happened to be in an area where security forces took action. Then there have been, and continue to be, those children who have witnessed their parents' disappearance into detention for indeterminate periods. Finally some children have been caught up in internecine feuds between different political groupings.

All these events are products of the death throes of
Apartheid. As the state clings to and modernises the policy
of group separation and white dominance, so these events
will continue. What are the likely effects of this totally
unacceptable situation on young people?

This edition brings together a collection of papers which
attempt to provide some answers. They illustrate that
findings of research studies and theoretical principles
developed within mainstream psychology and psychiatry have
considerable importance in developing our understanding of
local conditions. At the same time, as Straker's paper
makes clear, our situation of continuous stress is
different, and requires its own solutions.

While the work of Gibson, Dawes and Straker focuses on
political repression, its likely effects, and ways of
treating the victims, the paper by Levett problematises a
different type of trauma - namely sexual abuse. While this
form of trauma is not political in the same way, it
nonetheless takes place within the realm of sexual politics
and gender oppression. What links these papers is a theme
which suggests that there are powerful mediators of trauma,
which are socially constructed. Responses to oppression of
various kinds are thus shaped by one's political

socialisation - that subtle process whereby ideology converts the unacceptable into the natural.

Louw-Potgieter's work on Afrikaners whose ways of thinking about South Africa have parted company with Afrikaner Nationalist philosophy and practice, also falls within the field of political socialisation. The struggles of South Africans such as these may be very different from those in the black townships. But they nonetheless form part of the mosaic that reflects the painful path towards the formation of a new social order.

AGENDA

A JOURNAL ABOUT WOMEN AND GENDER

No 1

AGENDA - aims to provide a forum for comment, discussion and debate on all aspects of womens' lives. Our specific concern is to attempt to understand the position of women within South African society. We believe that women in South Africa experience exploitation and oppression on the basis of their class, race and gender. In order to eradicate women's oppression we need to struggle on all of these fronts. Women also have to take up issues of their specific oppression as part of broader workplace, community and political struggles. This however requires an understanding of the ways in which class, race and gender shape women's lives - and also of women's struggles: past and present.

We hope that AGENDA will enable women to discuss, analyse and debate their position in society: their vision of a more hopeful future for women; and strategies for coping now as well as for organising towards that future.

Contributions of articles, interviews biographical stories, briefings poetry or photographs that will enhance an understanding of womens' position are welcome.

Articles are to conform to the following guidelines :-

They should be constructive and nonsectarian.

Articles are not to exceed 8 000 words

Debates, reviews, documents are not to exceed 3 000 words

Briefings are not to exceed 800 words.

Contributions must be in clear, understandable language.

All contributions must be typed and where applicable with proper footnoting and references.

AGENDA No1. will include
Articles on
O.K. WOMEN ON STRIKE, INDIAN WOMEN AND THE FAMILY, WHAT IS FEMINISM.
Reviews on
BLACK WOMEN AND FEMINISM, WOMEN IN IRELAND, MEN AND MASCULINITY.
Briefings on
SADWU MUSIC FESTIVAL, UDF WOMENS' CONGRESS, CCAWUSA WOMENS' WORKSHOP,

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Civil Conflict, Stress and Children

Kerry Gibson

Institute of African Studies

University of the Witwatersrand

The South African political crisis of 1985/6 has created a
sense of urgency around the need to conduct research into
the psychological effects of its stressful events. The
probable detrimental effects of an environment of civil
conflict on children has constituted an area of particular
concern. This is reflected in the fears voiced by township
residents for their children (see Richman, 1986); in media
reports which illustrate the events to which children are
being exposed (see Jacobs and Hollinghead, 1985, for a
summary of relevant press reports); and by clinicians in
their work with the childhood 'victims' of these stressful
events (Swartz, et al, 1986).

The alarm elicited by this concern, tends to suggest the
need for an immediate reaction in the form of active

research in the area. But as well-intentioned as this immediate reaction might be, it must be noted that relevant South African research requires more than the research of relevant fields or topics. Relevant research also requires the less hasty consideration of important theoretical and conceptual alternatives. Thus, perhaps, the appropriate starting point for research into the effects of civil conflict on children is not in the amassing of samples and coding of symptoms, but rather in a careful examination of the concepts and theories which underly the practice of stress research. This paper will attempt to provide some critical discussion of the concept of stress and to offer some suggestions for an alternative approach to the subject. The implications of a revised model of stress for research into the effects of civil unrest on children will then briefly be discussed.

The suggestions offered in this paper have been formulated on the basis of a review of broad approaches within the general field of stress research. These approaches were expanded through an examination of the literature which deals specifically with the effects of civil unrest on children. This has emerged from countries such as Northern Ireland, (Fraser, 1974; Fields, 1976; Harbison and Harbison, 1980; and others) Israel (Breznitz, 1980; Raviv and Klingman, 1983; and others) and the South American

States (Allodi, 1980; Bozzolo and Kordon, 1985; and others). In view of the necessity for basing this discussion on research which has emerged in contexts other than the South African situation is must be borne in mind that the suggestions made for a research approach in this article are intended to be of a speculative rather than a prescriptive nature.

The Development of the Concept of Stress

As Mason (1975) notes:

"Perhaps the single most remarkable historical fact concerning the term stress is its persistent wide-spread usage in biology and medicine in spite of almost chaotic disagreement over its definition." (p. 6).

In order to achieve some clarity within the confusion of the stress field it may be useful to examine some of the primary areas of debate which have emerged over the years in this field. This debate has arisen both from within the conventional psychiatric and psychological approach which has dominated stress research and, more recently, from without, by theorists who are currently questioning the parameters of these traditional conceptualisations.

Early researchers in this field appeared primarily concerned with pragmatic issues such as the reliability of studies,

improvement of research techniques and with the accumulation
of data. Against this background, much of the earlier
debate in the stress field focused on methodological
difficulties in stress research such as the selection of
settings (discussed in Laux and Vossel, 1982), the
reliability of reporting events in the past (Casey et al,
1967) and the difficulties of defining separate stressful
events (Garmezy and Rutter, 1985). In view of the dominance
of these concerns, little attention was paid to the concept
of stress itself. This remained conceptually at the level
of an unexplained correlational relationship between
psychological symptoms and events.

It was only in the 1970's with the emergence of the dynamic
interactionist approach in the field of psychology that the
conceptual understanding of stress itself began to receive
significant theoretical attention. Two major debates within
the stress field helped to shape the development of a new
conceptual understanding of stress. The first of these
debates concerned the redefinition of the environment as a
subjective, as opposed to an objective experience. Thus
events in the environment were understood to be mediated
through a subjective process of appraisal. The second
debate concerned the shift away from a static perception of
the relationship between the individual and the environment,
towards the perception of stress as a process within a
dynamic, changing relationship. The basic tenets of this

interactive stress process have been outlined as follows by Endler and Magnusson (1976 in Endler and Edwards, 1982):

i) Behaviour is a function of a continuous and bi-directional process of person-situation interaction.

ii) The individual is an international active agent in this process.

iii) Motivational, emotional and cognitive variables play important determining roles on the person side of the interaction.

iv) The psychological meaning that the situation has for the person is an essential determining factor in their behaviour.

In terms of these tenets, Endler and Edwards (1982) clarify the concept of stress as a process of reciprocity of causation in the stress field.

People impinge on their environment, receive feedback from their efforts and are confronted with a more or less potent environment. In other words, interactionism at its best attempts to examine the real life interchanges between people and their environment over time.

This theoretical approach has a number of important implications for the study of stress. Firstly, it highlights the importance of the relationship between the person and the environment in the stress process. Secondly,

it allows for the recognition of such factors as individual vulnerabilities and coping skills. Finally, this approach also allows for the incorporation of contextual factors such as family or social conditions into the conception of stress production.

Thus, debate in the stress field can be traced through what are essentially technical and design oriented concerns, to the point where there appears to be a challenge to the conceptualisation of stress itself. Researchers such as Lazarus and Launier (1978) have heralded the dynamic interactionist approach as a major paradigm shift in stress theory and note its clear advantages over the earlier static correlational approaches to the subject. At this point, however, it may be useful to take up a critical attitude even to this new innovation in stress research.

Critique of the Current Conceptions of Stress

In order to evaluate the status and validity of current stress theory from a critical point of view, it is necessary to begin by briefly outlining a theoretical framework from which it might be possible to examine and challenge the assumptions behind the existing research approaches. This theoretical framework will include an examination of the role of science in the context of a broader understanding of the concept of ideology. This understanding will be used as

the basis for making some suggestions for the construction

of an alternative theoretical understanding of stress which

incorporates the methods of previous approaches and attempts

to remedy some of their weaknesses.

There has long been a recognition of, and interest in,

cultural practices, values and ideologies. Yet, strangely,

while this has been the focus of attention for many social

science researchers (who would argue that these form the

basis of many of our 'common sense' assumptions about the

world) there has been a tendency for these same social

scientists to exempt themselves from the processes about

which they write. The question which needs to be asked is:

Is science somehow separate from the ideologies which

influence the human thought and action? This question is a

vital one insofar as a negative answer has implications for

the need to assess the validity of stress theory, not simply

as a scientific process, but also as an ideology.

Let me begin this discussion by defining the term ideology

as I intend to use it. Like Young (1980) I refer to the

tacit beliefs which define people's perceptions of

themselves, groups, relationships and institutions in

society. In this sense the conception of ideology used in

this thesis is distinct from its use in the sense of sets of

political ideologies which are consciously recognised and

articulated.

The dominant theme in stress research, as in other fields of social science research, has been the tendency to perceive science as being above and beyond the effects of ideology. In order to justify this claim, particular research methods (which are in turn backed up by particular conceptual frameworks) have been adopted. These conceptual and research justifications for science constitute the basis of what has come to be known as the natural scientific or 'positivist' approach to the social sciences. Positivists would argue that science (which uncovers facts), is incompatible with ideology (which creates ideological beliefs). They would further argue that the only way 'science' can protect itself from the contaminating effects of ideology, is by remaining objective and neutral in order to exclude the irrationalities of individual researchers for the purpose of extracting universal laws about human behaviour (Ingleby, 1980).

These stated aims have a number of important implications for how researchers go about collecting information and their interpretation of this data, which may be outlined as follows (Ingleby, 1981):

    i) The scientific researcher aims to collect observations in a <u>rigorous and detached</u> fashion. Thus the researcher uses experimental or field methods to extract clearly observable 'facts' about human

behaviour. This emphasis is evident in our earlier outline of the debates in the stress research field.

ii) The emphasis is on research _reliability_. In other words, the ability to duplicate the study and obtain similar results. Thus subjects and the variety of other variables are defined in a precise and replicable form. This has further implications for the kind of data it becomes appropriate to elicit (i.e. quantitative rather than qualitative data in terms of which it is more difficult to achieve replication). Once again the effects of this research structure are most clearly evident in the static correlational approach which essentially identifies easily measurable and observable stressors and their reactions.

iii) A division is maintained between the _subject_ and _object_ of the research. In other words, researchers should not allow their perceptions to intrude on the 'facts' before them. Their perceptions include the influence of prior theory; thus the researchers attempt to gather information that will constitute a theory rather than using data to substantiate a theory. The effects of this enforced neutrality of the researcher are clearly evident in the relative paucity of conceptual questioning in the field of stress.

iv) Data which is collected under the previous rules is
then interpreted _mechanistically_ in a manner which
mimics the cause and effect relationships of natural
science, and these are understood to be neutral. In
other words, if X variable is correlated with Y
variable there is understood to be a causal
relationship between them. It was this assumption
which reinforced the continued usage of the static
correlational approach in stress research, e.g. in the
life event research where events and symptoms are
correlated on the assumption of a causal relationship
between them (see Holmes and Rahe, 1967).

In a common sense way these safeguards would appear
sufficient to protect research against the distorting
effects of ideology. But is it not possible that these so-
called 'protections' against ideology themselves constitute
an ideology which is all the more powerful because of its
stated neutrality? This concept is elucidated by Ingleby
(1981) who refers to Kuhn's notion of science being marked
by shifting paradigms. These paradigms may be defined as
"whole systems of prejudice about what constitutes useful
and respectable data, what forms theories should take, what
sort of language scientists should use, etc." (Ingleby,
1981, p. 25). Kuhn argues that once a paradigm is formed,
our conception of nature is forced and moulded into its
shape.

It is the argument of this paper, firstly, that the dominant paradigm within which much of the research on stress has been conducted, constitutes an ideology in itself and secondly, that the evolution of the dynamic interactionist approach does not represent so much a radical shift in paradigm as suggested by Lazarus and Launier (1978) but a shift within a paradigm.

In order to substantiate the first argument it is necessary to examine critically the assumptions of the positivist approach in stress research in order to elucidate the ideology which underlies it.

Young (1980) summarizes some of the more important assumptions of this approach as follows:

i) It is possible to understand society on the basis of its observable manifestations. In other words, there is a recognition of the external and objective character of society as what is really happening. This assumption is clearly evident in the dominant focus of stress research on 'objective and observable' stressors such as life events (e.g. Holmes and Rahe, 1967) and disasters (e.g. Erikson, 1976).

ii) The basic unit of society is understood to be the individual who is seen as an intentional participant whose acts are explained mainly in terms of intrapsychic determinants.

iii) Society is understood to consist entirely of a
summation of actions of the individuals who belong to
it and is constituted through their participation.
Thus the focus of the research literature has been on
individual experience of stress, or groups of
individuals.

iv) Social behaviour is assumed to be understandable in a
mechanistic sense of cause and effect. Thus individual
psychic experiences may be seen to mediate events, but
outcomes can be predicted, given adequate knowledge of
objective variables involved. Hence the predominant
concerns of stress researchers have predictably been
with methods of refining data collection.

At first glance it may appear that the dynamic
interactionist approach has moved beyond these limiting
assumptions. Its new regard for conceptualisation and
recognition of an interactional relationship between stress
and the individual can be seen to represent a marked
improvement from the simple process of uni-directionality
which was earlier assumed. But if we examine it more
closely it becomes clear that the shift towards a dynamic
interactionist approach in stress theory is still well
within this positivist framework. The essential belief in
the validity of objective neutral research remains evident
in methods of data collection. Further, the objectivity of
reality remains implicit, insofar as the concept of

appraisal does not so much alter the understanding of objective reality, as remove it from the external to the internal world. Secondly, and most significantly, society itself is assumed to parallel the actions and thoughts of the individuals within it and is not examined in the broader sense of its own dynamics and institutions. Finally, the subject is still seen as the intentional individual.

Young (1980) takes a critical position in relation to these assumptions arguing that they serve to subtly limit discussion within the stress discourse to a single level of determinants. They skew the focus of stress research towards empirically observed interaction and organize these observations around the rationality and volition of the individual actor. By doing so, he argues, they ignore the social forces embedded in the political economy and lead away from questions about the nature of society itself. In other words, they serve both to naturalise and individualise the stress process. The objectification of science as a method further reifies its representation of these 'facts', thus inhibiting the emergence of alternative understandings of the role of social and ideological factors in the effects of stress. This reinforces belief in the immutability and efficacy of existing social arrangements. Thus, as Young points out, in spite of the apparent neutrality and objectivity of stress research (or rather because of it), there is a line beyond which the analysis of stress cannot go without obscuring the processes which reproduce the

society's characteristic structure and thus represent a threat to the status quo of which the researchers themselves are a part.

A Model of Stress

With a recognition of the ideological limitations of current conceptions of stress, it is now possible to use this understanding to make some suggestions for an alternative model of stress. Dawes (1986), in his discussion of the need for relevant research in South Africa, notes the value of not simply rejecting research conducted in a less critical context. Rather, he suggests the value of utilising this research in a new theoretical context.

In the light of this suggestion, a useful starting point for the construction of this model of stress may be given by the insights provided by the dynamic interactionist approach. Drawing from this model, the first thing we need to recognise is that stress is not simply a function of 'events' but also ongoing factors such as social conditions and personality structure. Turton (1986) is clearly utilising the advantages of the dynamic interactionist approach when he notes that:

"Since these variables (social conditions and personality structure) play such important roles in the development of stress, they should not be

conceptualised as external to 'the' stress process but as elements of the stress processes." (p. 289).

However, it is at this point that we need to go beyond the structures of the positivist paradigm to assert, as Turton (1986) does, that these variables themselves are conditioned by broader factors such as socio-economic status, gender, employment conditions and personal history. Turton quotes Kessler (1979, in Turton, 1986) in order to substantiate this point. Kessler found that evidence of distress after exposure to life events was more likely to be manifested by women and poorer persons than by men and people of higher socio-economic status. Turton then takes these variables further, noting that women have been found to be poorer in coping skills and self-esteem than men. The context for this can be found in the socialisation of girls as opposed to boys which differs due to the structures and values of the social and economic systems. In other words, it is not sufficient simply to include these additional factors as stressors in themselves but also to consider their own determinants such as people's social, economic and political positions in society and the structure and values of this society.

Thus, Turton is proposing a more analytic model than the dynamic interactionist approach (which is still constituted largely on a descriptive level), which can relate the relationship between the stressor and the person to a wider

social context. Firstly, he follows the dynamic
interactionists in moving away from the perception of social
and psychological factors as mediators in the stress
process, positing instead their integral involvement in the
production of stress.

"... four sets of factors, namely levels of advantage,
exposure to life events, interpersonal relationships
and intrapersonal strengths and weaknesses, jointly
produce an experience or non-experience of stress."
(Turton, 1986, p. 294).

He then outlines a feedback process between these
experiences and the person, whereby the experience of
stress will affect the person's conditions,
interpersonal relationships, life events and
intrapersonal factors. Turton then proceeds to
emphasise a vital point, which removes the theorist
from the limits of the positivist approach: that is,
the importance of the location of this process in the
environment, social history and personal history of the
person who is undergoing the stressful experiences.
One factor which Turton (1986) does not emphasise, and
perhaps deserves specific mention, is the feedback
process in relation to this level of determinants. In
other words the possible long-term effects of social
stressors on the actual institutions of society via the
subject of the stress.

The mechanisms of this model of stress are outlined in diagramatic form in Figure One.

In terms of this model it is clear that stress needs to be examined on at least three levels. Firstly, it needs to be examined at the level of specific stressors and individual psychiatric effects. But to end an exploration at this level of stressor would be misleading. It is then necessary to situate the first level within the immediate context of stressors on level two in terms of intra-personal, interpersonal and immediate social and economic stressors. Thirdly, it is necessary to relate this level of stress to its determinants which constitute a third level of stressor in terms of people's values and beliefs, personal history and position in the social and economic structures. These can in turn be related to the broader structures of society.

Similarly, it is clear from this model that the effects of stress cannot be understood simply in terms of 'psychological effects' but must also be examined in terms of their intra-personal, interpersonal, social and economic effects. In the long term we may also consider their effects in terms of values, position in the social structure and understanding of personal history. Thus the social and economic structures of the society may themselves feel the 'effects' of stressful experiences.

From this description it is clear that this model transcends the limitations of the positivist approach insofar as it

allows us to examine a stress process beyond the level of
the individual as a social phenomenon; is constructed in
theory which can explain rather than simply describe stress;
and moves us away from a mechanistic approach in outlining a
process rather than a simple cause and effect relationship
between stressors and reactions.

Implications for Researching the Effects of Civil Conflict on Children

The model of stress discussed in the previous section has
important implications for the conceptualisation of the
scope of valid research areas in the field of the effects of
civil conflict on children. These different research areas
are clearly inter-linked, but for the purposes of clarity, I
will attempt to delineate them separately.

The stressors facing children in civil conflict situations

i) Immediate stressful events. These may include direct
   stressors such as the effects of detention of assault
   on children, or less direct stressors including events
   such as the detention of a family member, witnessing
   violence or participation in violence. Although one of
   these events would seldom occur in isolation, the

differences between them must be understood to have significance in terms of their effects.

ii) Intrapersonal, interpersonal and social and economic factors which themselves serve as stressors and mediate the experience of the immediate stressor. These mediating factors would include such factors as temperament, gender, intelligence, developmental age, family relationships and circumstances and the level of social support in the community.

iii) The determinants of these stressors in the context of the social and economic structures of society.

The effects of these stressors on children

i) The psychiatric and psychological effects on individual children in the form of acute and chronic stress syndromes.

ii) The long-term personality effects on individual children.

iii) The effects on interpersonal and group relations.

iv) The effects on immediate social and economic conditions.

v) The effects on the values and beliefs of a community.

vi) The effects on the broader social and economic
structures of society.

Within the range of areas outlined above, the
contextualisation of stress perhaps requires further
elaboration. Perhaps the most important suggestion to be
made in this regard is the need to utilise a critical social
theory as a framework in which to discuss the effects of
civil conflict on children. This theoretical framework
would then provide a basis for making social sense of the
knowledge gleaned through researching individual
psychological stress reactions. The use of a critical
social theory opens up further areas for research and
discussion which have not yet received sufficient attention.
Firstly, it may be useful for researchers in this area to
provide some discussion of the determinants of civil unrest
conditions themselves, insofar as they reflect the
underlying economic and social conditions of a society.
Within this framework, it might then be possible to examine
the overt political and social attitudes which maintain
civil strife and perhaps also serve to provide the stressful
events of this context with meaning for individuals.
Practically, this suggests that more useful research into
the effects of a stressor would acknowledge the meaning
which a community attributes to the event. Allied to this,
research would also clearly need to examine the extent of
the role played by the political awareness of children under
these conditions.

Secondly, it may be useful for the researcher to examine the effects of civil conflict conditions not only in relation to the immediate stressful events of civil conflict, but also in terms of the ongoing history of stresses arising out of economic and political hardships which are their inevitable precursor. These need to be considered in terms of their direct effects on individuals as well as their more subtle manifestation in factors such as the quality of family life or schooling which affect children's vulnerablilty to stress. Finally, it may also be useful for the researcher to bear in mind the role of the less obvious manifestations of the social and economic structures of the society, in the form of the ideological socialisation of vulnerability factors through temperament or gender.

The suggestions made here only offer some indicators for a recognition of the complexity of research in the area of the effect of civil conflict on children. Clearly there are many more areas requiring investigation. One suggestion, however, which emerges more strongly, is that while it may be useful in practical terms to study the effects of civil unrest as they manifest in individual children's psychological reactions, this cannot be divorced conceptually from the broad social and economic conditions which are their determinants.

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Security Laws and Children in Prison : The Issue of Psychologial Impact

A. Dawes

Department of Psychology

University of Cape Town

In order to situate the debate on this topic, I shall highlight what seem to me to be three central issues. These are the political: the reasons for state oppression of youth, the notion of childhood inherent in certain appeals on behalf of incarcerated children, and the manner in which provisions of the law regarding children are over-ridden by security legislation.

"Children" as referred to in the paper, concerns persons under the age of 18 who are legally classified as not having attained adult status and for whom special provision exists within Common law, the Criminal Procedure Act 51 of 1977 and the Child Care Act 74 of 1983. The term youth will be used to refer to those between the ages of 18 and 23, being an

age definition coined by Keniston (1970) to refer to students at tertiary institutions of education and young workers.

Why are children major targets of repression in South Africa?

The children of the disenfranchised in South Africa are not unique in the world in experiencing state repression. Bundy (1986) cites several instances of this kind including the Mexican senior school pupils movement which culminated in 1968 with the death of hundreds of young people, and the imprisonment of many others. Similarly to Mexico, because school children and youth in South Africa have been at the forefront of organised opposition to a beleaguered state, we should not be at all surprised that their protest is met with repression. The state has acted because it sees these young people as a genuine threat. The plan to win the hearts and minds of the disenfranchised with promises of reform, tri-cameral systems and the like, has backfired. Since the widespread effort to obtain consent for reformist policies failed, the state was forced to rule by coercion and a heightened utilisation of its repressive apparatuses. Young people have played a central role in rejecting the political socialisation program of the state, and while the detailed reasons for this are beyond the scope of this paper, it is appropriate to offer some pointers.

Students at all levels have a convenient physical base from which to organise resistance. This has been most obvious since 1976. It was recognised by the state in 1985 when the Department of Education and Culture in the House of Representatives and the Department of Education and Training closed hundreds of schools which provided such bases (Hall 1986).

Students, by virtue of their age and the fact that they attend schools and colleges, are not engaged in full-time employment. In addition they are, as adolescents, unlikely to have major family responsibilities which as primary economic provision or the care of children. It is of course so that a substantial number of young people may share such responsibilities in poor communities, but it could be said that their responsibilities in this regard are less than their post-school adult counterparts. These factors give a further space to this population to mobilise without necessarily facing a major disruption of the economic base of the family. The risk of having their school careers terminated is of course real, but as the problematic slogan "liberation before education" showed, this threat was of secondary importance to many. With the "return to school" (D.P.S.C. 1986) (Detainees Parents Support Committee) policy, the chances for organisation and alliance could be said to have improved once more.

A final and crucial point here is that this population has a
clear set of objective issues on which to focus protest.
Starting with the rejection of a race based inferior
educational system, students have moved to a consideration
of the structural impact of apartheid on their lives, and
have begun to form alliances on issues such as rents,
employment etc (D.P.S.C. 1986). Bundy's (1986) paper
implies that it is the increase in black education (albeit
inadequate) which has played a major role in the increasing
articulateness of the student protest movement. He also
suggests that the looming spectre of mass unemployment and
inferior employment opportunities for black school leavers
has further sensitised the youth to wider socio-political
issues.

What we have then, is a rising population of children and
youth who have a level of education which enables them to
begin to place an intellectual and theoretical framework
over their raw personal experience of life under apartheid
and capitalism. Student enrolment figures make this clear
in Tables 1 & 2.

TABLE 1

Increases in African* education since 1960

	Matriculants	University
1960	717	1871
1970	2938	4578
1975	9009	7845
1984	86873	36604

(From Bundy 1986)

TABLE 2

Total School enrolments 1985

African*	5547467	
"Coloured"	769282	
Indian	228737	(From DPSC 1986)

*African refers to persons classified as black attending schools in all areas of South African including homelands and T.B.V.C. "states".

The history of student resistance, particularly over the last ten years has given rise to a set of traditions, slogans and modes of analysis which form the basis of much of the socialisation experience of children entering school. These commonly held artifacts of a resistance culture will continue to provide impetus to further struggle and hence further repression for children and youth.

Focusing on Children

Concern about the position of child detainees and convicted offenders has increased over the past year, to the point

where the state has attempted to silence organised protest on this matter.

There is no question of validity of calls for the release of all detainees. This is valid on moral and psychological grounds. Despite official denials to the contrary, strong evidence exists concerning the psychologically damaging effects of detention (Foster and Sandler 1985). I have seen such effects in my own clinical case work. In the case of children, concerns about the effects of detention and imprisonment are even more valid. One would assume that children's psychological vulnerability is likely to increase in inverse proportion to their age. This contention though, needs to be considered carefully. It is a common assumption that children, because of their age are inevitably going to be severely traumatised and probably permanently damaged by such experiences. This assumption, while in all likelihood holding a large measure of truth needs to be contextualised.

Levett (1987) has argued in the case of sexual abuse, that an understanding of the context of female socialisation is crucial in accounting for reactions to this form of repression. Swartz (1987) has questioned common assumptions regarding the likely effects of political repression on children and youth. He also draws on the role of the context of childhood in mediating the effects of repressive practices such as imprisonment. Regardless of

their potentially politically contentious nature, these ideas need airing here.

Swartz comments that a focus on dramatic aspects of political repression such as imprisonment of children and the voicing of concerns about the psychologically damaging consequences thereof, is often based on an assumption of the innocence of childhood. By innocence is meant unsullied, naive or pure and undamaged. It is thus not used in the legal sense of not being guilty of an offence.

In all cultures there is a concern to avoid damage being done to the young. Embedded within this concern are beliefs about the damage resulting from certain forms of trauma. A common belief about childhood is that dramatic trauma is damaging and always so. It is also often assumed that children are unable to appreciate much of the world of adults until they approach adulthood.

These presumptions certainly have some truth, but in other senses they need to be questioned. They are not very useful unless they are understood with reference to a particular social context and psycho-developmental framework.

The experience of childhood is inherently repressive in a psychological sense. The child from birth is provided with a set of prohibitions on behaviour through the authority of

the family and social convention no matter how "child centred" the family may be. The adjustments required in becoming human are painful in the normal course of events. This process involves adaptation by the child and the building of psychological defences which enable the child to cope with the frustrations of his or her desires by powerful social agencies.

We know that temperamental characteristics of children play a role in shaping their responses to everyday life and to trauma (Thomas, Chess and Birch 1970). We also know that meaning is given to one's position as a child and indeed to trauma by the conventions existent in the society (Levett 1987 and Swartz 1987). For this reason, political repression may not have the impact we expect because it becomes accepted as part and parcel of life during a period of political struggle. This by no means legitimises political repression (which is undoubtedly extremely stressful) but indicates that its impact is mediated socially and that its outward manifestation and long term effects must be understood in terms of this mediation. The effects may thus vary from child to child depending on age, temperament, personality make-up, socialisation and the context of child-rearing.

What is the context of being a child in a South African disenfranchised community? For the majority it is one of abuse by the structural design of apartheid and conditions

of poverty. This occurs over and above the "normal" psychological repression of entering society which every child must experience. The fact of being classified according to the Population Registration Act is the first step in this process which fundamentally structures childrens' lives.

For me these children are not innocent, but have already developed scars and defences in order to cope with their situation. Their response to harsh repression such as detention must be understood against this background. In addition their response must be understood in terms of the political meaning system surrounding acts which may lead to state repression.

In addition, I don't believe we can see these children as being naive to many of the reasons for their scars. Studies in political socialisation show that as the child moves towards teenage years, this understanding grows (Leahy 1983). To develop into action, this understanding requires a set of political ideas and slogans to be provided which can then give content, meaning and direction to resistance. This content also gives meaning to the pain which flows from the consequences of state action. Examples of such slogans are; "No surrender" "Almal is saam in die struggle", and "an injury to one is an injury to all".

To reiterate, concern about the psychological sequelae of detention and imprisonment is both necessary and valid. However we should be wary of assuming that these practices will have uniform effects on all children and youth.

Many adolescents have become involved in protest as a response to objective abuse in their everyday lives. As such, their protest most often takes place within a certain ideological framework which gives meaning to their action and to their response to repression. The very facts of the abuses suffered and the ideological content of their action is contrary to assumptions of childhood naivety. This does not mean that their actions are necessarily always politically wise, or that they do not at times show the emotional immaturity of their years in some of these actions. But what it does suggest is that they act from some informed base. To deny this would be disrespectful to their valid analysis of their conditions of life. The response of more committed young activists to detention and imprisonment is likely to be mediated by the fact that their suffering is given a political purpose and content. This factor alone is likely to provide strength under harsh conditions (Gibson 1986).

Those children who are responding similarly to their life situation, but who lack a reasonably entrenched ideological framework, and whose involvement is more peripheral, are likely to be more severely affected as they have only their

inner resources to fall back on. Finally, pre-adolescent children should cause us most concern. They have neither the emotional maturity nor the intellectual competence to draw on abstract political ideas so as to mediate their response to harsh repression. They may simply become caught up in the emotionally charged atmosphere of a protest situation without being able to appreciate the significance or consequences of their behaviour.

Some Contradictions in South African Law.

Provisions for the protection of children's rights are enshrined in the United Nations Declaration of Children's Rights of 1959. These provisions recognise the emotional vulnerability of the child and declare that no child shall be subject to arbitrary confinement by any state. They state further that children must be protected from physical and mental abuse by those who are responsible for their care.

These provisions seem to be based on the notion that a child is not of the same mental status as an adult. They do not suggest that children are all shining angels but do indicate that their actions must be understood in terms of their age and their emotional and intellectual competence.

It is no doubt for similar reasons that South Africa has enacted a series of legal provisions for the protection of children - the most recent being the Child Care Act 74 of

1983.   It is also why, in Common Law, children under 7
years are not held criminally responsible for their actions.
Children between the ages of 7 and 14 years are also deemed
not responsible but this is rebuttable.   Those over 14
years are held to be responsible, but provisions for
sentencing are governed by the Criminal Procedure Act 51 of
1977.

These statutes provide for a series of legal procedures
which recognise the difference between children and adults
in their provisions.   Despite these provisions however,
Mclachlan   (1986) notes "It is (therefore) legally possible
in South Africa for a child as young as seven to be
arrested, detained, tried, convicted and sentenced without
his/her parent's knowledge" (p 29).   To quote her further
in an earlier publication, Mclachlan states: "the discretion
of the courts and police, practical difficulties in the
implementation of alternative welfare sentences, the
technical complexity and the inadequate provisions of the
law itself, cause the Criminal Procedure Act to provide
little real protection for children" (1984 p 29).

What Mclachlan's criticisms point to is the fact that
provisions for children are often not stated in the Criminal
Procedures Act as necessities of procedure, but rather as
strong recommendations.   Thus a child's parents should be
present in court but this is not mandatory. A series of
sentencing provisions are available but it is up to the

court to decide, in terms of the offence, the status of the child, and the provisions of law, what alternative to employ. These vary from the death sentence through to imprisonment, reform school, probation and release into parental custody. Midgely (1975) noted that juvenile sentencing in South Africa was punitive and depended on classical notions of retribution and deterrence. We need to establish whether this has changed, but it seems unlikely.

In theory, a series of well intended provisions exist which take cognisance of the immaturity of children. But it appears that they leave great latitude for practices which seem to violate the intentions and reasoning of those who framed the statute.

I turn now to security legislation. Most of the concern with respect to children in recent times has focused on incarceration under the Emergency Regulations, and sentences meted out out for offences committed under such acts as the Internal Security Act 74 of 1982. The Emergency regulations contain no special provisions with regard to children are not influenced by the provisions of the Child Care Act. Normal provisions for court appearances and sentencing of juveniles under the Criminal Procedure Act apply to offences governed by security legislation. This has only been the case since 1982 when the Rabie Commission's findings were adopted (Mclachlan 1984).

Previously sentencing procedures for juveniles were excluded for political offences.

Despite the restoration of provisions for juveniles at the sentencing stage, no protections exist for juveniles held in detention for purposes of interrogation prior to their court appearance. This is extremely serious and again contradicts the spirit and provisions of the Child Care Act.

This may appear to be a perplexing situation. One set of legal provisions clearly wishes to protect the interests of the child, while another does not consider this at all. In my view it is not at all curious as it clearly indicates that when acts are perceived as threatening the state, then the "best interests" of the "vulnerable" child are easily dispensed with. The protection of childrens' rights is acceptable as long as this practice is in the interests of the state. The state has criminalised actions aimed at the establishment of democracy and human rights and young people who seek justice and who participate in such acts are thereby criminals who should endure harsh punishment.

As noted earlier, various sentencing provisions exist for juveniles. Have any such alternatives been applied in recent cases? It seems not. Recently a group of seven juveniles were sentenced to prison for periods of between three and five years (two years suspended in each case) for throwing stones at a demonstration in 1985 (South April 15 1987). It may seem extraordinary that children have been

given prison sentences for throwing stones (which is, I accept, a dangerous past-time), while others who commit common assault may be placed on probation or sentenced to a reformatory. In my view it is understandable that if the courts generally apply notions of retribution and give harsh sentences (Midgely 1975) for non political juvenile offences, then such an approach is even more likely when the offence is perceived as "political".

The alternative sentencing provisions for juveniles of the Criminal Procedure Act seem to suggest that prison sentences should not be used as a matter of course. It is well-documented that prison environments are not conducive to the healthy psychological development of vulnerable minds (*Midgeley 1975), and that is why alternatives are preferable. Again it seems to me that in "political" offences, the sentencing practice has shown an intent to punish as a primary consideration which does not seem concerned with the negative effects of prison on a young person.

We should note that it is characteristic of a state which is loosing ideological ground and which is perceived by the majority as illegitimate, to resort to increasingly coercive forms of control (Bundy 1986). There is little doubt that this is the situation in South Africa. For this reason we must expect individual rights to be further curtailed and

that short shift will again be given to protestations
regarding the vulnerability of children.

Thus imprisonment and detention are likely to continue to be
employed as ways of controlling activist youth. But
another scenario is possible. It appears as though recent
campaigns against the detention and imprisonment of
juveniles (e.g. Free the Children Alliance) have had an
impact on the state. The number of detained children was
reduced during May and June of 1987 - a period of intense
local and international protest against detention of
children. (Cape Argus June 20, 1987). An obvious
question is prompted by these events. Is the state
changing its approach to the management of youth activism?

In recent times, the state has emphasised that a critical
factor in the current struggle in South Africa is the
psychological dimension (Cape Argus 25 April 1987). The
government and the resistance movements are involved in a
battle for the minds of the people - both realising the
importance of controlling the perspectives which people
bring to bear on their situation.

Some Evidence that the state is experimenting with
alternative forms of control is provided by the appearance
of residential "re-education" camps for children who would
otherwise be in detention (Cape Times September 12, 1986).
This model of management has received strong support in the

recent President's Council report on youth (Cape Times June 18, 1987).

It is also noteworthy that psychologists have been employed as consultants in this program (Cape Times September 16, 1986). The residential camps and the reported intent behind their existence, represents a dangerous reorientation of repressive practice. It is not as obviously repressive as imprisonment and is an effective response to those who protest against the deleterious effects of imprisonment on children. It can be presented as a reasonable form of management which aims at the development of "healthy" attitudes in adolescents. What could be more acceptable? Instead of the children being regarded as criminals, they will be re-labeled "misguided" and in need of help to redirect them to a more socially responsible approach to their lives and their country.

Such a strategy removes much of the basis for outrage (imprisonment) and employs a clear attempt to re-orient the political consciousness of the young person. Whatever the actual approach employed, it seems clear that more directly psychological approaches will be used to manage political deviance. Concerned mental health workers will have to be vigilant to this practice which seems set to become a major component of modernised repression, and is not far removed from the re-education strategies employed in China during the cultural revolution.

Conclusion

Childrens' responses to repression and the abuses of
apartheid will continue to invite the wrath of the state.
As the politicisation of juveniles increases as a response
to further state coercion, they are likely to increase their
level of political activism. The "innocence" of childhood
will be further reduced.

Harsh prison sentences and detentions will scar the youth.
Whether this scarring will take the form of long-lasting
psychological damage leading to forms of mental break-down,
will depend on emotional and and intellectual maturity, age,
and the degree to which suffering is given political
meaning. For some the result will be increased emotional
vulnerability, anxiety and inability to cope optimally in
the everyday world. For others it will mean a
strengthening of commitment, a deepening of anger and a
lessening of their acceptance of anything other than
revolutionary change. For this reason alone, repression
will not crush resistance.

Studies of the harshest of forms of repression and civil
conflict indicate, that despite many psychological
casualties, the human psyche has a remarkable adaptive
capacity. For example, Kinzie et al (1986) comment that
during the repression of the Pol Pot regime in Cambodia, the

amount of trauma experienced by children was not related in any simple way to their psychological condition. They suggest that deeply held religious beliefs and family support helped mediate the impact of appalling conditions of brutality. The use of the defence mechanism of denial also seemed important and was complimented by a Buddhist value structure which was relatively fatalistic. It would therefore be overstating the case to suggest that all young people suffering repression will end up as highly clinically disturbed adults. Some will emerge in this way, but for many the scars of repression will provide the driving force for a commitment to social change.

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The Continuous Traumatic Stress Syndrome – The Single Therapeutic Interview

Gill Straker

and the Sanctuaries Counselling Team

Department of Psychology

University of Witwatersrand

The term post-traumatic stress syndrome is a misnomer in the South African context. Individuals living in South Africa's black townships are subjected to <u>continuous</u> traumatic stress. This stress is occasioned by the high levels of violence in the townships, violence which is contributed to by confrontations between (a) the South African Defence Force and Police and various sectors of the community; (b) black anti-apartheid groups and black right wing vigilantes who are more supportive of the status quo; and (c) inter-group fighting among rival anti-apartheid groups e.g. UDF and Azapo. In an earlier paper by Straker (1986) the stresses to which an adolescent boy was exposed over a six week period were delineated. These included (a) being present at a community leader's murder; (b) having his own

life threatened by being in a house that was petrol-bombed; (c) being exiled from his community; (d) being in a sanctuary centre which was invaded by armed police; (e) being arrested; (f) being beaten.

Most of these stresses singly would be termed catastrophic in the D.S.M. III classification. Nor has the traumatic stress of this adolescent come to an end. He is still in exile, on the run from the general level of violence in his community. His case is neither unique nor even exceptional. Offering therapeutic help to refugees from South Africa's black townships poses a challenge to concerned mental health workers. Of all the difficulties encountered the most serious one pertains to counsellors' inability to protect the individual from further trauma. Not only are counsellors unable to change the individuals' macro-environment so as to guarantee their safety but even the safety of the micro-environment of the counselling centre is at times threatened, (Straker, 1987). Centres have been invaded by the police and by black and white vigilantes alike. Yet the need for medical and counselling services for those brutalised and abused by apartheid and the chaos it has generated increases daily. Various groups have been formed in South Africa to meet this need. These include National Medical and Dental Association (NAMDA), Detainee Counselling Service (D.C.S.), the Organisation for

Appropriate Social Services in South Africa (OASSSA) and the Sanctuary Counselling Team (S.C.T.).

In generating models for counselling, all these groups have had to bear in mind that the trauma to which individuals are subjected in South Africa is continuous. This has had numerous implications for treatment, not least of which has been the stress on the single therapeutic interview. The return of a counsellee is never guaranteed and therefore it is vital that each session be complete within itself but still offer the potential for follow up. The following model for a single therapeutic interview was generated by a sub-group of the S.C.T. who between them worked with 60 - 70 children for a varying number of sessions over a one year period. Some of these children were seen in groups and others in individual sessions but in both instances the steps followed were similar.

The S.C.T. is a non-racial, multi-disciplinary team of mental health professionals. It was originally formed to meet the needs of a group of children and adolescents fleeing a township called Leandra. The S.C.T. has subsequently worked with children and adolescents from a number of different townships in a number of different settings. However the difficulties experienced by these refugees parallel those in the original Leandra group.

Background to Leandra

Leandra is a township near Secunda in the Eastern Transvaal. It is a township which until the end of 1984 had been united in its opposition to a government threat of forced removal. In 1985 this unity began to break down. The central cleavage in the community was between the "insiders" with legal rights of abode in the township and the "outsiders" who had no such rights. This division created a situation which facilitated intergroup violence within the black community. Not all the "insiders" reacted with hostility to the "outsiders". Some managed to retain a sense of perspective and one of these was a community leader called Chief Mayisa, a man who campaigned for lowered rents, improved housing and lower taxes for all. In so doing he antagonised a number of "insiders" and in January 1986 he was stabbed, hacked and burned to death by a group of right wing vigilantes. On the day of his funeral an individual suspected of being a member of this vigilante group was killed in revenge for Mayisa's death. Following this the vigilantes organised a campaign against Mayisa's sympathisers. Many of his sympathisers including a number of children and adolescents aged 12 - 22 were forced to flee the township. These individuals then sought refuge with a sympathetic church organisation which arranged for a community centre to harbour them.

The children had been at the community centre for approximately two weeks when it was invaded by the police. They arrived in helicopters with search beams and in cars with armed men. Some of the children attempted to flee and two were shot and wounded. A few escaped.

The children were arrested and taken to a number of different jails. After some days many of the children were released following an urgent application to the Supreme Court. They were returned to the community centre and it was at this point that the S.C.T. first saw them.

The model for the single therapeutic interview which is presented here developed out of the S.C.T.'s clinical work with these children. However, it finds many parallels in the work of others concerned with the treatment of post-traumatic stress, e.g. Galante & Foa, (1986), Pynoos & Eth, (1986), Rigamer, (1986), Somnier & Genefke (1986). The work of Pynoos & Eth (1986) is particularly relevant as these authors developed a format for a single 90 minute interview with children who were traumatised by witnessing violence. The three stages outlined in their model, viz. opening, trauma, closure, parallel those which developed organically in the current work.

Opening

a)   Establishing Trust

In the opening phases of their therapeutic session Pynoos &
Eth (1986) speak of the establishment of a focus. The child
is told that the interviewer has worked with many children
like her/him and that s/he is not alone in the predicament.
The interviewer   offers ego support by   expressing a
willingness to look, together with the child, at what has
happened.   In this way the interviewer in the Pynoos & Eth
model establishes herself/himself as a potentially helpful
benign authority.

In the South African situation the establishment of the
interviewer as a benign authority and as a potentially
helpful person is more complicated. The political situation
in South Africa lends itself to suspicion and distrust as
authority is in reality often not benign and is frequently
lacking in credibility.   The counsellor as an authority
figure is not exempt from this mistrust.   The counsellor's
professional role does not automatically lend her/him
credibility as credibility in South Africa is linked not to
professional counselling or psychotherapy licensing bodies
but to political affiliation.   Indeed for most black
township dwellers the concepts of counselling, psychotherapy
or the talking cure are unfamiliar.   Thus in working with

this population, the interviewer has not only to establish herself/himself as politically and ideologically acceptable to the group but has also to explain the notion of the talking cure. This is further complicated because requiring a person to talk about their experiences may in itself arouse suspicion as informers are an ever present reality in the township dwellers' lives.

In order to overcome this difficulty the S.C.T. counsellors were introduced to the children by acknowledged community leaders, figures known and trusted by the group. Alternatively the S.C.T. counsellors worked in conjunction with members of the legal team who were preparing an interdict to be brought before the Supreme Court to secure the safety of the children. The idea of integrating psychological treatment programmes with other programmes including legal aid is not a new one and is highly recommended by other workers such as Allodi (1980) who has worked with Latin American political refugees.

Once the difficulty of establishing trust and credibility had been overcome, the next step was to explain the notion of the talking cure within the context of "woundedness". It was explained that just as people are physically wounded by township violence, so too they are wounded in their emotions and feelings. Failure to treat these wounds can lead to a diminishing ability to pursue self-appointed goals and to operate effectively in the world. Individuals were then

invited to discuss with the interviewer their own views concerning the damage township conditions wreak.

b)   Establishing Ground Themes

During this phase the focus was not personalised.   The children were invited to talk about their general observations.   This was found to lead to a deepening of rapport.   There were several reasons for this.   From the literature it is clear that there are two common responses to trauma, viz. psychic numbing or hypervigilance. (Laufer, Brett & Gallops, 1985).   There is some evidence that different kinds of trauma elicit different responses. Participation in abusive violence may predispose the individual towards a pattern of psychic numbing while hypervigilance is frequently associated with witnessing abusive violence.   (Laufer, Brett & Gallops, 1985). However, pre-morbid personality also interacts with the form of the trauma to produce a specific response in a particular individual (Hendin, Pollinger, Singer & Ulman 1981). Furthermore hypervigilance and psychic numbing frequently manifest themselves in the same individual.   However both hypervigilance and psychic numbing are responses to an overwhelming underlying anxiety in the personality which direct enquiry about the individual's own personal trauma may mobilise (Pynoos & Eth, 1986).   This is especially true in the phase of psychic numbing when the individual's

defences of denial and dissociation are at their height. Indirect inquiry via a discussion of the trauma in more general terms is therefore recommended in the initial stages of the interview as this both conveys a respect for the individual's natural defences and also invites discussion of the trauma without immediately mobilising maximum anxiety.

An invitation to discuss the impact of trauma on others and not only on the self has the further advantage of making the experience a shared one. The experience is not simply shared with the therapist but the individual realises that the symptoms s/he is experiencing are common. This recognition in itself may alleviate stress (Caplan 1981). Under stressful circumstances individuals frequently interpret their own discomfort as idiosyncratic or deviant and this may lead to a deterioration in psychological functioning. The individual, simply by focusing attention on what s/he has observed in other often realises that her/his experiences are not unique or deviant. This brings relief and a deepening of rapport with the interviewer. Further reasons why asking the adolescents in this particular group to focus on others may have been useful, pertain both to the age level of this group and to certain unique circumstances which surround black adolescents in South Africa.

In discussing reactions to severe stress and treatment the need for differentiating between different age groups has been stressed (Anthony, 1986; Rigamer, 1986). There is evidence that in times of disaster separation anxiety is the primary anxiety stimulated in the younger child, in the older child concerns with bodily integrity may predominate, while in the adolescent questions concerning human accountability and their own responses in the time of the crises may be preoccupations (Anthony, 1986; Rigamer, 1986). In the treatment of adolescents it is vital to recognise both their level of sophistication and their developmental concerns. In the present model the request that the adolescent interviewees share their observations not only provided a lead into an explication of individuals' more personalised trauma but also recognised their age appropriate concerns by inviting an active participation in the development of the treatment programme.

This involvement of adolescents as active participants in their own treatment programmes is especially important in the South African context. In 1976 thousands of black children and adolescents took to the streets to protest Bantu Education. This school children's revolt moved quickly from a protest linked to schooling to one linked to the whole system of apartheid (Chikane 1986). On the whole the students were not supported in these demands by their parents. This exacerbated the generation gap as parents were perceived by their children as having been bullied into

submission by the oppression of the 1960's and by the general system of apartheid (Chikane 1986).

In contrast the adolescents perceived themselves as active and defiant and as being at the forefront of resistance. There was a great crisis of confidence in authority at this time and while in the 1980's the generation gap has been partially bridged the idea of authority dictating anything to the adolescent including a treatment programme is an anathema. They demand full participation in decision making processes and demand to be seen as adult and responsible. Therefore requesting this group to participate in generating their own treatment programme by sharing their perceptions of township conditions and their consequences was an important prelude to a discussion of more personal issues.

Trauma

a)   Facilitation of Catharsis

In their work with traumatised children Pynoos & Eth (1986) move from the general to the specific. Before focusing on personal trauma in detail, these workers request that the children first express the impact of the trauma in fantasy and play and through the use of metaphor. Similarly Galante & Foa (1986), while working with children who were victims of an earthquake, used the first session of treatment to engage the children in free drawing while

listening to stories about San Francisco's recovery from
earthquakes. These workers used the second session to
establish that fear was a common shared reaction. The third
session was used to discuss beliefs about the earthquake,
i.e. it was geared to cognitive input. It was only in the
fourth session that an active discharge of emotion was
encouraged.

Unlike Galante & Foa (1986) neither Pynoos & Eth (1986) nor
the present writers could guarantee more than a single
session. However in this single session the steps followed
paralleled those of Galante & Foa (1986). These steps are
as follows. After a general discussion of disaster the
individual is encouraged to talk about their own specific
trauma and their personal reactions to it. They are then
given cognitive input which places their reaction in a
context and only after this are they invited to share their
own story more fully. In the present study as in others
with victims of political oppression the interviewee in
telling this story usually begins with a narration of
traumatic events (Allodi, 1981; Somnier & Genefke 1986).
The defence of isolation i.e. the removal of feelings from
the attendant perception is usually in the ascendence in the
initial stages of the story telling (Caplan, 1981). During
this time it is vital that the interviewer be totally
psychologically available to the interviewee, i.e. the
interviewer must have fully worked through her/his feelings
concerning the trauma the individual has sustained. The

difficulties in doing this should not be underestimated but will not be elaborated upon here as they form the subject matter of a future paper.

The phase of narration represents a transitional phase in the therapy and is usually the prelude to emotional release. The interviewer, however, has to facilitate this process. Pynoos & Eth (1986) speak of the traumatic reference which emerges in the early stages of the interview. Central to this concept is the idea that despite the individual's attempts to defend against them, particularly traumatic events remain intrusive and will be referred to in the narrative. These references may be obscure or obvious but it is the interviewer's task to identify them and to use them to help the individual to begin to reconstruct her/his story in a way which allows access to repressed emotions. In identifying traumatic referents note should be taken of special detailing because particular details are frequently imbued with a special traumatic meaning (Freud, 1965). Requesting that the individual tell her/his story with emphasis on details, e.g. size of the cell, noises heard while in solitary confinement, the furniture in the room which was petrol bombed, etc. is helpful in facilitating access to emotion, especially in individuals with strong repressive mechanisms (Somnier & Genefke, 1986). One technique found by the present author to be particularly useful in overcoming repression is to ask for a description

of the worst moment. This description is almost invariably accompanied by powerful affect.

By the time the individual expresses this intense emotion the interviewer should have established a therapeutic ambience which can provide a shield against the individual being completely overwhelmed by emotion. There is a high degree of agreement in the literature that catharsis with victims of oppression is not therapeutic in itself. As Allodi (1981) points out, catharsis by telling one's story with its emotional load is only the beginning of overcoming suffering. Pain must be actively transformed in the social space of the therapy setting. Oppression occurs in the context of distorted personal relationships and may only be corrected there. The interviewer cannot remain aloof and cool but must be prepared to share in the victim's grief and horror and be prepared to actively offer comfort and support.

The therapist, by being supportive and available, provides a buffer against the interviewee being overwhelmed by painful affect. As Pynoos & Eth (1986) point out, before the child relives an experience it is vital that s/he achieve an emotional state where there is some hope of not being totally devastated. The aim of catharsis is not simply emotional release but mastery. The resolution of exposure to extreme trauma is neither total repression nor "forgetting" nor an excessive preoccupation with the events

(Somnier & Genefke, 1986). The resolution involves a
restoration of the belief that while one may have been
helpless in the face of the events which elicited the
traumatic affect it is now possible to face these emotions
without being totally immobilised by anxiety or being
provoked into a loss of impulse control (Krystal, 1968).

b)   Facilitation of Mastery

Once the individual is confident that s/he can confront
traumatic emotions the path is cleared towards a more
adaptive appraisal of what has happened (Meichenbaum, 1985).
As Caplan (1981) points out, stress severely interferes with
cognitive processes and the ability to realistically
appraise what has happened and what is happening. A common
distortion under stress and particularly the stress of
political repression, detention and/or torture has to do
with self image and the attribution of blame (Caplan, 1981).

Victims frequently blame themselves for symptoms which are
the result of the cruelty they have suffered. In a study on
methods of torture Genefke & Somnier (1981) concluded that
torture techniques were systematic and had specific purposes
in mind including exhaustion as well as the induction of
fear, guilt and loss of self esteem. The victim, however,
usually does not directly perceive this and instead holds
her/himself as responsible for breaking down under detention

torture and other forms of political harassment. In the
treatment of individuals damaged in this way it is vital
that a direct link between their symptoms and the cruelty
they have been subjected to is made. This is possible once
overwhelming emotions have been confronted and a path
cleared for reappraisal. Genefke & Somnier (1986) have
classified common torture methods and detention procedures
according to their primary intent, e.g. those geared
specifically to create cognitive disorientation vs. those
geared to induce the individual to behave in a way which is
incongruent with her/his self image and so on. Somnier &
Genefke (1986) recommend that these techniques and their
intent be explained in some detail to counsellees.

In the present study explanations of the intent of the
oppressors were given to interviewees, but these
explanations were less detailed than those given by Somnier
& Genefke (1986). The time constraints of the single
session did not allow for detailed discussion. This was
seen as a limitation as most of the work on mastery
indicates that the more understanding the individual has of
the internal and external events surrounding the trauma the
better the subsequent adjustment (Galante & Foa, 1986;
Meichenbaum, 1985; Rigamer, 1986). The provision of
factual information is stressed by all these authors. For
this reason in the present study when individuals were able
to return for more than one session great stress was placed
on providing factual information. However, in the initial

session interviewers feel that they have achieved a great deal if they are successful in promoting in the victims a transfer of the burden of responsibility for symptoms from the self to the oppressors.

c) Factors affecting Recovery from Stress

In recovering from stress occasioned by torture the attribution of blame to factors outside of the self is particularly helpful (Allodi 1980). However, in the authors' experience, the degree to which individuals blame themselves in the first place was variable and depended to a large degree on their broader relationship to the South African political context. Those individuals who saw themselves as political activists, for example, responded differently to the detention experience to those who, for example, were detained because they happened to be in an area that was raided. Activists tended to see their imprisonment as a confirmation of their status of freedom fighters. Those on the periphery often saw their detention as an affirmation of their helplessness and vulnerability in the face of overwhelming and arbitrary forces of authority beyond their control. On release activists expressed more anger and more revenge fantasies than those on the periphery who experienced more signs of depression, apathy and hopelessness. In both groups there were, of course, individual differences in response. Within the activist

group there were differences in response according to how well individuals felt they had acquitted themselves in detention. On the whole however, they seemed to see more meaning in the detention experience than those on the periphery and this in itself ameliorated the experience of stress. The degree to which meaning and its interaction with appraisals of the controllability of events serves to ameliorate stress has been well documented by Folkman (1981). In the present study these two variables were found not only to affect the experience of the stress of detention but also the stress of witnessing violence.

In the authors' experience the witnessing of violence against a colleague was one of the traumas self defined activists experienced as the most stressful. The phenomenon of survivor guilt was at its peak in these instances and activists berated and blamed themselves for not gaining control of the situation and intervening to save their colleague.

In treatment it is vital to explore this survivor guilt fully and in detail. Premature reassurance that the individual could have done nothing has not been found to be helpful as it may block a realistic appraisal of the alternatives that may have existed. As conflict is continuous in the South African context and the individual is likely to confront similar situations again this exploration is particularly important. The individual's

feelings of guilt need to be explored fully and premature reassurance may create the impression that the events and feelings generated by them are too horrific for the interviewer to handle. This would serve to increase feelings of guilt and alienation rather than reduce them.

In helping the individual reappraise what happened attention should be directed to what Lifton (1979) has termed inner plans of action. Inner plans of action refer to the individual's immediate attempts after a catastrophe to reverse helplessness by formulating a plan of action which would have averted the catastrophe and ameliorated its impact. Lifton maintains that the function of these inner plans of action is to counteract the death imprint, i.e. the image of death and dying which is burnt into the individual's consciousness by exposure to the traumatic events. Given the likelihood in South Africa that township dwellers will repeatedly be exposed to traumatic events, it is imperative to fully explore these inner plans of action to assess how realistic they are and what the consequences of them may have been in reality. It is vital at this point that the interviewer lead the interviewee to her/his own conclusions and not become didactic. It is vital that the subject fully identify with the conclusions drawn so that future plans of action, if they are activated, are in reality his/her own, for it is the interviewee and not the interviewer who will bear the cost of these actions.

Apart from exploring inner plans of action, it is useful to pay attention to the role of unconscious impulses and wishes in the generation of guilt. Normal survivor guilt may well be exacerbated by these. For example, one individual was continuously plagued by guilt about a friend who was killed and whom he had not stopped from embarking on a mission he knew at the time was an impossible one. On probing it emerged that the subject felt some excitement at the thought of his friend taking on the authorities and expressing their collective defiance and anger. It was this excitement which was exacerbating his guilt and an acknowledgement of it and a linking of it to his own anger against the authorities brought relief.

While witnessing violence against a colleague was experienced as extremely stressful by the self defined activist group, witnessing violence against the enemy was reported to be less stressful. Violence against those defined as the enemy was seen as legitimate. For some this was especially so when the individual was white. Some interviewees expressed an identification with the violated individual based on colour and expressed greater distress about violence between subgroups of black people, even when the individual was clearly defined as an enemy, as they saw the promotion of such divisive violence as part of government strategy. However, overall the experience of stress seemed very much less where violence was directed against any individual defined as part of the system.

These clinical impressions are in line with the findings of researchers into Vietnam war veterans. Yager, Laufer and Gallops (1984), for example, found a lower level of adjustment problems in those individuals who had been involved in simple combat against the enemy than those involved in hostilities against civilians and/or in the use of unnecessarily cruel weapons or cruel treatment of P.O.W.'s. It seems that combat is seen as a legitimate form of violence against a clearly defined enemy and that this reduces stress. On the other hand, gratuitous violence or violence against those less clearly defined as the enemy provokes greater stress.

The present authors' clinical findings confirm this. However, the conflict in South Africa is current and one wonders whether, as with the Vietnam veterans, many individuals will not suffer from delayed post-traumatic stress when they have time to reflect upon events involving even those clearly defined as the enemy. The method of execution commonly used in the township is a violent one. A tyre soaked in petrol is placed around the individual's neck, and set alight, (the so-called "necklace" method). During and after the burning there is often a great deal of violence as the person is frequently hacked and stabbed and the body mutilated as individuals give vent to their seething anger and resentment. It is hard to know whether this form of execution would be chosen if these individuals

had other weapons. As it is, their arms largely consist of stones, sticks, knives and petrol bombs.

Be this as it may, the necklace remains a particularly violent form of death and it is hard to say what the effects of this death imprint will be in the long term. It is important to note that necklacing has not been encouraged by black leaders either in the UDF or Azapo but it is used as a method of control by some township dwellers. A recent newspaper article reporting on the widespread school boycotts quoted youths as threatening those who wished to attend school by saying "Go back to school and tell us what size tyre you wear". From this statement the objective level of threat and violence customary in many children's township lives is clear. There are, however, many who suspect that not all necklacings have been perpetrated by those against the system. There is a feeling that in some instances the system itself is using and exploiting necklacing. This once again underlines how the subjective meanings ascribed to events modify their impact (Folkman, 1984).

d) Recapitulation

Returning now to a summary of the steps in the middle phase of the therapeutic endeavour they are as follows. The middle phase of therapy begins when an individual is

encouraged to move from a general account of trauma to a
more personal account. The person usually begins with a
factual, journalistic narrative. The interviewer listens to
this account taking note of special detailing and remaining
alert for the traumatic reference. Using the traumatic
reference and techniques such as asking for the worst moment
the interviewer facilitates a more emotive retelling of the
individual's story. This usually leads to a catharsis which
clears the way for a cognitive reappraisal of what in
reality happened and what its impact was. During this phase
the interviewer facilitates reappraisal by the provision of
factual information, e.g. the intent of torture methods,
the known impact of various forms of trauma, etc. In other
words, the interviewer helps the individual to place their
own responses in a broader perspective and to make broad
cognitive connections as well as helps the individual to
realise that s/he is not alone but part of a broader social
context. The individual is helped to explore and evaluate
inner plans of action and where unconscious wishes or
impulses may be exacerbating the symptoms these are
examined.

Closure

a) Discussion of Current Concerns

Having addressed on a personal level the trauma the
individual has suffered, s/he is now invited to discuss
current concerns. Pynoos & Eth (1986) and Galante & Foa
(1986) assert that a willingness and an ability to discuss
current concerns and to enter into planning a future in
itself indicates that the interview has been successful in
removing some of the burden of trauma.

In the South African context the future the individual
begins to contemplate is often bleak and current concerns
extremely pressing. The township population seen by the
S.C.T. are usually in exile from their own communities.
They are often unable to return to their homes because they
have been targetted for aggression. They are therefore
currently facing not only threats to their physical safety
but the feelings of alienation, dislocation and lack of
familiarity which characterise the exile (Anthony 1986).

One of the overriding stresses which this group reports is
fear for the safety of their families. There is often
extreme anxiety that those who wish to harm them, when they
find them absent, will harass, intimidate and possibly harm
other family members. This anxiety is often well founded.
Coupled with this fear are feelings of guilt about not

supporting their families and possibly bringing them into danger. These feelings are particularly strong when the parental subsystem does not support the adolescents' activities.

In dealing with the individual's current concerns it is important to give the person practical help. S/he may be put in touch with agencies which could be helpful in making contact with the family or investigating and reporting back on their circumstances. The individual should be helped to mobilise whatever resources or support systems s/he can.

In evaluating the future it is helpful to assist the person review the events and circumstances which have led to the present. Many individuals find the strength during this review to recommit themselves to their ideals. Others may be helped to move beyond seeing themselves as helpless victims of circumstance and to take a more active role in deciding their own future action. The aim of this phase is to empower individuals in even small ways and to return to them a sense of choice. The encouragement of this even in circumstances in which the individual choices are in reality severely limited was based both on clinical experience and on the work of Eitinger (1976). Eitinger, on the basis of interviews with more than 2 600 concentration camp survivors, concluded that one of the most important coping mechanisms was the conservation of the ability to make at least a few of one's own decisions. The retention of a firm

system of values and ideals also served as a buffer. Thus a re-exploration of individuals' commitments as well as attempts to involve them in planning their own future even on a short term basis seemed important.

b)   Termination

Following this and having checked whether there were any further issues the interviewee wishes to discuss the session is brought to closure. This is done by including the individual in a review and evaluation of the therapeutic session. The focus is moved once more from the particular to the general. The interviewee is asked whether s/he found the interview helpful and if so what aspect of the interview was most useful. The interviewee is then reminded of the general observations made at the beginning of the session and asked to comment of the usefulness of the interview for others. Through this the individual is brought full circle back to the starting point.

In a situation where not only psychological survival but physical survival may be dependent on defences remaining intact it is vital that the individual not be allowed to leave the session in a state of greatly heightened emotionality or anxiety. Asking the individual to comment on the usefulness of the interview for others also ends the session by once more underlining that the individual is not

alone and her/his personal suffering has a meaning in a broader context. The interviewer concludes by expressing appreciation that the individual has shared her/his pain and by doing so has contributed to the well-being of others. The individual is invited to return at any time and the practicalities of making contact with the interviewer are discussed and the interview is concluded.

General Issues

In reviewing this interview technique in toto several general points need mentioning. The first of these has to do with the length of the interview. While this interview can generally be completed in 1 1/2 - 2 hrs it is vital that the interviewer have as much time available as the interviewee needs. The interviewer cannot work effectively and be psychologically available in the way demanded by this work if s/he is preoccupied with the next appointment.

As Haley (1974) who worked with Vietnam war veterans points out, the establishment of a therapeutic alliance for this group of patients is not the facilitator of the treatment but rather the treatment itself. It is crucial for the therapist to be totally available and to be a real person in every sense of the word and not to attempt to create conditions conducive to transference by, for example, maintaining strict boundaries.

The need for the therapist to be actively supportive is stressed. Pynoos & Eth (1986) go so far as to advocate physical comfort for the child in grief and the provision of snacks and refreshment at critical points in the interview. The current workers' experiences confirm that of Pynoos & Eth (1986). The provision of refreshments was found to be particularly useful once a tide of emotion had passed and the individual seemed ready to move onto a cognitive appraisal of events. It was also useful to mark the break between the discussion of past trauma and the move toward the consideration of current stresses and future plans of action. Not only does the provision of food and refreshment have a symbolic value but individuals are often physically exhausted by the therapeutic process and in fact in need of sustenance.

The activity of the therapist and the length of the interview are two factors which distinguish this work from more psychodynamically oriented work. A third distinguishing factor concerns the type of material in the sessions. Analytic work is based on the premise that it is repressed memories that are troublesome; in this work it is often not repressed memories but conscious ones that are problematic. Resolution comes not from either forgetting or obsessive remembering but in being able to live with what cannot be forgotten. Somnier & Genefke (1986) state that the rehabilitation of a victim cannot be considered to be complete until the term victim no longer signifies that the

subject has adapted to this role but instead signifies only a historical event. Would that this were possible in South Africa's black township refugees, but it is not. Persecution and victimisation continue. They are in reality not historical events but continuing common everyday practices. Mental health workers in this country have an obligation not only to deal with those who are casualties of the evils of apartheid but to actively campaign for the elimination of this system. The damage it has wrought is already inestimable. Should it continue it may well become irreparable.

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Childhood Sexual Abuse :
Event, Fact or Structure

Ann Levett

Department of Psychology

University of Cape Town

In attempting to develop a different approach to understanding various areas of human life psychologists have been commenting on the range of discourses, many contradictory, which dominate social practices (e.g. Gergen, 1985, Harre, 1984, Moscovici, 1984, Sampson, 1986). These processes contribute to the production of each human subject, to the construction of individual identity and emotional life, and construct the meanings imputed to interpersonal exchanges, including relations between men and women and between adults and children. In order to make sense of the complexities of human behaviour, we need to take apart both the commonplace notions and the dominant, accepted explanations of cause-effect relationships. In any particular discourse, because of dominant sociocultural

forms of understanding, attention tends to focus on certain
specifics with a noticeable lack of attention to attendant
phenomena. Where perceptible, the gaps are likely to be a
fruitful locus for the study of contradictions. In a social
constructionist view, where any discussion about the world
is seen as "an artefact of communal interchange" (Gergen,
1985, p.266), psychological inquiry itself may be evaluated.
This approach forces us to re-examine dominant systems of
thought and to reflect on widespread conceptions of
knowledge, which leads to insights concerning the purposes
of knowledge, and how it is transformed.
Crucial to understanding complex behaviours is a dissection
of the conflictful and often confusing definitions of the
notions involved. Such work has been done on, for example,
falling in love (Averill, 1985), subjectivity, racism and
gender (Henriques, Hollway, Urwin, Venn and Walkerdine,
1984), and the person (Gergen and Davis, 1984). The work
of unpacking the meaning of "racism" for example could
relate to problems resulting from contradictions concerned
in attempts to be nonracist in racist society. Such
concepts are understood by the individuals concerned and
others of similar background in particular forms which are
rooted in the ways in which such concepts are socially
construed and expressed. This has to do with practices of
childrearing, messages conveyed by the media and through
formal and informal education, for instance. I argue here

that notions concerning the traumatic effects of childhood sexual abuse may be approached usefully in the same way, reflecting on the psychological (and popular) literature on this subject.

A growing body of academic literature reports the extent to which child sexual abuse is prevalent (e.g. Herman, 1981, Russell, 1983), and an even more extensive literature speaks of the gravity of the effects of experience of incest and child sexual abuse (e.g Kempe and Kempe, 1984, Russell, 1986). Along with widespread discussion of the incest taboo, it is evident that it is commonly transgressed. There are also notions concerning the innocence of childhood, often contradicted in experience and in practice, together with a pervasive view that child sexual abuse may be the result of seductive behaviour in children. It is generally held that "normal" adults do not have a sexual interest in children (just as it is held that heterosexuality is "normal" and rape is deviant). There is an over-riding normative preoccupation with sex and sexual practices while there are a multitude of conflictful definitions for what this is and the role it plays in social structure, social groups and in individual relationships (Weeks, 1981). Simultaneously, and arising out of these ideas, there is a highly emotive loading to individuals' acknowledgement of the experience, which makes it difficult to discuss: thus there is a charged silence in the midst of vociferous talk. The silences are important aspects of the discourse.

Specialised treatment units, conferences and educational
programmes are set up aimed at preventing further increases
in occurrences of sexual abuse. At the same time, there is
discussion about the rapid rise in incidence in these
phenomena and almost monotonous repetitive, sensational
reporting of certain (extreme) forms of child sexual abuse
in the media. There is a seepage of discourse from the
burgeoning professional literature via the media into more
common everyday thought, which parallels the way in which
psychoanalytic ideas have been adopted in fragmentary and
naive form by large numbers of laypersons (Berger, 1965,
Moscovici, 1961, cited in Moscovici, 1984). There is a
sense in which all this discourse creates the phenomenon -
the impulse as well as reactions to it. In terms of a
cognitive constructionist model, every aspect of the
discourse serves to perpetuate and shape the phenomena and
its repercussions.

In the last decade it has become widely accepted that a
large number of women in western society report childhood
experience of sexual molestation or abuse. This may be
either intrafamilial or extrafamilial, and in many instances
both have occurred (e.g. Finkelhor, 1984, Kempe and Kempe,
1984). In 1981 Herman reviewed five surveys and found that
20 to 33% of some 5000 adult women reported childhood sexual
encounters with adult males. Although there are problems in
comparing these surveys, there was consistency in these
reports concerning largely middle class and/or educated
women. More recently, using intensive interviews and a

large, broadly representative sample of adult women in San
Francisco, Russell (1983) reported that 38% had had under
age 18 experiences of this nature, and 28% had at least one
such experience before the age 14 years.

Estimates today range between 12% and 44%, depending on the
sample studied and on the definition of sexual abuse which
is used. My own small study among women students at the
University of Cape Town revealed a prevalence of 44%. The
overall picture reflects a widespread phenomenon at all
levels of variously grouped contemporary western populations
of women.

The most common criticism of these studies relates to the
circumscribed population samples, the way information has
been gathered, or because sexual abuse is either too
narrowly or too broadly conceptualised. There is little
comment which indicates the need for a closer examination of
the nonparticipating and self-excluding sections of the
populations studied: the silent majority. Of Russell's
original random sample of 2000 households only 50%
responded, and 19% refused to participate in the study once
they understood its focus. Of course it is extremely
difficult to devise a study involving unwilling or
unavailable subjects!

It has been suggested that there has been an increase in the
phenomenon over the past two or three decades, but no
information is provided from other historical or social
contexts to justify this claim. Some hold that the problem
has simply become more visible. However, another kind of

explanation not yet offered might be that the phenomena in question have become more "public" for certain groups of women, e.g. those with some access to feminist thinking which advocates the need to expose these phenomena. For most groups of women this option could seem pointless (e.g. Fine, 1983/1984): what do women gain by such disclosures of personal experience? More importantly, what may be lost through such selfdisclosure?

Until the early 1970's the prevalent view on child sexual molestation was that girls invent these events. The idea was that they do not really take place except in the female imagination, or that women distort real events to minimise taking responsibility for what is viewed as seductive behaviour. Although fashionably less explicit, this view is still widely prevalent in many health care environments. It also dominates in courts of law. Women and children are thus effectively silenced in the more common situations. In this context, silence is self-protective and pragmatic, and can be seen to be a meaningful adaptive strategy.

Following the early work of Schachter (1964), recent studies on the social construction of emotions (Armon-Jones, 1985, Harre, 1986) suggest that widespread notions of complicity, negligent irresponsibility, or the idea that "people get what they deserve" (the 'just world' hypothesis) all play a part in the construction of the emotional responses, at the time and in later years. The complex feelings attached to such experience contribute to this silencing; they also contribute to the perpetuation of the idea stigma and of

passive victims.

The area is difficult to research because of the fraught issues which surround sexuality, privacy, the sanctity of childhood and the family, and even more so because of the stigmatization anticipated and experienced by women following sexual abuse.

Apart from prevalence studies, the psychological outcome studies which have appeared in the literature largely fall into various combinations of the following groups:

(a) the elements which are researched are individual children, families and women,

(b) the knowledge which is pursued involves detail of identified child sexual abuse, ways to identify unknown cases, and lists concerning the traumatic effects of child sexual abuse,

(c) a prominent goal is the isolation of important ameliorating and exacerbating variables within these situations, to enable the prediction of traumatic effects,

(d) a second goal is the relative effectiveness of a range of intervention strategies, aimed at individuals and families.

These studies adopt a convention of epistemology which seeks particular effects following certain events. Very little attention is focused on the context within which the experiences occur, although it is the social context which lumbers these phenomena with the meanings and feelings which

shape the subjective experience.

In the case of sexual molestation of children, all concerned can be seen to be caught up in adversarial problems because of dominant social constructions of sexuality, childhood and trauma. In the discourse of trauma, a victim identity is created for the child (usually female), an assailant identity for the man, rescuer identities for the health professionals, and crusader roles for the media. Each leads to its own set of distortions.

The discourse contributes to the structuring of significant aspects of experience. The discourse of the "victim" is particularly problematic in a situation where, for instance, the helping institutions set up to intervene can be seen as part of the problem; they offer no really effective remedies but perpetuate notions of damage and practices of protection. In fact the "remedies" may have to be devised and fought for by those who are "victims", redefined as active agents.

Furthermore, there is considerable confusion about what precisely constitute the "traumatic effects" so widely mooted, either within the childhood experience of sexual abuse or in its consequences. The child is studied extensively, as an individual or within the family unit, and a great deal of energy and effort are put into this endeavour with the aim of diminishing these effects. Most studies of the effects of childhood sexual abuse report on sequelae during childhood and adolescence for the child and her family. An inconsistent picture of a broad range of

consequences emerges.   The overall picture is one of a kind of derailment of a "natural" developmental process (Riley, 1983) into any of several routes of "deviance" as a result of particular events.

In retrospective studies seeking to uncover longer-term effects of childhood sexual abuse in later years, it is not surprising that the picture gains little clarity. Commonly reported are behaviours such as truanting, delinquency, promiscuity, illegitimate pregnancy, and early marriage (Steele and Alexander, 1981). Aside from the point that the depiction of these complex behaviours as "problems"is a moral judgement rather than one a psychological disability (McIntosh, 1978), such choices are also made by adolescents and young adults (male as well as female) without a history of childhood sexual abuse (Ennew, 1986).

In attempting to establish the long term consequences of such childhood experience in data obtained from adult women, the problems are compounded by the range of intervening variables over the subject's life since the childhood experience, further compounded by variables antecedent to the experience of molestation. Browne and Finkelhor (1986) recently exhaustively reviewed the literature; they present a coherent critique of the problems involved, but this is from within the framework of logical positivist research. In the same epistemological vein, there have been calls for more rigorous empirical studies of the effects of childhood sexual abuse. These calls are aimed at prioritizing the current list of covariables. Factors such as family support

and stability, "good" early mothering, the degree of trust in the relationship before and at the time of the sexual encounter, whether the abuser is a familiar or an authority figure, are some examples of these. The number of "critical covariables" purported to exacerbate or ameliorate the effects of the experience seem to proliferate with each new approach. Without a sound theoretical framework which takes account of the social and historical context, it is clear that advances in understanding will be marginal (Sampson, 1986).

These studies, while nibbling at the edges of the phenomenon, seem to fall through the central core without seeing what it is. In close-focus study of individuals and family units, looking for pathologies or deviance with the hope of showing these as "causes" or as "consequences", the problems involved are insurmountable. From a certain perspective the events seem similar, but the facts which may be more fruitfully observed are likely to be of a quite different order. This issue was well recognised by researchers such as Durkheim, Claude Bernard, and Freud (Mestrovic, 1985). The context of constructed meanings in terms of social representations (Moscovici, 1984) is ignored.

There are major problems in these conventional studies. Firstly, the empirical literature shows a widespread assumption of traumatic effects (Giovannoni and Becerra, 1979). It is rarely commented that there is inconsistent evidence for this assumption (but see Freud, 1984). The

expectation of such effects can all too easily become a
self-fulfilling prophecy. This especially when subjects who
present themselves for assistance often do have such a
history. The silent invisibility of the nonpresenters tends
to be overlooked, and the likelihood that many conceal or do
not recognise their histories of such experience is
forgotten.

Secondly, absent from these empirical studies of child
sexual abuse is a critical examination of the concepts of
trauma and traumatic effects. Emotional trauma" is rarely
discussed in a specific way. The notion that some children
and adults are reported to be unaffected by the experience
of sexual abuse is not popular (Henderson, 1983, Watters,
1983) and is unusual within the current literature. If
disturbance is not evident, the dominant view is that
vulnerability effects will emerge later in response to some
specific triggering event or context (Browne and Finkelhor,
1986). This relates directly but inaccurately to
psychoanalytic theory but it is conspicuous that the
detailed psychoanalytic work which should inform this idea
is absent. The Freudian notion of trauma, and the
development of this complex concept, is discussed in
Laplanche and Pontalis (1973) and will not be dealt with
here, suffice to say that there is little connection between
the theoretical concept and the way in which the notion of
traumatic effects is used in the empirical literature.

Thirdly, what aspects are absent or de-emphasised?
Comparatively little is written about the males who have

been involved in all these situations. Where attempts have been made to study the males concerned, conclusions suggest either that the men concerned are "immature", "inadequate", or that psychopathology is present. What notions of maturity, adequacy and normality mean is not discussed in such reports.

Fourth, little attention is given to the notion of "resilience". This is the most interesting question in this area of study, but victim-oriented research places a particular meaning upon silence. This is commonly attributed to guilt, and is regarded as unhealthy. Given the survey figures mentioned, it seems that large numbers of children quietly continue their lives, apparently unaffected. How can this be? It seems to contradict the widespread view that sexual abuse is a hugely traumatic experience. When "effects" are not visible, what exactly are we talking about?

Within the framework which expects traumatic effects, it could be held that women with this history experience at least problems with sexual functioning in intimate relationships (Becker, Skinner, Abel and Treacy, 1982). It might be that many conceal this, or consider their sexual functioning as not out of the ordinary. It is equally possible that women privately attribute current experience which seems problematic to such childhood experience, but seek no assistance or remedy. We need to remind ourselves that we are talking about some 40% of the adult female population and conceivably more. Most do not come into

contact with mental health professionals and we have no data in these respects. We also have no "normative" baselines with which to make the necessary comparisons in such research: what is "normal sexual functioning" for a woman in our society? It has been argued that there are multiple and contradictory norms in this area of human behaviour (Gagnon and Simon, 1973).

If one takes the dubious view that a homosexual orientation is a "sexual problem", there is research which suggests that there is a higher incidence of childhood experience of sexual abuse among lesbian women (Gundlach, 1977). However, there are other ways in which to understand this finding - for instance, the compelling need to make sense of seemingly out of the ordinary aspects of ones life, particularly if one feels pressed to justify "deviance". This is not discussed.

Some have examined the possibility that the effects for many women are to be found in a particular personality structure - what might be termed a defect or a deficiency which, although not a form of psychopathology as delineated today, has pervasive and subtle effects on day to day living. Examples might be a difficulty in what is regarded as the appropriate expression of anger, or inordinate suspiciousness or low self esteem. In this framework, several studies have made use of personality tests such as the MMPI (Meiselman, 1980, Scott and Stone, 1986), projective instruments such as the Rorschach (Owens, 1982), the Clinical Analysis Questionnaire (Sarbo, 1984), and the

Personal Orientation Inventory (Wetmore, 1982). Although specifically studying women who are known to have childhood histories of sexual abuse, the findings have not been especially useful. The over-riding impression is that these instruments are "too coarse" to provide a clear picture of long term effects on personality. It is conspicuous, however, that here again the prevailing notion is one of expected traumatic effects. The methods and the kinds of observation involved reflect implicit assumptions which obscure the picture rather than clarifying it (Danziger, 1985).

Thus far there has been no suggestion that there may be interesting discussion deriving from the very fact that, even though women with this history are themselves likely to attribute consequences to the experience (Gold, 1986), they are not in fact distinguishable from women without this history.

Attempts to study what are termed the effects of widespread childhood sexual abuse of females may be futile. It is my contention that female children are reared in a social climate in which there is a pervasive expectation of the likelihood of molestation. This constitutes a fundamental aspect of female experience in our sociohistorical context (Riger et al, 1978, Riger and Gordon, 1981, Estep et al, 1977). In other words, the social construction of female identity is marked on the one hand by reality experiences in a range of forms and, on the other hand, by a gamut of prohibitions, rules and conventions which govern and inhibit

our behaviour in efforts (frequently futile) to avoid, prevent or deny this reality. The cumulative effects of these rules and conventions could be argued to constitute a significant configuration of what Harre (1984) might call the "female mind".

In 1985 Stanko writes: "Cast in a mould constructed within male-dominated society, women's experiences of sexual and physical violation take on an illusion of normality, ordinariness" (page 9). Hanmer and Saunders (1983) note that fear is maintained by the media, informal accounts and the personal experience of women and their friends. This leads to decreased public participation, paradoxically increased dependency on men, and heightened vigilence.

It is not only within the context of westernised patriarchal society that this holds. Ardener (1981), Ortner and Whitehead (1981), and Sanday (1981) have written about a range of social contexts in which women's lives are dominated by fear of the possibility of sexual assault. This curtails freedom of movement and limits access to resources.

The possibility of sexual abuse is a "material reality of women's lives not just a psychological, attitudinal, or ideological one" (MacKinnon, 1982). A certain degree of paranoid behaviour is part of the psychological-cum-ideological constitution of what it is to be female. This renders girls and women structurally vulnerable, while we observe the rules, conventions and practices regarded as appropriate to our structural position.

The three women depicted in the film A QUESTION OF SILENCE
have broken through certain of the boundaries which
contribute to the maintenance of the structures of gender
appropriate behaviour. They break the rules - the rules
concerning violence and compliance, concerning defence of
self through verbal explanation, concerning normal and
deviant behaviour, and concerning the male-constituted and
dominated system of justice which they flout (with laughter)
in the final courtroom scene. They enjoy the collusive
silence of other women, who both witnessed the murder of the
boutique owner and who witness the courtroom scene, but do
not come forward as witnesses in the conventions of the
judicial practices. Structurally these women are "supposed
to be" dominated and intimidated by their material situation
in the social order (by husband, by the state and its court,
by the public prosecutor, by the woman who represents the
social order in her role as their advocate) as well as
intrapsychically through the "internalization" of the
material situation. Many women (not necessarily feminists)
viewed this film with a sense of exhilaration, whereas many
men (including those who hold a feminist perspective) left
the film with a sense of disturbance and unease.

The social construction of the category women involves
subjects designated female accepting and participating in a
set of socially subordinate positions. In conventional
developmental psychology, social learning and socialization
processes are seen to shape females into particular roles.
When women do not "fit" this is perceived as deviant or

abnormal or pathological. The contradiction between the assertion that women are socialized into their more or less normative roles of subordination and subjugation, and the active struggles of women against these structures is a significant one (Sayers, 1986). Increasingly there is a conscious recognition among women of a range of conflictful experience and ideas within the social construction "female" (Hollway, 1984, Wetherell, 1982). For numbers of women this awareness has brought about an active effort to effect changes in social structures and social practices, for the benefit of women and for members of other oppressed groups. The depiction of women purely as victims is myth. It reflects a major contradiction in women's experience of themselves: many women do see themselves as passive, helpless, at times, in accord with the myth. At other times womens' experience is of their capacity to act effectively on the world. The socially mediated forces which establish and elaborate the construction of what is and what is not traumatic for women, enforcing protection, self restriction, paranoid fears and a sense of vulnerability, constrain women's sense of effective agency in significant ways. It seems crucial to uncover the structures which heighten the significance of sexual molestation in a context in which this is daily experience.

A counterpart is the myth of male violence (Walkowitz, 1982): this is not all there is to being male and to male/female relating. Things are much more complicated. In a general atmosphere of male-female and adult-child relating

which is permeated with practices and their connotations of protection/ownership, vulnerability/abuse, and male=active female=passive, the case of child sexual abuse is a reflection of normative patterns rather than singular events with singularly harmful consequences.

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The Dilemma of Dissidence

Joha Louw-Potgieter
Department of Psychology
University of Natal
Durban

Disaffiliation from a group affects the very essence of
group belongingness for those who choose to remain within
the group. It heightens the salience of group norms, raises
questions about the validity of these norms, the value of
group membership and might even affect ingroup solidarity
and determine the course of action to be taken against the
non-conforming group member. The aim of this paper is to
point out that those individuals who wish to retain the
status quo, be they laypersons or professionals, will seek
to locate the origin of dissidence within the non-conforming
individual, thereby accepting the group and its norms
uncritically as a given.

DISSIDENCE: THE MEDIA VIEWPOINT

In a recent treason trial a judge who sentenced a white
woman to 25 years for planting limpet mines, said "...she
was a dedicated Marxist and revolutionary and while this was
understandable, though not excusable, in black South
Africans, he found it difficult to understand in a white
South African" (Weekly Mail, 7 - 13/11/1986). Passing
sentence, Mr Justice van der Walt told Marion Sparg that
"the fact that as a white South African you chose to espouse
the cause of revolution I regard as an aggravating feature"
(Sunday Tribune, 9/11/1986). In "exclusive" articles,
journalists provided "explanations" for and "causes" of
Sparg's dissidence. She was described as "the little obese
girl who was rejected by her classmates" and who "...was
just 13 when the seeds of terrorism began germinating in
her" (Sunday Times, 9/11/1986). In what was termed a
"portrait of a terrorist", certain aspects of the life
history of "the lonely girl who turned to terror" were
dissected in order to give readers a view of what was going
on "inside the tortured mind of Marion Sparg" (Sunday
Times, 9/11/1986). Thus the picture of a fat, socially
alienated person with a very strong need to belong was
created by the media and it was concluded that it was
something within this individual which caused her to become
a traitor to her own group.

A number of uncomfortable and controversial issues are obscured by the melodramatic style of most of the reports regarding Marion Sparg: as a highly intelligent and compassionate person, she appeared to have identified fully with a specific group and its ideology, conformed to the group norms in a consistent fashion and was confident that the actions of this group might make a positive contribution to the future of this country. Mr Justice van der Walt described her as a dedicated and unrepentant member of Umkhonto we Sizwe, while it was also reported that "...a striking feature during Sparg's trial was her courage and refusal to back down" (Sunday Tribune, 9/11/1986).

Inherent in all this information there seems to be an assumption (held by ingroup members like the judge and certain journalists) that people who exhibit certain group traits (e.g. a white skin) should automatically identify with the group in question. Such commitment is regarded as laudable - but only insofar as the ingroup is concerned. Should a former ingroup member choose to identify with and become a committed member of an outgroup, it is regarded as "deviant" and "abnormal" and "causes" and confirmatory evidence for this are sought in the person, sometimes to the neglect of other, more social explanations for this phenomenon: "Shortly after her arrest in March, certain newspapers described Sparg as a lonely, overweight person who turned to revolutionary politics out of a desire to belong. It was an image difficult to reconcile with the

woman who spoke in confident, measured tones about her political commitment" (_Weekly Mail_, 7 - 13/11/1986).

DISSIDENCE: THE TRADITIONAL SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL VIEWPOINT

In examining political dissent, social psychologists' main concern has been with the question: "Who, or what kind of person, becomes a political dissident?" Very often the answer to this question has been in terms of:

1. individual personality resulting from certain child-rearing practices (see, for instance, Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson and Sanford (1950) on the Authoritarian Personality; and the work of Keniston (1965, 1968), Flacks (1967), Inglehart (1971, 1977) and Block and her co-workers (Block, 1972; Block, Haan & Smith, 1969; Haan, Smith & Block, 1968; Smith, Haan & Block, 1970) on student activism in America);

2. types of temperament (see Eysenck (1954) and Eysenck and Coulter (1972) on tough and tender-mindedness);

3. and style of cognitive functioning (see Rokeach 1960) on the open and closed mind.

Thus, intra- or interpersonal explanations have been advanced for political dissidence. These explanations have resulted in a specific kind of social psychology of political dissent: causal explanations of dissent are

located firmly within the "deviant" individual and the social context of the "deviance" is ignored or uncritically accepted as a given. By neglecting societal variables such as the content and meaning of the political norms against which the political dissent is revolting, the ways in which these norms are created and maintained by powerful groups within society, and the social reactions to political norm violators, the existing status quo is rarely questioned or criticised. It could thus be argued that the kind of question which has been asked by social psychologists as regards political dissent, has determined the answer and the level of analysis of the explanation. It would seem that whenever social psychologists have attempted to grapple with the question of political dissent, that "...not only in their answers, but also in their questions was there a mystification" (Marx, 1968, p. 29).

AFRIKANER DISSIDENCE: AN EMPIRICAL STUDY AND A CRITICAL VIEWPOINT

In order to present a critical and social psychological viewpoint of dissidence, this section will report on part of a study (see Louw-Potgieter (1986) for full details on the sample, method and analysis used) which empirically investigated the following question: "How, or by means of which process(es) does a person, as a member of a specific group, in a specific social, economic and historical

context, start to question the political norms of the group?" Such a question immediately shifts the focus of investigation from the individual _qua_ group member. Unlike other social psychological studies which sought to locate dissidence in intra-individual, psychodynamic processes played out against a backdrop of specific interpersonal processes (e.g. the Authoritarian Personality), or in intra-individual, genetic factors (e.g. tough and tender-mindedness), or in intra-personal, pre-ideological beliefs (e.g. the open and closed mind), the present study attempts to broaden the scope of examination to include societal factors outside the individual.

Twenty-two respondents, classified as dissident Afrikaners, on the basis of overt criticism and/or action against the governing National Party and its policy of _apartheid_, participated in the study. All of them grew up in traditional Afrikaans homes where both parents spoke Afrikaans as their home language. They were asked to write an autobiography (based on Allport's (1942) topical biography and Stone's (1970) propsopography) according to specific guidelines, one of which required a description of the change from a traditional Afrikaner to a dissident Afrikaner. Analysis of the autobiographies revealed, _inter alia_, the nature of the process of change plus those factors which gave rise to this change. Selective excerpts from these autobiographies will be used in the next few sections to illustrate, support or contradict certain conclusions.

1. The nature of the process of change: From the
    autobiographical data it became clear that respondents
    regarded their questioning of the status quo as a
    gradual, cognitive process and not a dramatic and
    abrupt change:

> "Nothing dramatic happened in those years.
> It was rather a case of a growing conviction,
> a gradual knowledge and certainty about the
> road I should follow.   As far as I am
> concerned, that 'road' is still far from
> finished.   I am, in a very real sense, still
> a pilgrim.   I suspect - perhaps with more
> than just a bit of doubt - that I will, on
> that road ahead, become even more estranged
> from fellow-Afrikaners."   (AC)

Some respondents stressed the rationality and logical
nature of this process: AP said his decision to
distance himself from involvement with the Afrikaner
group "was on the level of good sense" and a "rational
and realistic reaction";   AG changed his "philosophy of
life" and "pattern of thinking" to a "more humanitarian
insight";   and AM echoed this by calling his change "an
increase in knowledge and insight".

The process of change also involves the process of
constructing a new identity, sometimes coupled with the
anxiety of arriving at a new, static and stifling

identity, or the fear of being re-absorbed into the old group: AI said that the biggest danger for a person questioning the status quo "is that he/she can become too 'established', and, therefore, become 'arrived'" even in this dissident identity; while AD regarded "the feeling that I can be re-accepted into the Afrikaner establishment, if I want to" as "a definite danger".

The process of disidentification from a group with clearly defined and restrictive norms, might lead to reactions against other possible group memberships in the process of redefining identity: AP remarked that "once cured of Afrikaner nationalism, I never suffered from other political or ideological extremes...Dissidence does not only force one to abandon comfortable, established opinions or standards and only to justify one's standards, but also to recreate an own life-world, also to redefine reality"; while AA said that he has "never seriously thought of identifying myself as a Communist". For AG, however, this redefinition meant a broader group membership: "It was a vision, a philosophy of life, that has helped me to see myself in a new light, namely as an Afrikaner who is also an African".

Overall, this provides support for the notion of dissidence as a cognitive process of change: rational,

logical and constructive. The gradual, continuous and unfinished nature of the process reflects an image of the respondent as an active agent, engaged in the complex task of constructing a dynamic definition of self within a specific social context. There are a few indications that the construction of an alternative identity is sometimes influenced by reactive motives originating from former unsatisfactory group memberships.

2. Factors giving rise to change: Respondents attributed the cognitive process of change from traditional to a dissident Afrikaner to a complexity of factors. However, three main factors, namely value conflict, exposure to alternative ideas and contact with outgroups, have been isolated on the basis of the frequency with which they were mentioned by respondents. Each one of these factors will be discussed in more detail.

a) Value conflict: Previous data (see Louw-Potgieter 1986) indicated that most respondents had grown up in typical Afrikaner families, where traditional values, norms and attitudes had been instilled in them. Religion, as one of the cornerstones of an Afrikaner upbringing, provided the basis for these values, norms and attitudes. In some families, the stereotype of a dour Calvinism -

authoritarian, dogmatic and egocentric - must have characterised the religious practice. In others, a relgion of compassion for all human beings (AJ), or a specific type of pietism (AK, AR), or a religion distanced from volk politics (AV), was practised. Sixteen respondents mentioned their past or present religious values as a causal factor of their societal critique.

The general moral example set by parents, has also been instrumental in providing respondents with a normative framework for questioning the status quo: moral orientations like non-chauvinism (AE), social justice (AG, AK), fairness (AU) and social concern and humanity (AK) were said to be held by parents and instilled in respondents.

For some respondents, a broad Christianity or humanitarian principles provided the standard against which various aspects of religious and political life were measured: AK, for example, remarked: "As a Christian I gradually became aware of the unacceptability of a lot of things that pass as traditional Afrikanerhood".

Whatever the specific origin or content of respondents' value orientations, they served as a standard for evaluating everyday experience. In general, the roots of the process of becoming

critical of the <u>status quo</u>, are to be found in a
growing awareness of inconsistencies between two
(or more) values, inconsistencies between
theoretical and expressed societal values, and
inconsistencies regarding the recipients of these
expressed values. AU's experience reflect some of
these value inconsistencies:

AU reflected on the "exclusivity" and
"closedness" of the religious practices of
most Afrikaners as a factor that made him
aware of the contrast between white "pious
Sunday faces" in the NGK and the general need
within broader society. He left for overseas
study and only abroad did he discover "the
inclusiveness and universality of Christian
religion and realised that I had grown up
with a mispresentation, conditioned by
Afrikaner self-interest. This new awareness
of an intellectual basis for my religious
convictions was the completion of the road on
which Mother and Father had already placed me
early in my life. They would later,
tragically enough, with difficulty accept the
consequences of this, namely my rebellion
against some societal structures."

While the above extract from AU's autobiography
illustrates rejection of certain basic elements
(i.e. NGK dogma) from his value framework, it
also reflects the retention of others, namely
specific parental values. This idea of change
plus continuity was mentioned repeatedly by other

respondents and is further illustrated by the following quotation:

AP noted that "most basic values were, naturally embedded during my youth. I am, however, of the opinion that, in my time, I have stripped these values to their essence and of their specific Afrikaner embellishments and unnecessary layers of varnish."

Once a satisfactory moral standard had been formulated by respondents, a large degree of value consistency is detectable across various situations and life spheres: "I regard...my 'change' not really as a change, but a consequence (logical) of my Christianity" (AV); "New political insights followed from this more humanitarian insight" (AG).

In summary, this section revealed that as regards value conflict, a framework of values, based either on parental values, NGK dogma, or broad Christian or humanitarian principles, provided a standard for evaluating the group's position in society. For some this standard proved to be adequate, while those who experienced it as inadequate altered it significantly; either of these standards then provided a powerful and

consistent guide for societal critique. This
interpretation of change provides support for
Tajfel's (1981) hypothesis regarding value
conflict as one of the factors contributing to the
perception of an insecure social identity of a
high status group (see Louw-Potgieter (1986) for a
more detailed discussion of this issue).

b) Exposure to alternative ideas: From the data two
   categories of respondents emerged: those who had
   very little outgroup contact and were all the more
   vulnerable for it, and those who had early and
   intimate contact with outgroups and subsequently
   became more aware of alternative outlooks on life.
   As most of the respondents' parents proved to be
   typical Afrikaners who associated mainly with
   other ingroup members, exposure to alternative
   ideas occurred mostly at school (for the few who
   attended non-Afrikaans schools) and/or at
   university (local or overseas). The liberalising
   influences encountered at university is a
   recurring theme in these autobiographies. The
   general questioning ethos, specific areas of
   study, new friends, lecturers, or novel ideas
   encountered in books, were mentioned frequently.
   The following quotations illustrate the influence
   of educational institutions in the process of
   change:

AJ was sent to an English school in a working
class area: "...there were children of
doctors and children of builders and children
of mineworkers in this school...there were
English children, Afrikaans children, Jewish
children, Portuguese children, Syrian
children, German children and Dutch
children... The traditional Afrikaner feels
out of place in such a set-up. I definitely
felt out of place; even today I sometimes
feel out of place. Why is the Afrikaner like
this? Anyway...(I) have learned that other
people are the same as all people... At
university this process continued...I became
aware of alternatives: at school of
alternative people and at university of
alternative viewpoints. This awareness of
alternatives (in politics, literature,
literary criticism) is perhaps the most
important guiding principle that has occurred
in my life."

AP was sent to a German school because of his
father's Nazi sympathies. At this school, "I
gave my first steps in the direction of
alternative thought and alternative language.
The German school was a first window on a
limitless and unlimiting European world. In
the German school, ironically, I lost my
Afrikaner anxiety for English and English
speakers."

AT recounted his experience of leaving home
to go to university: "I...came from a small
place where I had never been exposed to
another view of the South African reality.
We basically shared one point of view, read
only Afrikaans newspapers and associated only
with those who thought as we did... From an
isolated position I was thus exposed, for the
first time, to an alternative viewpoint. I
think that one's position is very vulnerable
if one gets a single message over and over
again and does not debate one's point of view
with others."

From this section it is clear that exposure to alternative ideas took place mainly within an educational context. This is not to argue that South African schools and universities, especially the Afrikaans variety, are notable for their radicalism. It would, however, seem that even institutions and intellectuals renowned for their conservatism, could not control what their students read or with whom they associated on the school grounds or campus.

c) <u>Contact with outgroups</u>: Exposure to alternative ideas and subsequent awareness of cognitive alternatives to the existing social reality, are closely related to contact with outgroups. Contact with outgroups often led to the realisation of the differential value application accorded to "them" and "us". This contrasts with the predictions of the race-belief paradigm (see Rokeach 1960, 1968), as intergroup contact did not lead to the discovery of similarities between respondents and outgroup members, but highlighted the differences between their own group and the black outgroup and sensitised the respondents to "double standards" (AL) and subsequent value conflict.

For some respondents (AJ, AP), outgroup contact was fostered in school. For others, outgroup contact started in their work context (AA), or within a religious context (AE, AT, AV) and resulted in a questioning of government or church policy. The following quotation illustrates this:

While still studying theology, AT did missionary work in a very poor township: "Here I came into contact, for the first time, with open eyes, with the misery Afrikaners were causing others. Every Sunday I visited three families and their life histories made me realise to what extent their circumstances were to be blamed on the government. Gradually, I also came to the conclusion that it was a cruel joke to do missionary work here - that was the last thing those people needed - and that one was just soothing one's own conscience for what had been done unto them."

AA's experience at a black university caused him to examine all his premises fundamentally: "...I had started doing psychotherapy with black students, lecturers, teachers, etc. This project made different demands on me and seriously tested my whole being. Through this I came to the clear realisation that the institutes of apartheid are fundamentally anti-humanitarian and cause dehumanisation."

Both AB and AL had to leave South Africa first to make contact with outgroup members "of a different colour". AL described her encounter as follows:

> While on a visit to an African country, AL
> met an Indian doctor and his wife -
> "civilised, refined and friendly people" -
> and spent some time with them. "White
> English speakers started discriminating
> against me, because I was associating with
> Indians and this hit my attitudes and way of
> thinking hard. Only then did I relate it to
> what was happening in South Africa. I also
> realised then that in South Africa I would,
> most probably, not have associated so openly
> with Indians. It revealed my own double
> standards. This caused me to reject National
> Party politics completely."

While there was evidence of improved interpersonal

relations between respondents and members of other

groups, the idea of improved intergroup relations

resulting from interpersonal contact (Allport,

1954) received no support. This supports Brown

and Turner's (1981) criticism of the contact

hypothesis, namely that interpersonal contact is

unlikely to modify intergroup attitudes and

behaviour since the two domains are controlled by

different psychological processes.

In Tajfel's social identity theory (Tajfel, 1974;

1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1979) perceived

illegitimacy - group members' perceptions of

unjust and unfair relations between their own and

other group(s) - emerges as one of the central

tenets. Caddick (1982) identified four possible

ways in which perceived illegitimacy of a group's social position was used by Tajfel. Firstly, it is through perceptions of illegitimacy that groups become salient to one another for comparison purposes. Secondly, perceived illegitimacy is associated with the realisation by members of a group that their group's present position is not the only one possible. Apart from these "awareness" and "insight" roles of perceived legitimacy, Caddick also identified a "motivational" and "ideological" role. The motivational role of perceived illegitimacy is seen to have activity-energising properties, while the ideological role is explained as those instances where illegitimacy becomes a dialectical element in the struggle for justice and equity. It could be said that the data contained in the sub-sections of value conflict, exposure to alternative ideas and contact with outgroups, illustrate the awareness and insight roles of perceived illegitimacy as described by Caddick.

In summary it could be concluded that for these respondents, the general climate for intergroup contact could hardly have been more unfavourable: the unequal status of master-servant relationships in a rigidly segregated society where intergroup competition for scarce resources like economic and

political power, is the norm. This type of
contact, however, made respondents aware of "a
different world" (AE) and the injustices
experienced by the inhabitants of this world
(e.g. "terrible living conditions" (AK) and
"misery" of the outgroup caused by the ingroup's
"anti-humanitarian" and "dehumanising" policies
(AA)). It is clear that the three main
attributions provided by respondents for their
change, are interrelated and provide the basis for
a wide-ranging, social explanation of the process
of questioning the status quo.

CONCLUSION

In their search for intrapersonal and (sometimes)
interpersonal causes of dissidence and disaffiliation from
the ingroup, most laypersons and social psychologists avoid
or do not address the issue of the social context of
dissidence. This leads to a variant of the ad hominem
argument: something "wrong/deviant/extraordinary" within
the individual has caused him/her to become a "traitor" or a
"renegade". Little attention is paid to the content of
group norms that such a person is rebelling against, or to
the way in which this person perceives the group's position
within society. Thus we keep on asking questions about the
kind of person who has acted in this way, instead of

focusing our attention on the burning issue of why some of the most intelligent and compassionate members of a society have turned their back on it.

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GROWING UP IN A DIVIDED SOCIETY

THE CONTEXTS OF CHILDHOOD IN SOUTH AFRICA

RAVAN PRESS

Edited by
SANDRA BURMAN
and PAMELA REYNOLDS

Growing Up in a Divided Society

The Contexts of Childhood in South Africa

eds. Sandra Burman and
Pamela Reynolds

What is it like to grow up in South Africa now? What are the complexities of society that shape childhood and how do children's experiences contribute to the design of the social fabric? Researchers in a number of disciplines draw on their observation of and participation with children to present some answers. The first chapters place childhood in such contexts as family structure, child health, child care and education. Then follow studies which range through issues as varied as teenage pregnancies, the socio-political conundrums faced by Jewish children, and the rootlessness of children who grow up on the streets. Taken together the evidence demonstrates how differently childhood is experienced in a divided society. The issues are complex and of critical importance for South Africa today, yet little is known about them. This book will help professionals, university students, and the general reader to understand the intricacies.

Book Review :
Growing Up in a Divided Society

Grahame Hayes

Department of Psychology

University of Natal

Durban

The brutality of South African society in the present political conjuncture forces memories upon our consciousness that might otherwise become part of our social amnesia. However a 'memory' that has by and large escaped our social and political consciousness is the 'contexts of childhood'. The campaigns around the plight of detained children and the general publicisation, from the left predominantly, of the problems facing children and their families in the townships since October 1984, have to some extent rehabilitated our memories about the childhood contexts of social struggles. "Growing up in a divided society", edited by Sandra Burman and Pamela Reynolds is therefore a most timely and welcome reminder about the contexts <u>and</u> repression of childhood in the social struggles of many communities in South Africa at

the moment. The nature of political struggles in this country are often so intense and ruthless that we are horrified <u>as adults</u> at their effects, and hence do not imagine the implications and effects on children. It is this interesting and important notion of the social 'invisibility' of childhood in apartheid South Africa that Burman raises in her introductory chapter to this volume. She says, 'It is true that children are often invisible socially and seem to be so unimportant in the progress of a nation that they do not appear at all in the pages of most history books.' (p. 1 - 2), and she may have added, most books on politics. The significance of these omissions is that our understanding of social relations is incomplete. Following this up, Burman remarks that '...to understand control in South Africa we must examine power in the basic units of society: the family, the classroom, the playground, the clinic, the street corners, the prison cells. Children are dominated and learn to dominate - and to resist - within these units. They carry their knowledge with them into adulthood.' (p. 7 - 8).

It is through these 'units' that social relations are mediated, and hence Burman makes a case for the importance of understanding and studying the processes and mechanisms of socialisation. She argues that 'Apartheid ideology is usually analyzed so exclusively in abstract terms that there is a tendency to ignore social reality for the smallest

building blocks in society: the family, the home, and the children.' (p. 8). The significance of this volume is that there has been a death of research on children with regard to the socialisation context of the South African social formation. Unfortunately this also applies to what the discipline of psychology has produced in terms of research on children in apartheid South Africa (cf. Don Foster's article - Chapter 8).

'Growing up in a divided society' serves as a window onto the world of childhood, and more especially it opens up a range of important research questions and areas for social scientists concerned with social justice to begin to address, or rather redress. While there is much of interest and importance in this edited collection, it is also a frustrating and uneven collection. For example the editors could have prepared the readers for what is a large collection, twenty chapters in all, of very diverse and wide-ranging papers. I am thinking of the very readable and accessible piece by Frank Chikane on the effects of the unrest on township children on the one hand, compared with the more academic and turgid pieces by Foster on the development of racial orientation in children, and Kay McCormick's study of children's use of language in District Six. This is not a criticism of the work of Foster or McCormick, but rather a query about whether the important points that they make in their respective chapters, and there are other chapters, have not been missed, depending,

of course, on who this collection is aimed at. If it is aimed at a general audience then I think that the over-academic form of many of the papers is quite inappropriate, if not confusing, and unfortunately detracts from the very important insights and findings contained in much of the research reported in this collection.

For those not schooled in reading dense literature reviews of complex research areas the chapter by Foster is going to involve the most stoic of intellectual efforts, which might lose readers by the way and hence the valuable points that he makes remain within the closed world of academia. He concludes his very thorough review of the development of racial attitudes in children by making a number of important political and theoretical points. for example, he says, 'Few attempts have been made to understand the situational demands, normative constraints, rules and ideological processes that mediate between attitude, intention, and action. In addition, not much attention has been given to children's own understanding of ethnic relations; children therefore continue to be seen exclusively as passive victims of circumstances rather than as active agents.' (p. 182). This aspect of children's lives is reinforced by a number of the contributions in this volume, that is, that children are carving out their on realities in the context of everyday life and struggles. And that for many children, especially teenagers, the most important socialisation influence on their lives is their peer group. This process of children

making their own lives cannot be read innocently nor only benignly. Children taking their lives into their own hands is an important aspect of seeing children as independent, active and responsible agents in giving meaning to their lives and social worlds. However, as we know, and as many of the contributors to this volume show, children are taking their lives into their own hands for very diverse and often troubled reasons. The nature of social struggles in the townships has left many families in disarray: children have broken away from their parents, often accusing them of being politically conservative and unsupportive; families are living apart as a result of vigilante attacks; the detention of family members has been yet another stress on family life; and we must not forget the 'normal' problems of being black in apartheid South Africa - migrant labour, influx control, housing shortages, etc. And it is in these circumstances that children are forging out some kind of existence and identity for themselves. These contexts are not easy ones for developing children and youths, and hence there is also a dark side to the positivity of children actively creating their own worlds.

There is not much detail on the nature and processes of township family life, and especially at the level of the day to day experiences of families/households and their members. The social psychology of family life, township or other, is a neglected area which has hardly got started in this country.

Another area where the editors could have been of more assistance is in the contextualising of some of the 'family/household research' that appears in this volume. A lot of political, sociological and even sometimes psychological pronouncements are made with regard to family life with very little structural evidence or information to back up these important inventions. In this regard Charles Simkins' article on household composition and structure offers an enormous amount of essential empirical information that is necessary to make sense of the complex world of family life in South Africa. Much of his data is taken from national census information and is qualified by other demographic and sociological research. An important 'finding' in this work is that in newer and especially urban African settlements there is a higher proportion of nuclear households. If this is true, and to some extent the chapter by Cock et al 'contests' this, the significance of this in terms of its impact on social organisation, or rather, disorganisation of African communities and households needs to be investigated. Simkins, in his conclusion, points to four main determinants of household structure, namely, tradition, class, housing policy, and influx control (cf p. 38 - 39). However, what is missing from Simkins' analysis are the forms of resistance and struggle engaged in by African communities in trying to control their own (family) lives. There is a certain sense in which the empirical and census data which Simkins presents 'lies'

about the reality of family life and household composition in a country like South Africa where even the toast is political. Edwards (1979) has referred to the workplace as a 'contested terrain', but there is very little in South Africa which is not contested by African working class communities, and housing and family life is certainly one of those contested terrains. This means that we have to be very careful of the kind of information that we get about household structures and the nature of family life as the politics of this sphere does not easily facilitate an accurate account derived by social researchers.

This more uneven and contested dimension of family life comes out in the Cock et al chapter where they looked at the arrangements which working women have made in relation to child care. For example, they say, 'Almost 40 percent of the women left their children with adult relatives, particularly grandmothers, and 10 percent left their children with older siblings. Thus the main form of child care amongst working-class women was the extended family.' (p. 81). What emerges from the Cock et al study, which was based on a very large sample of 885 African women, is that because of the politics of child care which confronts women in terms of both class and gender relations, is the 'need' to transform family and household relations and structures to best accommodate the material conditions facing these women.

Throughout the book, when the family is spoken about, the terms 'nuclear' and 'extended' are often used. Sometimes they are used with caution and qualification, but nevertheless used. These terms seem to have outlived their usefulness in capturing the myriad forms and structures that make up contemporary families, especially in African working class communities. There is a danger that the complexity of family life will be missed if we continue to conceptualise family forms in terms of the binary opposites of nuclear and extended. I hope this is not just a pedantic point, but rather one which will result in a rethinking of the analytic categories which we use when trying to capture the complexity and flexibility of social reality.

There is much in this volume which I have not even mentioned. For example the fascinating pieces on growing up as an Afrikaner; on growing up Jewish; the street kids of Cape Town; and Paul Alberts' revealing photographs. There are also chapters on childhood health (chapters 2 and 7); education; legal issues; and other interesting topics. No judgment is intended on the pieces I have not directly referred to. It is obviously not possible to adequately review a book with 20 very diverse chapters in a short space. I have tried to concentrate on some of the chapters and issues which might initially at least appeal to social researchers in psychology and sociology. While I have criticised the lack of thematic coherence and the rather specialist nature of some of the articles, I still think

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this is a very important text for people concerned with what
it means to grow up in apartheid South Africa. "Growing up
in a divided society" fills a gap in our understanding of
childhood and family/household life, and I hope the many
issues which its contributors raise stimulates further
careful and committed research into the contested terrain of
growing up in South Africa.

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