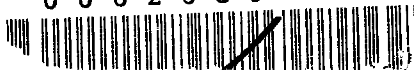
2,00

160

PROFESSIONALIZING PSYCHOLOGY

182522512F



0 0 0 2 6 8 9 4 5 3

001.3072068 HSRC

268945

HSRC SERIES IN METHODOLOGY

Series Editor: Johann Mouton

[Incorporating the HSRC Investigation into Research Methodology's Research Reports Series (REPORTS) and the HSRC Studies in Research Methodology (STUDIES)]

Published titles

1. Norval, A.J. 1984. **'n Teoretiese studie van die metodologie van kruiskulturele houdingsmeting** [Reports No. 1]
2. Joubert, Dian. 1986. **Waardes: Navorsing, metodologie en teorie.** [Reports No. 2]
3. Mouton, Johann (ed) **Social science, society and power** [Reports No. 3]
4. Mauer, K.F. & Retief, A.I. (eds) 1987. **Psychology in context: Cross-cul-tural research trends in South Africa** [Reports No. 4]
5. Van Straaten, Z. (ed) 1987. **Ideological beliefs in the social sciences** [Reports No. 5]
6. Retief, Alexis. 1988. **Method and theory in cross-cultural psychologial assessment** [Reports No. 6]
7. Kruger, Dreyer. 1988. **The problem of interpretation in psychotherapy** [Reports No. 7]
8. Strauss, D.F.M. 1988. **Die grondbegrippe van die sosiologie as wetenskap** [Reports No. 8]
9. Mouton, J. et al. 1988. **Essays in social theorizing** [Reports No. 9]
10. Mouton, J. 1988. **The methodology and philosophy of the social sciences: A selective bibliography of anthologies** [Reports No. 10]
11. Mouton, J. & Marais, H.C. 1985. **Metodologie van die geesteswetenskappe: Basiese begrippe** [Studies No. 1]
12. Van Huyssteen, J.W.V. 1986. **Teologie as kritiese geloofsverantwoording** [Studies No. 2]
13. Snyman, J.J. & Du Plessis, P.G.W. (reds) 1989. **Wetenskapbeelde in die geesteswetenskappe** [Studies No. 3]
14. Mouton, J. & Marais, H.C. 1988. **Basic concepts in the methodology of the social sciences** [Studies No. 4]
15. Mouton, J.; Van Aarde, A.G. & Vorster, W.S. (eds) 1988. **Paradigms and progress in theology** [Studies No. 5]
16. Frost, M.; Vale, P. & Weiner, D. (eds) 1989. **International relations: A debate on methodology**
17. Nel, P. 1989. **Approaches to Soviet politics**
18. Mouton, J. & Joubert, D. (eds) 1990. **Knowledge and method in the human sciences**
19. Venter, F. 1990. **Regsnavorsing - aard, doel en metode**
20. Erasmus, P. 1990. **Antropologiese paradigmas en stedelike navorsing**
21. Louw, J. 1990. **Professionalizing psychology.**

RGN·HSRC

SENTRUM VIR BIBLIOTEEK- EN INLIGTINGSDIENSTE

CENTRE FOR LIBRARY AND IMFORMATION SERVICES

VERVALDATUM/DATE DUE

30 NOV 1991
Terug.
ILL 0820
1032740
24/3/99
Terug
18-3-99

PROFESSIONALIZING PSYCHOLOGY

Johann Louw

Human Sciences Research Council, Pretoria

© Human Sciences Research Council, 1990.

This book is subject to copyright under the Berne Convention. In terms of the Copyright Act, No. 98 of 1978, no part of this book may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording or by any information storage and retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publisher.

First published 1990

ISBN 0 7969 0881 8

RGN BIBLIOTEEK
1991 2. 25.
HSRC LIBRARY
STANDKODE AANWINSNOMMER
001.3072068
086460
HSRC MET 21

Published by

Human Sciences Research Council
137 Pretorius Street
Pretoria
0001
South Africa

Printed by Gutenberg Printers, Pretoria

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter 1: Introduction 1

Chapter 2: Problems of definition 5

Trait approaches 5
Functionalist approaches 8
Critical studies 10
Conclusion 14

Chapter 3: The professionalization of psychology 16

Napoli, and the professionalization of American psychology 16
Geuter, and the professionalization of German psychology 20
Van Strien's relational model 24

Chapter 4: Towards an integrated model 32

Fields of practice 36
Work 37
Collective and individual behaviour 41
Knowledge 44
Exclusive right 47
Recognition, acceptance and institutionalization 55
Strategies of professionalization 60

Chapter 5: Conclusion 69

Notes 73

References 75

Chapter 1

Introduction

Profession and professionalization as concepts are used so indiscriminately as to be almost useless: e.g. when associations of estate agents urge their members to be more professional in their conduct, when advertising agencies want a code of conduct for their profession, when a professional fashion model can justify her centrespread appearance in Penthouse because it was professionally done, when the South African minister of national education states that the formation of trade unions for teachers will be unprofessional. Despite the prolific use of the term, the label "profession" is still denied to certain occupations (e.g. taxi-drivers, motor-car mechanics, etc.). The ease with which the distinction profession:non-profession is made, gives the impression that one is dealing with something so straightforward and self-evident that everybody knows what a profession is. The social science literature in which authors strive to develop a more systematic theory of the professions, belies this easy access to the concept.

Psychologists (and others) generally agree that present-day psychology is a profession, and that professionalization is the major feature of the discipline's rapid growth in the twentieth century. This general agreement, however, often conceals a major lack of understanding of the process of professionalization in psychology, and is comparable to the commonsense understanding mentioned in the previous paragraph. The rapid transformation of psychology, particularly since World War II, has left most psychologists unable to understand the forces that shape their discipline. I believe professionalization is too important in modern societies, and as a shaping force in psychology, for psychologists to be uninformed about its development and impact.

A cursory reading of the professionalization literature will show any reader that it is a remarkably complex phenomenon, with a number of contending explanatory systems. This poses a problem for psychologists who want to do research on the professionalization of their discipline, as they often are less acquainted with theories and models in this field. Empirical studies, particularly those that investigate complex social phenomena, require at least some methodological frame of reference to guide the research process. Such a frame of reference, or model, presents methodological guidelines, which draw the researcher's attention to specific events, themes, processes, etc. In addition, such a framework also serves an integrative function: it indicates interrelated

connections between the elements studied, and binds them together into a coherent whole.

Stated briefly, the specific aim of this work is to create a framework within which the professionalization of psychology can be studied. Such a "grid of interpretation" will give direction to thinking about and empirical studies of this process. Apart from this directing function, it should also integrate specific aspects of the discipline's professionalization into an overall picture or pattern, to counteract the tendency in empirical work toward isolated, unrelated studies. If this project could serve as a guide to suggest directions for research, and provide a general framework for interpretation, it would have succeeded in its aims.

It ought to be clear by now that I am not concerned with professionalization in general, but rather with the process as manifested in one discipline - psychology. The tension between the general and specific is a familiar problem in social research. Detailed, specific case studies of professions often are limited in either their theoretical intentions or generalizing potential. Attempts at constructing a general theory of the professions, on the other hand, require at least some evidence of its ability to explain the actual professionalization of one or more specific occupations. It is clear that in this work, the specific question of the professionalization of psychology is addressed via a generalized strategy. However, the tentative framework for studying the professionalization of psychology proposed in this study is an attempt to bridge the gap between the specific and the general: it restricts itself to only one occupation, but draws widely from sociological work on the theory of the professions. It will be argued that the restriction to study only psychology is advisable, given the variations that exist in the positions of different professions. An attempt will be made to identify elements that are unique to the professionalization of psychology. In fact, differences in professionalization might even exist between the various sub-disciplines of psychology - even more reason to restrict the generality of one's aims with a project such as this.

Ideally, one should provide an empirical test case for the adequacy of what is presented here, perhaps using the professionalization of South African psychology as a case study. This will be a major undertaking, however, which will involve a number of interlocking empirical investigations. In fact, the purpose of this study is to provide a framework for such empirical research, which would confirm, refine or modify elements of it. No attempt therefore will be made to analyze systematically the professionalization of psychology in South Africa, as there is simply not enough information available to provide such a test case in one or two chapters.[1] Despite this problem, references will be made at appropriate places to South African psychology, to show where its development supports the analysis. In that sense, the arguments developed in this work are not completely without supporting evidence or data. Although

this strategy obviously does not constitute a rigorous test, it ought to indicate where the analysis may succeed, and where lacunae still exist in our knowledge of local psychology. Ideally, one would like to see detailed studies based on empirical data emerging to address these.

The emphasis on professionalization as a process places this study firmly within the field of the history of psychology. In fact, the mainspring of this project was an investigation into the history of South African industrial psychology (see Louw, 1986; 1988). It forms part, therefore, of a concerted effort to understand historical developments in psychology, and presents a conceptual framework that can be used to study one such historical development of psychology: its professionalization. I believe, with Manicas (as well as others), that "...social science is *inevitably* historical. History is not merely 'the past', but *a sedimented past which, as transformed, is still present.* ... present forms have their particular nature *by virtue of* their past, and thus present understanding requires an understanding of their genesis" (1987, p. 274, emphasis in the original).

The current status of psychology as a profession therefore cannot be divorced from its "sedimented past". An understanding of the genesis of the professions in general, requires an examination of a number of historical processes of "the long duration". One such a historical process is the rapidly increasing use of knowledge in the world after the Second Industrial Revolution. This revolution is usually dated from about 1875 to 1914, and involved a rapid increase in technical advances, supported by developments in science. Professionalization can be considered as the development of institutional forms for this expanded use of knowledge (Rueschemeyer, 1986). Specialization characterized the "knowledge explosion", and government, industry and culture came to rely more and more on this specialized knowledge, and thus on technical expertise. In fact, specialized knowledge in many instances received its social foundation in the professional group.

The professions therefore occupied an increasingly central position in the occupational structure of modern societies. This in itself would be an argument for why a study of these occupational groups is a worthwhile undertaking. Rueschemeyer (1983), for example, argued that a study of the professions is important in that they involve complex work and prestigious occupational groups. But it goes much further: In Rueschemeyer's words:

> How expert knowledge is deployed in different institutional forms, how it is controlled, how it is used as a resource of power and a basis of privilege, and how in turn different institutional forms of deployment, social control as well as individual and collective advantage, are affected by other and wider social structures and processes - inquiries into these questions tell us much about the structure and the dynamics of society as a whole (1983: 38).

The literature suggests quite a number of equally important large scale, long-term processes involved in professionalization as a societal phenomenon. Examples include: the development of industrial capitalism as well as industrial state socialism, the domination of large corporations in competitive capitalism, the vast expansion of state involvement in the provision of knowledge-based services (Rueschemeyer, 1986); the increase in literacy, the development of a money economy, urbanisation (Larson, 1977); spiralling of technology (Abbott, 1988); the rise of a middle class (Bledstein, 1976); industrialization, modern forms of social stratification, the bureaucratization of public and private administration (Rueschemeyer, 1980); etc.

Professionalization also has effects on society: professional organizations, privileged access to political decisions, and institutionalized power relations go together. One has to consider the impact of the increased standing of expert knowledge on democratic opinion and decision formation, for example. In recent years, a crisis of confidence occurred with regard to the social progress and service ethic claimed by the professions.

> On occasion, the hypothesis is even advanced that the special status that the professions possess in the social division of labour, instead of being indispensable for the efficient performance of their tasks, is perhaps the main obstacle preventing the entire community (as opposed to an economically privileged minority) from having regular access to health, judicial, education and other services (Gyarmati, 1975: 630).

It is for exactly this reason that I believe that local concern is being expressed about the role of professional psychological knowledge in South Africa. More and more local studies emerge which address the question directly and critically (see, for example, Kottler (1988), Louw (1988), Muller and Cloete (1986), and Swartz (1988)). The professions' links with political and economic elites are even more significant in this country, and are still largely unexplored.

These are the more general concerns which form the background of the present study, and they direct our attention to the sociology of the professions. It is unavoidable that the sociological literature be given serious consideration in the present study; after all, professionalization is a sociological concept. Authors like Abbott (1988), Freidson (1973), Johnson (1972), and Larson (1977), addressed issues which have a direct bearing on the present investigation, and identified concepts central to the study of professionalization. In Chapter 2 this literature will be examined, but since it is so extensive, I do not pretend to provide an exhaustive review. In Chapter 3, a number of studies and approaches that addressed themselves to the professionalization of psychology in particular, will be discussed. Chapter 4 contains the final attempt at the integration of these studies, and extending them into a conceptual framework for studying the professionalization of psychology.

Chapter 2

Problems of definition

What sets a profession apart from other occupations? What makes it such a special category in the world of work? These are questions of definition, which must be addressed to avoid the terminological confusion referred to in the opening paragraph. Broadly speaking, three traditions can be distinguished in the sociological writings, each with its characteristic definition of professionalization. In this chapter, I examine trait approaches, functionalist approaches, and critical studies of the professions.

Trait approaches

One of the earliest and best known attempts to approach the study of the professions, was to catalogue and describe the seemingly unique characteristics of professions. Two early representatives of this approach are Carr-Saunders, and Greenwood.

Carr-Saunders (1928) was one of the first social scientists to study the professions, and he stressed that it was the character of the work itself that distinguished the professions from other occupations. He defined professions in terms of specialized skill and training, minimum fees or salaries, formation of professional associations, and codes of ethics to govern practice. Professional associations were distinguished by the degree to which they sought to establish minimum qualifications for entrance into professional practice or activity, to enforce appropriate rules and norms of conduct among members of the profession, and to raise the profession's status in society.

Greenwood (1957) identified the following essential elements of the ideal-type profession: possession of a basis of systematic theory; its authority recognized by the clientele; broader community sanction and approval of this authority; a code of ethics; and a professional culture sustained by formal professional associations. It will be worthwhile to consider Greenwood's proposed characteristics a bit more closely, since these elements still are being considered to be part and parcel of the professional enterprise.

Firstly, the existence of a systematic body of theory. Greenwood acknowledged that a main difference between professional and non-professional occupations is that a profession's skills flow from and are supported by a fund

of knowledge that has been organized into a systematic body of theory. Thus tool-and-die making is not considered as a profession, while social work or teaching is.

> A profession's body of theory is a system of abstract propositions that describes in general terms the classes of phenomena comprising the profession's focus of interest. Theory serves as a base in terms of which the professional rationalizes his operations in concrete situations (Greenwood, 1957: 45).[2]

Secondly, the sanction of the community means that the community confers upon the profession a series of powers and privileges; for example, the control over training centres. The profession furthermore also gains control over admission into the profession.

In terms of the profession's acknowledged jurisdiction in a specific area, the clients subject themselves to the authority of the professional, and accede to the professional's judgement. This authority is more often than not based on the profession's type of knowledge.

Fourthly, the profession boasts a code of ethics. Since it has a monopoly over a certain area of work, its privileges and powers can be abused. Thus a formal (or informal) code of ethics must exist to guard against excesses, ensuring in essence the continued confidence of the community.

Finally, the professional culture refers to, amongst other things, the profession's institutions: hospital, clinic, university, etc. In addition, it refers to the existence of professional associations to promote group interests and aims.

The method underlying these studies was one of summarizing "the life history of their particular case, review the then-current essential traits of a true profession, and decide whether social work or nursing or whatever really was a profession" (Abbott, 1988: 4). The definitions given by trait theorists of the professions agreed on aspects like the following: performance of a service to others; application of specialized intellectual study and training; regular payment by fee or salary; clients' recognition of the professional's authority; sanction of the community (e.g. licensing); presence of an ethical code; and existence of a "professional culture". These characteristics became essential parts of later definitions of a profession; for example, Kriegler's (1986) discussion of educational psychology as a profession reflects a similar kind of reasoning.

A more recent version of the trait approach produced no fewer than 21 elements, gathered via an overview of four studies (Harries-Jenkins, 1970: 58-59). It provides the most comprehensive list of characteristics to date, and these are given in Table 1 below:

Table 1: *Elements of Professionalization, Harries-Jenkins (1970)*

1. Structural element
   a. specialization
   b. centralization
   c. standardization
2. Contextual element
   a. spatio-temporal dimension
   b. size of the occupational group
   c. resources of the occupational group
   d. group relations
3. Activity element
   a. goals of the occupational group
   b. role of the individual members
4. Educational element
   a. occupational intelligence requirements
   b. basis of systematic theory
   c. institutionalized educational process
   d. length of training
   e. cost of training
5. Ideological element
   a. personality involvement
   b. sense of group identity
   c. group culture
   d. status
   e. socialization process
6. Behavioral element
   a. code of conduct
   b. evaluation of merit

A number of criticisms have been raised against the trait approach, and these are summarized briefly below. Firstly, it is important to keep in mind which occupations were used to extract these characteristics; they were almost invariably based on studies of medicine; sometimes law. They mostly referred to the so-called high-status professions, and it is more than likely that other professions might differ quite substantially from these.

Secondly, Jamous and Peloille (1970) cautioned that these characteristics are in fact an expression of the professional ideology of the dominant members of the profession, and may not hold for all members. Furthermore, these are often claims made by the occupation for professional status, and we need to go beyond accepting the professionals' own definition of themselves. The profes-

ions cannot be studied on their own terms; if they are, then one fails to realize hat one is studying "the basis of a legitimating doctrine of the privileged social, economic and legal status of the professions" (Gyarmati, 1975: 649).

Johnson (1972: 24) identified a third major problem: this approach does not articulate theoretically the relationship between the various elements. There is a lack of logical and theoretical coherence among the traits, and they sometimes overlap.

Fourthly, they implied a linear process of change, which was simply ahistorical (see Caplow, 1954; Wilensky, 1964).[3] Occupations do not gradually acquire the characteristics of a "true profession". There is too much of historical variation in the process to allow a linear progression to an end result; Goode (1969) gave examples of some quite dramatic differences in the professionalization of different occupations. In fact, some professional groups may even disappear in this process.

For present consideration, the most significant criticism of this approach refers to insufficient regard for the dynamic inter-relationship between various elements of the process of professionalization. The very real possibility furthermore exists that these elements may require different levels of analysis, e.g. collective and individual levels. A final glaring omission of these approaches is that they fail to include a systematic consideration of society in general as a factor in professionalization. The closest they come to it, is to mention something like "the sanction of the community", or of political activity (but of the professionals themselves!).

Whatever the criticisms against the trait approach, it is difficult to escape thinking in terms of characteristics in some or other way if one wants to define a profession. Larson (1977) concluded that lists of special attributes of the ideal-type profession may vary, but that substantive agreement do exist about its general dimensions. Firstly, there is a cognitive dimension; a body of knowledge and techniques which professionals apply in their work, plus the necessary training to acquire the knowledge and skills. Secondly, a normative element which involves a service orientation. It contains a distinctive ethos, which justifies the privilege of self-regulation of the professions. Finally, an evaluative component, according to which professions are compared to other occupations. The outcome of such a comparison will underscore their autonomy and prestige.

Functionalist approaches

The primary assumption of a functionalist approach to professionalization is that professions fulfill certain fundamental needs in society. The more fundamental the need, the higher the value that society would place on the

services rendered by the profession. The medical profession, for example, deals with illness, health, and finally death, which are central interests for all individuals. Thus, according to Rueschemeyer (1964), the functionalist approach can be characterized in terms of the emphasis the professions themselves place on being service- or community-orientated, and applying their specialized knowledge to problems which are relevant to society.

Talcott Parsons' work is the obvious choice to discuss here. In doing so, the work of Everett Hughes, another pioneer of the sociological study of the professions, will not be considered. Hughes placed the social recognition and status of the professions at the centre of his theorizing; aspects which we believe have been covered adequately above, as well as in Parsons' work.

Parsons recommended a study of the institutional framework within which professional activities are carried out. He studied mostly the medical profession, and stressed the science-based authority and technical competence prerequisite of the professional. He acknowledged the inter-linkage of the capitalist economy, the rational-legal social order and the modern professions (see, for example, Parsons, 1939; 1968).

The question that Parsons addressed was: in a modern society, how could the professions, with their emphasis on the service ideal, and thus apparent denial of (economic) self-interest, co-exist within a business economy, which stressed maximal self-interest? He found the answer in the elements that are common to both areas. The goal of both the professions and business is "success", measured in terms of objective achievement and recognition. This success, for the professions, need not be in material or profit-making terms, but could be in terms of status and autonomy. Thus the typical motivation of professions is not altruistic in the usual sense, nor that of business egotistic. According to Dingwall (1983), Parsons could show that the distinction between self-interested versus altruistic motivation was less important than the norms against which success could be judged.

It is interesting to note that in the popular use of the term profession mentioned earlier, notions of competence and éxpertise in a specialized field, and perhaps ethical behaviour, are emphasized. The community service ideal, and autonomy, stressed by Parsons and many other theorists, seem to receive less emphasis in a commonsense understanding of professional life. It is possible, therefore, that the clientele perceive certain aspects of professional behaviour as central, while the professionals themselves stress different aspects. The notion of professional ideology, which will be introduced later, may operate here.

According to Dingwall (1983), Parsons (as well as Hughes) left a number of questions open: How does one recognize a profession when one sees it? What is the relation between values, organization and practice? What is the source of these values, how are they transmitted, and how are they internalized

as regulations of work practice? How are they organized?; and What is the role of the marketplace and the professions' wider contract with their society? Rephrased in general terms, the functionalist approach implied a societal unity in the use of professional knowledge and expertise. It will be argued later on that this is highly unlikely in almost all societies. Professional interventions will often not be equally valued throughout society, partly as a result of conflict of group interests. Wilensky (1964) acknowledged this by implication, when he argued that the professional claim is strongest when there is widespread consensus in society about its knowledge.

Larson (1977) supported the argument regarding differences in society. In most cases, she said, earlier approaches to professionalization tended to present professions as categories emerging from the division of labour in unmediated connection with society as a whole. For her, the professions are not neutral in the class structure of modern Western societies. Johnson (1972: 27) had this to say about both the functionalist as well as the trait approaches:

> ... these models are not definitions of occupations at all, but specify the characteristics of a peculiar institutionalised form of occupational control. This confusion between the essential characteristics of an occupation and the characteristics of a historically specific institutionalised form of its control is the most fundamental inadequacy of both "trait" and "functionalist" approaches to the study of the professions.

Critical studies

Recent work which emerged since the 1960s, reflect a more critical view of the professions. An examination of these studies will reveal the current state of the debate, and will provide a more up-to-date view of the professionalization process.

The trait and functionalist approaches focussed either on the character of the work itself, or the status value of the professions; these more recent studies stress the economic and political dimensions of the professions. The names of Freidson, Johnson and Larson come to mind in this regard. During the 1970s, there were three foci of research: the political influence of the professions (Freidson, 1970); its relation to political and economic elites and the state (Johnson, 1972); and its relation to the market and class system (Larson, 1977). New concepts and terms appeared in the literature: power, control, dominance, legitimation and monopoly.

The works of these authors reflect a new interest in the relationship between the professions, the market place for their service, and the wider societal context. Examples of definitions given by authors working in a more critical tradition are the following:

> Professionalisation might be defined as a process by which an organised occupation, usually but not always by virtue of making a claim to special esoteric competence and to concern for the quality of its work and its benefits to society, obtains the exclusive right to perform a particular kind of work, control training for and access to it, and control the right of determining and evaluating the way the work is performed (Freidson, 1973:12).

> Professionalism, then, becomes redefined as a peculiar type of occupational control rather than an expression of the inherent nature of particular occupations (Johnson, 1972: 45).

> The notion of professionalism is, in advanced industrial capitalist societies, a useful *idea* which can be taken up by individuals who, as spokesmen for others in a given type of occupational position, wish to make and legitimate claims on behalf of that group for power in specific areas of occupational performance. The idea contains within itself possible actions which the group may take to reinforce its legitimacy and the legitimacy of the label (Watson, 1977: 118).

Where does this leave us regarding an acceptable definition and a theory of professions? Freidson noted that despite growing criticism of the professions in sociology since the 1960s, almost no significant advance in theory development was made. He suggested that a generic concept of a profession is not what is needed:

> To advance a theory of professions, however, requires a rather different option, which treats the concept as an historical construction in a limited number of societies, and studies its development, use, and consequences in these societies without attempting more than the most modest generalisations (1983: 20).

As an institutional concept, the term profession is intricately bound up with a particular period of history in a limited number of (industrial) nations, particularly Anglo-American institutions.

An examination of the dimensions along which the professionalization of different occupations might differ, will provide support for these cautionary remarks.

1. *Old vs new professions:* Studies of professionalization are often divided in terms of the so-called established professions (e.g. medicine and law), and those late-comers which aspire to professional status (e.g. personnel management). It is reasonable to expect that major differences will exist in the way we come to refer to well-established, recognized professions, and newer ones. This

will include the seemingly endless debates as to whether these new arrivals are indeed professions.

2. *Independent practice vs salaried employment.* The premier profession for the sociological study of the professions has been medicine, as indicated in the criticism of the trait approaches. Larson (1977) provided one example of a difference that may exist in the way the professionalization of medicine and of "newer" professions is viewed. The image of medicine is that of an occupation of independent practitioners, she suggested, but modern-day professions are more like, and more dependent upon, bureaucracies. Rueschemeyer (1986) supported the notion of bureaucratically linked professions. He argued that the large business corporation has become a major consumer of expert services, and has therefore been able to establish bureaucratic controls over it. As a matter of fact, even in medicine and law, only about 50% of practitioners are in independent practice (Abbott, 1988: 61).

The situation in psychology is quite similar; in Europe at least, the majority of psychologists are salaried employees, with very few fee-for-service practitioners. In socialist countries, there is of course no private practice. McPherson believed that the private practice of psychology "has developed slowly because of the shortage of professional psychologists, or because of legal restrictions, the opposition of the medical profession, or the unwillingness of health insurance firms to reimburse the costs of psychological treatment" (1986: 304). In South Africa, Ebersohn (1983) established that approximately six per cent of psychologists are in full-time private practice.

The state is another form of bureaucratic control over professionals, apart from large business corporations. Indeed, the expansion of state functions gave rise to one set of professions (e.g. teaching, social work), while corporate capitalism's emphasis on management to the growth of another (e.g. management professionals, accounting). In France, in particular, the state plays a dominant role in professional life (see Herzog, 1967, for an illustration).

In certain instances, therefore, the professionals may be subordinated in relation to the larger institutional complexes of corporate capitalism or of the state. If one refers to psychology in this regard, it would appear that industrial and organizational psychology has its origins in one of the above, and clinical psychology in another. Psychology is part of the "free" professions, due to its link with medicine; and it is part of the bureaucratic professions, due to its link with corporate capitalism (and the state, via the schools and teaching). (The exact nature of these links, and their consequences, provide very interesting areas for research). Thus even within one discipline, psychology, there is no one single model of, or path to, professionalism. This signifies that the different contexts within which professionalization occurs, as well as the different resources and strategies utilized, have to be taken seriously.

The image of the professional as an independent free practitioner therefore no longer holds. In bureaucracies, the professional is a salaried employee, and is in fact a member of two institutions: the profession as well as the corporate organization. Watson (1977) gave an example of this, when he indicated that many of the personnel managers he studied actually did not see themselves as professionals, but would rather see themselves as managers.[4]

3. *Science.* Some professions may claim their authority to speak as experts on the basis of science. Rueschemeyer (1986) pointed to differences between two established professions, law and medicine, in this regard. Law deals more directly than medicine with social conflicts, and lawyers' expertise does not derive its authority from science, but from socially established norms. Medicine is a capital-intensive industry, tied closely to one institution, the hospital, and does have science as the basis of its authority.

Rueschemeyer's (1986) and Larson's (1977) studies raise interesting questions regarding the possible differences between the professionalization of medicine and psychology. For example: Does psychology control a complex organization like the hospital? Does it have an organic connection to science? Is its clientele unorganized and unspecialized in the face of the profession? Is its market potentially limitless? Does it face severe competition in the market for its services, and if so, from whom? Each of these questions is a topic for research in its own right.

4. *Group interests.* A variety of group interests in society may be responsible in part for the different conceptions of what a profession is. An occupation seeking professional status, may advance different conceptions of what a profession is to different audiences. At least four interest groups, or audiences, are normally involved: the state, the practitioners themselves, other rival practitioners, and clients. Each of these audiences might also have its own ideas about the professions. A profession attempting to preserve the rewards already won, might wish to make it as difficult as possible for others to claim that same status. Employers or clients who want to control the terms and contents of the jobs they wish to have done, or government agencies seeking to account for the occupations of the labour force, may advance quite different views of what a profession is. It is also conceivable that an occupational group's concept of profession may shift once it has gained that status.

5. *Institutional arrangements.* Rueschemeyer (1986) pointed to another major difference in the professionalization of occupations: different institutional forms emerge, as a result of different forces that determine these patterns. The relative strength of the interest groups mentioned above, the way they see their interests, their goals, etc; will all determine the institutional constellations which emerge for a particular profession. Thus for different occupations and different groups of clients, these institutional patterns will vary in different countries with contrasting historical developments. Thus one is

unlikely to find one modal pattern of institutionally organized professional work.

Taking all this into account, one has to agree with Freidson (1983) that it is extremely difficult to advance a holistic concept of a profession; it is not a stable or uniform entity which can be strictly delineated. By implication, the same would hold true for definitions of professional development, or professionalization. It is not a single process joining together all occupations referred to as professions, from which one could generalize across historical periods, occupations and countries. Not all professions developed according to common patterns. An all-inclusive definition with general analytic value is not possible: the concrete historical character of the process and the many perspectives from which it legitimately can be viewed, preclude this. A definition, and hence a model, of professionalization will be multifaceted, and sometimes may be inconsistent and ambiguous. Freidson's advice to researchers is to display to readers what they have in mind when they write about professionalization, and to provide examples of the professions they wish to include and exclude.

Conclusion

It would be very easy to get bogged down in definitional questions, but we need a general definition of "profession", as well as a definition of "professionalization", taking the abovementioned cautionary notes into account. Abbott's definition of a profession is more than adequate for our purposes: "... professions are exclusive occupational groups applying somewhat abstract knowledge to particular cases" (1988: 8).

The definition of *professionalization,* however, is most important to the present study, for it provides the central concepts in the proposed theoretical framework, and suggests ways in which they are interrelated. Although the discussion is somewhat pre-empted by giving the definition here (it includes elements still to be introduced), I believe that it will assist the reader to know the definition of the professionalization of psychology employed in this study from the beginning.

We speak of the professionalization of psychology when members of this occupational group act collectively and strategically to transform a societal domain into a field of institutionalized psychological practice; one in which psychologists are accepted and recognized as having the exclusive right to perform certain socially significant tasks, on the basis of their knowledge and know-how.

It will be useful to elaborate the elements contained in this definition very briefly, to indicate how they are linked to the previous and subsequent discus-

sions. We have already referred to *collective* action, which also implies its opposite, *individual* action. The members of the occupational group employ certain strategies to reach their goal; hence the inclusion of *strategic* action. A *field of practice* refers to the social domains in which psychologists practise their profession, and this practice will be *institutionalized.* The elements of *acceptance and recognition* include the process of legitimation, as well as a position on societal conflict. Under *exclusive right*, aspects like power, the role of the state, the position of other professions vis-a-vis psychology, and training requirements, will be considered. In terms of the *tasks* psychologists perform, one ought to focus on the actual work they do, and the expertise they claim to do it. More often than not, this is presented in terms of a *service* ideal: it wishes to provide a service for which a need presumably exists among the public. The role that *knowledge,* and particularly a claim to scientific knowledge, has played in the professionalization of psychology, already has been alluded to. It will include aspects such as power, authority, and training.

In the next chapter, three major approaches to the study of the professionalization of psychology will be discussed. Emphasis will be on the methodological guidelines presented by the authors. In Chapter 4 I shall return to the definition given above.

Chapter 3

The professionalization of psychology

The study of psychology as a profession does not have such a long history as the sociology of the professions, nor are there such an abundance of full-scale studies on it. Two publications stand out in this regard: Geuter (1984) and Napoli (1975). There are of course studies with a more restricted scope, e.g. Camfield (1973), Goode (1960), Paicheler (1985), Peterson (1976) and Van Strien (1987). In this section, the work of Geuter, Napoli and Van Strien will be discussed fairly extensively, as they are most pertinent to the goals of the present study. They deal with the professionalization of psychology in three different countries: Germany, the USA and the Netherlands respectively.

Before moving on to the three studies, the work of Camfield (1973) ought to be mentioned briefly. He investigated the "professionalization" of American psychology up to 1917; a time when one can hardly speak of professionalization in the terms that is normally understood by it. Camfield's problem is one of confusing terminology: for example, he stated that psychologists sought scientific professionalization. The discussion below will make it quite clear that, at most, this is only one dimension of professionalization, and a contentious one at that.

Despite his inadequate definition, Camfield (1973) touches upon a number of aspects included in the discussion below. These are: the academic establishment of psychology at American universities; the evidence this provides of the social subsidization of psychology; psychologists' concern with the utility and practical applications of their discipline; their concern with the status, reputation and academic welfare of psychology; the creation of the American Psychological Association (APA) as a symbol of the discipline becoming a profession; the recognition psychologists sought from other sciences; and increase in the number of psychologists. None of these, however, can be said to be coherently linked by Camfield in a model of professionalization.

Napoli, and the professionalization of American psychology

Napoli defines a profession as

> ... an occupational group that enjoys high prestige among clients, employers, the general public, and the practitioners in other prestigious fields. Professionalization may then be considered as the series of ac-

tivities that members of occupational groups undertake in order to achieve professional status (1975: 6).

According to Napoli, applied psychology in the United States differed from the older professions in at least three ways. Firstly, it was not only affected by general social trends like industrialization, but also by specific events, such as World War I, the Depression, and World War II. Secondly, its advance had little to do with new scientific discoveries or technological innovations. The state of psychology after World War II was essentially the same as 25 years earlier, yet after the War its professionalization accelerated considerably. Thirdly, psychology was the first to start the journey toward professionalization directly from university; for example, from the very beginning all psychologists had university degrees.

Napoli starts off with a sketch of applied psychology from 1890 to 1920. In this, he highlights the by now familiar developments in psychology. The discipline gained academic recognition at universities as departments were created, and scholarly journals were published. The members of the discipline were also nationally organized with the formation of the APA in 1892. He also indicates how psychologists turned to the study of practical problems, and how this formed the beginnings of the three main fields of psychological application: clinical, industrial, and educational psychology.

Napoli's central thesis is that psychologists utilized the concept of *adjustment* as a service that they could provide. Psychologists claimed that people needed help in adjusting to a complex society, where this complexity is reflected in the family, at work, etc. A person has to find his/her own niche in society to be happy and contented, and psychologists can aid this achievement. At work, for example, they can find the right job for each person, resulting in better adjustment and better performance.[5]

One of the primary tasks of American psychologists during the First World War was to place each soldier in the job where he could serve best. Two psychologists were key figures in psychologists' involvement in the war effort: Walter Dill Scott, who directed a committee that dealt with the selection of men for military jobs; and Robert Yerkes, who headed a committee that focussed on the psychological examination of new recruits. Psychologists were opposed by two rival groups: psychiatrists, who saw it as their duty to eliminate the mentally unfit from the armed forces; and military officers, who had doubts about the contribution of psychologists. Whatever the case may be, "industrial" psychologists increased their standing and prestige in the business community, as a result of their war-time activities. Of all their activities, intelligence testing was the one thing that most impressed the public consciousness.

Between the two World Wars, Napoli claims, no great advances were made in the techniques and conceptualizations of applied psychology. The majority

of psychologists remained academics, taking the potential applications of psychology back to campus with them after the War. The APA continued as a scholarly association. However, the formation of a Clinical Section in the Association in 1919 was an indication of developments to come.

Psychologists had to define their service, and then had to stake a claim to exclusive competence in that regard. The service, as we indicated above, was assistance in adjustment. The claim to exclusive competence was staked on their identification with science. They pointed to their use of the scientific method, laboratory experiments, and statistical techniques in this regard. In addition, they required a large base of support; they had to show that their services had widespread application. The argument that the environment was becoming more complex and that people thus needed help in adjustment, was useful in ensuring such a large clientele. In personal and family life, health, work, education, etc., the concept of adjustment could be applied.

Certification became an important consideration during this time. Psychologists hoped for a legal exclusivity of practice, to safeguard their claims to exclusive competence. A need was expressed for a national certifying agency. The APA, being largely dominated by academic psychologists, was reluctant to take on this function. It was left to the Clinical Section to handle professional issues, but the applied psychologists needed a national organization to act more effectively on their own. In the period between the two world wars, the number of applied psychologists increased to such an extent that organized activity became possible. In 1930, for example, the Association of Consulting Psychologists was formed to address professional rather than academic concerns. These concerns included a code of ethics, training, criteria for registration, etc. The first issue of the Journal of Consulting Psychology was published by them in 1937. Also in 1937, a new national organisation was formed: the American Association for Applied Psychology (AAAP).

With the onset of the Depression, the enthusiasm for psychological interventions diminished, as it became clear that psychologists really could do very little about economic conditions. Partly as a result of this, psychologists in America turned to the study of social issues, and became more involved in contemporary problems. In 1936, for example, the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues was formed. It was, however, noticeable that they were still committed to research rather than to direct applications.

World War II proved to be the turning point for applied psychology in the United States. In 1939 a Personnel Testing Section was established in the Adjutant General's Office, to devise a test that would replace the Army Alpha of World War I. The General Classification Test was developed to separate recruits into broad categories on the basis of how easily they could be trained. In the same year, psychologists became involved in the selection of air force

pilots. In July 1941 the first psychologist was appointed in the Air Force. At first only pilots were selected, but later on navigators and bombardiers as well.

Clinical psychology in the Army experienced the longest delay in developing. The AAAP recommended that psychologists not be assigned to the medical departments, as in World War I, since they would not have equal status in diagnosis to the physicians. The US Army did not develop a unified programme for the use of clinical psychologists until 1944, and then they were also assigned to the Adjutant General's Office.

To conclude: the Second World War presented very serious problems of adjustment to military men in their personal as well as occupational lives. During the War, psychologists could display the effectiveness of their techniques in assisting with these problems of adjustment. In terms of industrial application, psychologists could demonstrate the effectiveness of psychological testing in the selection and classification of men. After the War, this would make employers interested in hiring "the right man (sic) for the right job", to keep the worker contented and productivity high. For clinical psychology, it was not only its involvement in the problems of adjustment that soldiers experienced during the War that was crucial, but particularly its involvement in the War Veterans' Administration after the War. When the War was over, the Administration found itself with 44 000 neuropsychiatric patients and very few clinical psychologists. In 1946 a (successful) programme was introduced to increase the number of clinical psychologists, and graduate schools began to produce more doctorates in the clinical field than in any other specialty.

Thus the adjustment problems posed by the Second World War gave psychologists the opportunity to prove themselves in practice. They contributed to the War effort, raising their standing in the eyes of potential employers, professional adversaries, and the public in general. The creation of a large clientele, the widespread application that psychology would enjoy, and the proof of competence, all contributed to the *prestige* that psychologists required to become a profession, according to Napoli's definition.

To define professionalization in terms of prestige and status, as Napoli does, brings him very close to the functionalist definitions mentioned earlier, and to the criticisms levelled against them. In fact, he presents a largely chronological exposition of the professionalization of American psychology, in which he fails to address societal factors in a systematic fashion. The closest that he comes to it, is to indicate three "social" requirements that psychologists used to advance professionalization: the consequences of World War I; the economic crisis; and the demands and consequences of World War II. In the end, he fails to integrate all the factors he mentions into a coherent conceptual framework.

At the risk of either under- or over-interpreting Napoli, the following dimensions of professionalization can be extracted from his study. (The num-

bering of the dimensions coincides with the numbers given in the summary provided in Table 4 at the end of the chapter).

Table 2: *Dimensions of Professionalization - Napoli (1975)*

1. Winning academic recognition.
2. Knowledge aspect: psychological tests for individuals and groups.
3. The service provided by psychologists: adjustment.
4. The demonstration of psychological techniques in a wide range of military activities.
5. Standardized training programmes.
6. The method of certification.
7. Resistance to the professionalization of psychology from other practitioners, psychiatrists, and academics.
8. Status as a major motivating force for psychologists.
9. The development of an ethical code.
10. Establishing a national organization, in this case the APA. Also, a need for an organization devoted to the practice of psychology.
11. Growth of the profession; increase in the number of members.

Geuter, and the professionalization of German psychology

Geuter (1984) provides the most satisfactory major study of the professionalization of psychology. He argues that contrary to popular belief, psychology did not decline during National-socialistic times in Germany. This impression was created because historiographers concentrated on the psychologists, many of whom were Jewish, who left Germany. This did affect the growth of some theoretical developments in German psychology. If, however, one examines the activities of the psychologists in the German Army and Air Force, then a different picture emerges. Through their involvement in the Wehrmacht, psychologists could advance the status and acceptance of the discipline outside as well as inside the universities.

Geuter's reasoning is that if one concentrates on the development of psychology as a profession rather than as an academic discipline, its position was actually advanced during this time. His model of professionalization is therefore a crucial part of his study, and is based on an overview of the literature as well as the on the actual events that took place. It is defined as:

> ... den Prozess, in dem spezielle Anwendungsbereiche des Wissens einer akademischen Disziplin einschliesslich der zugehörigen Berufsrolle und der auf diese Tätigkeit bezogenen Ausbildung institutionalisiert werden. Zu einer professionalisierten Disziplin gehört die Existenz eines

entsprechenden wissenschaftlichen Berufs, einer *Profession* (1984: 22-23).

Guided by this definition, Geuter describes the professionalization of German psychology along eight dimensions.

1. The institutionalization of psychology as an academic discipline.

Two aspects are included under this heading: *cognitive* and *social institutionalization.* Social institutionalization describes the processes of internal organization that take place, such as associations and journals, and the integration of the discipline at the universities. Cognitive institutionalization includes the establishment of consensus among scientists about the problem area, the concepts and the methods of the discipline. In Geuter's work, the social aspect, in particular the establishment of separate and independent departments of psychology at universities, received most attention. This is also sometimes referred to as academic professionalization (Camfield, 1973).

In the literature on professionalization this aspect received much attention. For psychology, the universities were in almost all cases the first place where qualified people could find employment. One must be careful, though, because in some countries the role of the universities would be much more important than in others. It was particularly important in Germany, and it is therefore not surprising that Geuter gave such an inordinate amount of attention to "academic professionalization". In Germany, this whole process was connected with the structure of the university system, in which *Lehrstuhl* politics played a very important role.

For the researcher, institutionalization provides a number of suggestions for research: the number and definition of chairs in psychology; when they were established; opportunities for studying psychology; lecturing possibilities; theoretical orientations of staff members; etc.

2. The development of systematic knowledge within the discipline that could be applied.

A discipline must possess its own knowledge, which it must be able to distinguish and differentiate from knowledge of other disciplines. This knowledge is, however, not simply the result of scientific-internal advances. In a study of professionalization, those aspects of knowledge that become relevant at the level of the practical solution of socially-defined problems, are crucial. Not all knowledge is equally applicable in practice, and it is this kind of knowledge that is crucial for the professionalization of psychology, argues Geuter.

At specific times, therefore, problems would arise in society, and these would make concrete demands on experts. When this happened, psychologists

would intervene via the application of their knowledge. For a proper understanding of this aspect of professionalization, the knowledge presented by psychologists at specific times, as well as the problems which existed in society, need to be examined. According to Geuter's model of professionalization, the combination of available knowledge and societal problems will determine the direction the discipline takes.

Geuter could be criticized for his view of the development of knowledge, in emphasizing the applicability of some psychological knowledge. This undervalues the extent to which the practice of psychology actually *yields* knowledge. At issue here is the notion of "applied" psychology, which will be addressed in the next chapter.

3. Institutionalized professional roles and the demands of society.

A professionalizing social or behavioral science is not simply theoretically involved in the problems of society, but its experts intervene actively in these problem areas with their procedures. It was stated above that not all knowledge will be equally applicable; similarly, some problems will be more amenable to psychological intervention than others. A selection of problems therefore occurs, which will be reflected in the development of the discipline. These interventions are not sponsored by the discipline, but by the institutions which presented them. One criterion for the professionalization is to what extent a discipline's expert roles are *institutionalized* within, for example, the defence force, schools, labour and industry, etc. In Geuter's study, the German defence force was a major factor in institutionalizing psychology outside the universities.

4. The strategies of the occupational group to gain acceptance for their discipline.

Members of a professional group will employ a number of *strategies* to advance the position of their profession. One such strategy could be to lobby parliament to pass laws restricting the practice of the profession to certified people only. This activity of the members of the occupational group is often seen as the driving force behind the process of professionalization. Geuter regarded the interests and politics of psychologists as important in the development of the discipline. It ought to be kept in mind that such a group of people are not monolithic (see dimension 7 of his model). A scientific or professional community contains rival sub-groupings, which may oppose each other on certain matters. These groups may favour different strategies of professionalization, which may lead to contradictions or oppositions within the profession. This will influence its institutionalization and professionalization. At the same time, by implication, it also refers to the importance of considering the common interests which united the different groups of psychologists.

Scientific communities can only be successful in professionalizing if they succeed in convincing important clients and addressees that their work or performance is useful to the client or the institution. After all, these institutions will determine to a large extent the resources of the discipline. The attempts by practitioners to argue the justification or necessity of its activities for important addressees, is referred to as the process of *legitimation.*

Geuter explains that psychology had to be legitimated within as well as outside the universities. It could therefore have a science-orientated strategy of legitimation, and/or a practical strategy, intended to reach extra-university institutions. With reference to the academic legitimation of German psychology, Geuter indicates that psychology's activities were aimed at the philosophy departments. Philosophy dominated the academic establishment as far as psychology in Germany was concerned. To legitimate their claims to a separate existence, psychologists had to convince philosophers that their discipline was acceptable and respectable - on philosophical grounds.

To legitimate psychology to addressees outside the universities, such as the German defence force, psychologists had to make their *practical usefulness* explicit. When a social science extends its institutional base from universities to other institutions, it has to prove that its knowledge is relevant to the problems experienced by these institutions.

5. Regulating qualifications, and formulating educational policy.

Scientific products are largely evaluated and quality controlled by the scientific community itself. When the discipline becomes a profession, however, its consumers become individuals or institutions who cannot judge the competency of the professionals. Thus the *control of competency* becomes an issue, and a state system of licensing or registration is called into existence. This inevitably involves the problem of the qualifications required to practice the profession. Here universities come into their own, as these qualifications are almost always obtained at universities. Psychology was fortunate in this regard: it emerged directly from the universities themselves. University based professions always claim a higher status in the market place.

6. The role of occupational rivals.

Changes in the professionalization of one discipline will influence other professional groups in the network of disciplines. Goode (1960), for example, describes how psychologists, sociologists and medical practitioners battled for competence and a share of the market. No discipline can in the long run afford to relinquish problems within its own field of competence to others. Often a process of struggle and persuasion has to take place, in which groups of people attempt to negotiate the boundaries of an area of expertise and to establish

control over it. In Geuter's own work, he shows how medical practitioners and army officers resisted the intrusion of psychology into their domain.

7. Subjective suppositions of the members of the occupational group.

Many previous studies of professionalization accepted implicitly that the members of a profession acted in a uniform way in terms of their common interests. This is called into question when one considers whether professionals and academics, for example, all shared the same expectations of professionalization, or had the same requirements. It is possible, on the one hand, to see the increasing practical direction as an enlargement of the discipline. It is, however, also possible for academic psychologists to see the increasing professionalization of the discipline as acting against its scientific interests. Thus its scientific interests may in fact prevent the discipline from turning its activities toward practical interventions.

In addition, a more practical orientation creates new forms of loyalty. Practitioners would rather be loyal to those authorities that give the discipline space for professionalization. Geuter indicates some of the motives that psychologists had for turning to the practice of psychology during the Second World War in Germany. One reason was the advancement of the discipline, in that they saw themselves as psychologists first and military officers second. Two other motives were that their careers were ensured, and that they did not have to advance Nazi philosophy, as they had to do at university.

Whatever the case might be, it certainly seems advisable in any study of professionalization not to presuppose a consensus about what professionalization could mean for the discipline, and what it could mean for its members. It ought to be treated as an open question, and the researcher ought to be sensitive to a number of important considerations: opposition within the discipline; common interests which united psychologists; to what extent they acted in unison to the outside; the arguments about appointments at universities; reasons for certain research projects being undertaken; and the strategies they employed to legitimate the discipline.

A summary, similar to the one given above for Napoli's (1975) work, is not given here, as the dimensions are clearly identified. A final summary, however, does appear in Table 4.

Van Strien's relational model

Another approach within psychology that explicitly mentions professionalization, is that of P.J. van Strien of the University of Groningen, The Netherlands. It is not a model of professionalization *per se*, but rather of the

historical development of scientific disciplines. However, professionalization is included in this development as a major characteristic of modern psychology.

Referred to by Van Strien (1986; 1987) as a relational model of the dynamics of scientific disciplines, it presents the development of psychology in interaction with four "reference systems": the academics and practitioners of the discipline itself; the wider scientific community; society-at-large; and the specific clients of the profession. Four factors will determine the interplay between these reference systems and the development of science: certain problems may act as catalysts for change; particular models of science may inspire new research; the institutional support given to the discipline; and attempts to demonstrate the legitimacy of its knowledge.

The four reference systems

The four reference systems guiding a discipline's development are the following:

(i) The internal forum of the discipline's own scientific and professional community. This cognitive reference system is the primary public (or audience) of the scientist or professional.

(ii) There is also the wider academic community; that is, scholars from other disciplines. For Van Strien this does not simply refer to people at university, but includes what can be called the "intelligentsia": people in professional practice, ministers of religion, managers, etc.

(iii) The society-at-large within which the discipline is practised is the most general reference system.

(iv) Finally, one must include the specific clients who make use of the findings and professional services of the discipline's members. These are the clients who appeal directly to the discipline for certain services.

Two of these reference systems therefore relate to what is traditionally known as scientific internal factors (the forum of the discipline, and the broader academic community), and two to scientific external factors (society-at-large, and specific clients within it).

It is also clear that clients are not only unaffiliated individuals; in many instances institutions form the clientele of the discipline. Institutionalization of the discipline exists only when formal organizational structures come into existence: universities, scientific and professional associations, etc. Questions from what Van Strien called society-at-large in particular, are often addressed to the discipline via institutions, when welfare organisations, the state, industries, etc. make appeals to the discipline's expertise to assist them with difficulties they experience.

The problem with this formulation of the accumulation of knowledge in psychology is that it overestimates the role of the service aspect of psychological practice. Psychology does not develop because various clients, institutions, society-at-large, etc. turn to psychologists for assistance and expertise. In Van Hoorn's terms:

> Veeleer is het zo dat leidinggevende elites, waartoe de praktizerende psychologen weldra gingen behoren, zich een voorstelling maakten hoe een fabriek diende te draaien of een school diende te functioneren ... om vervolgens deze visie met professionele hand te introduceren (1988: 68).

Determinants of the functioning of science in society

Four factors determine the dynamics of the historical development of a discipline. First, the development of the discipline is stimulated by problems. If scientific or social problems cannot be solved by means of the available knowledge and/or methods, a new discipline may arise, or a sub-discipline may develop in an existing discipline.

Second, it may be inspired by models. Methods, models and theoretical notions, from the wider academic community or from the discipline itself, are used and developed further as intellectual tools for addressing the abovementioned problems. In other words, the conceptual apparatus of the discipline itself may be a factor in its advance. In this, some disciplines may serve as prototypes for others, which will derive their models of reality from it. In the same way, certain professions could serve as prototypes for psychology in its development as a profession.

Third, the scientific and professional traditions that come into being in this way, require institutional support for their continued existence. Such research and professional traditions in psychology find their support at universities and in professional institutes. Van Strien referred to this process as *institutionalization.*

Van Strien argues that intellectual questions stimulated the formation of psychology primarily as a scientific-academic enterprize, while moral and practical questions gave rise to the founding of professional service centres. For him, institutionalization was a precondition for the establishment of psychology as an independent discipline. By this, he clearly means academic institutionalization. The same goes for the discipline as a profession: it needs the framework of institutes and bureaux. For psychology as a profession in particular, it is crucial to obtain a firm institutional basis in society, in the form of a recognized professional organization.

Fourth, the discipline must succeed in getting its contribution to the solution of various problems accepted by the intended reference system (or public) for

it to survive and grow. This it can do by convincing those from whom the questions originate that the answers it can give are valid and useful (referred to by Van Strien as *legitimation)*. The discipline must also demonstrate that it can give answers on a different basis from other disciplines (referred to as *demarcation*). Legitimation refers to the quality of the product, and demarcation to distinguishing the product from whatever other producers can supply. In these processes of demarcation and legitimation, the discipline will typically direct its activities at the three reference systems of the wider academic community, society-at-large, and specific clients. As a profession, psychology had to win the trust of the wider public and potential clients, resulting in *acceptance* of the discipline. This means that the public, which will be one or more of the four reference systems, is positively inclined to whatever the discipline has to offer. Legitimation is therefore aimed at obtaining such acceptance from the public, internal or external to the discipline.

Finally, Van Strien wishes to create the possibility for critical historical events and determinants to guide the development of a discipline. Examples of such events may be wars or economic crises. Other examples that Van Strien would consider here are: religious factors; friction between demands of related disciplines and professions; personal influences; professional traditions; and so on. For professionalization, the efforts of other, rival professions must be considered as such a specific factor, and he cites Geuter (1984) as providing an example of such rivalry.

Van Strien and Dehue (1985) presented all this in the following diagram:

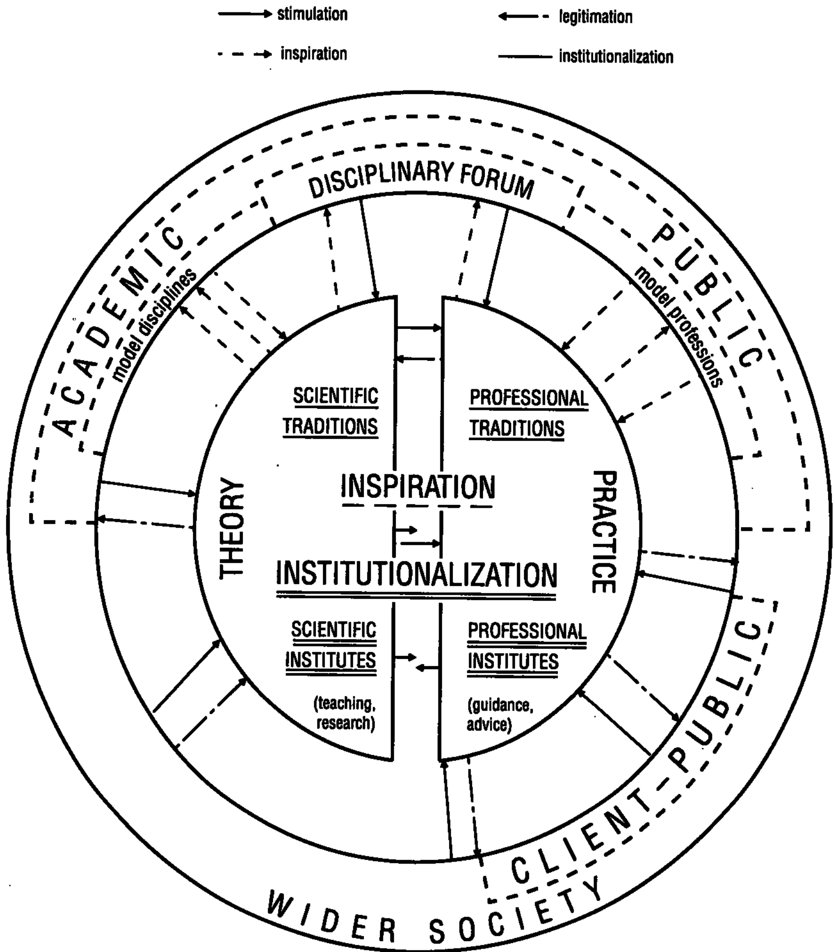


Figure 1: *A relational model of disciplinary history*

The wider society is the largest of the concentric circles surrounding the discipline. The academic community is represented in a smaller, narrower segment, and the disciplinary forum and specific model disciplines and professions in still smaller segments. The clients as a reference system are represented as a segment of the wider society. The discipline as a science is represented by the lefthand part of the inner circle, and the discipline as a profession by the right hand part. Institutionalization occurs in both segments, in the first in the

form of scientific institutes, and in the latter in the form of professional institutes. (By presenting scientific and professional institutionalization in this way, Van Strien underestimates the extent to which they may overlap. In South Africa, for example, the creation of the National Institute for Personnel Research reflected scientific as well as professional institutionalization).

For the development of professional psychology, Van Strien (1986) argues in terms of supply and demand. The four reference systems are four segments of the market at which psychologists direct their efforts. In terms of such a market model of professionalization, psychological knowledge and practical services are produced in response to the questions addressed to psychology by one of the four reference systems. This is very similar to what was said in the discussion of dimension 3 in Geuter's (1984) model of professionalization.

For Van Strien, psychology first of all started with questions and problems, which could have originated in any one of the four reference systems. Second, in attempting to answer these questions and solve these problems, psychologists made use of certain conceptual apparatuses. These include models, metaphors, and analogies which were developed within the discipline, or were taken over from the wider scientific community. If the answers they provided, turned out to be satisfactory, the answers could acquire a paradigmatic character, in that they gave direction to the ways new problems would be approached. Third, as a result of these kinds of activities, the institutional infrastructure of the discipline increased with time. Academic and professional organizations developed. Fourth, to advance the discipline's position, a process of continuous legitimation took place, and still does. Psychology demarcated itself from common sense knowledge, and from the knowledge and skills of other disciplines and professions, to get their expertise accepted by the various publics.

Overall, one is left with the impression that Van Strien's view tends to obscure the difference between science and profession. This is probably a result of his model attempting to describe the development of science, and not of professionalization as such. In his model, professionalization is added as a characteristic of the development of scientific disciplines in modern times, and is not considered in its own right.

An attempt to re-cast Van Strien's model of the development of psychology into dimensions of professionalization, reveals dimensions as given in Table 3. The numbering of dimensions again coincides with the numbers of the dimensions in Table 4. I believe it does not do too much violence to Van Strien's original intention.

Table 3: *Dimensions of Professionalization - Van Strien (1987)*

1. Institutional support, e.g. university departments of psychology.
2. Psychology as a science with its methodological positions.
3. Interdependence between psychological theory and professional practice.
4. Psychologists' legitimation of their practices, and acceptance by the public.
5. The influences of the university curriculum and of institutionalized training.
7. Activities of rival professional groups (as critical historical events).
9. The development of professional rules of conduct.
10. The creation of professional organizations.
12. Personal backgound of the individuals involved.
13. The general academic climate.

A final summary of the dimensions of the professionalization of psychology extracted by these studies appear below in Table 4. The study by Camfield (1973) is included in the summary.

Table 4: *Dimensions of the Professionalization of Psychology*

Dimension	Mentioned by: Napoli	Geuter	V Strien	Camfield
1. Institutionalization as an academic discipline	X	X	X	X
2. Development of applicable knowledge	X	X	X	
3. Application; demand for its services	X	X	X	X
4. Recognition; legitimation and justification strategies	X	X	X	X
5. Regulation of education and qualifications	X	X	X	
6. Method of certification	X			
7. Resistance by rival professional groups	X	X	X	
8. Subjective suppositions and motives	X	X		X
9. Code of ethics	X		X	
10. National organization	X		X	X
11. Growth of numbers	X			X
12. Personal background of persons involved			X	
13. General academic climate			X	

Chapter 4

Towards an integrated model

The sociological literature reviewed in chapter 2 revealed a number of important elements to consider in developing a model of professionalization for psychology; the studies discussed in chapter 3 gave an indication of how these elements have been utilized in studies by psychologists themselves.

In this chapter, I shall discuss in more detail the elements of the definition given at the conclusion of chapter 2, and how they could be combined into a conceptual framework. A few general remarks will be made by way of an introduction, followed by a formulation of the framework or model within which to include these elements.

Two influences have been particularly important in this study of professionalization: Van Hoorn's (e.g. 1981) work on the history of psychology; and Van der Krogt's (1981) on professionalization. In fact, this study could be seen as an attempt to provide a more systematic position on professionalization within Van Hoorn's model of the history of psychology. A third valuable source must be acknowledged as well: Abbott (1988) on the system of professions.

References quoted earlier (e.g. Bledstein, 1976; Larson, 1977; Rueschemeyer, 1986) regarded the rise of the professions and changes in their status as part and parcel of developments in the rest of society. Most social and human scientists today will acknowledge the interdependency between their disciplines and social activities: more than enough evidence exists of social science being conditioned by developments in society, and of the social sciences themselves constructing their objects of study. A study of the professionalization of psychology therefore ought to enable us to understand how a discipline such as psychology figures and operates in society. If this is of such importance, one needs to include, in a formal way, a societal level of analysis in a model of professionalization. In addition, the discipline of psychology itself must be considered and analysed carefully, in terms of its theories, methods, practices, techniques, etc.

Historiographically, it is useful to distinguish between three aspects of psychology: theoretical, applied and practical psychology. Psychology started as a *theoretical* enterprise, with the aim of constructing and testing theories of the structure and functions of human mind. It was based almost wholly at universities, and the most visible exponent of this kind of psychology was of course Wundt.

At the same time, there emerged an involvement with practical, everyday problems, largely independent from the Wundtian tradition. This is referred to as the practical tradition in psychology, and is personified by someone like Galton. Its interventions were carried without a specific theory of mind, behaviour or consciousness. What we call *practical psychology* is therefore a conglomerate of responses to difficulties and changes in everyday living, such as changes in interpersonal relationships. These responses are not based on "theoretical psychology", but on commonsense ideas, an implicit understanding of human functioning, intuition, etc. In short, one could refer to it as a "lay" or "folk" psychology. A substantial part of late nineteenth century developments could be regarded as part of practical psychology; Cattell's mental tests at Columbia University, for example.

The notion of application normally involves some set of laws or principles of behaviour, which have implications for everyday practice. In psychology, however, this relationship is problematic. The Dutch psychologist Snijders (1969) argued that "applied psychology" implies a hierarchical relation in which theory, either chronologically or logically, goes before practice. *Applied psychology,* strictly speaking, includes the applications of theories or theoretical notions, developed prior to the realization of their everyday usefulness, in concrete situations. In psychology, theory and application are not interrelated in a simple logical and temporal way, in which one firstly finds theory construction, then application. In fact, the mental testing movement, that started with Galton, showed clearly that practice without theory is quite possible. The fundamental question is therefore *whether* psychology is applied, and not *how* it is applied.

One can only really speak of applied psychology after World War I and since the 1920s, when psychologists became intervention orientated. Psychologists, especially since World WarII, were to be consciously and actively involved in societal sectors like industry, education and health, by claiming that they had an important *scientific* contribution to make to the solution of society's problems. Psychology would cease to develop as a mainly theoretical enterprize a là Wundt, and would rather be characterized by a search for knowledge that was useful through practice. By the end of the 1960s, Reisman (1966: 302) calculated that already some 54% of positions open to American psychologists were nonacademic and applied.

Practical and applied developments in psychology are almost invariably an answer to developments in society. Few will disagree that these originate in the needs of society, as well as from the needs of psychology, "to do something" with their discipline. In Rose's terms: "Psychology's role as an administrative technology cannot be understood as the application of a psychological knowledge of normality, gained through theoretical reflection or laboratory investigation, to a domain of practical problems. On the contrary, it was

through attempts to diagnose, conceptualise and regulate pathologies of conduct that psychological knowledge and expertise first began to establish its claims for scientific credibility, professional status and social importance" (1985: 226). Psychologists utilize social or administrative problems to justify their academic and practical work on the basis of it being "applied" or "relevant". With such a formulation, we are brought back to professionalization and the need to consider society as a factor in this process.

Apart from conceptualizing the growth of psychology in terms of theory, practice and application, one can conceptualize its development in terms of changes in social reality, in theory, and in its fields of practice. This distinction allows us to approach the historical development of the discipline via three levels or planes:

I. Processes and developments in society; for example, conflicts in industrial societies, changes in social institutions, introduction of new technologies, etc.

II. Formation of psychological theory, theoretical reflections, the concepts and theories of psychology, also the production of ideology.

III. The fields of psychological practice: industrial and organisational psychology, educational psychology, clinical psychology, and applied psychology in for example ergonomics.

Following Van Hoorn (1981), and Verhave and Van Hoorn (1984), this can be represented visually by comparing it to a cube somewhat like Rubik's. Only three sides of the cube are needed, each representing one of the planes mentioned above.

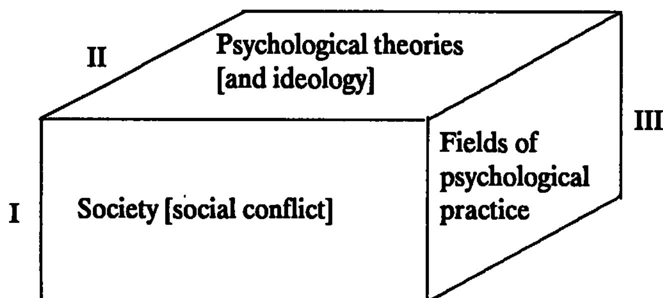


Figure 2: *Three levels of analysis for the professionalization of psychology*

The frontal surface represents societal processes (I above). Van Hoorn (1981) follows a specific conflictual view of society, in which various groups, strata or classes have incompatible interests, and therefore compete for access to scarce resources. The present author is in agreement with viewing society in such a disharmonious way. Psychology in its applied and practical aspects, which forms the basis of its professionalization, not only has its roots in society, as argued above, but in conflicts and contradictions in society. Professions have formed a coalition around their common interests, to gain possible advantages with regard to what is scarce and valued in society. All too often, professionalization is one of the mechanisms which are available to dominant groups in society, to keep others in a subordinate position. The power and status differentials implied in professionalization, easily accommodate existing inequalities in society. (This may be why professionalization occurs so unevenly in all societies).

The top surface of the cube (II above) represents the level of the theories and concepts of psychology. This also includes the production of ideology within the discipline, and it will be indicated that the formation of a group ideology is an important component of professionalization. Ideology here refers to a set of ideas or symbols that are utilized by the profession to persuade the occupational group as well as important audiences that it is justified in claiming a particular domain of work as its own.

The lateral surface (III above) represents the field of psychological practice and application, what Marxist theorists would call the level of praxis.

It is clear from the definition given earlier that these fields of practice, as the domains of professional work in psychology, are our major concern. It was in these social domains that psychological actions were professionalized. The discussion below, however, will demonstrate that it is impossible to disregard the role of psychological knowledge (or scientific theory, if one prefers) in this process. After all, the production of knowledge, and not simply the application of knowledge, is an integral part of the professionalization phenomenon. It is equally impossible to negate the influence of society in this process, as psychological knowledge is also called forth in the demands made by practices in schools, the military, factories, etc. Psychologists would also direct their professionalizing arguments and activities towards particular groups in society.

Therefore, an adequate view of the professionalization of psychology has to include all three of these planes of analysis: the theories, concepts and methods of the discipline; the strictures set by the domain in which it is practised; and contradictions and conflicts in society. It allows us to address the questions of how and why the psychological profession arose by examining (i) large scale social forces, (ii) knowledge and (iii) the profession itself, and its relation with other professions. This view has the advantage of not reducing the discipline's professionalization (or any development in psychology, for that

matter) to any one of these levels. No priority is assigned in principle to levels I, II or III, enabling us to shift the focus of interest from one level to another, as sequences of events may require. Economic factors may be crucial at one point, whereas the outcome of a theoretical-philosophical debate may predominate in another situation. Yet these elements can never be seen in isolation from what occurs at the other levels of the model.

For the sake of convenience, the definition of professionalization given earlier is repeated here:

> We speak of the professionalization of psychology when members of this occupational group act collectively and strategically to transform a societal domain into a field of institutionalized psychological practice; one in which psychologists are accepted and recognized as having the exclusive right to perform certain socially significant tasks, on the basis of their knowledge and know-how.

Fields of practice

Traditionally, psychologists have worked in a number of societal domains, the most important being labour, education, and health. These domains, and the problems contained within them, pre-dated psychological intervention. In short, these were fields of practice, but not fields of *psychological* practice. For psychologists to be employed in these domains, a transformation had to occur first, that would result in an educational, clinical, industrial, etc., psychology. It is in fact to these three domains that psychologists have turned with vigour in their applications and practice. The transformations occured as a result of the professionalizing processes described here: proclaiming a specific service, an exclusive competence, institutionalization, scientific knowledge, etc. Within each domain, one ought to expect different influences and societal processes to prevail, and each of these fields of practice may therefore show different accents of professionalization.

This distinction provides the student of professionalization and its history with a useful analytical tool. By concentrating on the professionalizing activities of psychologists in one of these fields, an investigation of the professionalization of psychology becomes considerably easier. Obviously, one cannot separate these completely. We know that in most countries educational applications led the way for psychological intervention - one thinks here of Binet's work in France, for example. In 1904 Binet was requested by the French minister of education to devise a test that would enable educational authorities to identify children who needed some form of special education. Binet's work is in fact a good illustration of a practical psychology: he selected a large number of brief tasks related to everyday problems of life. These tasks were not selected on the

basis of some theoretical principles, but on the assumption that they involved basic processes of reasoning, e.g. comprehension. This measuring technique supported psychological interventions in the educational domain, and would later on also aid psychologists to enter the domains of labour and health.

In South Africa as well, psychology made an early entrance into the educational field: as early as 1916, Leipoldt administered psychological tests to school children in the Transvaal, for example. The history of South African psychology provides a good illustration of the different times at which fields of practice were transformed. The first major psychological intervention into a social problem area was lodged by the Carnegie Commission in the 1920s, when it investigated the poor white question. Psychologists like Wilcocks and Malherbe played an important part in the investigation with their psychological tests and interviews. As a result of their work, psychology became increasingly important in the field of education, as they demonstrated that psychological know-how had important contributions to make to educational problems. An aspect like vocational guidance would later on become the exclusive domain of psychologists, or of people with psychological training. In terms of the present model, a field of practice had been transformed into a field of psychological practice. Industrial application followed during World War II (see Louw, 1987), and after the Second World War, clinical interventions. (Engineering seems to provide interesting parallels with psychology in this regard: civil engineering appeared first, followed by mechanical engineering and then electrical engineering - see Weiss, 1982, for more information). It must be kept in mind, though, that despite these shifts in emphasis, psychologists never relinquished their control in any one of the fields of practice.

Within these fields of practice, psychologists were going to appropriate certain tasks as their own; tasks that they were uniquely qualified to perform. The discussion now turns to the importance of a consideration of these tasks for understanding the professionalization of psychology.

Work

Abbott's (1988) study took control of work as its central focus. As indicated earlier in this essay, each profession performs a set of tasks that it views as uniquely its own. The link between a profession and its set of tasks, according to Abbott, is jurisdiction:

> To analyze professional development is to analyze how this link is created in work, how it is anchored by formal and informal social structure, and how the interplay of jurisdictional links between professions determines the history of the individual professions themselves (1988: 20).

Establishing the profession's jurisdiction means gaining control over its work, and one can therefore examine what work the profession controls, how it controls this work, and when it gained such control. A study of the professionalization of psychology will have to start, therefore, with the tasks that psychologists claimed to be within their sphere of expertise.

Transformation of psychology's fields of practice involves attempts to establish jurisdiction over certain task areas, or, in Larson's (1977) terms: obtaining a part of the market of services. These tasks represent human problems: in industry, for example, it was the human factor in productivity; in the health domain, the problem of individual adjustment. These are just general examples: if one examines the work that psychologists do, and the places they do it in (business corporations, hospitals, factories, mines, government departments, private practice, schools, etc.), the remarkable complexity of the discipline becomes evident.

The professions are therefore competitors for certain tasks in an interdependent professional system. The jurisdiction of each profession is continuously threatened by its rivals, and jurisdictional disputes result. Psychotherapy as a professional task provides a good illustration. At first it belonged to the jurisdiction of psychiatrists, who had to appropriate that control from lay therapists and the clergy, for example. Since the Second World War, however, psychiatry has lost jurisdictional control over psychotherapy to psychologists and social workers, among others.

Psychologists claim jurisdiction over certain tasks on the basis of their knowledge. Specialized knowledge is a crucial component of the individual and collective capacities that the profession presents as its own in the attempt to transform a field of practice into a field of psychological practice. In the process of professionalization part of the market of services is closed off by the profession, on the basis of its knowledge claims, which serves as its marketable expertise.

The maintenance and enhancement of the professional's position in the field of practice is dependent upon the provision of a service to individuals and society. This can occur only if there is a need for this work, and how highly it is valued. The need for psychology's presented marketable expertise, and the extent to which it is valued in society, will be factors in what Van der Krogt (1981) calls its *use value*. For as long as health, for example, remains a need of people, and satisfaction of this need continues to be experienced as problematic, for so long will the aid of experts be undisputed, and will the profession have use value. The higher the need and value, the more support the profession will find for its jurisdictional claims. In claiming a particular use value for the profession's work, professionals will emphasize that the interest of the client is central in their work.

An event in the early history of the National Institute for Personnel Research (NIPR) in South Africa provides a small-scale illustration of what happens when psychologists "misjudge" the need of the client, or offer services that are at odds with the client's perceived need. In an unpublished mimeograph, Biesheuvel described how the NIPR received a request from the Good Hope Textile Company in the late 1940s to develop a battery of psychological tests to select African workers in terms of their aptitudes for spinning, weaving and dyeing activities. The psychologists of the NIPR believed that difficulties in adjusting to industrial working conditions and urban living might have been more important factors in production than the possession of certain skills. When they wanted to slant the research in that direction, the company resisted: they wanted psychological testing to be done, and no more. The end result was that this project was abandoned, and the work was never done.

The implication of all this is that the use value of a profession may change to such an extent that it may disappear altogether, perhaps as a result of competing professions usurping its jurisdiction. Professions therefore have to be sensitive to changing needs and values in society, to keep on producing results that are valued in society. New needs may emerge (or be created), which require new organizations and occupational groups, that may replace the existing professional groups, or be an adjunct to them. A good example of the latter is the approach made by the South African Medical and Dental Council to psychologists in 1948 to consider registration on an *auxiliary* medical services register.

There is, however, another value, that is reflected in the interests of the professional group itself. The extent to which the activities of the professional group serve their own interests, is referred to by Van der Krogt (1981) as the *exchange value* of the profession. This aspect is also emphasized by those theorists who find power an important factor in professionalization (e.g. Johnson, 1972).

A brief consideration of these two seemingly contrasting aspects of professionalization, exchange value and use value, is required here. As indicated earlier, this was one of the contradictions that Parsons applied himself to, namely the professions' emphasis on a service ideal, and its co-existence with a business ethic that stresses economic self-interest. Gouldner (1979) referred to this as the moral ambivalence of the professions: on the one hand, they claim to work towards the collective interest in a disinterested way; on the other, they advance their own interests and power. He summarized this ambivalence as follows:

> The New Class's occupational culture is neither the caricature of the devoted professional selflessly sacrificing himself in the services of

others, nor is it the stereotype of the venal elite that prostitutes its skill for gain (Gouldner, 1979: 21).

It is clear that the professional practitioner's own interest is served in exchange for the services rendered to society and individuals. Perhaps the most obvious exchange that the professional, in fact any practioner of an occupation, gets in return for service to society, is the satisfaction of his/her own needs. This can refer to such obvious things as income, prestige, status, security, etc. The provision of a service to society in itself, however, is also a strong motivator for an occupation. In addition, the practitioner obtains a certain amount of autonomy in how the occupation is practised.

Professions are particularly potent in terms of autonomy, for they allow a relatively independent practice. The individual practitioner can determine how s/he wants to give form and substance to the practice. For the psychologist, for example, it may involve deciding which clients s/he is going to work with, which professionals to cooperate with, what techniques will be followed for different cases, the extent of his/her autonomy vis-a-vis other professionals, etc. Professionalization can also assist the individual practitioner in getting cooperation from others. This refers to cooperation from other professionals, but perhaps more importantly, cooperation from clients. For clinical psychologists in particular, the cooperation of the client in psychotherapy is obviously crucial (see Brinkgreve, Onland & De Swaan, 1979; Kadushin, 1969).

In all these aspects the exchange value of the occupation is dependent upon its use value. The services of the occupational group must be of value to the users, which is why the maintenance and extension of use value is so important for professions. Numerous examples exist in South African psychology of psychologists arguing the value of their discipline for society. The Department of Psychology at the University of Stellenbosch for example expressed this sentiment as follows:

> ...dit word met sukses nagestreef om die studie van Sielkunde ook van direkte praktiese nut vir die lewe en in die verskillende beroepe te maak. Dit is byvoorbeeld die geval in die besigheid, in die industrie, in die regte, en veral in die pedagogiek (Departement van Logika en Sielkunde, 1922, p. 29) (Louw, 1987: 33, gives more South African examples).

Thus one can say that the perception of the need for and value of a profession's services, is dependent upon the supply of those services; after all, the profession must also convince society that their services are needed (Brinkgreve, Onland and De Swaan, 1979).

If this is examined in the light of Geuter's third dimension, institutionalized roles and the demands of society, another fruitful area for research is indicated. Answers to the question: Which problems were selected for psychological

intervention?, will reveal much about psychologists themselves, as well as about the knowledge and know-how available at different times. Obviously a close link exists between knowledge available and problems presented, as Geuter, Napoli and Van Strien indicated.

Social inequality does not remain unaffected by all this. Larson (1977) argues that the professions utilize the structure of modern inequality, in striving for special social status, and to attain upward social mobility. For Giddens (1973: 101), the market is intrinsically a structure of power: to possess certain attributes in the market allow certain groups or individuals advantages over others. For Larson, professionalization is an attempt to translate one order of scarce resources - special knowledge and skills - into another: social and economic rewards. Bledstein (1976) is in essential agreement. For him, the "culture of professionalism" is basic to middle class thought and action. For the middle-class person, educational degree-granting is an instrument of ambition and a vehicle to status in the occupational world.

Collective and individual behaviour

The distinction between the individual and collective actions of psychologists plays a major role in Van der Krogt's (1981) view of professionalization. It is just as important when considering the professionalization of psychology. The essence of professionalization is collective behaviour, as exhibited in the formation of various professional groups and organizations. In the final instance, professionalization is aimed at the behaviour of individuals as members of the profession. The profession grants the individual practitioner certain privileges in the workplace, either as a free practitioner, or as an employee of a bureaucratic organization. Individual behaviour is at the basis of collective action, and we therefore start with an examination of activities of the individual practitioner.

Included at the individual level are, first of all, the actual practices of the profession, the day to day activities that the practitioner carries out. Of these, relations with clients, as well as with other practitioners, form important ingredients. Van der Krogt (1981) refers to this as the "executive" level of professionalization, and it is not difficult to see why. It is at this level that the profession is practised, and involves the profession's accomplishment in terms of knowledge, skills and technology. The value of including an individual level of analysis in the model, is that it strengthens the emphasis on the actual work of the profession, as it allows for an investigation of what actually happens in practice at the professional-client interface.

Individuals have needs and interests, in terms of which they will act to improve or maintain their positions (exchange value again). For professionals,

this may mean that they want to maintain or enhance the extent to which their occupation has the capacity to satisfy their needs, and cater for their interests. To do so, professionalism must be relevant to the workplace of the practitioner. (This may be a reason why there is little need for research and academic psychologists to professionalize, and that their associations always have the character of associations of "learned persons"). One way in which this may be accomplished is when professionalization allows the practitioner to become more autonomous in the workplace; something that one would expect to be particularly important for professionals in bureaucratic organizations. Henry, Sims and Spray (1971), for example, found that at no time in the training of clinical psychologists were they encouraged to define their roles as ancillary to other professionals. Their training mainly emphasized autonomy in their activities.

Not all professionals emphasize their autonomy in the workplace. Watson (1977) gives an example from the UK and USA where personnel specialists opposed professionalization, because they wanted to be acknowledged as full members of the managerial team, and professionalization might have excluded them from it. This again shows the sensitivity of the process of professionalization to contextual factors, and its subsequent uneven development and complexity.

Practitioners of an occupation also have common interests, which is one way of saying that occupational groups can be thought of as interest groups. Members of the group face similar or shared problems. The nucleus of professionalization is formed when members of an occupational group see a coalescence of interest, and recognize that they can look after their own interests more effectively or efficiently by acting as a group.

Exactly what serves as the catalyst for this collectivization is not quite clear. Typically, various small groups are first formed at different sites, before a national association is established. For Watson (1977), ideas and spokespersons act as catalysts in the formation of associations. He argues that particular individuals will express ideas which articulate hitherto latent interests of the occupational group. This creates a consciousness of the importance of these ideas, converts them to subjective interests, and mobilizes the group. Spokespersons are therefore key actors in processes of social change, according to this view. As the occupational group develops, this formulation of ideas will become part of the institutionalized role of the professional organization.

At the collective level, there exists a number of activities that have little to do with the actual practice as such, but that have a strong bearing on them. These are the activities and relations that create the conditions and policies of the profession: formulating claims to jurisdiction; demarcation of the work terrain; definition of required knowledge; formulation of entry standards to the profession; content of training programs; etc. It is typical of a profession that

the negotiations regarding its position and standing are transferred to the collective level of action. The kinds of activity mentioned above would be extremely difficult for unorganized individuals to carry out; indeed, without group formation, professionalization would not be possible. These steering activities have received most attention from scholars of professionalization.

As far as psychology is concerned, different forms of association exist in different countries. In Britain and Poland, for example, the British Psychological Society and the Polish Psychological Association represent both scientific-academic and professional interests. In other countries, like the German Federal Republic, separate bodies exist for professional and scientific psychology (McPherson, 1986). South African psychology has a voluntary representative association, the Psychological Association of South Africa, as well as a separate statutory body to regulate its professional practice, the Professional Board for Psychology. The Professional Board is in a subsidiary position to the South African Medical and Dental Council.

An important process that can form part of collective action, and at the same time create internal problems, is *segmentation* (Bucher, 1962; see also Geuter's dimension 7). Segmentation refers to the fact that sub-groups can form within a profession around a specific identity. There are various issues around which segments can be formed: increase in specialization, a different methodology, type of clients, nature of political ideology, setting, etc.

Bucher indicated how two "segments" formed among professional pathologists: a scientific and a practitioner group. Dissatisfied with the dominance of academic psychology in the American Psychological Association, the American Association of Applied Psychology united clinicians and testers in the late 1930s. Similar instances can be found in Jamous and Peloille (1970), and in Napoli (1975), who describes the establishment of a clinical section in the APA in 1919.

An example of how a change in political ideology can lead to new professional associations, is provided by South African psychology, with the division between the South African Psychological Association (SAPA) and the Psychological Institute of the Republic of South Africa (PIRSA). In 1961, a group of mainly Afrikaans-speaking psychologists broke away from SAPA on the issue of "non-white" membership. This was a response to the Nationalist government's proclaimed policy of racial segregation, which was extended to professional associations as well (see Louw, 1987a, for a full discussion).

A more recent example of the same process may be the formation in 1983 of the Organization of Appropriate Social Services (OASSSA) in this country. Its original statement of principles identified apartheid and economic exploitation as antithetical to mental health. It is explicitly committed to a political stance against the policies of the South African government. As an organization, OASSSA strives to identify and overcome "restrictive and unjust

legislation, the isolation of the various mental health disciplines, and the control of skills by a professional elite". The reference to a professional elite also reflects a perception of the role of the professions in South Africa that is somewhat at odds with the view of the professions themselves. OASSSA seems to be committed to a position which would give the client or public a more autonomous role vis-à-vis the "professional".

This organization may find itself in a difficult position, as it brings into play the unequal authority of different professionals within the same profession. As Edelman (1977: 67) predicted, the work of dissenting organizations such as OASSSA is often criticized for being "unprofessional" or "unscientific" by mainstream psychologists. Generally speaking, marginals or dissenters have less ability to produce authoritative statements in the discipline. It depends, however, on the audience which forms the focus of the group's claims: for OASSSA, it is clearly a different one from that of mainstream South African psychology. Thus it may be that the dissenters do have an authoritative voice, but to a different audience. Reference to different audiences shows yet again how useful it is to include societal conflict as a major context for the development of psychology as a profession.

Segmentation is therefore a new form of collectivizing, when some practitioners decide that their occupational interests are not adequately served by the existing form of professional organization. Thus a new collective actor is created, which can remain an action group within the original group, or form an independent new association.

Knowledge

Remarks made in the opening paragraph of this essay should have alerted the reader that knowledge and know-how will be an important component of the process described here.[6] The profession presents its service ethic in terms of knowledge that its practitioners possess of specialized problem areas; typically these are problems of universal social concern, or at least problems that are widely experienced.

This kind of formulation posits a close link between knowledge in psychology and its social context. With reference to the three levels of analysis proposed in the opening paragraphs of this chapter, it means that an applied or practical psychology is fed by the demands of conflictual relations in society. New problems or situations in society provide psychologists with the opportunity to enlarge their jurisdiction in a particular field of practice by adapting the discipline to accommodate new knowledge. Danziger gives an excellent illustration of this. Investigative practices, he argues, generate products that we consider to be scientific psychological knowledge. These include both applied

practices as well as research practices, and "are of special interest because they constitute a nodal point at which social contextual factors external to the discipline are transmuted into logical tasks that appear to be of purely cognitive significance" (1985: 14). Thus professionalization implies changes in the investigative practices of the discipline, and a shift in the relative importance of different practices within the discipline. Danziger gives the example of specific educational demands in the USA in the early part of this century, and the response of psychologists like Thorndike and Seashore to them. He argues that it involved a shift away from a psychology interested in the analysis of psychological processes in the individual mind to the distribution of psychological characteristics in populations. The knowledge produced via a study of groups was useful to educational administrators, as it assisted them with administering mass education. Danziger again:

> Internal definitions of disciplinary goals are themselves adaptations to external conditions and, conversely, disciplinary projects contribute to the formation of external markets for their products (1985: 29).

Psychologists appealed to their *scientific* knowledge, and their *scientific* way of doing things, to justify their jurisdictional claims. Science, with its abstract nature, and connotations of rationality, rigour, testability, etc., is ideally suited to some professions. According to Merton (1968), science can present itself in terms of a value system, characterized by: communism (communality, or "openbaarheid"); universalism (not limited to a party, race, nation or religion); disinterestedness ("belangeloosheid"); and organized scepticism (a form of permanent critique). Science can present itself in this kind of ethos to the public, and claim that these characteristics serve as a guarantee for its validity and reliability. Medicine is perhaps the prime example, as it justified its autonomy and jurisdictional claims in terms of science. Scull (1975) gave an example of how the medical profession claimed its jurisdiction over insanity on the basis of scientific knowledge. In Britain, the medical profession came under threat from lay therapists (e.g. the moral treatment at the York Retreat), and they responded by developing a more sophisticated justification of their expertise. Insanity now was claimed to have a medical nature, and that scientific knowledge was required to cure and manage the insane. Of course, not all professions are based on appeals to scientific knowledge: professions such as law developed prior to the establishment of science as a dominant and useful pursuit.

Another example comes from the drive to quantification in psychology. During the 1920s, American psychologists used statistical techniques and mathematical formulae to distinguish "scientific" psychology from popular psychology (similar to what we termed practical psychology). They were

therefore able to lable non-acceptable forms of popular psychology as "pseudo". To master scientific psychology, one needed training; not everybody could be a psychologist. This is the beginning of the removal of professional psychological knowledge from popular knowledge, which remains a problem to this day (Hornstein, 1988).

Numerous examples exist of South African psychologists claiming scientific knowledge: in 1922, Livie-Noble addressed the South African Association for the Advancement of Science, and asked for the methods of the science of experimental psychology to be applied to practical problems. In the Carnegie Investigation into the poor white question, Grosskopf (1932: 179) also asked for the scientific management ideas of industrial psychology to be applied to this problem.

The tasks that psychologists could perform in society, are based upon a claim to a special knowledge, that is typically presented as scientific knowledge. In the market of services, this commodity must be recognizable by the potential clientele, and not remain at the level of cognitive claims only. Universities play an important role in making psychology's services and knowledge base recognizable. It is for this reason that aspects like academic institutionalization and training requirements have always featured prominently in studies of the professionalization of psychology. In the present model, it remains important, as universities are not only a source of psychological knowledge via research activities, but are also training institutions. It is the instructional base for knowledge that includes a mixture of academic, applied and practical components. Moreover, university education creates the "friends and supporters of psychology" (adapted from Kadushin, 1969), or brings them closer to the discipline.

Different kinds of knowledge are used by professional practitioners, as the reference to knowledge and know-how indicated. The intervention may demand complex adaptations of general knowledge to a particular situation, which requires learned judgement, intuition, and even informed methods of trial and error. Psychotherapy often involves this kind knowledge. Van Strien and Dehue note: "We estimate that at least 80% of the work of *practitioners* continues to be based on *intuitive, clinical* ways of reasoning" (1985: 16, original emphasis). It is in cases like these that one can observe the elements of a professional ideology at work: psychologists underplay some components of their knowledge base (e.g. common sense, or intuition), while they emphasize its scientific-cognitive elements. Similarly, psychologists present their interventions in terms of theory-to-application: the practical-professional knowledge is an extension of the abstract-theoretical knowledge. Earlier in this chapter, this kind of formulation of the theory-application relationship was questioned. Others share this doubt: Abbott (1988) for one believes that the value of abstract academic knowledge is largely symbolic, rather than practical.

A final comment: the knowledge component of a profession is an important power source, because it enables the profession to control sources of uncertainty in society. The notion of sources of uncertainty is implied in the kinds of tasks involved in the increasing differentiation, specialization and rationalization of modern societies. The control of these sources of uncertainty will be a source of power to the profession. In addition, the state has often decreed that only certain people may perform certain activities, due to the risks involved for the client and society by the (assumed) lack of expertise of the lay public. This increases the profession's power, as individuals and organizations become increasingly dependent upon 'expert assistance' in carrying out tasks that require specialized knowledge, or are dangerous.

Professions therefore are ideal sites for studying the relation between knowledge and power. The appropriation of specific jurisdiction by a professional group reduces the ability of others, particularly the lay public, to challenge that knowledge. Today, in many instances, one sees exactly such challenges emerging: for example, the gay rights movement opposes the stigmatization of homosexuals in the AIDS scare (Larson, undated).

Exclusive right

Professions attempt to establish control over the work that they consider to be their own. Since they form part of an interdependent system, to use Abbott's (1988) terms, they wish to exclude competitors from performing their tasks. The notion of professional jurisdiction implies exclusivity, and competition for control of work. In terms of the previous paragraph, it means that more than one professional group can have relevant knowledge of a specific domain. This raises the possibility of a hierarchy of professions in that field, which will be based partly on the relative size of their knowledge bases. If a profession manages to dominate the knowledge in the field, it may take responsibility for the whole field, and other occupations will be dependent on it for a share of the expertise.

Interprofessional rivalry also spills over to the universities, and many of the conflicts between the professions manifest themselves there as well. Psychological knowledge will make an almost perfect case study, as it contested its knowledge base with philosophy, medicine, management studies, education, etc. Again, it shows how important it is to establish exactly what psychology's knowledge base is in the different fields of practice, as distinct from what psychologists claim it to be.

Perhaps as important as dominating the knowledge base, is the profession's position in the established institutional and organizational network. Older, well-established professions often control others via their position, irrespective

of their knowledge base. Taken together, it constitutes the subordination of one profession to another.

Clinical psychology's position vis-a-vis medicine will make an interesting case study in this regard. The remark was made before that no one profession has exclusive jurisdiction over psychotherapy. Psychiatry by and large retains control over the area, but other practitioners, such as clinical psychologists, psychiatric social workers and the clergy, made serious inroads into that exclusive control. In fact, if one examines the South African legal definition of acts that only psychologists may perform, it would appear that psychotherapy is regarded as the domain of psychologists. (This legal definition appears further on in the paragraph). Despite this apparent control, psychology remains firmly under the direct control of the South African Medical and Dental Council. The battle for jurisdiction between psychology and medicine in South Africa would make a very interesting historical study. For example: in 1964 the Medical, Dental and Pharmacy Act of 1928 was amended to make the certification of psychologists possible. Severe restrictions, however, were placed on what psychologists could do: they could not undertake any psychological procedure except in association with a team, of which at least one member had to be a registered medical practitioner. They also could not diagnose or administer psychotherapy unless in association with a team.

South Africa is not the only country where psychology is perceived to be dominated by medicine in some or other way. In Britain, Hayes wrote that

> Probably the biggest obstacle to psychologists being 'accepted' by the public is that they come some way down the pecking order in the NHS (National Health Service - J.L.) hierarchy - and the medical disciplines will see to it that they stay there (1988: 404).

Psychologists obviously are not happy with this subordination. If one examines the fields of professional practice in psychology, it makes even less sense. Medicine came to dominate nursing because it could argue that "custodial care in and the administration of hospitals were tasks subordinate to the medicine conducted in them" (Abbott, 1988: 72). While this perhaps could be argued for clinical psychology, it simply is irrelevant for the rest of psychology. Furthermore, the institution of the hospital is a very small part of psychology's institutional base.

The question that now arises, is how psychology established and maintained control over work in its fields of practice. According to Freidson (1970), there are three minimum conditions for this control: First, the occupation must gain command of the exclusive competence to determine the proper content and effective method of performing some task. Second, the occupation must be the prime source of the criteria that qualify a person to work in an acceptable

fashion. Taken together, these two conditions form the beginnings of the occupation's exclusive right to perform certain functions. The third and final condition mentioned by Freidson is that the general public must believe in the occupation's competence and the value of its knowledge and skill.

In countries like Britain and the USA (and South Africa), these three conditions culminate in the legislature granting certain rights to occupational groups. Even the most autonomous self-control is typically secured by legal intervention and statutory guarantees. In fact, the more independent the professions become, the more the state sees itself compelled "to protect the public" by eliminating the incompetent. For psychology this is accomplished in most countries by the erection of two kinds of legal barriers: certification and licensing. Certification restricts the title "psychologist" to those who are suitably qualified; normally people who meet a set of standards specified by statute. Licensing laws designate certain activities or practices as belonging to psychology only, and to be carried out by certified psychologists only.

Apart from protecting practitioners against others doing their work, the state can also intervene in terms of acknowledgement of professional training, and recognition of the institutions of the profession.

In South Africa, the Medical, Dental and Supplementary Health Service Professions Act (no. 56 of 1974), called a Professional Board for Psychology into being. This statutory body serves as the certification agent for psychologists. It is also responsible for determing minimum training qualifications, and it administers the professional code of ethics. The Act also includes a licensing aspect, and it defines psychological actions as:

> (a) the evaluation of behaviour or mental processes or personality adjustments or adjustments of individuals or of groups of persons, through the interpretation of tests for the determination of intellectual abilities, aptitude, interests, personality make-up or personality functioning;
>
> (b) the use of any method or practice aimed at aiding persons or groups of persons in the adjustment of personality, emotional or behavioural problems or at the promotion of positive personality change, growth and development;
>
> (c) the control of a prescribed test, or of the use of a prescribed technique, device or instrument, for the determination of intellectual abilities, personality make-up, personality functioning, aptitude or interests.

The erection of legal barriers, in terms of certification and licensing laws, is a surprisingly recent phenomenon in most countries. In Brazil, the process was set in motion by a 1962 act of parliament, and completed when an act was passed by the Brazilian parliament in 1971. In the United States, Connecticut

became the first state to certify psychologists in 1945, while Virginia passed the first licensing law in 1946. By 1977, all American states had passed certification or licensing laws. In the German Democratic Republic "Diplom-Psychologe" is the professional description, and this was introduced in the early 1950s. (See the International Journal of Psychology, 1983). Hungary has had certification laws since 1974, Ireland since 1976, Norway since 1973, and the Netherlands since 1972. Sweden has had a licensing law only, since 1978 (McPherson, 1986).

When employed as a legal and administrative category, the term profession therefore discriminates between the exclusive actions of different, but related, occupations. One would be well advised to keep in mind that the state normally relies on the professionals themselves to provide these distinctions. This signifies that the relation between profession and state is a complex one, that deserves careful analysis. Parry and Parry (1976: 44), for example, doubt whether the state acted as mediator between professional and client, as Johnson (1972) argued. According to them, it is much more likely that the state accepts the definition of the clients' needs, as articulated by the profession.

Apart from gaining legal protection of their monopoly to perform certain actions, statutory recognition also devolves power over professional misconduct to the profession itself. This is linked to the issue of self-control mentioned earlier, where professional misconduct is judged at a professional disciplinary hearing. Professional misconduct is usually defined in terms of a formal ethical code (Abbott, 1983; Kriegler, 1986; Steere, 1984).

It may seem as if this kind of intervention by the state seriously impairs the autonomy of the profession, but studies of professionalization show that professionals in fact welcome it. The interests of the state and of the professions are often closely aligned, or at least are compatible. The practitioners in any event maintain a large amount of autonomy, as the state generally does not interfere with the day to day affairs of the profession.

However, non-interference by the state in the day to day running of professions does not constitute a hard and fast rule. In South Africa in the early 1960s, for example, the government attempted to tamper with the running of professional and academic associations. The issue was black membership of these associations: under their policy of strict apartheid, the government wanted separate scientific and professional associations for different population groups. In August 1962 the Minister of Indian Affairs and of Bantu Education said: "If professional associations do not observe social segregation, the Government will have to investigate the matter and take whatever steps it considers necessary" (Survey of Race Relations, 1962: 169). Very few associations acted upon this threat, and the government never carried it out.

Professional licensing or certification as a form of state mediation (Johnson, 1972, provided a full discussion of other forms of state mediation) has the

interesting effect of placing more power in the hands of the universities and technical colleges. These are not regulated by professionally controlled schools and examinations. The distribution of power within the profession is then moved away from the practising membership to the university. For psychology, the universities were in fact all powerful in the beginning; after all, psychology emerged as an academic discipline at the universities. One could speculate that the process mentioned above might have occurred in the reverse direction for psychology in some countries (including South Africa): as the discipline became more applied and practical, universities had to adapt their syllabi to train a different type of psychologist.

In South African psychology, the concern with training that leads to professional registration, is reflected in a number of developments. As early as the very first meeting of SAPA in February 1948, the issue of university training of psychologists was discussed. In subsequent years, it remained an abiding concern. In 1959 the Newsletter of the Association reported on the basic university qualifications required to practise as a professional psychologist, and complained about the shortage of qualified staff and absence of facilities for practical training (Psygram, 1959: 17). During the 1970s, the training of industrial psychologists was carefully considered - in 1977, for example, a Standing Committee on Industrial Psychology was reconstituted by SAPA to make recommendations in respect of the training of industrial psychologists.

To register as a psychologist in South Africa at present, a Master's degree at an approved university in psychology, industrial psychology or educational psychology is required, plus completion of a twelve month internship at an accredited institution. This is a fairly lengthy period of training, which psychologists claim is necessary on the basis of the complexity of knowledge required for their practice. Such a lengthy training precludes rapid responses to sudden changing demands. Should a sudden decrease in demand for psychologists occur, psychologists would most probably find their way into other, related occupations: teaching, management, administration, etc. (This is the advantage of a discipline with multiple fields of practice).

Notions of social control, exclusive right, certification and interprofessional competition, raise the related issue of *power* in a direct way. Parry and Parry conceives of power

> in terms of the exercise of control (to a variable extent) over defined aspects of the social and physical world. Power often serves as a counterweight to uncertainty, men may derive from institutionalised power a reduction of insecurity, whether economic or otherwise (1976: 60).

And further on:

RAAD VIR GEESTESWETENSKAPLIKE NAVORSING
HUMAN SCIENCES RESEARCH COUNCIL

086460

> Power ... is therefore an activity of obtaining control or maintaining control over individuals, institutions, and organisations that the actor believes are the sources of uncertainty or are likely to be. This activity itself involves the creation and change of social structure, the modification and transformation of social institutions and organisations (*idem*: 74).

Those who can control the uncertainties we face in our relations with each other and with nature, exercise power, especially when institutions and organizations are created for them. This definition of power in the professional domain highlights the relationship between knowledge, sources of uncertainty, social control, power and institutionalization in the professional enterprize.

The power of the professions plays an important role in obtaining its exclusive right to carry out certain activities. Two of the most important sets of relations are with the state, and with other professional groups. Both are crucial to the exclusive right that the professional group seeks for its practice. From a position of power, the group can influence decision-making within the arrangement of relations, and execute those decisions.

As an *individual* practitioner, the professional is in a position of power. Hall and Hare-Mustin found an illustration of this form of exercising power in a judgement handed down by an American judge in a case involving sexual contact between a psychologist and an adolescent:

> The position of a psychologist was seen as being one of authority and influence in close proximity with male and female patients of all ages, and psychological examination and analysis is often conducted in private without the presence of a child's parent or an assistant. The court stated that clients who seek the aid of a psychologist are often uniquely susceptible to the manipulation and control of a person with power (1983: 723).

The main source of the individual's power is knowledge, it sets the professional apart from the lay public. His/her special knowledge gives the professional the exclusive right to intervene in certain problem areas of the client's life. (It is of course a matter of contention whether professional knowledge is in fact so different from the lay public's knowledge.

The individual practitioner has another source of power at his/her disposal: normative power (Van der Krogt, 1981). The latter refers to power derived from how highly society values the goal that the profession is pursuing: the higher the value placed on it, the more power to the professional. The powerful position of the medical profession in society is partly explained then by the high value placed on health.

These social valuations, or use value, may shift, resulting in changes in professionalization. Psychology provides good examples, as indicated earlier:

in the beginning of its practice, children and their education formed the focal point of interventions by psychologists. Between the two world wars the focus shifted to industry and its problems, and after World War II, health became the dominant field of professional psychological practice (at least in the USA and Europe; other countries might show interesting differences).

However, it would be highly misleading to present this as the only or most important source of power. As a *collectivity,* the profession also possesses power; in fact, the power of the individual practitioner is derived from the power of the collectivity. The institutions and organizations of the profession are the bases from which the profession lodges its claims to power, and hence the importance of institutionalization. Via its institutional network the profession attempts to manage the interests of the group, and as a consequence, the interests of the individual practitioner.

As part of the institutional networks of society, the profession participates in structuring the practices of organizations, and the behaviour of individuals. Using Lukes' (1974) conceptual analysis of power, it is possible to see that part of this power is the ability to control the agenda of politics and exclude potential issues. In his words:

> ...is it not the supreme and most insidious exercise of power to prevent people, to whatever degree, from having grievances by shaping their perceptions, cognitions and preferences in such a way that they accept their role in the existing order of things, either because they can see or imagine no alternative to it, or because they value it as divinely ordained and beneficial (1974: 24).

Although Lukes did not write about professions per se, I believe that professionalization, in its individual and collective aspects, constitutes one of the ways in which potential social conflicts are kept out of the political arena. The authoritative decisions of the professions too often conceal the different social interests involved in a particular situation.

Collectively, the profession has the same sources of power at its disposal as the individual practitioner, namely knowledge and normative power. One additional source of power for the collectivity is the sheer numbers of the profession, and the extent to which these have been organized into an professional association or organization. This is an element that often receives an inordinate amount of attention in studies of professionalization. (One may find in this an explanation for the amalgamation of the South African Psychological Association and the Psychological Institute of the Republic of South Africa in 1983. It became increasingly difficult to attend to professional matters via two associations, and a single association also meant an undivided membership).

The second source of collective power derives from the occupational group's relation to other powerful groups in society: higher status professions, the state, economic elites, etc. Freidson (1977) refers to support from strategic social and political groups, while Larson (1977) suggests that social class was an important factor in the position that a professional group occupies. (See Scull, 1975, for an example of how medical practitioners used their connections with the House of Lords from 1815 to 1819 to resist the passing of a lunatic reform bill in Britain). In a sense, these powerful groups have granted the professions power, and therefore also limit the professions' power. In most countries the state, for example, regulates professional practice via legal provisions, control over taxation, control over tribunals, etc. In the alternative forms of control to be found in consumer groups, public bureaucracies, and large modern corporations, the power balance is tilted away from the experts, so that third parties can define their needs for services relatively independently and can control the quality of performance of the practitioners. Clients, especially powerful clients like corporations, may destroy the profession by simply ceasing to make use of its services. Thus the very sources from which professions draw their power and authority, may threaten the continued existence of the profession itself.

However, it is important to keep in mind that once the professions have obtained their powerful positions, they are no longer so dependent upon this "sponsorship". This typically occurs when a profession becomes institutionalized, that is, when structures, organizations or institutions are created for its practice in society. Once in an institutionalized position of power, individuals and groups can use that position as a resource to increase the status or value of a profession. Also, the autonomy in the actual delivery of expert services remains a source of power and influence, and it can be used to extend the profession's institutional independence and other privileges.

It should be clear by now that the term "power" is not used to indicate coercion, but rather in terms of authority (see Wrong, 1979, for an analysis of power). The consent of the lay public is most important in the power that the professions enjoy: the clientele of the profession must *accept* the inequality between professional and non-professional; must acquiesce to the structuring of the relationship. (Edelman, 1977, provides an excellent discussion of the role of language in structuring the relationship in the helping professions). The discussion now turns to the public acceptance of the profession's claims, and the related concepts of recognition and institutionalization. Additionally, reference will be made to an another process, not explicitly mentioned in the definition, namely legitimation.

Recognition, acceptance and institutionalization

Acceptance and recognition refer to the extent to which the public (or publics, in Van Strien's sense) is (are) positively inclined to the profession. Psychologists claimed certain tasks in the different fields of practice as belonging to their jurisdiction. To have gained this acceptance, the occupational group must have been able to demonstrate that it had a different set of expert interventions from other occupations/professions (what Van Strien called demarcation), and these must have been recognized as such by potential clients and society. During this process, these tasks were transformed into "professional problems"; problems that were best left to psychologists to solve.

Professional recognition presupposes the constitution of a lay public (Larson, unpublished). For a profession like clinical psychology, for example, the general public constitutes its client population, and it is imperative to ask what made people experience their problems as psychologically treatable problems. (This is a very interesting and fruitful area of investigation, which has been strangely neglected up to now. Notable exceptions are Brinkgreve and Korzec (1978), Brinkgreve, Onland and De Swaan (1979), Moscovici (1961)). Henry, Sims and Spray (1973) proposed that education of the client was the most important consideration in client selection. Client selection might play a similar role in recognition. The lay public might be aware that certain services exist mainly as a result of the higher education they share with psychotherapists. Abbott (1988) speculated that one factor in the sudden increase in the demand for psychotherapy in the 1970s in the USA and elsewhere in the world might have been generated by the increase in education after World War II. Similarly, the profession's attempts to set its knowledge apart from others, and to demonstrate its usefulness, will affect the general public's interpretation of their problems.

Napoli demonstrated how such a lay public was constituted for industrial psychology in America as a result of psychological interventions during World War I.

> Industrial psychologists came out of the war with increased prestige in the business community. ...Vocational testing burgeoned after the war, becoming more of a fad than an applied science. By 1920 hundreds of companies had bought pre-fabricated tests and were using them with little care or understanding. ... An increasing number of psychologists were employed as part-time advisers to business (1975: 45).

Acceptance by the lay public may not be as general as the profession presents it. In Chapter 2 it was mentioned that Parsons overlooked the possibility that the values of a profession's work might not be shared across all

strata and classes of society. This can be extended a bit further: according to Rueschemeyer (1983), Merton indicated that one should not take for granted that standardized social activities are functional for the entire social or cultural system. Even health and illness are typically understood in different ways by different groups in society. Moreover, certain clients are more attractive to psychotherapists than others. If clients can formulate their problems in psychotherapeutically accessible ways, and if they can understand their treatment in similar ways, they almost preselect themselves for psychotherapy. In addition, psychoanalysts, clinical psychologists, psychiatrists and psychiatric social workers are typically drawn from very similar cultural and social backgrounds. Although their study was reported in 1971, it may still be worthwhile to refer to the findings of Henry, Sims and Spray, that these professions represent a social marginality in ethnic, religious and political terms, based on the circumscribed sector of social life they typically are drawn from. One cannot avoid thinking that many studies of the professions underestimated the scepticism that exists among certain groups in society about the professionals' work. (This is indeed a potentially fruitful area for research; for example: which sectors of society recognized and accepted the expertise of the industrial psychologist, educational psychologist, clinical psychologist, etc.?).

The attempts of professionals to authenticate their claims to professional status, by attempting to demonstrate the value and validity of their work, are referred to as the process of *legitimation*. Legitimation implies negotiation with relevant others, in which "relevant" refers to those sections of society (persons, groups, organizations, institutions) who have the power to give the support the occupational group is looking for (see Geuter's dimensions 3 and 4). Terms like patronage, sponsors and legitimating agents are used in this regard, and these include other occupational groups whose domains are related to the profession's (for example: clinical psychology and medicine). These then often have the power to define the domain and organization of the professions "lower" in the knowledge hierarchy.

South African psychology provides an illustration of the domination exercised by one rival, more powerful professional group over another. Psychology was regarded as less established than medicine in South Africa after the Second World War. Biesheuvel, in an unpublished mimeograph, refers to it as "a discipline of a different order from and far less well established in its applied usefulness than the natural sciences". Once clinical psychologists started to encroach on the jurisdiction of the medical profession after the War, it was easily dominated by the medical profession.

Earlier, it was argued that science often forms the basis of legitimation claims. The attempts to demonstrate the usefulness of professional interventions indicate another basis for such claims: efficiency. Acceptance by the general public or by important addressees requires results. German psychol-

ogy provides a good example of this. During World War II, psychologists could claim that they offered theories and methods for selecting personnel which were much more efficient than those of military personnel. Thus characterology and expression analysis, the methods primarily used for officer selection, became independent subfields of German psychology at that time. As a result of the military accepting these interventions, psychology developed rapidly in its military application in Germany.

One of the outcomes of the acceptance and recognition by society of the occupational group's expertise is *institutionalization.* The way to institutionalization is therefore through legitimation, the strategies of which will be discussed in more detail in the next section.

The notion of institutionalization has been encountered in the work of Geuter (1984), Napoli (1975) and Van Strien (1987). Both Geuter and Van Strien include two forms of institutionalization in their models: academic institutionalization, and "external" institutionalization. The latter refers to the extent to which expert roles are institutionalized within e.g. defence forces, schools, industry, hospitals, etc. Although Van Strien mentions institutionalization as an academic discipline in his model of the development of science, he appears to exclude it when considering professionalization per se.

The present use of the term is closer to Van Strien's, since the definition of professionalization given in this essay, marginalizes the academic institutionalization of psychology. I use the term institutionalization when structures are created in the social network of institutions and organizations, in order to support the problem-solving activities of psychologists.

Institutionalization contributes to the stability of the profession's status, and its position in society. Once institutionalized, the profession is clearly associated with existing structures and institutions in society. This often exacerbates the ambivalence with which different groups in society regard and accept the profession. Johnson (1972) links the heterogeneity of consumers in a striking way with institutionalization of psychotherapy, and forms of treatment. Using psychoanalysis and psychiatry as illustrations, he argues that different therapies are associated with psychiatry and psychoanalysis, partly as a result of the different organizational contexts of their practice. These organizational contexts themselves are based on class divisions. In many countries, for example, there is a public hospital system for the less well-off, and a private hospital system for those who can afford it. Psychiatrists are often located in large scale mental hospitals, where the constraints of the situation (large wards, large case loads) are consistent with therapy which stresses physical bases of mental illness, and which employs drugs as a practical solution to problems of treatment. Psychoanalysts, on the other hand, gear their activities to the needs of single fee-paying clients. They stress psychosocial bases of mental illness, and typically utilize therapies that are based upon intensive

long-term personal analysis. Abbott (1988) goes one step further: according to him, psychiatrists treat the people from well-to-do social classes, psychologists the middle income groups, and social workers the rest (if they are treated at all).

It is therefore not the problems in themselves that determine whether people go for therapy or not; professional and institutional policies have an important influence on, for example, the referral system and people seeking help. The matching of patients and therapists does not occur only according to technical criteria; social criteria play at least an equally important role (for further evidence, see Henry, Sims & Spray, 1973; Kadushin, 1969).

The importance for South African industrial psychology of institutionalization has been demonstrated elsewhere (Louw, 1987). In this article, it was argued that psychology was institutionalized in the domain of work during World War II, and that this was an important advance in its professionalization. Additionally, industrial psychology was institutionalized after the War with the establishment of the National Institute for Personnel Research. Research as to what happened in this regard with clinical and educational psychology must still be done in South Africa.

In its attempts to legitimate the interventions of the profession, a professional ideology develops (see level II in Figure 2). The definition of professional ideology given in the introduction to this chapter, indicates that it is supportive of the interests of a given social group, and legitimates the existence and way of functioning of the group. Legitimation, and ideology, have an internal and external function:

> Any statement which any group makes which acts to further the interests of that group (whether by articulating interests to increase group identity, an internal function, or to legitimate group interests with other groups, an external function), is conceptualised as an aspect of *group ideology* (Watson, 1977: 16, emphasis in original).

Thus it seeks support in the environment, and it forms the basis for a unique identity among members and for mobilizing group interests.

This, incidentally, also contradicts the assumption that professionalization is a simple consequence of specialization and the division of labour. It is not simply a matter of new groups/professions called into being as more and more specialist types of knowledge are required.

Different ideologies are often involved in the segmentations which occur within the profession. Different ideologies could exist side by side in the profession, or could lead to schisms in the group. To ask what these ideologies are, and how they are sources of segmentation, could constitute a specific research question. Are they for example essentially political? (This would

strengthen the argument for the importance of the societal level, level I). Or do the divisions occur in terms of specializations in psychology, e.g. clinical, industrial, etc? (This will refer to level III). Furthermore, at what times do the segmentations become so strong that a split occurs? If the profession holds together despite such segmentation, the question of course is why and how is it held together?

The basis of the group's ideology is formed by legitimating arguments. These arguments are used to justify the existence and manner of working of the professional group. Two of the most important forms of legitimating argument put forward are knowledge and service. Both have been discussed extensively above, and we need only return to them very briefly.

Knowledge is the most important of these, and the arguments can take the form of demonstrating the possession of knowledge and know-how, showing the complexity of the task, the risks involved, sense of responsibility required, etc. Knowledge has additional importance because it forms an integral part of our "social construction of reality". In western cultures, scientific knowledge in itself has legitimacy, even more so if validated by universities (Larson, 1977). Psychology therefore is fortunate in this regard, as it emerged in most countries at the universities (Danziger, 1979). Secondly, an occupational group, together with university lecturers and researchers, are in a position to influence definitions of experience via the educational system. Earlier, we mentioned that education plays an important role in the recognition of psychological services. The position of psychology at universities leads to congruence between the occupational group's definition of reality and society's (or rather sections of society's) definition of reality - because the educational system plays an important part in the socialization of these groups. This congruence explains why Brinkgreve, Onland and De Swaan (1979) found educational proximity to be the most important factor in a process they called proto-professionalization.

Other forms of argumentation for legitimating the profession's activities include the service ideal, and a code of ethics. The element of service can be presented as "everything for the client" (or for society), often seemingly against the professional's own self-interest. By developing an elaborate code of ethics, the profession intimates that it can control and guide the behaviour of the individual practitioner. Thus the importance of an ethical code is stressed by almost all writers on professionalization, and by the professionals themselves. Again, one has to be particularly vigilant for elements of a group ideology operating here. Swartz' (1988) discussion of a draft ethical code for South African clinical psychologists exhibited such vigilance. Hall and Hare-Mustin's article (1983) contains a good discussion of actions taken against American psychologists for violating the APA's ethical code.

Another reason for the acceptance of the legitimacy of the occupational group's activities might be the need for the services of the practitioners. If in

the legitimating process more attention is paid to the problems or needs of the client, the chances increase that legitimation will be accepted.

Strategies of professionalization

Collectively, practitioners can employ a number of strategies to create, maintain and improve the position of their profession. It is important, when studying the professionalization of a discipline, to discover which strategies were employed in certain situations at different times. This is obviously a potentially important area for research, and these strategies have often been the focus of study (e.g. in Napoli's, 1975, work). Van der Krogt (1981) provides a comprehensive overview of such strategies, with the explicit assumption that different occupations will follow different strategies. In the next section, a number of strategies are summarized, extended and re-interpreted in terms of our definition and version of professionalization. Since these strategies are connected with the aspects of professionalization discussed in this chapter, a certain amount of overlap and repetition will occur. Rather than exclude these repetitions, I include them, since they demonstrate the inter-relatedness of the various elements proposed in this view of professionalization.

A. Strategies involving knowledge and know-how

1. Increasing knowledge and know-how. Given the centrality of knowledge as a factor in professionalization, increasing the knowledge base of the profession, relative to other professions, will increase its use value. New knowledge and new skills might lead to new possibilities for application and new techniques of intervention. For psychology, practice itself delivers knowledge to the discipline; think for example of the ever-increasing number of psychotherapeutic techniques. A similar expansion of knowledge via practice occurs in the legal profession, where cases provide the precedents for further practice.

2. Controlling the production and transmission of knowledge. More often than not, it happens that universities have the power over the knowledge base (see Larson, 1977). For psychology, and perhaps for other professions with their knowledge base at university, one has to be careful though: it may be that the influence of practice is so strong that university education simply responds to the demands of the professional practitioners. In South Africa, the increasingly practical direction that psychology took since World War II, resulted in considerable tension between universities, as well as within departments of psychology. Many academic psychologists perceive the prescribed training programmes for clinical, educational, industrial, and other psychologists as an

encroachment on the autonomy of the university to teach psychology as an academic discipline. The problem is exacerbated by the fact that students, not surprisingly, prefer the practical-applied courses.

The seriousness with which this is viewed manifested itself in the formation in 1984 of a special Council Committee of the Psychological Association of South Africa to deal with training issues. The particular matters investigated by this committee demonstrate the dominance of professional training in the knowledge base of the discipline: subsidization of training; internship training; practical training preceding the internship; a description of supply and demand problems; etc.

B. Strategies directed at the tasks performed

3. Influencing the perception of need. This is linked to the perceived need of individuals and organizations for the profession's work. It is to the advantage of the practitioner if the need is perceived in terms of tasks which clients cannot fulfill on their own. In psychology, a large demand for the services of clinical psychologists was created after World War II by the efforts of the Veterans' Administration. This was responsible for the rapid growth of clinical psychology as a profession since then.

At first glance, it would seem that the need for professional services lies outside the sphere of influence of the practitioner, as demand for these services reflect forces outside the profession. It was argued earlier, however, that the supply of products have a demand-creating function of its own.

4. Delegating certain tasks to others. Sometimes developments in knowledge have implications for the extension of the profession's jurisdiction. New knowledge may make it possible to delegate some activities to occupational groups lower in the hierarchy of occupations, or to a group on a lower level in the internal stratification of the profession itself. This is often the case with time-consuming or boring parts of a practice.

Psychology in South Africa managed to do that with the creation of the categories of psychotechnician and psychometrist. People in these categories often do the routine aspects of professional tasks, such as psychological testing, under some kind of supervision by psychologists. Architects did something similar, with the delegation of draughting to "draughtsmen".

It would be dangerous, of course, for psychologists to routinize too many of their tasks. Psychology, however, is protected from such an eventuality by the amount of professional inference involved in its work. Whether its clients are organizations, children, the mentally ill, the troubled individual, etc; all call for interventions which require judgements for which no clear rules exist, and

which cannot be routinized. Abbott calls this process "the internal subordination of routine work" (1988: 25). In American medicine and for British solicitors, it occurred as a result of the profession claiming more jurisdiction than it could effectively handle. The expansion of tasks that occurred generated so much work that the profession was overwhelmed, and had to devolve some of its tasks to others.

A related development is the recruitment of new practitioners to carry out the "degraded" tasks. Examples can be drawn from librarianship and teaching, where a "feminization of tasks" occurred as fewer and fewer men entered these professions (see Garrison, 1979, on librarians, and Sugg, 1978, on teaching). Furumoto (1985), referring to Brumberg and Torres (1982), uses the same kind of explanation for a similar phenomenon in psychology: the discipline has a feminized service branch and a classically male dominated academic branch. Furumoto argues that women became concentrated in the so-called helping professions because the work is unappealing to men. The difference between this work and the high status of academic work, lies in the amount of close contact involved with human complexities; the "dirtiest areas" of professional service. Psychology in South Africa provides an interesting development in this regard. At present, men outnumber women by about 3:1. Since 1984, however, women outnumbered men in the number of Master's degrees awarded, and this may signal a long term change in the discipline (Louw, in press). Whether the change will be towards a male dominated academic branch, and a female dominated service branch, remains to be seen.

C. A strategy aimed at recognition

5. Marketing the occupation. It is not sufficient that the potential clients only perceive a need in a specific area; the practitioners must also present a solution to the problem that is or seems to be successful. Psychotherapy is a notoriously difficult case in point. Not only is it very difficult to measure the results of (un)successful psychotherapy, but the different psychotherapeutic schools disagree about what would qualify as measurable results. The profession's hold over the area then becomes very tenuous, and the problems treated become an interprofessional battleground.

The early relationship between South African industrial psychology and gold mining presents an excellent example of this. The mines needed some way of easing the burden of training their black recruits. During the Second World War, psychologists were involved in the selection of aircraft pilots and other military personnel. This gave them the opportunity to demonstrate that they could classify people into job categories according to their ability. Selection and classification of personnel assisted greatly in the subsequent training of

military personnel, and it came to the attention of mine managers. (See Louw, 1987, for a more detailed description of this development).

The client must therefore be convinced that the professional's solution is the only one, or at least the most efficient or the cheapest available. The client can be convinced by demonstrating the effectiveness of the intervention. Alternatively, the practitioner might simply have the authority to make the client accept the solution. One thinks here typically of the position of authority that the medical practitioner has vis-à-vis his/her patient.

D. Strategies establishing an exclusive right

6. Achieving a more central position in a field of practice for the profession. If the profession is the only one providing a particular service in a defined area, then its centrality is guaranteed. If, however, it has to rely on other, related occupations to fulfill part of the service, then it is advantageous to occupy a central position among those occupations. Medicine is a good example here: it needs for example physiotherapists to take over some of the functions related to health. However, it maintains a dominant position in the field of health by designating these occupations as "para-medical" services, thus ensuring the centrality of its position.

This is almost exactly what happened between the medical profession and psychologists in South Africa in the 1940s. In 1946 the South African Medical Association expressed interest in "medical psychologists" at their Durban conference. The Association was clearly vigilant for any encroachment onto their territory, as very few clinical psychologists practised as such at that time. In February 1948 the Committee for Auxiliary Services of the South African Medical and Dental Council (SAMDC) invited psychologists to consult with them on the matter of establishing the registration of psychologists on the medical auxiliary services register (note again that it is on an auxiliary register). The South African Psychological Association proposed an independent register of psychologists in 1951, but this was summarily rejected by the Minister of Health, a medical doctor himself, who favoured the registration of psychologists under the aegis of the SAMDC. The Psychological Association accepted this decision.[7]

7. Excluding external competitors. To be irreplaceable is of course a crucial determinant of a profession's position of power. If the professional group is the only one which can (or may) perform certain tasks, it is virtually irreplaceable. Again one sees the importance of knowledge and know-how. An actual monopoly of highly specialized tasks is based on a monopoly over knowledge. More often than not, however, this monopoly of knowledge is inadequate, or

deemed to be inadequate, and then the occupational group attempts to gain a legal monopoly over the domain. Other practitioners are then excluded by law from performing certain actions. This is obviously the main site of state intervention, and is clearly illustrated in the South African legislation on what constitute psychological acts.

For the behavioural scientists in particular another dilemma presents itself: they have to deal with problems of daily life. These are often within the ambit of the lay person, in the form of neighbours, parents, friends, priests, etc. The lay public will therefore be sceptical about a form of expertise that claims to do things that "we all do". The public must be convinced that it is not the case, and that certain problems of everyday life are best dealt with by the professionals. For psychology, therefore, its practitioners have to compete not only with professional rivals, but also with the lay public.

E. Strategies relating to the fields of practice

8. Influencing the definition of its fields of practice. The tasks that the profession regards as its own, obviously may change with time. As a result, the profession may extend its jurisdiction within a field of practice, or may simply shift to other fields of practice (it can of course also shrink). New innovations call new task domains into being, in which other professional groups are sometimes not operating as yet. More usual, however, is the creation of sub-specialties and new domains. The emergence recently of, for example, medically applied psychology, provides an illustration of such a shift. (Schlebusch & Simpson, 1987, give an overview of the development of medically applied psychology in South Africa).

9. Acquiring autonomy regarding choice of clients. Autonomy in their practice is one of the benefits of professionalization that is highly regarded by professionals. Autonomy with regard to choice of client refers to a practitioner's decision whether the particular client really "belongs" to him/her. This is of special significance in professions where the relationship between client and professional is crucial, like in psychotherapy. This is also a work situation where it is extremely difficult for a non-colleague to judge whether the client can in fact be treated by the practitioner.

10. Acquiring autonomy regarding the manner of practice. Freidson (1970) indicated how important this is for the medical profession. This autonomy allows practitioners the freedom to divide their time as they see fit. The basis of this claim is the same as above: lay people do not possess enough knowledge to judge the work of the professional. What is more, the professionals claim

that this control is not necessary, since practitioners are conscientious about their work and will practise to the benefit of the client since there is a system of collegial supervision, lay control is really superfluous, it is argued. Thus to be autonomous in one's practice is to some extent a protection against criticism, especially since collegial control does not mean much in reality, according to Freidson.

The arguments presented by the profession for autonomy of practice, must be accepted by the relevant power groups. For them to do so, some system of control must be shown to exist. According to Geldenhuys (1988), the president of the South African Medical and Dental Council, one of the first steps an occupational group "aspiring to become a profession" must take, is the establishment of a code of ethics and a tribunal to administer the code. If the profession fails to show that some control over the activities of its members exists, confidence in collegial control would be seriously damaged.[8]

F. A strategy involving individual behaviour

11. Controlling internal competitors. The number, or supply, of professionals is a source of competition between members. For example, too many practitioners may result in too few potential clients per practitioner, and too few positions in organizations (Parry & Parry, 1976). Professional groups therefore develop strategies to control the size of the group, and the best way to stabilize supply and demand of personnel, is to regulate entry into the profession (Geuter's dimension 5). One way of controlling entry is by training: professionals can change the qualifications deemed necessary to practise adequately. Increasing the educational qualifications necessary to enter the profession is a rather obvious strategy to decrease the number of practitioners. It is, however, not easy to show that this is why the training qualifications are increased, because it is normally argued that increases in knowledge and complexity of the task are responsible - elements of a group ideology again.

Another strategy to regulate the size of the professional group, is to control the number of jobs for practitioners. If psychologists are oversupplied in particular countries, unemployment may result. In countries like the Netherlands and Denmark a high unemployment rate already exists among psychologists (approximately 20%). Significant unemployment figures are also reported for Spain, the German Federal Republic, and Finland (McPherson, 1986). It is not a simple matter to regulate the number of jobs for psychologists. In organizations, the number of jobs is controlled by management, and not by the professionals.

The increase or reduction in the number of jobs has of course consequences for the present occupants of such positions. Thus one will find that they sometimes oppose extension of the number of jobs - because it would mean a

greater supply in a situation of the same demand. Here as well, the professions can point to noble motives (group ideology!) for resistance: they want more time for and attention to each patient, for example. One must accept, however, that these occupationally-directed motives, and not only client-directed motives, do play a part.

G. Strategies directed at the collective position of power

12. Negotiating rewards. This is quite a direct strategy to improve the exchange value of a profession, reflected often in negotiations about fees. The professional group will normally employ arguments to convince others that their rewards must be increased. It can also bring very strong pressure to bear, in the form of a strike, for instance. The Finnish Psychological Association for example conducted an effective strike of clinical psychologists in recent years (see McPherson, 1986: 302). In general, professionals use this weapon very sparingly, partly because it may loose its strength by repeated use or threats of use. Also, public opinion is crucial in this: they have to be convinced that it is really the last resort available to the group, and that the interests of the client are endangered. It is therefore quite exceptional for professionals like medical doctors to go on strike; yet it does happen.

13. Placing the profession in a more central position in decision-making and formulation of policy. If a group of practitioners play a central role in the processes of formulating policy and making decisions in an organization, this position itself becomes a source of power. It can use this position to put various other strategies into action. This can be at a formal level, where the group participates in formulating policy, or at an informal level, where the group acts in an advisory capacity. This latter function has not received the attention it deserves from researchers in the field. It is surprizing, given the fact that one can see such an influential network of advisors at almost all levels of society; for example, many South African organizations consult with industrial psychologists on issues such as labour relations, "black advancement", etc. These are networks of influence, where certain organizations or individuals exercise a strong influence on decisions made in their field, without it being recognized as such.

14. Linking with the dominant ideology. Various authors have stressed the importance of compatibility between the ideologies of the profession and of the power elite in society (Freidson, 1970; Johnson, 1972). This is particularly important when the power elite delegates some functions to the profession. A professional group which aspires to acceptance in society, is likely to deploy an

ideology that is not fundamentally contradictory to that of the power elite in society, and of the related professional groups.

Geuter (1985) provides good examples of this strategy from German psychology during the Nazi period. He describes how Erich Jaensch, one of the psychologists who attempted to combine typologies in psychology with race theories, presented himself as a defender of a psychology sympathetic to the goals of National Socialism. Apart from attempts to use psychology to support racist principles, attempts were also made to direct research to politically desirable topics, or to connect psychological theories with Nazi beliefs. (All this occurred without any directives from the party authorities on how psychology should be conducted).

> Psychologists intended to show their ideological conformity to the party and state authorities. They also wanted psychology to legitimize the political system by asserting that this system was formed according to scientific knowledge (1985: 174).

It should not be difficult to find similar examples in South African psychology; for example, in the publications of Fick (1929) and Theron (1952).

15. Co-opting the power elite, and forming coalitions with powerful occupational groups. Other parties can be co-opted to participate in the development and execution of the profession's policy. This reduces the critical potential of those parties, even though the profession's autonomy is somewhat reduced by it. The state is typically co-opted in this way via the certification possibilities that are created. Professional groups can also form coalitions to cooperate on specific issues, provided that common interests exist. This gives them more power, in particular when negotiating with the state.

This legitimation strategy is not without risk, as we indicated earlier. The state, for example, may impose excessive control over the profession, or the co-opted professional groups themselves may become a serious threat. An illustration of the former occurred in 1980, when the Dutch government *lowered* the qualifications required for certification of psychologists, *against* the advice of the Dutch Institute for Psychologists.

H. Creating possibilities for collective action

16. Initiating the process of collectivization. Collectivization is only possible when a group of practitioners see more advantages in collective than in individual action. This occurs when there is at least a perception of common interest. Here one needs to investigate how common interests are recognized and accentuated, and how collective action is propagated for advancing them.

The example of Watson's (1977) emphasis on the importance of spokespersons in initial collective action was mentioned earlier.

17. Maintaining and increasing consensus in the group. Consensus is obviously important for collective action. If members of the professional group agree among themselves about their interests, the definition of needs and tasks, the best solutions, the way of organizing the service, etc., it can act in unison "to the outside". When segmentation occurs on any of the aforementioned matters, it can harm the profession's position of authority in society.

The question of why segmentation occurs within a professional organization was alluded to earlier. Here again, the need to include a wider social context must be reiterated. Disagreements (and segmentation) do not occur only on the abovementioned issues in the profession, but very often on social issues. Again, the history of the split in SAPA serves as a good illustration of government policy as a factor in such a division.

18. Increasing the degree of organization. It is not simply unity that is important for the profession: if only a small minority of practitioners participate in its collective action, the profession would not have much influence. The members must be united in an organized role, to which the majority of them must belong. One of the strongest ways in which the profession can exert influence, is on the basis of sheer numbers. In the initial phases of professionalization, this often means that the group sets fairly low entrance requirements, to get as many members as possible. In the long run, however, higher entrance requirements are set, as Watson (1977) showed for personnel managers in Britain.

Chapter 5

Conclusion

If the discussion in the previous chapter is compared to the information summarized in Table 4, a number of differences between those studies of psychology's professionalization, and the theoretical framework presented here, emerge. For a start, in the present study, a chronological description of events is considered as less important. To be fair, however, it must be said that the authors of those studies did not set out to develop models of professionalization, but to describe actual processes of professionalization. Thus anyone who utilizes the framework proposed in Chapter 4 for an empirical study of professionalization in a specific country, will probably also accentuate chronology.

Furthermore, a number of dimensions are not touched upon here: drafting an ethical code, personal background of individuals involved, and general academic climate. These are either considered to be unimportant in professionalization as such, or are subsumed under other, large-scale processes. There is also less emphasis on a central concept in professionalization, like adjustment in Napoli's (1975) work. Again, the possibility exists that such emphases may develop when empirical studies are conducted.

More important, however, is the explicit attention to an inclusion of society, and particularly divisions in society, as an integral part of a systematic consideration of the professionalization of psychology. Without this dimension, I believe that the study of this aspect of psychology will be doomed to a kind of internalistic, presentistic enterprize. The inclusion of societal considerations also compels the researcher to take a critical stance with regard to professionalization. I believe that the present study, in the elements that it includes in its definition of professionalization, provides more than enough opportunities for a critical evaluation of the professionalization of psychology. This is in line with emancipatory considerations contained in the overall historiographical model being developed by Van Hoorn (1981; 1984).

Another important addition to the literature on professionalization as far as psychology is concerned, is the distinction between the individual and collective levels of analysis. Quite clearly, for a profession whose basis of *practice* is the certification of individuals, an individual level of action has to be considered. At the same time, professionalization is per definition collective behaviour, and must be recognized as such.

Finally, influenced by Abbott (1988), I have also emphasized the importance of work in the professionalization of psychology. An examination of the actual tasks that psychologists performed at different times in different fields of practice, ought to yield valuable and interesting insights: into psychological knowledge, practices, and applications; into its relations with other professions; and into its links with large scale social forces.

If we re-examine our visual representation of psychology's development in terms of a three-sided cube (Figure 2), a number of finer details can now be added. On the frontal surface (Level I), "society" now includes a position on its class, ethnic or other divisions, with their concomitant inequalities. As these conflicts are often related to the organization of the state, the state as a factor in professionalization is also included at this level. Knowledge remains at Level II, but now includes ideological functions. The previous discussion made it clear that group ideology is a central concern in professionalization, and that knowledge claims form an important part of its ideology.

The three major fields of psychological practice (Level III) were indicated as education, health and labour. The "psychologies" associated with these fields in South Africa are: clinical and counselling psychology (health); child, educational and counselling psychology (education); and industrial and organizational psychology (labour). To put it differently: the discursive practices of the profession will differ, depending upon its targets: illness, worker productivity, performance at school, and so on. Furthermore, each discursive practice typically functions at different sites within the field of practice: the school, the hospital, the factory, etc.

If one examines the discipline from this position, the difficulty of having a professional category of academic and research psychology is highlighted. Academic and research psychology is more appropriate at Level II, since academic work is strictly speaking not a field of practice, in the way the term has been used in this study.

Psychological theories, psychological practices and social forces do not act directly on one another, but via mediating links. Very briefly, the notion of a mediating link is borrowed from a Marxist position, and includes social psychological processes referring to the activities of psychologists (see Holzkamp, 1973: 40-41; Van Hoorn, 1987). The term mediating link implies that it is interposed between two processes, and that it participates in both. Mediating links function between psychological knowledge, the fields of psychological practice, and society. In terms of the visual representation given in Figure 2, they are inserted at the lines dividing the three surfaces of the cube. In our case, elements like the exclusive right of the profession, legitimation, institutionalization, and certain professionalization strategies (e.g. numbers 3, 4, 5, and 6), bridge Levels I (societal processes) and III (the fields of practice). Others (training, a number of strategies, such as numbers 1, 2, and 10, and

perhaps so-called academic institutionalization) form the mediating link between Levels II (psychological theory, knowledge and ideology) and III (the fields of practice). A re-examination of the discussion of Danziger's (1985) work, will show that he used the concept of "investigative practices" as a mediating link between social contextual factors and psychological knowledge. Closer to home, Groenewald (1984), in his study of the establishment of sociology at South African universities, used "institutionalization" almost exactly like I have above.

The discussion is closed with a suggestion for further theorizing. The work of Henriques, Hollway, Urwin, Venn and Walkerdine (1984) contains the potential to link professionalization as a societal phenomenon with the creation of the psychological subject. They argue that psychology produces regulative practices and devices which mold individuals into discrete entities, and that individuals become the objects of intervention. The psychological practices and devices typically include counselling, psychological testing, and psychotherapy. It is not difficult to see that such regulative practices come close to the professional considerations of this study.

It would appear therefore, that the practices they refer to, and what we have called professionalization, function in the realm of the social. The social is the hybrid domain situated between the public sector and private sphere, according to Donzelot (1980). It could be argued that it is through the professions that the public sector penetrates the private: psychologists for example make the private troubles of individuals amenable to intervention via their practices and devices. The private troubles of individuals are then brought into the structures of the public sector, *because* we are dealing with an institutionalized, statutory *profession*. In a conflict-ridden society, it means that these individual troubles are brought into the unequal power distribution by the profession. The exclusions inherent in the system of the professions, interact with other inequalities in society, making it even more difficult for those without power to have some control over the problems they experience. (This may be the reason why psychology is so often accused of simply introducing new forms of control over human behaviour, e.g. a more conventional control of sexuality).

Donzelot's (1980) own work on the family is a noteworthy illustration of this. According to him, the modern family is the site of a number of social interventions from different directions. The professional concerns of the medical doctor, the judicial system, the educationist, the psychiatrist, and the psychologist, intersect at this particular site. The family is a *social* construction, penetrated by the state via the activities of social workers, family therapists, psychologists, etc. The family is no longer in the private sphere, ever since the "expertise" of the professionals replaced the 'amateurism' of ordinary people in the art of social intercourse.

The psychological profession plays an important part in structuring the relations between individuals and administrative practices. Despite the negative connotations referred to above, this also may be the way to bring about change. It is not necessary for psychological interventions to maintain the *status quo*. By taking the activities of psychologists seriously, one creates the theoretical possibility that psychology can be liberating through those very activities. Perhaps one change in the practices of psychology could be by taking the knowledge of the lay public seriously. It would involve abandoning the strategy of "I know more about you than you do", which appropriates the client's knowledge about her/himself, and uses it to make important decisions about that person (see Van Hoorn, 1988). It may be worthwhile in this regard to examine the role of the professions in some South American countries, where professional associations formed the foci of protest against military dictatorships (Larson, personal communication).

Psychology as a profession is "outward-looking"; it attempts to be useful in society. The danger is that psychologists are often blinded by the potential to improve the discipline's position and status in society via professionalization. As a result, they tend to loose sight of the ends to which their knowledgeable interventions are used. Anyone who still doubts this, need only read Geuter (1984, 1985). It is not sufficient to be useful and efficient; psychologists have to question the tasks they are required to perform, and consider the consequences of those interventions. They need to ask why the discipline and its applied practices are supported by certain sectors of society, and whose interests are served in a divided society. Hopefully, the theoretical framework developed in this study will contribute to a critical understanding of the professionalization of psychology, and its role in society.

Notes

1. One large-scale study of the professionalization of South African psychology is about to become available: a Ph.D. thesis in history at the University of Potchefstroom by G.P. Louw.

2. This is a significant quote for it is exactly this notion that psychologists have of their profession and its knowledge.

3. Wilensky's (1964) work can be seen as a variant of the trait approach. He depicted the process of professionalization as developing through six stages: [i] the occupation is practised on a full-time basis; [ii] the establishment of formal training; [iii] universities start to provide this training; [iv] the formation of local and then national professional associations; [v] political activity leads to legally controlled licensing and certification; and [vi] a code of ethics is accepted. Professions would gradully acquire these characteristics of a true profession, and Wilensky demonstrated such a sequence in American professions. Goode (1969) indicated several occupations whose histories did not fit this scheme, and therefore was not convinced of its theoretical usefulness. It is clear by now that the sequence proposed by Wilensky is not at all universal.

4. Specific problems of professionals in these positions seem to be the presence of role incongruity, role-strain, evaluation of professional behaviour, and the modification of the client-professional relationship in the organizational environment.

5. The dual emphasis on adjustment and productivity illustrates the widespread belief that individual happiness and increased productivity are not incompatible at all.

6. Knowledge refers to a systematic body of information which can be controlled, objectified and transferred. Know-how refers to a more practical skill which is diffuse and difficult to transfer, outside a master-pupil relationship (see Jamous & Peloille, 1970).

7. The subsequent events hopefully will be dealt with in more detail in the Ph.D. research of G.P. Louw.

8. An interesting case study here for public and state confidence in such control would be the medical treatment of Steve Biko. Quite clearly, this was a case where the system of collegial control broke down, yet without serious consequences for the system as such.

References

Abbott, A. 1983. Professional ethics. *American Journal of Sociology*, 88: 855-885.

Abbott, A. 1988. *The system of professions. An essay on the division of expert labor.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Biesheuvel, S. (unpublished mimeograph). History of the National Institute for Personnel Research, 1946-1950. Johannesburg: NIPR.

Bledstein, B. 1976. *The culture of professionalism.* New York: W.W. Norton.

Brinkgreve, C. and Korzec, M. 1978. *Gevoel, gedrag, moraal 1938-1978.* Utrecht: Het Spectrum.

Brinkgreve, C., Onland, J.H. and De Swaan, A. 1979. *De opkomst van het psychotherapeutisch bedrijf.* Utrecht: Het Spectrum.

Bucher, R. 1962 Pathology: A study of social movements within a profession. *Social Problems,* 10: 40-51.

Camfield, T.M. 1973. The professionalization of American psychology, 1870-1917. *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences,* 9: 66-75.

Caplow, T. 1954. *The sociology of work.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Carr-Saunders, A.M. 1928. *Professions: Their organization and place in society.* Oxford: The Clarendon Press. Partly reprinted in H.M. Vollmer & D.L. Mills (eds), *Professionalization,* 3-9. Englewood-Cliffs: Prentice-Hall. 1966.

Danziger, K. 1979. The social origins of modern psychology. In: A.R. Buss (ed.), *Psychology in social context. New York: Irvington.*

Danziger, K. 1985. Social context and investigative practice in early twentieth-century psychology. In: M.G. Ash and W.R. Woodward (eds), *Psychology in twentieth-century thought and society,* 13-33. New York: Praeger.

Departement van Logika en Sielkunde. 1922. In: *Universiteit van Stellenbosch: 1922-1923.* Kaapstad: Nasionale Pers.

Dingwall, R. 1983. Introduction. In: R. Dingwall and P. Lewis (eds), *The sociology of the professions,* 1-13. London: Macmillan.

Donzelot, J. 1980. *The policing of families. Welfare versus the state.* London: Hutchinson.

Ebersohn, D. 1983. *Die sielkundiges van die RSA.* Pretoria: HSRC, Report MM-92.

Edelman, M. 1977. *Political language. Words that succeed and policies that fail.* New York: Academic Press.

Fick, M.L. 1929. Intelligence test results of poor white, native (Zulu), Coloured and Indian school children and the educational and social implications. *South African Journal of Science,* 26: 904-920.

Freidson, E. 1970. *Profession of medicine.* New York: Dodd Mead.

Freidson, E. 1973. Professions and the occupational principle. In: E. Freidson (ed.), *The professions and their prospects.* London: Sage.

Freidson, E. 1977. The futures of professionalisation. In M. Stacey, M. Reid, C. Heath and R. Dingwall (eds), *Health and the division of labour.* London: Croom Helm.

Freidson, E. 1983. The theory of professions: State of the art. In: R. Dingwall and P. Lewis (eds), *The sociology of the professions,* 19-37. London: Macmillan.

Furumoto, L. 1985. On the margins: Women and the professionalization of psychology in the United States, 1890-1940. In: M.G. Ash and W.R. Woodward (eds), *Psychology in twentieth-century thought and society,* 93-164. New York: Praeger.

Garrison, D. 1979. *Apostles of culture.* New York: Free Press.

Geldenhuys, F.G. 1988. Speech before the South African Nursing Council, reported in *Bulletin,* 4(3). *Newsletter of the South African Medical and Dental Council.*

Geuter, U. 1984. *Die Professionalisierung der deutschen Psychologie im Nationalsozialismus.* Frankfurt: Suhrkamp.

Geuter, U. 1985. German psychology during the Nazi period. In: M.G. Ash and W.R. Woodward (eds), *Psychology in twentieth-century thought and society,* 165-187. New York: Praeger.

Giddens, A. 1973. *The class structure of the advanced societies.* London: Hutchinson.

Goode, W.J. 1960. Encroachment, charlatanism, and the emerging professions: psychology, sociology, and medicine. *American sociological Review,* 25: 902-914.

Goode, W.J. 1969. The theoretical limits of professionalization. In A. Etzioni (ed.), *The semi-professions and their organization: Teachers, nurses, social workers.* New York: Free Press.

Gouldner, A.W. 1979. *The future of intellectuals and the rise of the New Class.* New York: Continuum.

Greenwood, E. 1957. Attributes of a profession. *Social Work,* 2: 44-55.

Groenewald, C.J. 1984. *Die institusionalisering van die sosiologie in Suid-Afrika.* Ph D thesis, University of Stellenbosch, South Africa.

Grosskopf, J.F.W. 1932. The Poor White problem in South Africa. *Report of the Carnegie Commission.* Part I. *Economic Report: Rural impoverishment and rural exodus.* Stellenbosch: Pro Ecclesia.

Gyarmati, G.K. 1975. The doctrine of the professions: basis of a power structure. *International Social Science Journal,* 27: 629-654.

Hall, J.E. and Hare-Mustin, R.T. 1983. Sanctions and the diversity of ethical complaints against psychologists. *American Psychologist,* 38: 714-729.

Harries-Jenkins, G. 1970. Professionals in organisations. In: J.A. Jackson (ed.), *Professions and professionalization*, 53-107. London: Cambridge University Press.

Hayes, G. 1988. Letter. In *The Psychologist*, 1: 404.

Henriques, J., Hollway, W., Urwin, C., Venn, C. and Walkerdine, V. 1984. *Changing the subject.* London: Methuen.

Henry, W.E., Sims, J.H. and Spray, S.L. 1971. *The fifth profession.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Henry, W.E., Sims, J.H. and Spray, S.L. 1973. *Public and private lives of psychotherapists.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Herzog P.E. 1967. *Civil procedure in France.* The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.

Holzkamp, K. 1973. *Sinnliche Erkenntnis, Historischer Ursprung und gesellschaftliche Funktion der Wahrnehmung.* Frankfurt: Athenaum.

Hornstein, G.A. 1988. Quantifying psychological phenomena: Debates, dilemmas, and implications. In: J.G. Morawski (ed.), *The rise of experimentation in American psychology*, 1-34. New Haven: Yale University Press.

International Journal of Psychology, 18: 569-601. 1983.

Jackson, J.A. 1970. Professions and professionalization - Editorial introduction. In J.A. Jackson (ed.), *Professions and professionalization*, 3-15. London: Cambridge University Press.

Jamous, H. and Peloille, B. 1970. Professions or self-perpetuating systems? Changes in the French university-hospital system. In: J.A. Jackson (ed.), *Professions and professionalization*, 109-152. London: Cambridge University Press.

Johnson, T. 1972. *Professions and power.* London: Macmillan.

Kadushin, C. 1969. *Why people go to psychiatrists.* New York: Atherton.

Kottler, A. 1988. Professionalization of African healers: Apparent problems and constraints. *Psychology in Society*, 11: 2-17.

Kriegler, S. 1986. Professionaliteit, etiek en statutêre beheer. In: P.A. van Niekerk (ed.), *Die opvoedkundige-sielkundige*, 335-374. Stellenbosch: Universiteitsuitgewers Boekhandel.

Larson, M.S. 1977. *The rise of professionalism: A sociological analysis.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Larson, M.S. 1989, January. *Personal communication.* Temple University, Philadelphia.

Larson, M.S. (undated). *In the matter of experts and professionals, or how impossible it is to leave nothing unsaid.* Unpublished mimeograph. Philadelphia: Temple University.

Livie-Noble, F.S. 1922. An introductory outline of some of the practical applications of modern psychology. *South African Journal of Science*, 19: 439-448.

Louw, J. 1986. *This is thy work. A contextual history of applied psychology and labour in South Africa.* Ph D thesis, University of Amsterdam, the Netherlands.

Louw, J. 1987. World War II, industry, and the professionalization of South African psychology. *South African Journal of Psychology,* 17: 33-39.

Louw, J. 1987a. From separation to division: The origins of two psychological associations in South Africa. *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences,* 23: 341-352.

Louw, J. 1988. Professionalization as a moral concern. *Psychology in Society,* 9: 66-80.

Louw, J. (in press). South Africa. In: V.S. Sexton and J.D. Hogan (eds), *Psychology around the world* (2nd ed.). Monterey: Brooks/Cole.

Lukes, S. 1974. *Power. A radical view.* London: Macmillan.

Manicas, P.T. 1987. *A history and philosophy of the social sciences.* Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

McPherson, F.M. 1986. *The professional psychologist in Europe. American Psychologist,* 41: 302-305.

Merton, R.K. 1968. *Social theory and social structure.* New York: Free Press.

Moscovici, S. 1961. *La psychoanalyse - son image et son public.* Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.

Muller, J. and Cloete, N. 1986. The white hands: Academic social scientists and forms of popular knowledge and production. *Critical Arts,* 4(2): 1-19.

Napoli, D.S. 1975. *The architects of adjustment: the practice and professionalization of American psychology, 1920-1945.* D Phil thesis, University of California, Davis, USA.

Paicheler, G. 1985, September. *La professionnalisation du savoir psychologique aux Etats-Unis, 1887-1929.* Paper read at the Fourth European CHEIRON Meeting, Paris.

Parry, N. and Parry, J. 1976. *The rise of the medical profession.* London: Croom Helm.

Parsons, T. 1939. The professions and social structure. *Social Forces,* 17: 457-467.

Parsons, T. 1968. Professions. In D. Sills (ed.), *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences,* XI: 536-547I. New York: Macmillan.

Peterson, D.R. 1976. Is psychology a profession? *American Psychologist,* 31: 572-581.

Psygram, 1(2): 17-18. 1959.

Reisman, J.M. 1966. *The development of clinical psychology.* New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts.

Rose, N. 1985. *The psychological complex.* London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Rueschemeyer, D. 1964. Doctors and lawyers: A comment on the theory of the professions. *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology,* 1: 17-30.

Rueschemeyer, D. 1980. Professionaliserung. Theoretische Probleme fur die vergleichende Geschichtsforschung. *Geschichte und Gesellschaft,* 6, 311-325.

Rueschemeyer, D. 1983. Professional autonomy and the social control of expertise. In: R. Dingwall and P. Lewis (eds), *The sociology of the professions. Lawyers, doctors and others,* 38-58. London: Macmillan.

Rueschemeyer, D. 1986. *Power and the division of labour.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Schlebusch, L. and Simpson, M.A. 1987. Medical psychology - its growth and development in South African medical schools. *South African Medical Journal,* 72: 413-416.

Scull, A.T. 1975. From madness to mental illness. Medical men as moral entrepeneurs. *Archives europeennes de Sociologie,* 16: 218-251.

Snijders, J.T. 1969. Interaction of theory and practice. *Nederlands Tijdschrift voor de Psychologie,* 24, 1-10.

Steere, J. 1984. *Ethics in clinical psychology.* Cape Town: Oxford University Press.

Sugg, R. 1978. *Motherteacher.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia.

Survey of Race Relations. 1962. Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations.

Swartz, L. 1988. Some comments on the Draft Ethical Code for South African clinical psychologists. *South African Journal of Psychology,* 18: 17-20.

Theron, P.A. 1952, October. A psychological approach to separate development. *Journal of Racial Affairs,* 10-20.

Van der Krogt, T. 1981. *Professionalisering en collectieve macht.* Den Haag: Vuga.

Van Hoorn, W. 1981, October. *Transformational contextualism as a general model for the development of psychology.* Paper read at the CNR conference, Rome.

Van Hoorn, W. 1984. The minimal meaningful context. In H. Carpintero and J.M. Peiro (eds), *Psychology in its historical context. Essays in honor of Prof. Josef Brozek.* Valencia: Universidad de Valencia.

Van Hoorn, W. 1987, September. *Values in the context of post-industrial psychology.* Paper presented at the Sixth Annual Congress of CHEIRON, Brighton, U.K.

Van Hoorn, W. 1988. Conflictfiguraties in de twintigste-eeuwse psychologie. *Psychologie en Maatschappij,* 12: 64-70.

Van Strien, P.J. 1986. De introductie van de psychologie in de Nederlandse samenleving. *Heymans Bulletins*, HB-86-824-EX. Psychologische Instituten R.U. Groningen.

Van Strien, P.J. 1987. *Kleine empirische wetenschapsleer.* Subfaculteit Psychologie, Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, the Netherlands.

Van Strien, P.J. and Dehue, T. 1985, September. *A relational model of the historiography of psychology.* Paper read at the Fourth European CHEIRON Meeting, Paris.

Verhave, T. and Van Hoorn, W. 1984. The temporalization of the self. In K.J. Gergen and M.M. Gergen (eds), *Historical social psychology.* Hillsdale, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Watson, T.J. 1977. *The personnel managers. A study in the sociology of work and employment.* London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Weiss, J. 1982. *The making of technological man.* Cambridge: MIT Press.

Wilensky, H.L. 1964. The professionalization of everyone? *American Journal of Sociology,* 70: 137-158.

Wrong, D. 1979. *Power: Its forms, bases and uses.* Oxford: Blackwell.