GETTING "LAYED": NEW PROFESSIONAL POSITIONS IN SOUTH AFRICAN PSYCHOLOGY

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GETTING "LAYED": NEW PROFESSIONAL POSITIONS IN SOUTH AFRICAN PSYCHOLOGY

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GETTING "LAYED": NEW PROFESSIONAL POSITIONS IN SOUTH AFRICAN PSYCHOLOGY

"Professions" and professionalisation constitute important sites for the analysis of power relations in contemporary society. The current efforts to refashion the profession of psychology in South Africa offer an ideal opportunity to critically reflect on the politics of professionalisation in South African Psychology. Since 1997, a new professional policy for South African psychology has been underway, and various versions of the policy have been produced and distributed by the Professional Board for Psychology at different stages of the policy process. The policy texts propose changes in the education and training, professional roles, continuing professional development, and statutory control within professional psychology. Drawing on critical discourse approaches, positioning theory, and Abbot's (1988) and Louw's (1990) critical models of professions, this paper presents a critical analysis of the professional policy texts. It is argued that the professional policy should be viewed as an important and distinct moment in the history of psychology's professionalisation in South Africa. Professionalisation is also viewed as a force whereby subjects are "made up" and positioned in relation to each other along the hierarchical "professional"-"lay" binary. The professional policy texts are analysed as discursive practices, whereby professional psychology as an organised collective positions itself, its members, and other collectives ("lay counsellors" and the "lay public"). The relations of power constituted through these acts of positioning, and the interstices between the professional power/status differentials and other social relations/inequalities based on race, gender and class are also analysed.

> ... power relations are rooted deep in the social nexus, not reconstituted "above" society as a supplementary structure whose radical effacement one could only dream of ... A society without power relations can only be an abstraction. Which, be it said in passing, makes all the more politically necessary the analysis of power relations in a given society, their historical formation, the source of their strength or fragility, the conditions which are necessary to transform some or abolish others. For to say that there cannot be a society without power relations is not to say either that those which are established are necessary or, in any case, that power constitutes a fatality at the heart of societies, such that it cannot be undermined. Instead, I would say that the analysis, elaboration, and bringing into question of power relations and the "agonism" between power relations and the intransitivity of freedom is a permanent political task inherent in all social existence (Foucault, 1982, pp. 791-792).

GETTING "LAYED": NEW POSITIONS IN SOUTH AFRICAN PSYCHOLOGY

The research elaborated in this article forms part of the requirements for my Masters' degree, a qualification that (for now) determines whether or not I will be permitted entry to professional psychology and more specifically whether or not I will be authorised to use the professional title, "psychologist". The procedures and regulations that restrict and facilitate access to discursive practices and positionings within professional psychology constitute a major theme in this article. Therefore, throughout the process of doing this research I have been aware that I am embroiled in the very positions, power relations and dilemmas that I bring into question. It is this position of being on the verge of qualifying as a psychologist and my sense of standing somewhere on the periphery of the profession, neither quite "in" nor entirely "out", that has prompted my interest in conducting this kind of research. It is from my peripheral positioning that I ask the following kinds of questions: What does it mean to be a psychologist in contemporary South Africa? A new professional policy for South African psychology is being constructed. What will this mean for professional psychology and psychological professionals? What will this mean for the people who consult these professionals? Also, what is the relationship between the changes proposed by psychology's new professional policy and the politics of transformation within the broader social landscape of South Africa? What could or should a transformed and transformative psychology look like?

The construction of a new professional practice policy for South African psychology has been underway since March 1997 when the first working paper was jointly produced by the Professional Board for Psychology and the Psychological Society of South Africa (PsySSA). The development of a new professional practice policy in the field of South African psychology is a work in progress. Some of the

proposals (such as the introduction of the 4-year BPsych degree and a new middle-level professional role (viz. registered counsellor) that is advanced by the new professional policy are in the process of being implemented at South African universities. Some policy proposals (such as the introduction of a professional doctorate as the required qualification for psychologists) have been questioned, contested or indefinitely deferred (Professional Board for Psychology, 2003). The professional policy has undergone several permutations with various versions and documents (working papers, drafts, proposed policies) being produced and distributed at different stages of the policy process. This paper presents an in-depth, but not exhaustive, critical analysis of various policy texts.

The analysis is informed by a variety of theoretical and methodological resources, namely, critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1992; Foucault, 1972, 1978, 1981, 1982; Parker, 1992), positioning theory (Davies & Harré, 1990; Harré & van Langenhove, 1999) as well as specific critical models that have been developed and used in the study of professions (Abbott,1988; Louw, 1990). These theoretical strands are integrated in order to formulate a discursive approach to and understanding of professionalisation. This paper and the analysis emanates from two central premises:

(a) Professions and professionalisation constitute an important avenue for the analysis of power relations in contemporary societies.

(b) The recent changes in psychology's professional policies provide an ideal opportunity to critically analyse and reflect on the politics of professionalisation within South African psychology.

Criticism and the transformation of South African Psychology

The development of psychology as a profession in South Africa is intimately connected to wider socio-political discourses, and to the societal conflicts and contradictions that are located within particular epochs of South Africa's history (Gilbert, 2000; Louw, 1990). 'The political environment largely determines what types of knowledge product can be successfully marketed at a particular time and place' (Danziger, 1990, p. 182). "Transformation" as a discursive construction has gained dominance, infusing social and political life within present-day South Africa. The discourses around social and political transformation have accrued a powerful legitimating function in South Africa and are invoked in a range of social and public spheres in order to legitimate or de-legitimate all sorts of social and discursive practices. Louw (1992a, p. 54) has argued that professional psychology in South Africa is encountering a crisis of legitimacy, because psychological professionals now wish to address 'new, less powerful audiences'. The new professional policy can be seen as a legitimisation strategy for the profession of psychology in South Africa and the discourse of transformation is a central element in this strategy.

Mental health and psychological service delivery in South Africa have been portrayed by various authors (Foster & Swartz, 1997; Freeman, 1991; Vogelman, Perkel & Strebel, 1992) as characterised by racial, gender and class inequalities and discrimination. Another central feature of the South African mental health system and psychological services is the fragmentation of services, characterised by a divide between a well-resourced private sector and a meagre state sector (Foster & Swartz, 1997; Vogelman, Perkel & Strebel, 1992). This divide not only intersects with various forms of social inequalities (e.g. "race" and class inequalities), but is also a form of social inequality itself. Even within "post-apartheid" South Africa, questions

about equity, appropriacy and accessibility of mental health and psychological services remain (Swartz, 1996). Factors such as "race", class and language (Swartz, 1996) determine access to psychological services and result in the segregation of services along the private-public service divide. Psychology's new professional policy proposes to be a central instrument in the transformation of professional psychology in South Africa. The goals for a transformed profession are articulated as the provision of more "appropriate", "contextually relevant", and "accessible" professional psychological services and creation of racial "equity" by increasing the number of "black" professionals in psychology. (Professional Board for Psychology, 2001). Terms such as "equity", "accessibility" and "relevance" have become common catchwords within transformation talk in South Africa. The haunting possibility is that the transformation of professional psychology will be reduced to glib lip-service, veiled professional self-interest or as Rock and Hamber (1994, p. 2) have put it, 'marketing of an old package in a new form'. It is therefore necessary to address the dilemmas and tensions that arise in the relationship between professionalisation and social transformation.

Professionalisation itself is an important shaping force in the discipline of psychology (Louw, 1990). As Louw (1990, p. 35) contends, 'the power and status differentials implied in professionalization easily accommodate existing inequalities in society'. This is one way in which professionalisation operates as a force of social reproduction rather than social transformation. Psychology's new professional policy and its claims to a transformative agenda cannot merely be accepted at face value, or be viewed from a position of inadvertence. Transformation and sustained criticism are necessarily inter-linked.

Foucault (1988, p. 155) elaborates:

> Criticism (and radical criticism) is absolutely indispensable for any transformation. A transformation that remains within the same mode of thought, a transformation that is only a way of adjusting the same thought more closely to the reality of things can merely be a superficial transformation.

The vision to transform and overcome multiple forms of inequality within the profession of psychology must be accompanied by critical self-reflective analyses of the profession and the changes that are now underway within the profession (Foster & Swartz, 1997; Manganyi & Louw, 1986; Richter, Griesel, Durrheim, Wilson, Surendorrf & Asafo-Agyei, 1998). Also, those located within the discipline and profession of psychology must recognise the political and moral tensions and dilemmas between:

a) professional self-interest and the ethic of service (Louw, 1988); and

b) the assertion and protection of professional power on the one hand and social transformation that seeks to resist and surmount varied forms of social inequalities on the other (Henriques, Hollway, Urwin, Venn & Walkerdine, 1984).

THEORY AND METHODOLOGY

Critical discourse analysis of policy

A critical discourse approach views policy itself as a cultural and political product and agent, and as a discursive practice that contributes to the social construction of reality, subjects positions and the production and operation of modern power relations (Bank, 2000; Shore & Wright, 1997). Despite this article's focus on policy documents or texts, I wish to argue against the common view of policy as primarily the textual plan located in the policy documents, which is then used to guide action, practice and

implementation in a more or less linear fashion. The formulation of policy should be understood as a diffuse but distinct social practice or discourse type associated with particular "intertextual chains", i.e. 'a series of types of text which are transformationally related to each other' (Fairclough, 1992, p. 130). An example in this instance would be the chains that link various policy texts, such as policy formulation meetings, policy workshops, policy documents and so on. Upon close examination, policy fragments (Shore and Wright, 1997) and has multiple manifestations across a range of sites, for example, written policy documents, the courses offered within psychology departments, students' training experience or the provision and delivery of psychological services. There may be significant variations in the different manifestations of a policy. In this sense the professional policy documents constitute 'only one "realization-point" of discourse' (Hook, 2001, p. 535).

Psychology's objects of knowledge

Foucault (1972, p. 49) defines discourses as 'practices that systematically form the objects of which we speak'. Foucault's focus is on the objects of knowledge - the entities that a specific discipline or profession recognises as located within their domain of interest and which they appropriate as targets for investigation - for instance, "madness" as an object in the discourse of psychopathology (Fairclough, 1992). These objects are therefore not pre-existing entities that are merely discovered through investigation, thereby entering into the field of knowledge. 'Psychology constitutes its object in the process of knowing it' (Rose, 1998, p. 49). The discipline and profession's objects of knowledge (e.g. 'mental illness', 'mental health', or 'well-being') are not stable and fixed. Rather, these objects are subject to constant

transformations both between discursive formations and within a given discourse (Fairclough, 1992).

Subject positions

Discursive practices also make available positions for subjects (particular types of self) to take up (Parker, 1992). A central theme in Foucault's writings is the "subject", and the progressive and material constitution of the subject through a multiplicity of practices and forces (Foucault, 1980; 1982). The positioning of subjects is a *relational* and *dynamic* achievement (Davies & Harre, 1990). Discourses therefore construct both a range of subject positions as well as relationships between subjects.

Drawing on Parker's (1992) discourse analytic approach, which draws on the works of Foucault, the following questions were posed in the process of analysis. How is the addressor, as a function of the text itself (Fairclough, 1992), constructed and positioned within the text through discourses? Who or which audiences is the text addressing? What types of people are spoken about in a discourse (e.g. psychologist, "lay counsellor", 'client")? What agencies and powers or rights to speak are afforded by these subject positionings? How are subjects positioned in relation to each other? These questions focus the analysis on the relational and discursive production of subject positions.

Davies and Harré (1990) distinguish between interactive positioning (what one person says positions another) and reflexive positioning (self-positioning). The following questions refer to the dimensions according to which acts of positioning can be classified. First, are individuals positioned by individuals or are collectives positioned by collectives? Second, is an individual or collective

reflexively positioning themselves or are they positioned by some other who interactively positions and is positioned? Because positioning is a relational discursive act, when one positions him/herself , this act always implies a positioning of the one to which it is addressed. Likewise, when one positions another, that always implies a positioning of the positioning subject him/herself ? (Harré & van Langenhove, 1999). The rights of self-positioning or other-positioning are not equally distributed (Harré & van Langenhove, 1999). This idea directs the analysis to the workings of power in acts of positioning.

Subjects, knowledge and power

The practices through which subjects are fabricated and positioned are a function of power (Burman, Kottler, Levett & Parker, 1997). The constitution of subject positions simultaneously entails the constitution of specific forms of power relations. One specific way in which these knowledge-power relationships are put to work is through psychology's creation of a range of social and professional authorities (clinical, educational, industrial psychologists, psychotherapists and counsellors), whose field of operation is to act upon the actions of others and to enhance the capacity of individuals to regulate their own conduct (Rose, 1996, 1998). These social authorities' claim to social power and status is rooted in and legitimized through their possession of psychological knowledge, truths and expertise (Rose 1998).

Every power relationship puts into operation differentiations 'which permit one to act upon the actions of others' (Foucault, 1982, p. 792). These differentiations are simultaneously the conditions and the effects of relationships of power (Foucault, 1982). The analysis of power relations must therefore render these systems of

differentiation visible. The process of professionalisation in psychology establishes a system of differentiation (different categories of psychological professionals, clients, lay persons, and so on) based on knowledge and know-how.

Having explained the discursive side of my analytical resources, I will now elaborate the second strand of theory and methodology that has been applied in my analysis of the policy texts, namely critical models of professions and professionalisation. The two strands will then be tied together in order to formulate a discursive approach to professionalisation.

"Professions" and "professionalisation": Questions of conceptualisation

The concept of a "profession" is slippery and shifting (Callahan, 1988), and entails the construction of a hierarchical "profession"-"non-profession" binary. Within this study, the concept of a "profession" is viewed as a socially and historically contingent construction. Abbott (1988, p. 8) defines professions as 'exclusive occupational groups applying somewhat abstract knowledge to particular cases'. Hughes (1988, p. 31) states that 'Professions profess. They profess to know better than others the nature of certain matters, and to know better than their clients what ails them or their affairs. This is the essence of the professional idea and the professional claim'. *Knowledge* is focal in both Abbott's and Hughes's understandings of professions. Hughes emphasises the hierarchical demarcation of the profession's knowledge and know-how from the knowledge of other professions and the lay public.

For Abbott (1988, p. 1) the concept of 'professionalisation' is 'at best a misleading concept'. Most literature on professions have assumed that a profession develops through a series of stages called "professionalisation" toward becoming a "true profession" (Abbott, 1988). While the concept, professionalisation, needs to be

deconstructed, it has heuristic value in understanding ways in which knowledge is put to work (in a quite literal sense) within contemporary societies. However, both Abbott (1988) and Louw (1990) contest the assumption of professionalisation as a single, linear or unidirectional process or path that can be generalised across occupations, countries and time. Rather, the study of professions should take into account the different contexts within which professionalisation happens as well as the resources and strategies that may be deployed by a particular occupational group (Louw, 1990).

Central to Abbott's (1988) description of professional life and professionalisation is the focus on the work of and the control of work by professions. A profession is bound to its work or set of tasks by ties or links of jurisdiction (Abbott, 1988). These ties of jurisdiction are not absolute or permanent. Across time, tasks are constructed, abolished or reshaped (Abbott, 1988). Jurisdictional claims are made on the basis of knowledge (Louw, 1990). Thus, relations of power created in the process of professionalisation entail not only the discursive construction of objects of knowledge and subjects over whom authority can be exercised, but also more or less exclusive jurisdictional claims over these objects of knowledge as targets for investigation and intervention (Abbott, 1988).

The idea of professionalisation as the progression through a series of stages toward the end of becoming a "true profession" is problematic, because it implies that once an occupation achieves that legal and social status of a 'true profession' the process of professionalisation is complete. An alternative argument is that professionalisation is an always ongoing process that does not simply come to a stop at some ideal destination. Rather, the status of a profession, its jurisdictional ties, its discursive practices, its objects of knowledge and intervention, the subject positions and

relationships involved, are continually being constructed, reproduced, shaped, reshaped or erased.

Louw (1990, p. 14, emphasis in original) describes the professionalisation of psychology as follows:

> *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 institutionalised 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.*

The construction of a new professional policy can be viewed as a collective action on behalf of professional psychology in South Africa. As a collective strategy it involves the various specific acts of professionalisation. Firstly, it reasserts the rights of psychologists to perform specific socially significant tasks (jurisdictional claims). Secondly, it establishes a new middle-level professional role in psychology, namely the registered counsellor. Thirdly, it attempts to differentiate between the psychologist and the registered counsellor on the basis of jurisdiction (differential rights to perform certain tasks), knowledge and know-how and education and training level. Finally, it alters the educational and training structure and standards that regulate both initial and continuing access to professional positionings. The new professional policy can be seen as a current and crucial moment within the ongoing process of the professionalisation of psychology in South Africa.

A discursive approach to professionalisation

While Foucauldian insights have been deployed to analyse the functioning of disciplines, no explicit link has been made between Foucauldian ideas and the processes of professionalisation. Foucault's insights into the workings of knowledge can, however, be applied to generate a discursive understanding of professions and professionalisation.

Geuter (1992, p. 259) describes professionalisation as a 'subjectively formative process'. What he means by this is that professionalisation affects individuals at the level of membership to a group, feelings of belonging, identity, subjective motivations and experiences of self. Geuter's analysis of professionalisation as a subjective process is elaborated mainly in terms of psychologists' subjective motivations and subjective driving forces for the professionalisation of psychology in Nazi Germany. However, Geuter's (1992) theorisation of the subjective processes involved in professionalisation could be further developed using Foucault's (1980; 1982) focus on the constitution of the subject. Recourse to Foucault's insights makes it possible to understand the process of professionalisation as a force whereby human beings come to be 'made up' and positioned as subjects of a certain type and come to relate to themselves and others as subjects (Rose, 1996).

Foucault (1981, p. 62) states that no speaking subject 'shall enter the order of discourse if he [or she] does not satisfy certain requirements or if he [or she] is not, from the outset, qualified to do so'. For instance, an education system is 'a political way of maintaining or modifying the appropriation of discourses, along with the knowledges and power they carry' (p. 64). However, a focus on the concept and processes of "professionalisation" is necessary to understand the procedures that permit the control of discourses. The control of discourse is achieved by determining

the discourse's conditions of application, by imposing rules and roles on speaking subjects and by imposing systems of restriction that determine access to particular discursive practices and positionings (Foucault, 1981). One of the primary activities of professional organizations is the construction of regulations that police access to the profession. Certainly a major and explicit impetus for the new professional policy is the (re)determination of the regulations that restrict and facilitate access to discursive practices and postionings within professional psychology.

Drawing on Foucault, we can describe professionalisation as involving the right (usually legally sanctioned and juridically defined) to make certain statements, to speak or proffer a discourse (Foucault, 1972). These kinds of discourses cannot be stated by just anybody and their existence cannot be separated from the statutorily defined subject who has the right to make them. The professional proffers his/her discourse from specific institutional sites (such as, the hospital, private practice, the university), from which this discourse derives its legitimate source and point of application (Foucault, 1972).

Professionalisation can be viewed as one of the means whereby the social authorities, who act upon the actions of others, are authorized (Rose, 1996). Rose (1996, p. 133) poses the following questions in analyzing the 'genealogy of subjectification': 'what ... is the relation between authorities and those subject to them?'; and 'how are authorities themselves governed' (through, for example, legal codes and professional ethics)?

HISTORICAL TRENDS IN PROFESSIONAL PSYCHOLOGY IN SOUTH AFRICA

In 1955 two government notices, No. 2489 and No. 2491, were published giving statutory recognition to psychology as an auxiliary medical service. These notices set out rules for registration and the manner in which psychologists should conduct their practice (Louw, 1997). The year, 1955, marked the beginning of the registration of psychologists with a medical body, namely the South African Medical and Dental Council (SAMDC). Therefore, historically, South African Psychology has pursued the route of gaining professional recognition through a medically dominated statutory body and this, according to Gilbert (1998), has had significant consequences for the professionalisation and practice of psychology.

Once granted status as an auxiliary health service in 1955, psychology became increasingly seduced by and drawn into medical discourse (Gilbert, 1998). This is manifested in various trends in professional psychology in South Africa. For instance, clinical psychology has become numerically dominant. According to the HPCSA statistics for June 2003, of the total number of psychologists registered in the clinical, counselling, education and industrial categories, 37% are clinical, 23% are counselling, 22% are educational, and 18% are industrial psychologists (Health Professions Council of South Africa (HPCSA), 2003). Also, because of its initial auxiliary status, psychology as an organised professional group has exerted much energy on trying to achieve equal status with other health professions. Medical dominance has defined the profession's battles, for example the battle to gain recognition by medical aid societies and gaining the right to prescribe medicines (Gilbert, 1998). Another major trend in South African psychology is the commercialisation of professional practice (Vogelman, Perkel & Strebel, 1992). This

means that the dominant institutional site for professional psychology in South Africa is private practice (Gilbert, 1998; Manganyi & Louw, 1986; Pillay & Petersen, 1996). All this implies the structuring of psychological services to conform to the medical model (Gilbert, 1998). For instance, to claim from medical aid schemes, the psychologist is required to adhere to particular medicalised discursive practices, such as diagnosis and treatment within a one-on-one professional-patient interaction (Gilbert, 1998).

The structuring of professional psychological services along the private-public divide has hindered access to psychological services. The one difference between psychological and medical services is that psychology has not managed to gain the same institutional support within the public health sector. With such minuscule public sector support, the services of psychologists are inaccessible to most people in South Africa. It is important to point out, as Gilbert (1998) argues, that the medical route was not an inevitable or the only possible path of professionalisation for South African psychology.

The Medical, Dental And Supplementary Services Act, now known as the Health Professions Act (Act No. 56 of 1974), legislated the establishment of the Professional Board for Psychology under the SAMDC. With the revision of this act in 1998, the SAMDC became the Health Professions Council of South Africa (HPCSA) (Gilbert, 2000). The HPCSA is a statutory body which regulates the profession via its system of licensing and certification (Louw, 1997). The Act restricts the title, 'psychologist' to a person registered with the HPCSA (Manganyi & Louw, 1986; Louw, 1997) and defines psychological acts (Louw, 1990). The Professional Board for Psychology determines the minimum training qualifications for professional registration and administers a professional code of ethics (Louw, 1990). At present, the profession is

organised collectively on two levels: voluntary membership with the professional association, the Psychological Society of South Africa (PsySSA), and compulsory registration with the HPCSA (Gilbert, 2000).

REFASHIONING PROFESSIONAL PSYCHOLOGY IN SOUTH AFRICA: CHANGES IN EDUCATION AND TRAINING, AND PROFESSIONAL ROLES

Education and Professional Training in South African Psychology

Table 1 illustrates the education and training model that has operated at South African universities prior to the formulation of the new professional policy. The table sketches the possible pathways for students entering the field of psychology. A student with ambitions to progress through all levels of education (academic or professional) would start by studying a bachelors degree majoring in psychology, followed by an honours degrees in psychology. While there has been the possibility of professional registration as a "psychotechnian" after completion of a bachelors degree and a "psychometrist" when completing an honours degree, both the bachelors and honours degrees have been primarily academic degrees. The lower level professional registration categories, viz. "psychotechnician" and "psychometrist" have never really been popular amongst psychology students or the "lay public". These professional categories in psychology have not entered public discourse and the "lay pubic" has generally been unaware of their existence. Therefore, it could be said that within this education and training model the professional and academic paths diverge only at the Masters degree level. [Table 1 about here]

The new professional policy proposes a marked restructuring of the education and training model represented in Table 1. This restructured education and training model is outlined in Table 2. The new policy affects primarily the professional route

of education and training. While the professional board sets the minimum requirements for institutions training psychological professionals, it has no jurisdiction over the academic stream of training (Professional Board for Psychology, 1999). The transformations in education and training that have been proposed in various documented versions of psychology's new professional policy are outlined below.

(a) As opposed to the past model (see Table 1), the bifurcation between academic and professional paths occurs throughout and at all degree levels.

(b) A 4-year degree (BPsych) linked to a new middle-level professional category, namely the registered counsellor is being introduced.

(c) Initially the Professional Board proposed the introduction of a seven-year professional doctorate as the requisite qualification to register as a psychologist. This proposal meant that a Masters level professional degree will no longer lead to registration as a psychologist (Professional Board for Psychology, 2001). The 2001 policy document stipulates that a 'professional doctorate ... with at least a 50% research component ..., and a minimum 2 years course work, which is not a bolstered up Masters or watered down PhD' is required to register as a psychologist (Professional Board for Psychology, 2001. p. 5). At one stage (Professional Board for Psychology, 2001) it was proposed that the Masters degree in Psychology be retained, but that this would only lead to registration as a registered counsellor. It was further stated that the Masters-level registered counsellor would be allowed to register in three practice areas, as opposed to the BPsych-level registered counsellor, who would only be permitted to register in two practice areas. However, the implementation of a professional coursework/thesis doctoral degree in Psychology was refused approval and accreditation by the Council on Higher Education and the

Department of Education in South Africa. During 2003, a significant change of plans regarding the implementation of the professional doctorate occurred:

> Subsequent to discussions with the Departments of Health and Education and Education, the Board resolved that … the implementation of the Doctorate for psychology be deferred *sine die* and that the accredited Masters programme in the categories clinical, counselling, educational, industrial and research psychology would continue (Professional Board for Psychology 2003b, p. 1).

(d) The policy has introduced national examinations. Successful completion of these national examinations will be a prerequisite for registration as either a psychologist or registered counsellor. Initially these examinations were to be handled by the College for Professional Psychology (Professional Board for Psychology, 1999). The professional policy, therefore, initially proposed the establishment of a College for Professional Psychology established under the auspices of the Professional Board. However, controversy surrounded the creation of the College, resulting in its closure during 2000. The national examinations are now to be handled by the Board itself. It is stated in the policy document that these national examinations will be set in consultation with academic departments at universities. In the professional policy it is claimed that the purpose of national examinations is to 'ensure common national standards' at both levels (psychologist and registered counsellor) and 'compliance with international standards at Level 2' (psychologist) (Professional Board for Psychology, 1999, p. 14). Exactly how the introduction of national examinations will influence power relations between universities and the Professional Board, and determination of knowledge product, is yet to unfold.

[Table 2 about here]

Louw (1990) states that after World War II, education in South African psychology took an increasingly practical turn, particularly at the level of Masters training and education. This applied turn, he states, resulted in substantial tension with many academic psychologists and psychology departments viewing prescribed professional/practical Masters training programmes as an 'encroachment on the autonomy of the university to teach psychology as an academic discipline' (Louw 1990, p. 61). Nevertheless, in South Africa, the undergraduate and honours degrees in psychology have remained primarily academic or discipline-based (rather than applied). With the introduction of the BPsych degree, undergraduate and honours-level study takes a predominantly professional practice direction that is geared towards producing middle-level psychology professionals. It is therefore possible that the creation of the BPsych degree and registered counsellors will exacerbate the tensions associated with the academic discipline- professional practice binary.

Professional roles and categories in the field of psychology

The different education and training levels in psychology are connected to specific professional roles and categories. In this way internal professional divisions are constructed. Professional psychology in South Africa has up until the construction of a new professional policy been stratified into three levels of professional registration, "psychotechnician", "psychometrist" and psychologist. The new professional policy replaces this professional structure with two levels of professional registration, viz. registered counsellor and psychologist as illustrated in Table 3. There have been variations in the construction of professional (and non-professional) roles and categories across the different versions of the professional policy. Table 3 depicts a

concise outline of these variations across four documents formulated during 1997, 1998, 1999 and 2001. [Table 3 about here]

ANALYSIS, INTERPRETATION AND DISCUSSION OF THE PROFESSIONAL POLICY TEXTS

The positioning of psychology within the discourse of transformation

> Psychology is at a watershed turning point as a discipline and profession in the history of our country. The transforming context in which psychology is embedded compels us to re-examine, critically and honestly, psychology in all of its multiple facets from first principles. In some fundamental ways the changing context is reframing in no uncertain terms our contributions to towards our communities and society. The pressing overall need is for psychology to recontextualise its role. We need to redefine ourselves relative to our chosen destiny (Joint Task Force on the Professional Practice Framework, 1997, p. 1).

This portrayal of psychology in South Africa comes from a letter of invitation addressed to 'all registered persons and stakeholders' (In this letter, the Professional Board for Psychology invites the addressees to attend regional workshops where the draft professional policy will be discussed).

It is also stated in the policy texts that:

> The need to revise the practice framework arises out of changing needs, demands, and circumstances in our communities and societies, either at present or expected in the future (Professional Board for Psychology & PsySSA, 1997, p. 1, 1998, p.1; Professional Board for Psychology, 1999, p. 3).

Both of the extracts above illustrate instances of what could be called the discourse of transformation, within the context of professional psychology in South Africa.

In these statements, the changes that psychology in South Africa are undergoing and that are being advocated in the new professional policy are described as being brought about within and by a 'transforming' or 'changing' context. The need to change the profession is constructed as a response to contextual demands. Therefore, the transformation of South African psychology is described as a matter of recontextualisation. In these statements, psychology is positioned as passive and reactive. One way of reflecting on the implications of this positioning is by juxtaposing it to other possible ways in which psychology could be positioned. There are, I imagine, alternative ways in which the relationship between psychology and context could be portrayed. An example of an alternative picture is one in which the need to transform psychology is constructed as arising from the need to create a psychology that transforms the context in which it operates. In this depiction, psychology would be positioned as active, and as *transformative*, rather than as merely the *transformed*.

The positioning of psychology as a passive respondent to the needs and demands of the context within which psychology finds itself has specific effects or functions. Within this formulation, psychology appears as a neutral, but sensitive respondent to perceived societal needs and demands that simply exist out there. These "ready-

made" societal needs and demands can then be viewed as having emerged independently of psychology's activities (Louw, 1992a). A critical discursive approach would, however, contest the idea of social "needs" and "demands" that are merely perceived and then responded to by psychology. Rather, psychology would be seen as participating in the construction of these "needs" and "demands". Louw (1992a) also objects to the assumption of a profession that passively responds to perceived problems. He argues that 'problems do not arise out there in society or in specific client groups, independently from the activities of the professional group and ready-made for their interventions' (p. 51). He goes on to say that 'professions are not simply passive, responding agents in this process [of providing services on the basis of emerging problems and needs] – they also create the problem' (p.52).

While, according to the Board, these contextual needs and demands compel the transformation of psychology, what exactly these needs or demands may be is never explicitly articulated in the policy texts. Whatever they are seems to go without saying.

The production of the professional policy

One significant rhetorical feature of the piece of text taken from the Board's letter of invitation to stakeholders (refer back to p. 22) is the consistent use of first person plural pronouns ('we', 'us', 'our', 'ourselves'). Who is the 'us', 'we' or 'our' in this piece of text? These plural pronouns function as an inclusive and unifying rhetorical strategy and in this text includes not only the addressors or speakers of this letter, but also those to whom the letter is addressed (its audience). This use of plural pronouns in this particular text firstly reflects the collective behaviour which Louw (1990) views as central to professionalisation (in this case the construction of professional

policy). Also, this rhetorical strategy, in conjunction with the policy documents' depiction of the process of policy formulation as one involving widespread consultation with stakeholders, functions to construct the professional policy as a democratic and unified response by the profession, its members and all stakeholders. The impression of consensus and unity constructed by and within the policy texts masks the possible diversity of responses. This is one way in which the policy texts enforce closure on alternative responses and forms of action.

However, the 'we' and 'us' is also exclusionary, since it encompasses mainly those (whether as the addressors or addressees, authors or readers) who are assumed to be stakeholders in professional psychology and its professional policy. This exclusionary effect operates despite the text's overt emphasis on the policy formulation as a 'consultative process designed to ensure that all views are heard and considered before a finalised policy document is formulated' (Joint Task Force on the Professional Practice Framework, 1997). In the policy texts, the "stakeholders" are listed as university departments, intern training institutions, government departments at national and provincial level, hospitals that provide psychological services, professional associations, NGO's (for example, Lifeline) and individuals who are registered with the Professional Board for Psychology (Professional Board for Psychology & PsySSA, 1998; Professional Board for Psychology, 1999). The policy's stakeholders include mainly those who are authorised to speak on behalf of the profession of psychology through ties of formal membership to specific educational, professional, government and service institutions or organisations. Those located outside of the these ties of membership (for example, "clients" or "consumers", the "lay public" in general, or members of other professions) are excluded as stakeholders.

As Fairclough (2001) contends with regard to public policy texts, the professional policy texts are promotional documents designed to win consent and to "sell" specific proposals vis-à-vis the profession of psychology, not to create real dialogue. The construction of its "consultative nature" is in itself part of the process whereby the professional policy promotes, markets and sells itself. Fairclough (2001) states that winning consent can be seen as a stage in the policy process. What all this means is that policy documents are often 'written as if the argument is over' (Fairclough, 2001, p. 257).

Intra- and extra-professional positioning

The policy can be seen as discursive practice whereby professional psychology in South Africa, as an organised collective, positions itself and its members reflexively. This reflexive positioning simultaneously entails the interactive positioning of other groups or collectives (such as the "lay public", "clients" and "lay counsellors"). The relational positioning of subjects within the policy texts entails positionings and divisions within the professional psychology (intraprofessional positions), as well as positions that are located beyond the margins of the profession (extraprofessional positions). An analysis of positioning is imperative for a critical analysis of the ways in which the forces of professionalisation position psychological professionals in relation to:

(a) each other

(b) other "professionals" or "non-professionals"; and

(c) those they claim to serve (clients or "lay public").

Internal stratification: Positioning and relations within professional psychology

Louw (1990) uses the concept *segmentation* to refer to the formation of sub-groups within a profession around a particular identity. Segmentation can be based on a variety of issues, such as specialisation, type of clients or political ideology. In South Africa, as in other countries, specialisation has been one prominent basis for the formation of segmented professional positionings within psychology, for example, clinical, counselling, educational, industrial, and research psychologists. These professional categories have occupied locations within an implicit hierarchy. Varying statuses have been accorded to the different categories of psychologists, despite a seemingly horizontal appearance. Within professional psychology in South Africa, the clinical psychology category has occupied a dominant position within this tacit status ranking of professional categories. Numerically clinical psychology has been and remains the dominant category (Louw, 1992b; HPCSA, 2003). Also, although it is seldom explicitly stated, psychology students in South Africa are generally well aware of the statuses accorded to the different registration categories. Clinical psychology has generally been the more attractive and sought after option for psychology students.

This tacit status hierarchy based on specialisation has functioned alongside a more explicit hierarchy, involving three levels of registration: psychologist, psychometrist, and psychotechnician (Louw, 1992b). However, the new professional policy, erases the categories, psychometrist, and psychotechnician. The register for psychotechnicians has already been closed and the register for psychometrists will close on the 31 December 2003 (Professional Board for Psychology, 2001). The new professional policy constructs an alternative tiered system of professional roles. This vertical differentiation of professional roles is an explicit one. The new intra-

professional hierarchy entails two levels of training, registration and practice within professional psychology; registered counsellor and psychologist.

The creation of a middle-level psychological professional, namely the registered counsellor, means that a new grouping of professional subordinates is brought into being. The idea of constructing a middle-level professional category in psychology is not an entirely new one and certainly does not make a first appearance in the new professional practice policy. Both the 1989 report authored by the now defunct Psychological Association of South Africa (PASA) and the 1994 report by Rock and Hamber provide considerable deliberation on the mid-level professional and the four year BPsych degree. Each report, however, proffers contrasting conclusions and recommendations. Whereas the PASA report (PASA, 1989) recommends the creation of the category, Rock and Hamber (1994, p. 27) conclude that 'presently the implementation of a four year BPsych degree is implausible'. Rock and Hamber (1994) cite three reasons why the BPsych would not work. Firstly, the two-tiered training and professional model may simply reinforce existing racial divisions and inequalities. Secondly, the capital and human resource costs required to restructure training are too great. Thirdly, the lack of state-funded posts for psychologists in the public sector, coupled with the training of more professionals may simply result in more psychology professionals in the private sector.

The view that there is an 'overwhelming demand for professional services in our country relative to the current and future expected available professional resources' is used to justify the creation of a new middle-level professional (Professional Board for Psychology, 1999, p. 4). This argument can be referred to as the 'issue of numbers' (Donald, 1991, p.38). The general contention is that the restriction of professional practice in psychology to a Masters level of qualification is 'costly, wasteful of

human resource potential, and limited in its capacity to produce the number of psychological practitioners commensurate with social need' (Richter et al. 1998, p. 4). In the professional policy texts, no alternative solutions to this problem (limited psychological resources) are proposed or even considered, other than the creation of the middle-level psychological professional. It is as though there are no other possibilities. However, as Dawes (1992, p. 31) asserts:

> Whether the creation of this new [middle-level] category ... is a suitable answer to the servicing problem is open to debate. Alternatives could include the training of personnel, in for example the nursing and education sectors, to undertake aspects of psychological work – that is, we should be considering giving appropriate psychological skills to those who operate at the coal face of deprived communities.

A major change driving the construction of a new professional policy is the production of registered counsellors to meet South African society's 'overwhelming demand' for psychological services. The policy texts construct this need or demand as a reflection of social forces outside the profession. Louw (1990) proffers an alternative perspective on the issue of supply and demand. He argues that 'the supply of products have a demand-creating function of their own' p. 61). Furthermore, none of the potential problems associated with the creation of the middle-level professional role (see, for example, the problems described by Rock and Hamber, 1994) are considered or addressed in the new professional policy documents. A critical analysis of the policy texts, however, enables one to unravel and reflect on some of the possible dilemmas that could arise with the creation of a middle-level professional grouping.

The creation of the middle-level category is constructed in relation to the already existing high-level professional, namely the psychologist. Up until 2003 the new professional policy advocated a significant shift in the qualifications that regulate access to the discursive practices and position of psychologist, viz. the introduction of a doctoral degree (as opposed to the existing Masters degree) to qualify and register as a psychologist. The introduction of a professional doctoral qualification would have had the effect of widening the "gap" between psychologist and registered counsellor and elevating the qualifications and credentials of the psychologist. The professional doctorate can therefore be viewed as a form of professional protection for the psychologist, protecting this existing professional grouping of psychologists from the entry of a new grouping of registered counsellors into the field of professional psychology. The proposal to introduce the professional doctorate highlights the profession's concern with the assertion and protection of professional power and status. Interestingly, in a study by Manganyi & Louw (1986), which surveyed the "attitudes" of South African clinical psychologists, the majority of respondents agreed that doctoral programmes should replace the current Masters training programmes as a required qualification for registration as a clinical psychologist.

The jurisdictional boundaries between psychologist and registered counsellor are defined and demarcated in terms of a vertical division of labour and knowledge application. The dimensions used to construct this distinction are referred to as the 'complexity of professional decision-making' ('from highly diagnostic/interpretative to highly formalised/routinised), and the 'scope of intervention' ('from large-scale multi-disciplinary intervention processes/programmes to single stand alone focused interventions') (Professional Board for Psychology, 1998, p. 5). The deferment of the

professional doctorate is not the only major turnabout that occurs in the process of constructing psychology's new professional policy. The deferment of the doctorate for psychologists coincides with a second major change in policy regarding the issue of registered counsellors and independent practice. While the introduction of the professional doctorate would have reinforced the demarcation between registered counsellors and psychologists in terms of educational qualification, the right to enter into private independent practice reinforces this intra-professional division on the basis of scope of practice and jurisdiction. In earlier versions of the professional policy (Professional Board for Psychology, 1998; 1999; 2001), the issue of independent practice is not formulated as a point of different between psychologists and registered counsellors. In these versions it is stipulated that, like psychologists, middle-level psychological professionals could opt to be self-employed. This year (2003), a conspicuous significant shift in policy has occurred. The registration of registered counsellors has been amended to indicate that they will no longer be permitted to engage in independent practice. The reasons supplied by the Professional Board for this amendment in the professional policy are as follows:

(a) Because the professional role and category, registered counsellor, has been created to meet the needs of South Africans, registered counsellors should be employed within NGO, community and public settings (Professional Board for Psychology, 2003a).

(b) The Department of Health advised the Board that registered counsellors would lack a sufficient knowledge base for independent practice (Professional Board for Psychology, 2003b).

The restriction of registered counsellors' jurisdiction and practice to NGO, public and community settings has a variety of effects and implications. The general effect

is that the jurisdictional division between psychologists and registered counsellors is reinforced. Working in the private sector as solo practitioners has been a dominant trend in South African professional psychology. By barring the entry of registered counsellors into independent practice, psychologists are protected from having to compete with this middle-level professional in the private sector. The new professional policy, which focuses on the creation of the this new middle-level category to 'meet the needs of the South African population' (Professional Board for Psychology, 2003a, p. 2) by working in the public and community setting, fails to challenge, but rather reinforces the primacy of private practice among South African psychologists. Psychologists remain comfortably ensconced in their private practices and issues relating to the accessibility and affordability of psychologists' services are disregarded. The intra-professional division between psychologists and registered counsellors conforms with and rather neatly accommodates the existing private-public segregation of mental health services in South Africa and the social inequalities that intersect with this divide.

Abbott (1988) contends that various strategies may be deployed in order to settle jurisdictional claims, disputes and conflicts within and between professions. He cites *subordination* as the most familiar form of jurisdictional settlement used by professions. This strategy may involve the subordination of an already existing professional grouping by another professional grouping (e.g. the subordination of nursing under medicine), or else it could entail the direct creation of a subordinate grouping. South African psychology's creation of the registered counsellor represents an exemplar of the latter strategy of subordination. There are certain significant advantages to the direct creation of subordinate groups. It 'permits the delegation of dangerously routine work' (Abbott, 1988, p. 72). It also, most importantly, 'settles

the public and legal relations between incumbent and subordinate from the start' (Abbott, 1988, p. 72). Another form of jurisdictional settlement that could emerge between psychologists and registered counsellors is implicit divisions based the social and economic status of clientele. Locked in a superordinate-subordinate relation, psychologists would serve higher-status clients, while registered counsellors serve clients occupying lower-status social and class positions. With a division between psychologists and registered counsellors that is superimposed on the private-public service divide, client differentiation seems inevitable. Client differentiation will be discussed in greater depth in a later section of this paper.

Naming the middle-level psychological professional

One of the interesting questions or problems that arise in the creation of a new middle-level professional category relates to the naming of this category - what title will be bestowed upon this hitherto non-existent psychological professional? This problem was already recognised in the 1989 PASA report, 'Mental health in South Africa':

> It is however important to establish whether these people [middle-level professionals in psychology] can be called psychologists. Act 56 of 1974 defines the term psychologist clearly in terms of a six year training period and registration as psychologist with the Professional Board for Psychology. Allowing for an alternative psychologist registration category but with less training will undoubtedly lead to confusion amongst the public and other professionals, and increase the possibility of misdemeanours. Should it then be decided that such a registration category be created, it is suggested that this issue be considered carefully. The committee judged that the term psychologist

not be used and suggested the term "mental health worker" (PASA, 1989, p. 74).

In the new professional policy the title, psychologist, remains restricted to higher-level psychological professionals. The naming of the middle-level psychological professional undergoes several mutations across various versions of the professional policy. On the one hand there is a need to create an "original" title that clearly demarcates this new professional role and domain of work from the roles and domains of the psychologist (intra-professional demarcation) as well as other "professional" and "non-professional" categories located outside of psychology. It is also important to the project of professionalisation that the chosen professional title cannot be too readily claimed by other professions and occupations. The widespread usage of the terms "counsellor" and "counselling" therefore presents a problem. On the other hand, there is a need to create a title that will have some familiarity and existing currency of meaning for a "lay" audience.

During the formulation of the professional policy, the naming of this professional category has been a matter of some contention and questioning. For example, during a meeting (May 1998) involving the Professional Board for Psychology and the Heads of Departments of Psychology, one of the issues raised was the use of the term, "counsellor" to designate the middle-level psychological professional. At this meeting it was noted that 'a real need existed for this professional role but a different title(s) should be considered' (The Interim National Medical and Dental Council of South Africa, 1999, p. 3). At another meeting in 1998, 'the concerns of the Committee of Heads of Departments regarding the term "counsellor" and the fact that the designation of this category should be clear to the public and employers in

general' are noted (The Interim National Medical and Dental Council of South Africa, 1999, p. 4).

The 1997 draft policy uses the title, 'Psychological Counsellor'. In the 1998 proposed policy, the categories, 'Professional Counsellor registered in a specific practice area' or 'Specified Counsellor', were used. The title, 'human development practitioner' was suggested at the 1998 PsySSA Congress (The Interim National Medical and Dental Council of South Africa, 1999, p. 4).

The 1999 policy document reverts back to the title, 'Psychological Counsellor'. Eventually the title, 'Registered Counsellor', was decided upon to designate the middle-level psychological professional (Professional Board of Psychology, 2001; 2002a; 2002b) and it is this title, "registered counsellor", that has been incorporated into in the Health Professions Act (Act No. 56 of 1974). Despite the above variations in the naming of the middle-level professional category, "counsellor", appears as a common term across all except one of these namings (i.e. "human development practitioner").

Wilson, Richter, Durrheim, Surendorrf & Asafo-Agyei (1999) also argue that the term, "counsellor" reinforces predominant views of psychology as individually and clinically focussed. Nevertheless, despite this obvious consideration as well as concerns of the Committee of Heads of Departments of Psychology, the term, "counsellor" survives to the end. The term "counsellor" itself functions to reinforce the lower status of registered counsellors vis-à-vis psychologists because the lower status of "counsellor"/ "counselling" vis-à-vis "psychotherapist"/ "psychotherapy". Psychotherapy is usually distinguished from counselling through its the claim of "depth" (Hanna & Bemak, 1997) and intensity. Certain authors such as Corsini (1989, cited in Hanna & Bemak, 1997) have called the distinction between

counselling and psychotherapy into question. This questioning is based on the contention that in practice counselling and psychotherapy are indistinguishable, or as Hanna and Bemak (1997) put it, there 'seems to be a distinction without a difference' between the two (p. 201).

The subject position, "registered counsellor", is also constructed in the policy texts in relation to the subject position, "lay counsellor". The terms designating the middle-level psychological professionals ("registered counsellor") and the "lay counsellor", who is located beyond the margins of professional psychology, are distinguished only by the use of the modifiers, "registered" or "lay". It is these modifiers then that make all the difference. The term, "counsellor", is claimed by a variety of professionals and non-professionals. The modifier, "registered", confers a kind of formality onto the term "counsellor". The use of the title, "registered counsellor", means that the middle-level professional role is named and defined primarily in terms of its relation to the Professional Board of Psychology - this "registered counsellor", unlike other persons who call may themselves "counsellors", is "registered" with the Professional Board for Psychology.

Getting "layed": The appearance and disappearance of "lay counsellors" in the policy

In the 1997 and 1999 versions of the professional policy, the category, 'helper' (Professional Board for Psychology & PsySSA, 1997, p. 5) or 'lay counsellor' (Professional Board for Psychology & PsySSA, 1998, p. 7) is incorporated into the practice framework as a "non-professional" practice level. Nevertheless, the policy texts locate these "non-professional" helpers or "lay counsellors" 'outside the professional field of psychology' (Professional Board for Psychology & PsySSA, 1997, p. 3, 1998, p. 4; Professional Board for Psychology, 1999, p. 4). Also, while

located outside of the profession, these "non-professionals" are, according to the policy documents, 'working on the fringes and even within the practice domain of psychology' (Professional Board for Psychology & PsySSA, 1997, p.3, 1998, p. 4; Professional Board for Psychology, 1999, p. 4). In the 1999 policy document it is stated that 'while lay counsellors function outside the framework of professional psychology, they often implicitly function within the ambit and scope of professional psychology' (Professional Board for Psychology, 1999, p. 7). All these statements function to position "non-professional carers" as encroachers, who are trespassing on psychology's rightful jurisdiction.

One possible argument is that the inclusion of the lay counsellor category in the initial 1997 and 1998 versions of the policy denotes an attempt to extend regulation to those viewed as intruding on the professional practice domain of psychology. The extension of regulation could then function to contain any threat that "lay counsellors" may pose to the credibility of "professional counsellors" (see Isemonger, 1994). It is the very inclusion of "lay counsellors" within the practice framework that functions as a strategy to exclude "lay counsellors" from the domain of knowledge, work and practice over which professional psychology attempts to establish exclusive right. However, the proposed extension of regulation over "lay counsellors" is portrayed in the policy texts as an initiative that is desired by "non-professional" workers themselves. It is stated that "lay counsellors" 'are looking for some official recognition and endorsement of practice standards and codes of conduct' (Professional Board for Psychology, 1998, p. 4). Also, the policy promotes this not as a move to *extend regulation* over "lay counsellors", but as a desire by the Professional Board to *acknowledge* the contribution of "lay counsellors". For instance, in the 1999 policy text it is stated that the 'existence of these lay counsellors, their roles and

the important contribution are fully acknowledged' (Professional Board for Psychology, 1999, p. 7). More importantly, in the policy documents the "lay counsellor" category functions as a position against which professionals (in psychology) can juxtapose and interactively position themselves. Therefore, in the 1998 policy document, one finds that the "lay counsellor" is located at the 'basic level', the "specified counsellor" (now called the registered counsellor) at the 'intermediate level', and the psychologist at the 'advanced level' (Professional Board for Psychology & PsySSA, 1998, p.7). In the policy texts, "lay counsellors" are conferred a marginal and subordinate role and status in relation to the psychological professionals (middle- and high-level).

As interesting as the appearance and initial inclusion of "lay counsellors" in the professional policy texts is the eventual disappearance of this "non-professional" category. The disappearance of "lay counsellors" is one significant shift that occurs through the policy process, across different versions of the professional policy. The "lay counsellor" category is included in the practice framework proposed in the 1997 and 1998 drafts. In the 1999 version of the professional policy, the reader is informed that "lay counsellors" 'are formally located outside the parameters of this [policy] document' (Professional Board for Psychology, 1999, p. 7). However, in the 1999 policy document, it is also stated that although formally beyond the boundaries of the professional policy document, 'at various points this document attempts to locate the position of these lay counsellors relative to psychological professionals' (Professional Board for Psychology, 1999, p. 7). In this document the "professional"/"non-professional" or the "within profession"/"outside profession" distinction is particularly emphasised. By 2001, the "lay counsellor" category disappears entirely from the policy texts. The reason for this disappearance is absent.

According to Louw (1992a), professional psychology has a dual task of demarcation. Firstly, it must demarcate its knowledge, skills, and work from that of the lay public. Secondly, it must demarcate its area of work from the work of other professionals. The interesting thing about the "lay counsellor" category is that it straddles the boundary that demarcates the "professional" from the "lay public". The positioning of the "lay counsellor" is neither that of the "professional" nor the "lay public". It could be said that the "lay-counsellor" occupies an in-between positioning in the "professional"-"lay" dichotomy.

Getting "layed": The "lay public"

Another grouping of subjects that are referred in the policy text is the "lay public". 'It is a truism to say that professions need clients' (Louw, 1992a, p. 51). Larson (unpublished, cited in Louw (1990, p. 55) contends that 'professional recognition presupposes the constitution of a lay public'. A profession like clinical psychology draws its clientele from the general public (Louw, 1990). In the policy texts, the "lay public" or "society" is positioned as ignorant. The reader is informed that one of the features of the context in South Africa is 'a poor understanding in our society about what the profession of psychology is about, resulting in its reduction to a narrow conceptualisation of mental health counselling' (Professional Board for Psychology, 2001, p. 3). Here the society is positioned as not even knowing what psychology itself is about. The understandings and the knowledge of the public or society in relation to psychology are characterised as reductionistic and narrow. By positioning "society" as "ignorant" about psychology, it becomes possible to exclude the "lay public" as producers of the new professional policy.

The very process of policy formulation is one that reinforces the professional claim, that is, that professionals know better about the needs and demands of the lay public it serves, than do psychology's clientele or the members of the lay public in general. This professional claim to expert knowledge and skills functions to remove certain issues from the realm of public debate and decision-making (Louw, 1988). Although the professional policy is ostensibly consultative, the process whereby the professional practice policy has been produced excludes public debate.

However, the issue of public ignorance is somewhat more complex in the context of professional psychology in South Africa. The construction of public ignorance does not merely function as a means of removing professional issues from public debate. South African society's "ignorance" about psychology is also a problem for the profession. It is a problem for the profession especially now as it wishes to address new audiences who may not have knowledge in common with the profession and therefore do not recognise professional psychology's "mark of expertise" (Larsons term, cited in Louw, 1992a). If these potential client groups do know about or positively value the theories and practices of the profession, then they will not recognise or seek out psychological expertise. Professionalisation therefore relies on the constitution of a lay public who knows enough in order to recognise, value and seek out "professional expertise", but who also does not know *so* much that the demarcation between professional and lay knowledge collapses. As Louw (1992, p. 52) comments, 'a profession which is suspected of offering little else but dressed-up commonsense does not have a chance of survival'.

The issue around the knowledge, and in particular the demarcation between professional/expert knowledge and the knowledge of the lay public is crucial in understanding the workings of professions and professionalisation. Louw (1990)

makes an interesting argument regarding the knowledge of the "lay public" and the creation of a liberating psychology:

> 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 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 knowledge about her/himself, and uses it to make important decisions about that person (p. 72).

This idea runs counter to the usual "logic" of professions and their strategies of professionalisation.

Professionalisation, "race", class and gender

The creation of a transformed and transformative psychology in South Africa necessarily entails critical scrutiny of the relationship between professional postionings and other social positions based on, for example, race, class, or gender. The power relations and divisions constructed through professionalization often run parallel to other social divisions and relations of inequality (Louw, 1992a). Louw (1992a, pp. 51-52) refers to this as an 'unpalatable truth that professionals have to be alert to'. A further question is necessary - is it simply, as Louw argues, a matter of professional and knowledge power relations running parallel to or accommodating existing social inequalities? Even a cursory observation demonstrates that professionalisation and work are deeply embedded in the socio-political processes of gender, class and "race". Generally, the class or socio-economic status with which

people are associated is determined on the basis of their occupation, the kind of work they do or don't do (i.e. unemployment). Also, work, as an area of social life and practice is a gendered and gendering activity (Richter & Griesel, 1999), with certain types of work or professions being constructed as "women's work" or a "women's profession", or alternatively as a "man's profession".

The "race" is on! One of the major trends across the development of various versions of the professional policy documents is the move from obscure to more direct statements about "race". In the initial professional policy texts (1998 and 1999 documents) there is only an oblique reference to issues of race as illustrated in one of the points made in the policy's outline of the 'the current and future expected context for the practice of psychology':

> The mismatch of the demographic profile of the profession in comparison to the society we serve (Professional Board for Psychology & PsySSA, 1998, p. 5; Professional Board for Psychology, 1999, p. 5).

The obscurity of this statement means that inferential work and certain sorts of assumptions (beyond the text) are required to generate a meaningful reading of the statement (Fairclough, 1992). Presumably this statement refers to the situation in South Africa where the vast majority of psychologist are "white", whereas the vast majority of people who make up South African society are "black".

In later documents distributed by the Professional Board (e.g. Professional Board for Psychology, 2001), references to "race" become much more direct, extensive and explicit:

> The mismatch of the demographic profile of the profession in comparison to the society we serve. Currently >90% of psychologists are white in a country on

> the southern tip of the African continent, and the Board has taken resolutions to enable equity in and access to the profession, which all educational institutions have been informed of (Professional Board for Psychology, 2001, p. 3).
>
> The Board is aware that >90% of the registered psychologists are white (with more than two thirds being female). The Board has carefully considered the decades of advance by whites in psychology and believe that the new practice framework, with its objective entry and equity requirements (the Board resolved in 1999 that by 2004 there should be at least 50/50 black/white entry to the profession and that by 2010 there should be a greater demographic representation in the profession, appropriate to a developing country on the southern tip of the African continent) offers the best equality of opportunity and access to the profession for young black students, desiring to impact on generations of psychosocial uncertainty and insecurity in our country. In the selection of candidates, universities are urged to avoid any perceptions of barriers to entry, and to utilise explicit objective criteria (Professional Board for Psychology, 2001, p. 13).

Several important features characterise these statements. Firstly, these statements focus on "race" in relation to a specific grouping of subjects, that is, psychological professionals (as opposed to the 'public we serve'). Hence, the focus is on access to professional positions, rather than access to services. A second feature is the salience of "race" as opposed to other social classifications and inequalities. Related to the salience of "race" is the third feature - the silence around class and economic issues. Lastly, "equity" is viewed narrowly as

representation and access of, in this instance, "black" people to the profession of psychology and positions within it. Equity is constructed as measurable and quantifiable in terms of numbers and racial demographics – 'by 2004 there should be at least 50/50 black/white entry to the profession' (Professional Board for Psychology, 2001a, p. 13).

The above references to "race" can be described as a manifestation of what Fairclough (1992) terms *democratisation*. By democratisation, Fairclough (1992. p. 202) means 'the removal of inequalities and asymmetries in the discursive and linguistic rights, obligations and prestige of groups of people'. According to Fairclough (1992), democratisation is one of the broad tendencies of change in the societal order of discourse. This tendency, he states, has an international or transnational character. One area of democratisation relates to the 'access to prestigious discourse types, and powerful positions within them' by conventionally subordinated groups, such as "black" people or women (Fairclough, 1992, p. 202). It is this aspect of democratisation (the issue of access to discourse) that has a particular prominence in contemporary South Africa and also in psychology's new professional policy. However, as Fairclough (1992) relates, access to discourse is just one aspect of access to institutions and positions within them. A further question relates to whether these changes in the order of discourse constitute 'a real fracturing of hegemony ... or is hegemony merely taking new forms' (Fairclough, 1992, p. 202).

Richter and Griesel (1999) state that although there has been some increase over time, the number of "black" psychologists is still less than 10% with more or less equal numbers of men and women. However, it could be pointed out that the 'mismatch of demographic profile' between the profession (majority "white") and the society (majority "black") it serves (as stated in the policy texts) is not the issue in

South African Psychology. Instead, the issue is that the vast majority of South African "society" is not being "served" by the profession at all.

There are a variety of ways in which the new professional practice framework may intersect with "race" divisions and inequalities in South Africa. One danger is that the new intra-professional hierarchy (psychologists and registered counsellors) may readily accommodate and reinforce existing "race" and class divisions in South African society. A problematic possibility, according to Rock and Hamber (1994), is that predominantly "black" students will be trained in the BPsych programmes as middle-level psychological practitioners, while mainly "white" students will be trained at or beyond the Masters level as psychologists.

There is also the possibility that implicit divisions based on clientele may emerge. Abbot (1988) states that professions can divide their jurisdictions according to the nature of the client rather than the content of the work. The predominant criterion of client divisions is client status. According to Abbott (1988), client differentiation can occur both between and within professions. For example, Abbott (1988) speaks of the extremely clear client divisions in psychotherapy, where psychiatrists treat the high end of the socio-economic scale, psychologists the middle and social workers the rest. Client-based differentiation is implicit, rather than explicit and is produced and reproduced through hidden mechanisms, such as pricing or the construction of referral networks that screen and assort clients according to social status (Abbott, 1988). Jurisdictional divisions that are based on client status offer a potentially damning critique of the system of inter- and intra-professional relations (Abbott, 1988).

The idea of client differentiation raises important questions at this time when psychology is attempting to expand professional psychological practices and services to hitherto excluded social groupings and to a 'new less powerful audiences in South

African society' (Louw, 1992a, p. 54). Donald (1991, p. 39), for example, argues that a risk that ought to be avoided is the creation of the professional role of the "middle-level psychologist" to meet the needs of the "black community" – 'another racially defined and "second-best" alternative'.

The dilemmas relating to the ways in which professionalisation intersects with "race" inequalities apply also to social divisions based on class. Furthermore, in South Africa class and race inequalities are intertwined in ways that are more complex than a simple overlap. As important as the salience of "race" in the policy documents is the silence around issues of class, economy and poverty or the ways in which racial and economic issues are interrelated. This concurs with Terre Blanche's (2003) argument that psychology's predominent response to poverty has been silence and that this failure to engage with, act upon or even notice poverty and economic inequalities in South Africa is itself a poverty of ideas and engagement.

Gender. Gender is the only other category of social difference that is mentioned in the new professional practice framework. However, the policy's reference to gender is rather scant. All that is said about gender is there has been a reduction in "female" representation on the Board and that that two thirds of registered psychologist are "female" (this latter comment is placed in brackets). Also, unlike the statements on "race", no goals are set with regard to gender equity in professional psychology.

However, the analysis of gender in psychology in South Africa provides important insights into the complex ways in which professionalisation intersects with different forms of social stratification (such as, gender, "race", class). This complexity can be illustrated by looking at statistical data on gender in professional psychology in South Africa.

Data from the early 1980s reflects the numeric dominance of men in the discipline and profession of psychology. In Ebershon's (1983, cited in Louw, 1992b) survey 64% of his sample of registered psychologists in South Africa were men and 36% were women. In 1982, men outnumbered women in the number of masters degrees awarded by a ratio of about 3:2 (Louw, 1992b). A shift occurred in 1984 when for the first time women (55%) outnumbered men (45%) (Louw, 1992b). Richter and Griesel (1999) point out that over the last two decades there has been a phenomenal increase of women in undergraduate, postgraduate and professional psychology in South Africa.

This change in the gender ratio has been referred to as the "feminisation" of psychology (Ostertag & McNamara, 1991). This phenomenon is not unique to South Africa. A similar trend is discernible from statistical data for psychology in the United States (Ostertag & McNamara, 1991). More recent South African data indicate that between 1995 and 1996, 70% of all newly registered psychologist were women (Richter & Griesel, 1999). This steady increase in the percentage of women psychologists, which began in the late 1980s, resulted in there being equal numbers of male and female psychologists (2130 and 2125) on the professional register by the end of 1996.

Richter and Griesel's (1999) more incisive examination of statistical data shows that this equivalence belies less visible gendered differentiations and inequalities. For example, despite equal numbers of women and men in professional psychology in general, specific registration categories or specialisations in the profession do not reflect equivalent numbers of men and women. Richter and Griesel's (1999) data show that women are numerically dominant in the counselling, clinical and to a lesser extent the research category, while men outnumber women in the industrial

psychology category. The most extreme difference was in the counselling psychology category with 80% of all registered counselling psychologist being women. Richter & Griesel (1999) noted several other gendered trends in their study. Women were more likely than men to work in a part-time practice, and within the private rather than public sector (This may be due to attempts to balance professional work with domestic and family responsibilities). Women were also more likely to work with individuals, rather than with collectives, organisations, families and groups. In addition, women were less likely than men to obtain PhDs and to publish. The reported monthly income of women clinical and counselling psychologists was significantly less than that of their male counterparts (Richter & Griesel, 1999).

According to the 2003 registration statistics provided by the HPCSA, women psychologists outnumber men in the clinical (63%), counselling (64%), and educational categories, but not in the industrial psychology category (43%) (HPCSA, 2003). Overall, in 2003, women constitute 61% of registered psychologists (the total of psychologists registered in the clinical, counselling, educational and industrial categories) (HPCSA, 2003). This data as well as the data in Richter and Griesel's (1999) study illustrate that gender in professional psychology in South Africa has followed an entirely different trend from that of "race", despite the subordinate social positionings of both "black" people and women in South African society. This different gendered trend may reflect that access to the profession is mediated not only by social power relations, but also, in this case, by the gendering of certain domains of professionalised work. Secondly, the gender statistics from Richter and Griesel's (1999) study demonstrates that equity is not a simple matter of increasing the number of "black" or women professionals in psychology. In addition, it is necessary to consider the possibility that increasing numbers of women in a profession may result

in the profession's devaluation, to lower incomes and decreased professional status and prestige (Richter & Griesel, 1999). If this is the case, the relationship and intersections between professional power relations and other social relations based on gender, "race", or class have to be viewed as a dialectal dynamic.

In view of this dialectical interaction, the idea that an increase in the number of women or "black" people in professional psychology will automatically achieve "equity" appears grossly simplistic. Mere numerical superiority of subordinated social grouping will not ensure equitable power relations; nor does it ensure the transformation of the discipline or profession, in terms of its knowledge, epistemology (Richter & Griesel, 1999), the kinds of work it engages in, and the groupings of people it tends to serve.

CONCLUDING COMMENTS

This paper views the formulation of psychology's new professional policy as a discursive practice, and as a distinct and important historical moment in the professionalisation of psychology in South Africa. The analysis of the policy documents and texts produced between 1997 and 2003, illustrates that the construction of the new professional policy has not been a static or even cumulative process. There have been several significant shifts in the policy across time. Pertinent policy proposals have been revoked, deferred, or else have simply disappeared. The most conspicuous policy changes include the indefinite deferment of the professional doctorate for qualification as a psychologist, the withdrawal of independent practice from the jurisdiction of registered counsellors, and the disappearance of "lay counsellors" from the practice framework. Another recent and rather vaguely stated policy shift is that registered counsellors would no longer register in a specific

practice field (for example, trauma counselling, HIV/AIDS counselling), but would rather be registered as generalists (Professional Board for Psychology, 2003b). One of the major proposals advanced by the new professional policy is the introduction of a 4-year professionally-oriented BPsych degree along with a middle-level professional role, viz. registered counsellor. Therefore, the professional policy bring into being a new internal stratification within the profession, namely the hierarchical division between psychologists and registered counsellors. The direct creation of a subordinate professional grouping (viz. registered counselor) within professional psychology entails what Abbott (1998) refers to as one of the most common strategies used by professions to settle jurisdictional claims and conflicts.

Client differentiation is another more implicit form of jurisdictional division and settlement that could emerge in the relation between psychologists and registered counsellors. There is a strong possibility that psychologists and registered counsellors may divide their jurisdictions on the basis of client status, thereby reinforcing the "race" and class inequalities that have characterised service provision in South Africa. The professional policy reinforces the situation where psychologists are working mainly in private practice, while registered counsellors are assigned to work within community and public practice. Therefore, psychology's intra-professional division is superimposed on the private-public fragmentation of mental health services and the "race" and class inequalities that intersect with this private-public service divide.

In addition to internal stratification within professional psychology, professionalisation and in particular, the professional policy texts also entail the construction of relations between psychological professionals and "lay" groupings positioned outside the margins of the profession. A prominent focus in the

professional policy texts is the positioning of subjects along the "professional"-"lay" binary. A curious and presumptuous inclusion in the earlier versions of the professional policy is the category of "lay counsellor" within psychology's practice framework. It could be argued that the profession of psychology has no more claim to the task, counselling, nor the category, "lay counsellor" than do any of the other professionals (for example, psychiatrists, social workers, ministers/priests/ pastors) who claim "counselling" as within their scope of practice. The "lay counsellor" category is an ambiguous category, which straddles the boundary demarcating the "professional" from the "lay public". Professionalisation also presumes the constitution of a "lay public" against which it asserts its expert position and from which it draws its clientele. Knowledge is central in the construction of and demarcation between professional and laypersons. In the professional policy texts the "lay public"/"society" is positioned as ignorant. While the construction and recognition of professional expertise depends on juxtaposing the profession's expert knowledge against the "ignorance" of the "lay public, it also relies on this "ignorance" not being total. The "lay public" must *know* enough to recognise and seek out the profession's expertise and *know* how to appropriately present their problem for professional intervention (Abbott, 1988). Louw's (1990) argument that professional psychology abandon the strategy of professing to "know better" than their clients poses a significant challenge to the profession and its strategies of professionalisation. This is a challenge that needs to be seriously reflected upon and taken up if professional psychology is committed to transforming itself.

Professionalisation, and in this case the creation of a new professional framework for psychology, entails the construction and positioning of subjects within specific relations of power. The divisions and knowledge/power relations constructed through

the forces of professionalisation interact with other social divisions and power relations, based on "race", class, and gender. The professional policy itself moves from an oblique to more explicit reference to "race". However, the salience of "race" in the professional policy is limited to concerns about the access of subordinated racially defined groupings to professional positions within psychology. Issues related to the accessibility of subordinated grouping to psychological services are absent in the policy texts. This is accompanied by a total silence around class and economic issues as well as a cursory and vague mention of issues of gender. Moreover, equity in terms of "race" is viewed narrowly as primarily an issue of increasing the numbers of "black" people who gain access and entry to professional positions within psychology. There appears to be no concern about the possible proclivity that the subordinate-superordinate intra-professional relation may conform to the existing "race" inequalities in South Africa, where mainly "black" students may be trained as registered counsellors and predominantly "white" students may be trained as psychologists. An exploration and analysis of statistical trends relating to gender in professional psychology in South Africa offers valuable insights about social transformation and equity within the profession in South Africa. Despite a phenomenal increase of the number of women psychologists since the late 1980s resulting in equal numbers of women and men psychologists, specific gendered differentiations and inequalities within psychology persist. For instance, women outnumber men in the counselling and clinical psychology categories, while men are numerically dominant in the industrial psychology registration category. Also, women are less likely to obtain PhDs or to publish and the monthly income of women clinical and counselling psychologists is significantly less than their male counterparts (Richter & Griesel, 1999). In addition, the recruitment of persons of

lower social status (whether on the basis of "race", class or gender) within a profession may result in degradation and devaluation of the profession in terms of income, status and prestige. Therefore, equity is not a simple matter of increasing the numbers and representation of subordinated social groups.

A crucial feature in the discourse of transformation that manifests in the professional policy texts is the relationship between the profession and its context. However, in the policy texts, psychology is positioned as passive and reactive in this relationship, as the transformed rather than the transformative.

Professions and professionalisation provide one often under-scrutinised avenue in the analysis and elaboration of social positioning and power relations. In initiating and undertaking this study, my hope has been to urge a critical and interrogative stance to psychology's new professional policy. An important focus in this paper is the subject positioning at work in the professional policy texts. Throughout life (and this includes 'professional' life) we, as human subjects, negotiate our positioning within a spectrum of discourses that provide a sense of self, meaning and purpose to human action (Levett, 1989). Like Fairclough (1992), I wish to obviate the insistence that the subject is merely an effect of discourses, which excludes social agency in a meaningful sense. Fairclough (1992) argues that the relationship between discourse and subjectivity is a dialectical one. Social subjects are shaped by discursive practices, but are also still capable of reshaping these practices. These ideas underpin a central purpose of this article. My hope is that the analysis presented in this paper (together with other critical works) might serve as an impetus towards self-reflexivity amongst professionals, academics, teachers, trainers and students in the field of psychology, regarding the way they are positioned, their performance and resistance of these professional and social positions.

One of the problems with the formulation of the new professional policy is that the policy documents are 'written as if the argument is over' (Fairclough, 2001, p. 257). The purpose of this research then is to elicit dialogue and debate around the current changes in professional psychology in South Africa and resist the closure enforced by the policy documents. It is necessary to forge a space for the articulation of critical and resistant argumentation around the new professional policy. This article should therefore not be viewed as the final word on South African psychology's new professional policy.

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Table 1 Education and training model for South African psychology, prior to the new professional policy.

<table>
<tr><th>Academic route</th><th>Professional route</th></tr>
<tr><td>Research-based Ph.D</td><td rowspan="2">"Psychologist"
Professional Masters: Coursework + Internship + Research</td></tr>
<tr><td>Masters by thesis</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Honours degree
(psychometrist)</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Bachelors degree majoring in psychology
(psychotechnician)</td></tr>
</table>

Note. This table has been constructed using Gilbert's (2000) description of psychology's education and training model.

Table 2 The restructured education and training model for South African psychology, which has been proposed in the new professional policy.

<table>
<tr><th>Academic route</th><th>Professional route</th></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Research-based PhD</td><td>Post-doctoral specialisation</td></tr>
<tr><td>"Psychologist"
Professional Doctorate (7 yr.)
2 yr. Coursework + 1 yr. Internship + research
In 2003 the professional doctorate is deferred indefinitely.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Masters degree</td><td>"Psychologist"
Professional Masters Degree
In 2003, it is stated that the existing Masters programmes would continue as the requisite qualification for registration as a psychologist</td></tr>
<tr><td>Honours degree</td><td rowspan="2">"Registered Counsellor"
Bpsych (4 yr.)
720 hours of practicum (6-12 months)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Bachelors degree</td></tr>
</table>

Note. This table was constructed from new professional policy documents (Professional Board for Psychology, 1999; 2001; 2003).

Table 3 "Professional" and "non-professional" roles and categories across four versions of psychology's new professional policy.

Before New professional policy	DEVELOPMENT OF PROFESSIONAL POLICY DOCUMENTS			
	Draft policy 1997	Proposed policy 1998	Professional Policy 1999	Professional Policy 2001 – 2003
3 levels of professional registration	3 levels of helping/caring	3 practice levels	2 professional levels	2 levels professional of registration
1) Psychologist 2) Psychometrist 3) Psychotechnician	1) Psychologist 2) Psychological Counsellor 3) Helper	1) Psychologist 2) Specified Counsellor 3) Lay Counsellor	1) Psychologist 2) Psychological Counsellor	1) Psychologist 2) Registered Counsellor

Note. This table was constructed from new professional policy documents (Professional Board for Psychology, 1997; 1998; 1999; 2001; 2003).