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Article

Community psychology in South Africa: origins, developments, and manifestations

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Abstract

This article represents a South African contribution to the growing international body of knowledge on histories of community psychology. We trace the early antecedents of social-community psychology interventions and describe the social forces and academic influences that provided the impetus for the emergence and development of community psychology in South Africa. We then draw on various sources, including undocumented small histories of organized groups and individuals, to present on account of the emergence, development, and focus of community psychology in South Africa. We also very briefly describe community-focused work in other selected African countries. In the penultimate section, we take a critical look at the notions of "community" embedded in community psychology practice in South Africa, and then by way of conclusion, we describe the trajectory of community psychology and speculate about its future in the country.

Keywords

Community psychology, historical developments, South Africa

Despite the increasing levels of plurality and diversity in the global manifestations of community psychology theory and practice, the African scholarly and academic voice remains marginal within international knowledge creation agencies and in publications that enjoy a global research reputation (Seedat & MacKenzie, 2008; Seedat, MacKenzie, & Stevens, 2004). It would be naïve to suggest that the gap is simply a mark of malicious intent or inadvertent omission on the part of the discipline's leadership, reviewers, and editors to exclude African and other-than-White voices from such publications and knowledge production. A more nuanced reading would locate and

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examine such gaps within the controlling structure of colonialism and contemporary dominance of North American and European political, economic, and cultural systems and discourses on knowledge creation. Psychology, a progeny of western ethno-science, was central to colonizing structures and discourses, which sought to centre Euro-American self-knowledge and science and marginalize other-than-western knowledge systems (Bulhan, 1985; Mudimbe, 1988).

The structure, form, and organization of the contemporary global knowledge economy, which are dominated by the economic, ideological, and cultural resources and influences of North America and Western Europe in particular, continue to produce the structural conditions and influences for the ongoing marginalization of other-than-Western voices in global scholarship (see Fryer, 2008), as evident earlier under colonialism and apartheid. Following the link between the history of psychology and racist ideology, various authors have elucidated psychology's role in the (re)production of racism in society and the discipline itself. The structure, organization, and functioning of psychology has often mirrored dominant exclusionary and discriminatory sociopolitical practices (Bulhan, 1985; Cooper, Nicholas, Seedat, & Statman, 1990). For example, in South Africa, the patterns of research and authorship on publications were historically racialized and continue to be racialized by virtue of the persistent exclusions of apartheid and its legacy (Seedat, 1993, 1998). Such racialized patterns are reflective of South African psychology privileging research and scholarship that supported the interest of the dominant White minority and the exclusionary status quo (Duncan, Seedat, de la Rey, van Niekerk, & Gobodo-Madikizela, 1999). The racialized history of South African psychology is not an anomaly. Rather, the history of South Africa provides an illuminating illustration of how globally psychological discourse and practices were deployed for purposes of oppressive social engineering.

So, to address the gap, we present a specific reading of the origins and development of community psychology and the construction of "community" in community psychology in South Africa, as an attempt to redress South African psychology's racially skewed systems of knowledge production, research, and service provision, and register an Africa-centered voice, located in South Africa, in the international community psychology literature. We review the social forces and national developments in psychology that spawned and informed the emergence, and evolution of contemporary community psychology based on the principles of inclusivity, equity, and social justice in South Africa.

For this purpose, we draw on the following methods and resources: the "small histories" (Kelly & Chang, 2008) of organized social actors and groups, the undocumented work of colleagues, and published and gray literature and nationally focused publications arising from projects dealing with the histories of different branches of psychology in South Africa (Foster, 2008; Foxcroft & Davies, 2008; Louw, 1986a, 1986b; Seedat, 1993, 1998; van Ommen & Painter, 2008). These projects include recent historiographic accounts of community psychology (Seedat et al., 2004; Yen, 2007, 2008) that have tended to rely mainly on published literature. As part of our critical reflections, we describe some of our own individual and collective professional work as specific manifestations of and contributions to the development of community psychology in South Africa. We have collectively worked as community psychologists for approximately 52 years. We place the accent on the contributions of Black[1] psychologists to the development of community psychology in South Africa.

Struggle, crisis, and origins of community psychology in South Africa

South African psychology has been characterized by many large-scale social and community applications that have addressed social, economic, and industrial problems encountered by the minority

White population. Such applications have helped psychology earn formalization and professionalization, and they have rationalized oppressive social engineering and exclusionary policy development, including the making and preservation of privileged racial enclaves (Louw, 1986b; Nicholas & Cooper, 1990; van Ommen & Painter, 2008). For instance, the First Carnegie Commission Study (Carnegie Commission Report, 1932) represents one of the earliest illustrations of a large-scale social-community intervention for the alleviation of poverty facing a dominant political minority (Louw, 1986a, 1986b). The Carnegie Study was informed by racially motivated concern about the emergence of class distinctions in the White Afrikaner social order. Psychologists, instrumental in the Carnegie study, reasoned that class distinctions were eroding a sense of community among Whites, which, in turn, was leading to greater social contact between poor Whites and Africans, especially as part of emergent working-class solidarity (Carnegie Commission Report, 1932; Carton, 1990; Louw, 1986b; Seedat, 1993).

After such racially motivated anxiety and the dominant discourse that projected Blacks as inferior, threats, and competitors, the psychological component of the Carnegie Study (Carnegie Commission Report, 1932) endorsed the government's policy of workplace and social segregation. Thus, the report recommended job reservation and training to ensure certain unskilled work for Whites and to minimize the effects of competition from Blacks. As such, the Carnegie Study and its explanations for poverty and associated recommendations embodied an attempt at maintaining privilege and forging community among Whites in the face of growing class distinctions among White Afrikaners and inter-racial working-class contact and solidarity (Appel, 1989; Carnegie Commission Report, 1932; Louw, 1986b; Seedat, 1993; Seedat & MacKenzie, 2008).

We may view such large-scale initiatives as the conservative and exclusionary antecedents of community psychology in South Africa. However, community psychology, as we know it today and as it resonates with the broad values of social justice, equity, human rights, and freedom, arose more recently within the struggle against apartheid racism and socioeconomic exploitation. In the wake of increasing state repression, the antiapartheid struggle, which underwent intensification in the late 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, was marked by labor strikes, student revolts against apartheid education, and civil disobedience. Through the internationalization of the antiapartheid movement, the focus tended to be on delegitimizing the political, economic, ideological, and moral authority of the apartheid state and mobilizing, organizing, and strengthening mass national action and international solidarity to dislodge apartheid authority and structures. There were also low-profile and quiet diplomatic efforts that encouraged dialogue between the apartheid government and some sections of the antiapartheid movement and people-to-people contact across South Africa's racially polarized divide (Makhanya, 2010; Mayekiso, Bond, & King, 1996).

Within this politically charged context and campaign for national democracy, psychology in South Africa experienced its own internal crisis and struggle for democratization that provided the major impetus for the emergence of pluralistic forms of community psychology in the country. The crisis was triggered in part by the following reasons: a growing recognition of South African psychology's complicity with colonialism, oppressive ideological discourse, and practices (Foster, 2008); critiques of the "appro-priateness" of North American community psychology (Berger & Lazarus, 1987; A.R.L. Dawes, 1986; Mann, 1978; Seedat, Cloete, & Shochet, 1988); the "relevance" of clinical and counseling modalities that privileged individualism (Anonymous, 1986; A. Dawes, 1985); questions about the class, patriarchal, elitist, and ethnocentric basis of psychology (Berger & Lazarus, 1987; Cooper et al., 1990; A. Dawes, 1985; Fullagar, 1984; Nzimande, 1984); and debates about the exclusion of Blacks and women in knowledge production and organized psychology (Anonymous, 1986; Cooper et al., 1990; A. Dawes, 1985; Hayes, 1984; Lazarus, 1988; Nicholas & Cooper, 1990; Seedat, 1993; Seedat & Nell, 1990).

Although the multiple articulations of community psychology, which were informed by such critical reflections, were underpinned by conservative, liberal, or radical ideals (see van Ommen & Painter, 2008), it must be recognized that South African community psychology developed in a context similar to that of community psychology in Latin America. In Latin America, academic influences, which arose from Paulo Freire's writings and critical sociology, and the focus on political liberation and transformation of unequal societies created the social context for the emergence of community psychology (Fryer, 2008; Montero, 2008).

The community-centered works of organizations, like the South African Students Organization (SASO) and the Theatre Council of Natal (TECON), formed in 1969, and the People's Experimental Theatre and Black Community Programmes (BCP), established in the early 1970s, are of particular salience here in that such works represented the precursor to the formalized radical forms of community psychology in South Africa. These organizations and programs tended to function under the broad auspices of the Black Peoples Convention (BPC), which was initiated in late 1971, and represented the tenets of Black Consciousness Movement that used the term "Black" to assert a liberatory and assertive mental attitude, transcending the terms racial reference that focused exclusively on pigmentation (Mngxitama, Alexander, & Gibson, 2008). Members of SASO, registered as medical students at the University of Natal's Black Section, rendered primary health-care services to unserved and marginal communities in the localities surrounding the University. TECON and the People's Experimental Theatre adopted the performing arts, including written and oral traditions, as a vehicle of community expression, identity, and solidarity. The public health, literacy, community development, and performing arts activities of SASO and the other BPC-aligned groups were underpinned by a liberatory drive for community self-empowerment, identity, and solidarity in social mobilization and a rejection of apartheid's racialized norms, social structures, and segregationist ideals. By placing the accent on psychological liberation and community assertiveness, the BCP-aligned organizations inserted the psychological dimension into the political sphere (see Hook, 2005), thereby seeking to "rekindle a lost sense of togetherness in common activity and community development, starting with their reality and reshaping it to what should and could be" (Personal Communication, Saths Cooper, 7 April 2010).

Social actor and agency contributions

The work of several groups in South Africa, such as the Psychology and Apartheid Group (PAG) and the Organization for Appropriate Social Services in South Africa (OASSSA), and university-affiliated agencies such as the Institute for Social and Health Sciences (ISHS) and the National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI) initiative, contributed instrumentally to the making of community psychology in South Africa. The Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSVR), the Agape Healing Community (Lifschitz & Oosthuizen, 2001), the Malmesbury Project, and the Early Childhood Development Programme of the University of Western Cape's Psychology Resource Centre (Duncan & Van Niekerk, 2001) are among the many initiatives that have served unenfranchised communities, thereby contributing to the formalization and development of community psychology in South Africa. Many of these contributions are detailed elsewhere (see Seedat, Duncan, & Lazarus, 2001). Below, we take a closer look at the work of the two authors and the contributions of the agencies and initiatives to which they are affiliated.

The PAG, formed in the mid-1980s by a group of Black psychologists (Seedat, 1993; Yen, 2007, 2008), was instrumental in leading an academic boycott of organized psychology, which, through its association with the Psychological Association of South Africa (PASA), failed to publicly show its abhorrence of apartheid, which produced deleterious consequences for the population's mental and psychological well-being. The PAG assumed the lead, alongside OASSSA, in organizing an

inclusive democratically structured professional association that was launched in 1994 as the Psychological Society of South Africa (PsySSA). The PAG arranged two conferences in 1989 and 1990 on psychology and apartheid and produced several publications (Nicholas, 1991; Nicholas & Cooper, 1990). These conferences, publications, and related studies brought a Black voice to the emergent field of community psychology and critical psychology more broadly, questioned the dominance of conventional positivist-empiricist logic of research in psychology, and highlighted the failure of psychology to consider the deleterious consequences of apartheid exploitation on the majority population's well-being (Cooper et al., 1990; Letlaka-Rennert, 1990; Nicholas & Cooper, 1990; Seedat, 1993). In this sense, the emergence of community psychology was intertwined with the assertion of both critical and Black voices in South African psychology generally. These voices embodied a call to locate community psychology within the larger liberatory psychology project. So, inspired by the tenets of critical psychology and the writings of Biko (1998), Fanon, (1967a, 1967b, 1968), and Bulhan (1985) on the psychology of oppression, as well as Cabral (1979), Shariati (1974), and other anticolonial scholars, members of the PAG exposed the silences within psychology (Cooper, 1990), and called for centralizing Blacks and women into the processes of knowledge production and the organization of the profession. This included championing the virtues of multiple ways of knowing and understanding social phenomena (Seedat, 1993).

The other significant contributor to the emergence and development of community psychology, OASSSA, was established in 1983 and comprised mainly White psychologists and other categories of mental health workers. OASSSA offered psychological support to victims of apartheid violence, developed models to train lay counselors and educators responding to apartheid violence, organized regular seminars, discussion groups, and conferences, and mobilized mental health workers nationally to help promote the resilience and survival skills of vulnerable groups in the forefront of the struggle against apartheid (Skinner, Flisher, Lazarus, & Louw, 1991; S. Swartz & Swartz, 1986; Turton, 1986; Vogelman, 1986, 1987; Yen, 2007, 2008).

The second author's contributions are exemplified in her work within OASSSA, as well as her central role in the NEPI, which concentrated on the development of education policy options for the "new" South Africa. NEPI, which commenced its work in 1991, involved community psychology activists and various other relevant role players. A Support Services group, 1 of 11 such research groups, was part of the overall policy development process in the pre-1994 period. This group incorporated school health, specialized education, and guidance and counseling in its investigation. In 1993, a Western Cape[2] Education Support Services Policy Research Forum was established for the specific purpose of focusing on policy research and development relating to education support services (school health, school social work, specialized education, guidance and counseling, and other psychological services). This forum included members from the various educational psychology departments that housed community psychologists, including the second author and others in the three regional universities: Cape Town, Stellenbosch, and Western Cape, and members from other research institutions and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs). The main area of its work during 1993 and 1994 was to prepare specific policy position papers relating to education support services as a whole (Donald & Lazarus, 1995) and particular areas of specialization (De Jong et al., 1994).

In addition to the focusing on generating policy options for an anticipated new South Africa, rendering services to under-served communities and politically vulnerable groups (Eagle & Pillay, 1989; Seedat, 2009; Seedat & Nell, 1990; S. Swartz & Swartz, 1986; Turton, 1986), and reorganizing the profession, a few community psychologists participated in efforts intended to encourage people-to-people dialogue in a racially polarized society. Community-minded psychologists such as Saths Cooper, Thandeka Mgoduso, Kedibone Letlaka-Rennert, and the first author (M.S.), who were among a core of Black psychology postgraduates and members of the

PAG in the mid-1980s, participated in groups such as one facilitated by Carl Rogers and his colleague Ruth Sandford in 1985.

In resonance with other low-profile diplomatic efforts to encourage inter-racial contact, dialogue, and negotiation as vehicles of peace and political resolution, 40 South Africans representing various ideological positions and sectors of society, including business and faith communities, participated in an encounter group exercise over 4 days. The forum brought victims and beneficiaries of apartheid together under politically charged conditions that were marked by an ongoing state of emergency, enforced by the government, across the country's racial, class, and political divide.

Throughout the 4 days, the Black participants, including the Black psychologists, expressed hesitancy and reservation and wondered whether the exercise was intended to dilute the antiapartheid movement's demands for the dissolution of apartheid and the establishment of unitary democracy in the country. On the one hand, the group discussions elicited anger, suspicion, and feelings of hurt and profound loss among the Black participants. On the other hand, the White participants, representing conservative and liberal opinions, demonstrated defensiveness, guilt, and fear. The group offered a cathartic space for the expression of a range of emotions and the Black psychologists' participation contributed toward a deeper reflection of the human tragedy that apartheid created and the conditions for possible further people-to-people dialogue. This forum represented an example of community psychologists engaging directly in sociopolitical processes, and exploring ways of creating contexts and social readiness for negotiation, conflict resolution, and peace making. This kind of engagement in transformative sociopolitical processes, which highlights the complex oppressed-oppressor dynamic and issues in peace making, was later developed through the participation of other mental health workers in the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), established in 1995 (Hamber, 2009).

Transformation, democracy, and community psychology

April 1994, marking South Africa's first democratic elections, ushered in tremendous changes in the country's sociopolitical landscape, presenting new opportunities and challenges for community psychology's growth and further formalization. The priorities of the newly founded democratic government and the constitution envisioned a nonsexist and nonracist African modernity that respected cultural diversity and followed the ideals of social justice, internationally recognized standards of human rights, and the tenets of Ubuntu—African humanism (Posel, 2002; T. Swartz, 2007). South Africa's Bill of Rights encoded a "better life for all" (Constitution of South Africa, 1996).

Several mechanisms and instruments were adopted by the government to rebuild a polarized society, cultivate citizenship, and address the legacies of colonialism and apartheid. One such instrument was the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), which centered the state in the country's development path but was later replaced by Growth Employment and Redistribution (GEAR), a market-oriented development policy that upheld the supposed virtues of reducing trade barriers, privatization, and controlled social spending as part of the process of integration into the global market economy (Miraftab, 2006; T. Swartz, 2007). Another key mechanism was the TRC, which, as the name suggests, was tasked "to promote national unity and reconciliation" (TRC Act No. 34, 1995). In addition, the Moral Regeneration Movement (MRM) was initiated to restore morality that was thought to have been compromised by the colonial and apartheid systems and threatened by endemic violence, corruption, and crime in the new democratic dispensation (T. Swartz, 2007). Initiatives like the Race and Values in Education (RVE) were designed to develop common values to underpin a new school curriculum and an envisaged citizenship education program. Various institutions, like the South African Human Rights Commission, the Gender

Commission, and the Independent Complaints Directorate, were mandated to foster a culture of human rights, gender equality, and transparency in the criminal justice system, respectively (T. Swartz, 2007; Waghid, 2004).

Inspired by the ideals of reconstruction and development, and the urgencies of the national democratic project, community psychologists, like many of their other social science and health promotion counterparts, began to align their research, scholarship, service-delivery work, and broader activism in support of government initiatives and democratic development. The strategy of opposition and resistance to apartheid was now replaced with the principles and ideas of intersectorial collaboration, civil society-government partnerships, and cooperation. So, building on earlier work, community psychologists began developing distinctive features and definitions that placed the accent on advocacy, lobbying, policy development, and provision of culturally appropriate mental health and psychological services for under-served catchment communities, including those who delivered testimonies to the TRC (Seedat et al., 2001). Community psychology's distinctiveness was also characterized by its promotion of critical theories and research for explaining the determinants of priority psychosocial difficulties faced by the population, a focus on critical scholarship and paradigm development, and curricula reform and restructuring within tertiary institutions. In the post-1994 period, community psychology echoed critical psychology's emphasis on the participation of Blacks and women in the processes of knowledge production (Berger & Lazarus, 1987; Lazarus & Seedat, 1995; Seedat, 1993; Seedat et al., 2001, 2004).

At the level of influencing policy, which was an important thrust during the mid-1990s in all areas of South African life, community psychologists continued to contribute to the development of health, as well as mental health and education policies, particularly in the area of education support services (De Jong et al., 1994; Donald & Lazarus, 1995). Community psychologists worked within groups that were involved in the development of regional forums for mental health, education and training, and health promotion, which reflected a general trend toward coordination of services and programs (Reconstruction and Development Programme, 1994). These forums were very active in national and provincial health and education strategic management teams, offering advice to the Ministers of Health and Education, respectively. Continuing her earlier work, the second author used the social policy arena as a space for community psychology practice. She chaired the National Commission on Special Needs in Education and Training (NCSNET) and the National Committee for Education Support Services (NCESS), which was convened by the Minister of Education (Department of Education, 1997; Lazarus, 2001). Drawing on the lessons learnt from her engagements in these commissions, Lazarus (2001) argued that in young democracies like South Africa, community psychologists can make meaningful contributions toward informing and monitoring new social policy developments and debates in social policy. Lazarus (2001) suggests that community psychologists can use their privileged positions to ensure that social policy development remains people-centered without compromising their critical and reflexive roles (Lazarus, 2001; Nell, 1996).

The TRC offered yet another space for expressions of community psychology and associated reflexive theorizing on a range of issues. The TRC process was viewed as an opportunity for victims of high-profile human rights violations to tell their stories publicly, which the commission believed would help promote their well-being. Several writers have suggested that the processes of giving testimony and recovering memory intended to engender healing and reconciliation at the collective level may be counter-intuitive to individual healing. When the South African TRC placed a strong emphasis on forgiveness and reconciliation at a societal level, it tended to restrict individual victims' need to grieve and make meaning of personal losses (Hamber, 2009; L. Swartz & Drennan, 2000). These insights have spawned approaches for offering support to victims of political trauma participating in truth recovery processes. For instance, Hamber, in his

context-driven model of conceptualizing support for victims of politically engendered trauma, places the accent on "ambivalence," referring to the complexities of coming to terms with the past and "fixing" that which cannot be undone, as well as conditional factors such as truth, justice, reparations, and social action as integral to the processes of individual healing. In this respect, drawing on the seminal ideas of Martin-Baro (1996), Landau and Saul (2004), and Montero (2008), Hamber calls on psychology to engage in transdisciplinary and inter-sectorial work, adopt an egalitarian participatory praxis, and offer critical commentary about the sociostructural, economic, and individual barriers to psychological recovery from postpolitical trauma and social transformation. Although such proposals are in many senses a rearticulation of earlier writings (e.g., A.R.L. Dawes, 1986; Lazarus, 1985; Seedat, 1993), they serve to rekindle debate about the boundaries, praxis, and methodology of community psychology and critical psychology more broadly.

Another key element of community psychology in South Africa in the post-1994 era has been the development of publications in the form of books, readers, and journal articles (see A. Dawes & Donald, 1994; Duncan, Bowman, Naidoo, Pillay, & Roos, 2007; Franchi & Duncan, 2003; Seedat et al., 2001). Aside from serving as sources of teaching materials and curricula, these books have aimed to influence the training of psychologists for the South African context, advance theoretical developments in the discipline, and redress the gendered and racially distorted system of knowledge production through the inclusion of women and Black academics as writers. These texts also reflect an example of pluralism in theory, method, and social focus. Theoretical writings articulate Marxist (Hamber, Masilela, & Terre Blanche, 2001), systems thinking (Lifschitz & Oosthuizen, 2001), and public health (Butchart & Kruger, 2001) approaches to community psychology.

The literature also reveals post-1994 South African psychosocial particularities. These place the accent on violence (Cock, 2001; T. Swartz, 2007), community policing (Nell, 2001), poverty (Mayekiso & Tshemese, 2007), HIV and AIDS (van der Walt, Bowman, Frank, & Langa, 2007), and teenage motherhood (Parekh & De la Rey, 1997). Those concerned with community development and capacitation have generated research on indigenous forms of learning (Diale & Fritz, 2007), intervention development, and evaluation and community feedback mechanisms (Campbell & Williams, 1998; Lindegger & Wood, 1995; Macleod, Masilela, & Malomane, 1998). Cognizant of South Africa's sociopolitical commitment to create a nonracial and nonsexist South Africa society, community psychologists—continuing the work of the earlier period—have also focused on gender and psychology (Finchilescu, 1995; Ratele, 2008b; Shefer, 2001), "race" and relevance (Durrheim & Mokeki, 1997), and masculinities (Ratele, 2008a, 2008b).

In the spirit of South Africa's role in African Renaissance, peace and reconciliation, and as part of a larger effort to enhance and validate community psychology's contributions to African development (Lazarus et al., 2006), a few South African community psychologists have also ventured into collaborative peace-building and postconflict trauma and safety promotion work across the continent. These collaborative initiatives have helped South African community psychology achieve an Africa-centeredness beyond the country's national boundaries. For instance, the ISHS has hosted regional African Safe Community conferences and a range of training courses and participated in other research initiatives to help prioritize violence and injuries, and strengthen safety promotion infrastructure on the continent. Umesh Bawa, Kamal Kamaloodien, and Shahnaaz Suffla, Cape Town-based Black community psychologists, initiated the Memory and Healing Project in Ruwanda, after a request from the South African Ambassador to that country (Personal Communication, Umesh Bawa, 22 February 2010). As the name suggests, the project focused on memorializing the genocidal experiences and enabling inter-faith leaders and workers to identify symptoms and support trauma survivors as part of the postgenocide recovery process. Similarly, in Sierra Leone, Umesh Bawa and Rashid Ahmed established the Mending Hearts Project at the invitation of national health and church associations. The focus in Sierra Leone was on supporting

church leaders and health workers to establish psychosocial services for survivors of war, ex-combatants, amputees, and members of the general population who witnessed the brutalities of war. Because Sierra Leone and Ruwanda are challenged by scarce trained mental health resources, Umesh Bawa and his colleagues intervened to help participants to identify, recognize, and use indigenous and faith-based knowledge and support systems (Personal Communication, Umesh Bawa, 22 February 2010).

The making of community

Since its very early traces, community psychology interventions, through an alignment with particular political constituencies, have tended to help produce and support specific ideas of community. In the period before the emergence of community psychology, psychologists, informed by the tenets of scientific racism and working on the Carnegie Commission (Carnegie Commission Report, 1932), utilized psychometric instruments and questionable empirical logic to encode, make, and support exclusive racial communities, consistent with South Africa's early segregationist policies and structures. The psychologists involved in the Carnegie Study supported the making and strengthening of a racial and privileged community that was cast in biological and essentialist terms, emphasizing communal blood lines: 'The poor White is not a class apart in the "caste" sense of class y he is blood of our blood and flesh of our fleshy. We all have these traits to a lesser or greater degree' (Malherbe, 1932, p. 6).

In contrast, beginning in the mid-1980s, oppressed and marginalized communities and antiapartheid formations were adopted as the main beneficiaries of community psychology interventions. Community psychology interventions in this period tended to focus on communities as survivors of apartheid oppression. In this respect, because poor and marginalized communities are judged to be both vulnerable and important political constituencies, community psychologists have tended to support their protection, development, and sustenance in the post-1994 period, resonating with the ideas of communalism and African humanism articulated by Biko, a SASO leader (Mngxitama et al., 2008). There has, however, been insufficient examination of how interventions, focused primarily on geographical catchment areas, may serve to support and encode the ongoing making and entrenchment of racially organized communities inherited from the country's apartheid legacy (Butchart & Seedat, 1990; Carolissen, 2008). Aside from the emergent nonracial profile of a few middle and upper-middle-class communities, most South African geographical catchments remain poor and racially organized. The majority of the population continue to be vulnerable to poverty and experience joblessness, poor service delivery, inadequate health care and education, and high levels of crime and violence. Although the Black middle and upper-middle classes have been the most significant beneficiaries of affirmative action and Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) opportunities, South Africa remains one of the most unequal societies in the world. South Africa's Gini coefficient grew from 0.56 in 1995 to 0.73 in 2005, with 60% of the population earning less than R42,000 (US$5085) annually. The income of 2% of the population exceeds R360,000 (US$43,572) per year (Bhalia, 2007; Statistics South Africa, 2003, 2008; Wood, 2006).

Conclusions: reflections on the development of community psychology

The trajectory of community psychology in South Africa, which embodies several achievements and challenges, may be traced back to the First Carnegie Commission Study (Carnegie Commission Report, 1932) on poverty among Whites. Predating community psychology as we define it today, the Carnegie Commission represented an early conservative and exclusionary form of

social-community intervention that approached poverty alleviation among Whites as an exercise in the preservation of segregationist ideology and racial privilege (Carnegie Commission Report, 1932; Louw, 1988; Seedat, 1993). However, community psychology, as we understand it now, emerged only in the mid-1980s, within the context of a concentrated struggle to dislodge apartheid, assert community identity, and establish democracy, when South African psychology experienced its own inner crisis and search for relevance. Driven and inspired by the principles of the larger critical psychology enterprise, as well as the quest for relevance and appropriateness, community psychology obtained formalization through a range of activities and roles. Key activities included focusing on strengthening the resilience of oppressed communities and particular vulnerable groups, such as ex-political detainees and victims of apartheid police brutality, and challenging apartheid exclusions within the teaching, research, and organization of psychology. Participation in people-to-people dialogue forums and generating policy options for an anticipated democratic government were among the other efforts of community psychologists in South Africa. Some Black community-minded psychologists were inspired by the message of the BPC and the SASO that stressed psychological liberation of the oppressed, community self-empowerment, and cultural assertiveness. The community-oriented work of organizations like SASO and BPC placed the psychological within the political domain and struggle for emancipation. Such inspiration and work, alongside research that focused on the psychosocial consequences of apartheid exploitation and increasing the participation of Blacks and women in the processes of knowledge production, produced academic and sociopolitical currency and formalization for the emerging field (Berger & Lazarus, 1987; A. Dawes, 1985; Hayes, 1984; Louw, 1986a, 1986b; Nicholas & Cooper, 1990; Nzimande, 1984; Seedat, 1993; Yen, 2007, 2008).

The opportunities and challenges created by the demands of a young democracy post-1994 offered further impetus for the growth and development of community psychology. During the early democratic phase, when the country's priorities centered on peace building and reconciliation, social justice, moral regeneration, and economic redress, community psychologists contributed to policy developments in a range of sectors, developed curricula and texts for the training of contextually sensitive psychologists, and engaged in research addressing priority issues, such as violence, injuries, HIV and AIDS, and racism that threatened democratic development. Community-minded psychologists also participated in the governance of the organized profession and continued to develop approaches to extend a range of services through the NGO sector. Others were active in the TRC testimony processes, which produced consideration about the role of mental health workers in individual and collective transformation (Hamber, 2009). Significant effort was also invested in critical scholarship and paradigm and methodological development and research into the determinants of priority psychosocial difficulties (Lazarus & Seedat, 1996; Seedat et al., 2001, 2004).

In closing, we suggest that South African community psychology, as part of its future development path, may do well to rethink and retheorize its notions of community, social change, and transformation, especially if it is to meaningfully engage sociopolitical developments in a fairly young democracy. Building on its radical antecedents and forms that were aligned to the broader social democratic movement to dislodge apartheid—a racist and gendered system of economic, social, and political exploitation of the majority by a political minority—contemporary South African community psychology should consider broadening its gaze to understanding and addressing new forms of exclusions. These exclusions are best understood within the context of persistent unequal distribution of power and resources, the nature and quality of interactions between poor communities, the wider social and political systems, and the workings of the existing economic and social order that seem to allow mainly the middle and upper-middle classes better access to a market-oriented system.

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Notes

1. We use the term "Black" to refer to those classified "coloured," "Indian," and Black or African in the apartheid nomenclature. While the use of racial terms persist, the authors view "race" as a social construct that is deployed and re-deployed for ideological purposes.
2. Western Cape is one of nine South African provinces.

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