

How Culture is Conceptualised in Post-Apartheid Psychology

**How Culture is Conceptualised in Post-Apartheid Psychology**

Razia Bey Stoffberg

Department of Psychology

University of Cape Town

Supervisor: Wahbie Long

Word Count:

Abstract: 271

Main Body: 8164

## PLAGIARISM DECLARATION

1. I know that plagiarism is wrong. Plagiarism is to use another's work and to pretend that it is one's own.
2. I have used the APA convention for citation and referencing. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this essay from the work, or works, of other people has been acknowledged through citation and reference.
3. This report is my own work.
4. I have not allowed, and will not allow, anyone to copy my work with the intention of passing it off as his or her own work.

---

Signature

---

Date

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

I would like to thank my husband, Yaseen Stoffberg for his support throughout this project.

To my supervisor Wahbie Long, for his support, encouragement and valuable guidance. I wish him the best of luck with all future projects.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>PLAGIARISM DECLARATION .....</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS .....</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>ABSTRACT .....</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>INTRODUCTION .....</b>	<b>6</b>
INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND.....	6
HEGEMONY OF EUROCENTRIC INFLUENCES.....	7
NEED FOR A CULTURALLY RELEVANT PSYCHOLOGY .....	7
CULTURE: POLITICALLY CHARGED .....	9
CONTEMPORARY CONCEPTUALISATIONS OF CULTURE .....	10
CULTURE: NON-IDEOLOGICAL ENGAGEMENT .....	11
<b>DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY .....</b>	<b>12</b>
AIM OF THE RESEARCH.....	12
SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RESEARCH .....	12
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK .....	12
METHOD .....	13
<i>Data Set</i> .....	13
<i>Journals</i> .....	14
<i>Scope</i> .....	14
<i>Sampling Procedure</i> .....	14
<i>Data Analysis</i> .....	15
REFLEXIVITY .....	16
ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS .....	17
<b>ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION.....</b>	<b>18</b>
THEME ONE: CULTURE AS A EUPHEMISM FOR RACE .....	18
THEME TWO: CULTURE IDEOLOGICALLY REPRESENTS DIFFERENCE.....	21
THEME THREE: PSYCHOLOGY LACKS CULTURAL SENSITIVITY .....	24
THEME FOUR: CULTURE IS ALWAYS CHANGING .....	26
<b>SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION .....</b>	<b>29</b>
SUMMARY .....	29
CONCLUSION .....	30
<b>REFERENCES .....</b>	<b>32</b>

## ABSTRACT

There exists a concern regarding the lack of cultural understanding of marginalised South Africans within the discipline of psychology. The discipline's lack of cultural inclusion and understanding has left marginalised South Africans with misgivings about psychological services in South Africa. There is a great need for the discipline to become culturally relevant and to acknowledge these misgivings and produce a more effective psychology, or methods of psychology, that will be socially valuable to all South Africans.

This qualitative research study considers how culture is conceptualised in post-apartheid psychology. This is necessary to understand the social complexities experienced by varying racial groups in South Africa, as it is these social complexities that provide the context of personality development.

Data for this project is retrieved from the two journals of *Psychology in Society* (1994-2014) and the *South African Journal of Psychology* (1994-2014). These journals are analysed in order to describe how contemporary psychologists engage with the concept of culture. The postcolonial perspective is selected as the relevant theoretical framework, as the study focuses on how culture is conceptualised in post-apartheid psychology, thereby combating the residual effects of colonialism on culture. This particular framework is not as much about salvaging past worlds as it is about learning how to move on beyond the legacy of oppression.

Thematic analysis was used as a method to analyse the data. The results of the analysis indicate four common themes: culture as a euphemism for race; culture ideologically represents difference; psychology lacks cultural sensitivity; and culture is always changing. The findings suggest that psychology is both culture-blind and culture-bound, and thus explicitly disregards indigenous cultures in South Africa.

**Keywords:** psychology; South Africa; culture; race; thematic analysis; identity.

## **INTRODUCTION**

### **Introduction and Background**

Culture is expressed through the concepts of race, ethnicity, political attitudes, socio-economic class, identity and religion (Ross, 2004). South Africa is a greatly diverse nation and these cultural differences can often lead to cultural dissonance and misunderstandings. In the context of a country like South Africa, which has a history of violent cultural divisions, culture also becomes a politically charged concept and an ambivalent identifier for its population, who live within the legacy of apartheid (Eagle, 2005). Since culture is such a complex concept, which affects people so profoundly, there is a critical need to incorporate an understanding of the role of culture into psychological study and practice, as this will lead to a psychology that can fully understand human beings in natural and social situations (Jervis, 2006; Li & Karakowsky, 2001; Ross, 2004).

This study identifies a gap in the literature regarding the concept of culture in the field of psychology in South Africa. It stresses that there is a need for future research to focus on how culture is used within the discipline in this South African context. The findings of such research can be used to facilitate a shift away from Eurocentric notions of psychology, which are often employed in psychological approaches in South Africa, and can lead towards a greater project that is focussed on developing an Afrocentric approach. This research will also create an opportunity to contextualise the concept of culture more broadly, and challenge the simplistic understandings of the concept within psychology. This will enable a deeper engagement with the role of culture within psychological processes (Van der Merwe, 2005).

The following literature review reflects on the understanding of culture in contemporary South Africa, with a specific focus on the post-apartheid years after 1994. It identifies the different ways in which South Africans grapple with culture. It also demonstrates that culture in the context of South Africa remains Eurocentric and is politically charged. The review supports the need for a culturally relevant psychology and looks at ways of engaging with culture non-ideologically (Van der Merwe, 2005).

## **Hegemony of Eurocentric Influences**

South Africa is a multicultural society and thus demands a psychology that is able to consciously relate to various cultures and transcend ethnocentrism. This would, *inter alia*, entail a psychology that would be cognisant of African traditions and, in doing so, pave the way to a multicultural model of psychology that is sensitive to the influence of all cultural differences (Holdstock, 2000).

In South Africa, psychologists currently practice a psychology based on the Euro-American tradition, even though these psychologists are not working in the Western context. This creates a Euro-American bias in psychology, as it prevents practitioners from understanding and accepting the differences in approach required for people who are from rural, black and poor backgrounds. It also contributes to the notion that psychology addresses issues that are not relevant to the developing world. Holdstock (2000) suggests that these psychologists need to pay closer attention to their own political and economic positions as well as their professional and personal lives. This will enable them to evaluate the values that they act under in their professional capacity.

In the historical context of South Africa there is a persistent idea that the psychological community was made up of agents of social control and oppression because they were unaware or unwilling to admit to the ideological foundations that informed apartheid-era psychology (Holdstock, 2000). According to O'Dell, de Abreu and O'Toole (2004), contemporary psychologists need to acknowledge that their discipline does not function in a value-free social vacuum, but is instead highly ideological and political. A new position for psychology needs to be established within the political, economic, and social context of post-apartheid South Africa, which will have the ability to fully care for the psychological needs of African subjects and not merely operate under the Eurocentric assumptions, which are still currently prevalent.

## **Need for a Culturally Relevant Psychology**

Hook and Eagle (2002) describe the subjectivity of black South Africans when relating to psychology and the mind, and how they incorporate three distinct areas, namely the indigenous, religious and (Western) biomedical approaches. Each of these areas requires a

commitment from the client, as well as the possible exclusion of participation in the other modes of treatment. Biomedicine and indigenous healing expect an individual to commit to truth claims, and require the management of subjectivity. Hook makes the example of prescription drugs in biomedicine being used in addition to circumcision in indigenous culture. Both treatments demand that the subject commits to the practice as a form of truth, and this could create a sense of conflict. As a black South African it is easy to become caught between these two competing discourses when struggling to find meaning. This could lead an individual to experience inner tension, which could manifest in physical or psychological symptoms. The lack of explanation when facing cases that reveal cultural influence is due to the fact that the contemporary psychological community practices Euro-American orientated psychology, as opposed to a psychology that incorporates African culture and traditions. This is a serious shortcoming that emphasises the urgent need for an African psychology (Hook & Eagle, 2002).

In keeping with this relationship between diagnosis and culture, Hassim and Wagner (2013) studied the misdiagnosis of Western-specific mental illness due to the lack of cultural awareness. They also examined how language is influenced by culture and how that process affects the way in which illness is understood. Language affects the conceptual understanding as well as the experience of illness. Additionally, the use of specific concepts and words within particular contexts could lead to challenges in counselling situations between individuals of different cultures. Further research into culture will allow for a more holistic approach to diagnosis (Alarcon, 2009; Hassim & Wagner, 2013; Swartz; 2000).

According to Hassim and Wagner (2013), if the importance of cultural context is not fully understood, this could lead to a number of problems in diagnosis and treatment options. Juma (2011) points out that there have been cases where African patients have been misdiagnosed and ended up in psychiatric institutions due to cultural misunderstandings on the part of mental health practitioners. It is thus evident that counselling from a Western perspective in an African context poses serious challenges. This underscores the urgency of developing a psychology that is relevant to an African cultural context. Without it, there will be a continuation of misdiagnosis – and inappropriate treatment – based on a lack of cultural understanding (Alarcon, 2009; Hassim & Wagner, 2013; Juma, 2011).



## **Culture: Politically Charged**

In trying to establish a culturally relevant psychology in South Africa, it is important to understand how the concept of culture is currently used in South African psychology. It is clear that culture is politically charged and needs to be understood through the lens of the past, as apartheid played a key role in shaping ideas around culture. Paradoxically, apartheid created a strong sense of marginalisation of culture while reinforcing cultural and racial identities. These identities were often used as tools either of oppression or for the struggle for liberation, where being ‘black’ became something which needed to be politicised in order to foster group solidarity and enable widespread resistance to apartheid, and where being ‘white’ became a symbol of power or, conversely, a symbol of guilt for many. Often the term ‘culture’ is considered as existing outside of history, but what needs to be remembered is the specific usage that is embedded within this term when evoked in a historical context, because it is the explicitness of historical production and usage which gives culture its meaning (Hayes, 2003; Rorty, 1994; Rosenthal, 2009; Van Eeden, 2011).

Within political discourse the term ‘culture’ is used interchangeably with ‘heritage’ and ‘tradition’, evoking links to buildings, monuments, landscapes and artefacts and also tying it to commonly held values, symbolism and personality traits. Even though the content of these terms vary dramatically – from circumcision rituals, to hierarchical divisions of labour, to styles of buildings and dress – they all signify a coherent and widely held system of meaning, which is specific to a particular group (Rorty, 1994; Rosenthal, 2009).

The political nature of culture can often be seen in the way in which culture is used as an explanation for certain behaviours, and is often used to justify destructive attitudes and behaviours. This can be seen in practices that are attributed to culture such as violent homophobia, oppressive misogyny and ‘corrective’ rape (Gleckman-Krut, 2014). Prejudice and stereotypes are also propagated through the lens of what is expected of a specific culture. The abuse of rationalisation through the use of culture as an excuse affects not only how South Africans are viewed by the world but also how South Africans relate to their state (Rosenthal, 2009). This can be seen in examples such as when the South African Health Minister was accused of alcoholism and theft in 2007 and, in response to a public debate over the rights to publish details of this case, the head of the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) condemned publication and claimed that freedom of speech should be in line with traditional African values of respect. Previous South African president Thabo

Mbeki's position as an AIDS denialist can be understood as stemming from his belief that biomedical positions on HIV/AIDS come from a particular cultural paradigm that is non-African. This resulted in a destructive impact on South Africans. ANC president Jacob Zuma has embodied the clash between cultural values and the constitution by mobilising culture as justification and an explanation for a range of practices and ideas, earning him the nickname '100% Zulu Boy' (Rosenthal, 2009). All of these examples demonstrate the highly political nature of culture in South Africa and how it should be better understood to ensure effective approaches to dealing with social and personal struggles by the country's population.

### **Contemporary Conceptualisations of Culture**

Due to South Africa's complex history, volatile political triggers surround the issue of culture. There is no denying that contemporary political meanings of the term culture were historically constructed, and these meanings were racialised through categories such as 'Bantu', 'Coloured', 'Asian' and 'European'. These categorisations sought not only to label people, but also to define and describe the nature of each group's so-called traditional culture. Within this context, culture could also be viewed as supplying race with political plausibility, and culture was viewed as a kind of timeless marker that greatly affected personal identity and ideas of the 'other' (Mistry, 2001; Waetjen & Mare, 2009).

In the case of South Africa, since the end of apartheid the marginalised cultures have moved to the centre through liberation struggles and therefore normative conceptions need to be reconfigured in order to account for the culturally diverse groups who newly require access to services that were previously reserved for white South Africans. In this context it is important to acknowledge that, within a multicultural democracy, differences should be noted and respected. This could, however, also lead to the risk of reinforcing apartheid-style discourses of difference, a factor that should not be overlooked when developing new modes or perspectives of psychological practice (Mistry, 2001; Van der Merwe, 2005; Waetjen & Mare, 2009).

Post-1994 the state's objective was to celebrate cultural diversity. There were a number of public events displaying this, such as the 1995 Rugby World Cup, the 1997 South African Music Awards and the 2010 Soccer World Cup. 'Rainbowness' is a term used to describe South African society and its rich cultural diversity, and it also implies non-racialism;

however, critics argue that the actions of the South African government (ANC) have created a state of alarm for minorities through favoured policies (Waetjen & Mare, 2009).

It could be argued that celebrating rainbowness has a political agenda that, since it commodifies culture (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2009), results in an increased tourist trade and might undermine the grievances of particular groups who are amalgamated in the so-called 'Rainbow Nation'. This demonstrates how culture is used politically in the post-apartheid context (Waetjen & Mare, 2009; Mistry, 2001).

### **Culture: Non-Ideological Engagement**

In order to achieve a more culturally relevant psychology, psychologists need to engage with culture non-ideologically – that is, in ways that do not construct and maintain relations of domination and subordination. However, it is very difficult to say what this actually entails, as the current concept of culture has been historically developed and South Africans have very little experience in dealing with culture from a non-ideological perspective.

In order to develop cultural awareness and cultural sensitivity, which are necessary parts of conceptualising culture in psychology, it is first necessary to learn to differentiate between concepts such as culture, ethnicity, race, prejudice and multiculturalism (Kubokawa & Ottaway, 2009). It is also necessary to become aware of one's own cultural bias, values and beliefs, and to recognise how these are imposed on others. This can be achieved through the recognition of the influence of factors such as ethnocentrism, cultural blindness, cultural shock, cultural imposition and cultural conflict (Kubokawa & Ottaway, 2009). All of these factors are vital for expanding the Afrocentric model of psychology and will be utilised in this study. Above all, if psychology in South Africa is to engage seriously with culture, then it needs to become conscious of the ways in which the discipline frames culture today.

## **DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY**

### **Aim of the Research**

This study aims to establish how culture is conceptualised in post-apartheid South African psychology and to examine how the contemporary psychology community engages with the concept of culture. The research will also allow for a comprehensive understanding of this concept and its significant role in society. If psychology is to become more culturally relevant in South Africa then it needs to reflect on its 'ways of speaking', as it were, about culture in post-apartheid South Africa.

The research question for this project can be phrased as follows: How is culture conceptualised in post-apartheid psychology?

### **Significance of the Research**

When examining the role of culture in post-apartheid psychology, there is a specific focus on those who have been previously marginalised: black South Africans and the poor. The knowledge generated by this study will have implications for such populations. By examining culture in post-apartheid South Africa, we are in a position to begin indigenising the discipline in meaningful ways, which will have important consequences for, among other things, the accessibility of the discipline to the majority of South Africans (Ruane, 2010).

### **Theoretical Framework**

The implementation of apartheid can be understood as representing the hallmarks of colonialism as it involved oppression, exploitation and cultural imperialism, and for this reason the proposed theoretical framework for this study is a postcolonial perspective. Postcolonialism is a theoretical procedure used to interpret, read and critique the cultural practices of colonialism. Since this study will focus on combating the residual effects of colonialism on culture, it is not as much about salvaging past worlds as it is about learning how to move beyond the legacy of oppression (Sawant, 2012).

According to Sawant (2012), the postcolonial framework recognises that many of the theories that underlie the logic of colonialism are still practiced in contemporary times. This is relevant to the understanding of the concept of culture in the South African context. By uncovering and deconstructing the racist and colonialist nature of these assumptions, the postcolonial framework can remove the power of influence and coercion created by them. A key goal of this perspective, as well as of this research as a whole, is to create the space and opportunity for valuing multiple voices, in particular those voices that were previously silenced by dominant ideologies. It is argued that this space and opportunity can be established through a more culturally relevant psychology.

This perspective also marks a period at the end of colonialism when indigenous people were given the necessary authority and political and cultural freedom to gain independence by defeating imperialism. This is in line with the political history of South Africa, and creates the relevant framework for understanding the mobilisation of culture.

Sawant (2012) states that the postcolonial perspective transpired out of the frustration of the marginalised individuals and their cultural conflict with the dominating culture, as well as their fears, hopes and dreams about their future and their own identities. Frantz Fanon, a prominent figure in postcolonial theory, explored psychopathology through the lens of colonialism and analysed the effects that colonial domination and disempowerment had on native populations. By understanding the psychopathological effects of colonialism, he was able to characterise colonial relations. Many of his concepts could be used within the discipline of psychology to understand the psychological development of people within oppressive contexts. This is necessary for the development of a more culturally relevant psychology in South Africa (Sawant, 2012).

## **Method**

### ***Data Set***

This research will be archival, as this type of research is appropriate for the research question being posed. Data for this project will be retrieved from journal articles in the field of psychology. These articles will be analysed to account for the ways in which the concept of culture has been used within the discipline of psychology since the end of apartheid.

### ***Journals***

The articles to be analysed will be taken from two prominent South African journals: the *South African Journal of Psychology* (SAJP) and *Psychology in Society* (PINS). Due to the SAJP being the official publication of the Psychological Society of South Africa (PsySSA), it is believed that it will reflect many of the principle perspectives and debates within South African psychology. As a stated core value, SAJP claims to encourage a multiplicity of opinions and seek ways to incorporate the voices and experiences of all communities and avenues of psychology. Therefore, it is likely to contain articles relating to the use of culture in psychology.

PINS has published many articles that deal with the social aspects of psychology and presents itself as promoting a socio-historical and critical theory perspective (PINS, 2014). These perspectives are considered as related to ‘critical’ issues in South African psychology. In addition, PINS has been said to promote critical and oppositional thought as well as to have an explicit political and anti-apartheid orientation. Therefore, opinions shared in these journals will be useful for the objectives of this research project.

### ***Scope***

The sampling timeframe for this project is from the year 1994 to 2013, as this period signifies the post-apartheid era and the start of a new democratic South Africa. This timeframe will be relevant to the research project’s examination of post-apartheid conceptualisations of culture. It also marks a period in which South Africa underwent massive social, political and historical changes, which provide the contextual framework for understanding the complexities associated with the concept of culture (Willig, 2001).

### ***Sampling Procedure***

Articles for this study were sampled by means of keyword searches on SAJP and PINS. A variety of keywords were used, such as ‘culture’, ‘Africa’, ‘identity’, ‘tradition’, ‘heritage’ and ‘politics’. Articles returned by these searches were examined, in accordance with the timeframe and requirements of this study and, in total, twenty-four were selected. These

twenty-four consisted of eleven articles from SAJP and thirteen from PINS. These articles were analysed according to the method described below.

### *Data Analysis*

The data collected for this study were analysed by means of thematic analysis, as this offers an adaptable approach to examining qualitative data. Thematic analysis identifies and analyses patterns or themes existing in data. A theme has the ability to depict significant information about the data, which is relevant to the research question. Thematic analysis is useful, as it does not only portray themes that were previously recognised as relevant to the study; it also has the ability to reveal new themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

A thematic analysis is well suited to this research project for a number of reasons. Firstly, it is useful for understanding the themes that it identifies within a broader context. Therefore, it allows this research project to frame the concept of culture within the social context which gives rise to its meaning. Secondly, a thematic analysis allows for large bodies of data to be summarised, organised and understood and for this research project, it will assist in organising data in a meaningful manner. Thirdly, thematic analysis is a flexible technique that allows the researcher to draw upon diverse perspectives when approaching data. It is not committed to a specific theoretical or epistemological framework (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

A recurring issue with thematic analysis is that researchers often fail to make their theoretical and epistemological assumptions that underlie their data evident. According to Braun and Clarke (2006), it is important to make these assumptions clear in the methods section of a research report prior to analysis. For this reason coding methods, the level of analysis and the epistemological grounding for this project will be discussed next, as to explicitly outline the theoretical and epistemological assumptions that will underlie this research.

**Coding:** The coding of themes will take place at a latent level. This level of coding is associated with understanding the underlying meaning of themes. Coding at this level attempts to comprehend the importance of themes within a contextual structure of meaning, instead of a superficial one. For this project, latent coding is appropriate as it allows for a

deeper understanding of the themes that constitute a link between culture and the wider social context (Willig, 2001).

**Epistemological grounding:** This study will take the position of contextualist epistemology. This position provides a link between a naïve realist and constructionist epistemological approach. Naïve realists would argue that there is a stable reality that is possible to discover, whereas a constructionist epistemological viewpoint would hold that all reality is socially constructed, and that the only possibility of understanding such reality is through deconstruction. Contextualism provides a link between these two theoretical frameworks as it agrees and disagrees with elements from both. It asserts that there is a reality, verifiable through the data, but that this reality is changing and incomplete, not absolute. Willig (2001) states that “It is important to note from this perspective that context is not understood as being separate from the phenomena being studied, but as a constitutive part of the phenomena”.

Contextualist epistemology is well matched to the research aims of this study, because it provides the link between naïve realism and constructionism and therefore allows this study to identify semantic themes within discussions concerning culture, which can be understood as representing an aspect of reality within these discussions. Since contextualism views truth and meaning in relation to context, it will allow this research project to contextualise cultural conceptions. Contextualism understands psychology, society, and the object of psychological knowledge as constituting each other, making this a position complementary to this research project, which aims to understand the influence of each dimension on the other (Willig, 2001).

## **Reflexivity**

Qualitative research is intrinsically interpretive. Therefore, the bias, judgements and values of the researcher need to be acknowledged, as researchers shape the work that they do (Willig, 2001). In this study, my interest in the topic of culture stems from prior undergraduate studies in anthropology, where I developed a keen interest in understanding culture and learned what a significant role culture plays in understanding society. During my time as a psychology student, I came to realise that culture, which plays a key role in understanding South African



society, was not paid adequate attention, which is what ultimately attracted me to this research study.

As a coloured female, born during the period of apartheid rule, I would inherently view the world through particular lenses and filters. Due to my anthropology background, rich in the understanding of culture, combined with a view that cultural understanding is lacking within the discipline of psychology, I may be critical towards psychology.

In order to eliminate bias, the validity of data was maximised by including evidence from the data by means of excerpts in order to contextualise conclusions, thereby allowing the reader to judge interpretations. Furthermore, data was compared across the data set as well as to broader literature to compare findings and demonstrate commonalities (Patton, 2002).

### **Ethical Considerations**

This research is archival in nature and did not involve any human participants. For this reason there were no ethical issues to consider.

## ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

Analysis of the data from *Psychology in Society* (1994-2014) and *South African Journal of Psychology* (1994-2014) uncovered information on how culture is conceptualised within post-apartheid psychology. Through the use of thematic analysis, four themes were revealed within the data corpus. These are: culture as a euphemism for race; culture ideologically represents difference; psychology lacks cultural sensitivity; and culture is always changing. What follows is a discussion of the four themes, with extracts to demonstrate evidence from the data.

### Theme One: Culture as a Euphemism for Race

When analysing the data generated by the journals, a significant theme that emerged was that of culture being substituted for race. This substitution has continued to perpetuate racial boundaries amongst various racial groups in South Africa. The analysis investigated how the mechanics of this substitution is being developed and conducted and the consequences thereof on society. Evidence of this theme can be found in the excerpts below:

*Similarly it is found that diversity is often used interchangeably with 'race' but without a substantive engagement with the related issue of racism (Pillay, Ahmed & Bawa, 2013, p.54).*

*These words are all used euphemistically for the concept of 'race' in the South African context (Stevens, 2010, p.210).*

Acknowledgement of the use of euphemisms for the word 'race' was the most common theme uncovered in the data. Many people, including academia and other elite domains, find it uncomfortable to speak about race (Byrnes, 2009). This finding is consistent with the broader literature, in which it has been noted that many people, including academics and many white South Africans, often attempt to avoid feelings of ownership and therefore 'collective guilt' by not speaking about race (Diala, 2001; Klandermans, Werner & Van Doorn, 2008). This type of avoidance leads to more people engaging in the construction of

not naming race and thus perpetuating this behaviour. As suggested by the data, not speaking about the ‘unpleasant’ or evading specific concepts also leads to non-engagement, which, in turn leads to a complacency with the overshadowing dominant ideology (Ndlovu, 2010; Pillay, Ahmed & Bawa, 2013; Ruane, 2010; Stevens, 2010). Further evidence from the data demonstrating the confusion of culture and race includes the following excerpts:

*To simply substitute ‘culture’ or ‘ethnicity’ for ‘race’ is to obfuscate the continuing real effects of the ‘apartheid vision’ (Sharp, 1988:79), to deny the specific conceptual and historical complexity of each of these terms and, ironically, to substitute terms that are themselves no less constructed, political, historical, or controversial (Van Ommen, 2013, p.202).*

*“Race” is the less acceptable sub-text of culture, disguised in this veil in academic circles in order to allow for more ‘civilized’ kinds of dialogue. Despite describing culture as multifaceted in relation to identity and identity formation, it was interesting to observe how quickly discussion of culture and culturally-sensitive training became focused on aspects of ethnic identity (Eagle, 2005, p.48).*

The data revealed that race is an emotionally and politically charged concept with a complex and problematic past. It is often synonymously associated with a myriad of negative connotations such as racial discrimination, racial prejudice and a wide range of derogatory racial terms. By replacing/abandoning the term ‘race’ with or for the term ‘culture’, an attempt is made to create distance from a dissonant history. This is further argued by Eagle (2005) and Ruane (2010) in the following excerpts:

*The term has a history of negative connotations and was often used in a degrading and dismissive manner when speaking of black Africans during the apartheid regime (Ruane, 2010, p.223).*

*Discussions of race carry more stark political connotations and also potentially raise painful feelings associated with devaluation and oppression on the one hand*

*and exploitation and guilt on the other, given the publicly shameful history of racially based apartheid in South Africa (Eagle, 2005, p.48).*

According to Van Ommen (2013), the substitution or replacement of the term race with culture does not genuinely achieve an escape from the arduous history associated with race; it is merely a method of avoidance.

*...we cannot escape the effects of the past so easily; these terms are themselves not innocent but are in a complex relationship with each other and society (Van Ommen, 2013, p.198).*

In this way, the use of the term 'culture' can communicate and perpetuate racial prejudice and ideology, as it is used as a substitute for race without fully engaging with issues of racism (Eagle, 2005; Mashau, 2012). As argued by Ruane (2010), instead issues of cultural sensitivity are discussed, for example 'township culture' or 'working class culture', which transpire at a superficial level and not at the deeper and more relevant level of race. As seen in the excerpt below:

*Culture is sometimes used as the code word for class exploitation "in the sense of township culture and working class culture" (Eagle, 2005, p.51). It is on this level that the issue of cultural sensitivity is discussed, and not the level of race (Ruane, 2010, p.221).*

By substituting race with culture, the politics implicit with race and racial difference is ignored. As a consequence, negative connotations attached to race are transferred to culture and affect the meaning associated with it as well as how the term is used. For example, different cultures imply different groups of people and this is how characteristics become assigned to people (Skovdal, 2007). This is very similar to the apartheid policy of segregation

as people are still being divided into, and described within, their specific groups. Ultimately, the use of culture is merely reinstating a racial category. Furthermore, the term culture is a poor substitute, as culture already has its own complex and controversial history, which is entangled in colonialism and exploitation. The above shows how, by not engaging with the concept of race, the problems relating to race are not addressed and are therefore perpetuated (Eagle, 2005; Ruane, 2010; Stevens, 2010; Van Ommen, 2013). Evidence of this can be found in the excerpt that follows:

*While the country prepares to host the FIFA Soccer World Cup, revelations of Zuma's twentieth child born out of his polygamous marriages have sharply put issues of 'race' and 'culture' on a collision path. This resulted in one of the most fascinating accusations by the leader of the Democratic Alliance against the ANC for playing, not just "the race card" but "the culture card" (Ndlovu, 2010, p.57).*

Thus the data revealed that the way in which culture is used as a euphemism for race is in fact creating boundaries amongst various racial groups, thereby emphasising 'difference'. This perpetuates racial ideologies by not engaging with issues of race but instead issues of culture, even though engagement with culture is at a superficial level.

## **Theme Two: Culture Ideologically Represents Difference**

The second theme was found to be as common as theme one in the data and it also builds on the previous section. For this theme, ideology will be viewed from a Marxist perspective, which holds that ideology is a belief system that justifies the actions of those in power and, by so doing, distorts and misrepresents reality. This could be taken further as, according to Renate Holub (1992), culture is a key instrument in political and social control as capitalists permeate the culture of the working class through forces such as prison, police and military (McKay, 1999; Van Ommen, 2013).

This can easily be related to the Marxist perspective of the concept of cultural hegemony, which explains how a culturally diverse society is dominated by the ruling class. The ruling

class does this by manipulating the beliefs and values of their society to such an extent that the worldview of the ruling class becomes accepted as the cultural norm, and this new dominant ideology justifies the social, political and economic status quo as natural and beneficial to all, as opposed to being artificial social constructs that benefit only the ruling class (McKay, 1999; Skirbekk & Skirbekk, 2005). This is demonstrated within a South African context in the extracts below:

*Thornton (1988:19) traces the 'complex intellectual history' of 'culture' and how it was used under the guise of a natural phenomenon to create boundaries, so as to differentiate groups of 'people' with supposedly unique languages and cultures, distinctions ideally suited for colonial intervention and administration. As such, creating 'race' is something culture produces rather than something it is equivalent to (Van Ommen, 2013, p.202).*

*...the construction of blacks as deficient in terms of skills, experience and personality works alongside the construction of white as the norm. This allows for the conservation of racial hierarchy and racial privilege in post-apartheid South Africa (Martin & Durrheim, 2006, p.12).*

As an example, when non-Western/indigenous cultures are contrasted with Western cultures, the indigenous cultures are often portrayed as deficient:

*Rather than blacks being constructed as biologically deficient, the racial differences are attributed to culture (Martin & Durrheim, 2006, p.11).*

*...perpetuating imagery of inherent 'otherness' in reference to indigenous South African cultures (Sher & Long, 2012, p.571).*

*In this new culture people of low income were judged as inadequate morally, intellectually and emotionally (McKay, 1999, p.78).*

This further leads to the notion that indigenous cultures need to be transformed to, or aspire towards, acceptable Western standards. Therefore, the way in which culture is used creates racial boundaries and social hierarchies. As a consequence, issues of discrimination, stereotyping and oppression are created. Evidence of this exists in the excerpts below:

*...although stereotypes have little or no basis in reality, they are widely shared. They may arise from our initial impressions and intuitions, through hearsay, through the prevalent beliefs within our own in-group, through experience, which may be imagined, baseless, or fantasized (Skovdal, 2007, p.102).*

Through culture's creation of these racial boundaries, it becomes synonymous with race as racial differences are attributed to cultural categorisation. Since culture implies difference in this context, it assigns people into categories and leads to discrimination, as culture becomes a tool used to ascribe negative meaning to lower/working class groups. In much the same way, culture is used as tool to express racial prejudice and perpetuate racist ideologies. Through this the way in which culture is used to create the 'other' becomes apparent. This is explicit in the extract below:

*Thornton also makes the point that culture does something. "One thing that culture does is to create the boundaries of class, ethnicity (identification with a larger historical group), race, gender, neighbourhood, generation, and territory within which we all live" (Eagle, 2005, p.47).*

This means that the attempted euphemism of replacing the term 'race' with 'culture' does not result in a different outcome:

*The choice of the word 'culture' is hesitant. Although culture is not used interchangeably with race, racial divides are still present in South Africa to the*

*extent that cultural differences often become synonymous with race (Ruane, 2010, p.215).*

### **Theme Three: Psychology Lacks Cultural Sensitivity**

The data revealed that psychology in South Africa does not account for culture within indigenous populations and is overshadowed by Euro-American bias. This results in a deficient understanding of non-Western/indigenous cultures.

*...psychological research does not sufficiently understand or account for the impact of culture. If psychological research attends to culture at all, it tends to address it as a variable (van der Riet, 2006, p.69).*

*When so many psychologists in other countries take Western psychology as their reference group, key psychological issues of local concern may be missed or even misrepresented both conceptually and empirically (Berry, 2013, p.396).*

Psychology in South Africa is culture-blind, as the role of culture in human development is often disregarded (Eagle, 2005). Due to this, the importance of the role culture plays in schematic construction is not understood. Culture receives such minimal attention that it inevitably results in cultural bias. According to studies, laymen consider their culture to not be fully understood by psychologists, and for this reason they are hesitant about seeking psychological assistance. This often results in black people having to forsake their cultural beliefs during counselling due to a lack of understanding on the counsellor's part. Evidence of this lack of cultural sensitivity is demonstrated in the extracts below:

*Participants reported that while psychotherapy may be beneficial, most psychologists lacked adequate knowledge of black African life and the struggles many black Africans experience. Such knowledge is required to accept or understand black communities (Ruane, 2010, p.221).*



*Whilst sometimes noting the important role of culture in schematic constructions and cautioning therapists about assuming the universality of conceptual models (Janoff-Bulman, 1992; McCann & Pearlman, 1990, Richards & Lovell, in Yule, 1999; Scott, in Scott & Palmer, 2000) few authors have explicitly interrogated how such cultural awareness should be incorporated in the therapeutic endeavour (Eagle, 2004, p.15).*

This lack of cultural understanding from counsellors is also due to psychology in South Africa being culture-bound; meaning that it is Euro-American centric in nature and this translates into being individualistic – an observation that has been made in South African psychology since as far as back as the early 1980s (Holdstock, 1981). This can lead to the interpretation of African behaviour through a Western lens, which is inappropriate as African society is inclusive and collective in nature (Holdstock, 1981; Jamison, 2010). In addition, the inappropriate use of Western individualistic psychology in a South African context means that counsellors are practicing unsuitable methods in some cultural contexts (Hook & Eagle, 2002). Psychotherapy/counselling is reinforcing rich white dominant cultural beliefs as opposed to incorporating African ones (Juma, 2011). As argued in the following extracts, Western individualistic psychology is seen as overshadowing indigenous cultural beliefs:

*Western counseling and psychotherapy have promoted the separated self as the healthy prototype across cultures, making counseling and psychology part of the problem through an emphasis on selfishness and lack of commitment to the group, rather than part of the solution (Pedersen, 2009, p.150).*

*Much of the work, however, is marked by a Eurocentric bias and does not adequately locate an analysis of culture within conditions of social inequity and injustice (Pillay, Ahmed & Bawa, 2013, p.54).*

*...cautioning therapists about assuming the universality of conceptual models (Janoff-Bulman, 1992; McCann & Pearlman, 1990, Richards & Lovell, in Yule, 1999; Scott, in Scott & Palmer, 2000) few authors have explicitly interrogated how such cultural awareness should be incorporated in the therapeutic endeavour (Eagle, 2004, p.15).*

It becomes plausible to argue that Westernised social science is incompatible with indigenous cultures due to Western counselling's focuses on individualisation. This has led to counselling being part of the problem when understanding culture (Holdstock, 2000). When a counsellor contrasts another culture to values of their own culture, it is inevitable that ethnocentrism will emerge. In reality it is quite typical that a person would feel their culture is right, proper and moral and will use their cultural standards and values to evaluate the behaviour and beliefs of other cultures. This could lead to cultural bias, and believing that other cultures may be savage or barbaric. This attitude is best described as 'ethnocentrism' (Berry, 2013; Ember & Ember, 2011; Mashau, 2012). Evidence is found in the extracts below:

*...who accuse them of Eurocentrism and of perpetuating imperialism because they interpret African behaviour through the lenses of Western psychology. They use the term Eurocentrism to signal the interests they claim it serves (white peoples and their cultures). Their criticism is similar to several others and can serve as an example (Dawes, 1998, p.8).*

*Psychologists, by contrast, have linked social characteristics and psychological phenomena with minimum attention to the diversity of cultural viewpoints. When counseling psychologists have applied the same interpretation to the same behaviour regardless of the cultural context, cultural bias has resulted (Pedersen 2009, p.152).*

#### **Theme Four: Culture is Always Changing**

The data frequently demonstrated that culture is not static and, when examining the history of any society, changes within a particular culture over a period of time will become apparent. It becomes evident that behaviours and ideas that were once common at a particular period of time have been modified or replaced by a similar or different set of behaviours and ideas at a different period of time. In the context of trying to define culture, it is important to bear in

mind that a particular description is closely tied to a specific time period. As argued by Eagle (2004):

*Acknowledge the importance of cultural embeddedness and cultural reconciliation, whilst at the same time affirming that culture is something that transforms with time and is open to variable interpretations (Eagle, 2004, p.16).*

This opinion is shared by Mare (2001):

*What is also, often, unacknowledged is that social identities (of which culture is an important aspect) are changing (Mare, 2001, p.115).*

Within the broader literature, according to Ember and Ember (2011) this will allow any researcher to gain a comprehensive depiction of how that culture has evolved over time. Culture change can be caused by environmental changes, or it could simply occur due to people inventing better ways of doing things. This would lead old behaviours and thinking to be adjusted into new modified ones. As an example from the broader literature, Michael Chibnik (2011) claims that when people are confronted by new problems, this is followed by their conducting of mental or small experiments to figure out how to respond to these problems. These experiments materialise into new cultural traits. For example, when a group of people move into an infertile area, they are faced with retiring from farming or developing a new irrigation system (Ember & Ember, 2011). Indeed, the extract below captures the shifting quality of culture in relation to shifting environmental contingencies:

*The first statement in Human Development in Cultural Context declares: Nsamenang's basic psychological stance, that "the human person [is] a biotic system developing under the priming influence of biogenetic, environmental, and evolutionary forces" (Moll, 2002, p.14).*

*Psychological processes are posited to be shared features of all human beings. Competence is the outcome of psychological development rooted in these shared processes in interaction with environmental (including cultural) experience; it is posited to be variable across individuals and cultures (Pedersen, 2009, p.394).*

According to broader literature, culture can experience change when ‘acculturation’ takes place. This means that cultural and psychological change occurs as a result of an encounter between cultures. Acculturation commonly takes the direction of the minority group adopting the habits and patterns of the majority group (Alexander, 2003). In the context of South Africa, this would be reversed, meaning the majority group (black) adopt the habits and patterns of (white) South Africans. The consequences of acculturation can be observed at multiple levels. At a group level there will be changes to culture, customs and social institutions and at an individual level changes can be observed in daily behaviour as well as psychological and physical well-being (Ember & Ember, 2011; Mashau, 2012; Rebelo, 2004).

*...the concept of acculturation has been examined for decades. This process involves the cultural and behavioural changes that result from contact between groups and individuals who have different cultural backgrounds (Berry, 2013, p.397).*

*Participants further stated that black psychologists were not much better due to the acculturation that occurs during the training of black psychologists (Ruane, 2010, p.214).*

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

### Summary

Theme one provides evidence of how the term culture has become a substitute for the term race. This exchange is problematic, as it has not achieved the expected positive outcome. Instead culture has taken on many of the values that were associated with the term race and therefore racial boundaries amongst various racial groups continue to be perpetuated. This simple exchange of one term for another has merely reinstated racial categories. Due to South Africa's complex political past, race has become a taboo topic and instead of entering into conversations about race, conversations have been led in the direction of culture. However, the non-engagement and avoidance of the topic of race is ultimately perpetuating complacency with the overshadowing dominant ideology of racial classification. In addition, non-engagement and avoidance of race has not allowed South Africans to forget or escape the arduous history of the country. By trying to escape conversations about race, issues of racism and racial prejudiced are ignored and this allows for these kinds of behaviours to be maintained.

Theme two underlines how culture creates notions of difference and the most appropriate way to understand how this is applicable to South African society is to view it from a Marxist perspective. Culture was used as a tool to create boundaries and categorise various racial groups according to specific languages and cultures, as this was beneficial for colonial administration purposes. Therefore, the elite ruling class minority used culture to control the indigenous majority. The consequences and effects of that racial justification are still experienced in contemporary South African society and shape how South Africans engage with the concept of culture.

Furthermore, indigenous cultures were required to transform and emulate the same values as the ruling class's Western culture. Through this process culture was used to create racial boundaries and differences as well as social hierarchies, emphasising racial discrimination and stereotypes.

The third theme pointed out that South African psychology is both culture-blind and culture-bound, as the discipline is overshadowed by Euro-American bias, which is not appropriate for the South African context. Culture plays a key role in schematic construction

and therefore human development, yet receives minimal attention in South African psychology. According to the data this results in cultural bias, as many black South Africans need to abandon their culture during psychological counselling as their cultural beliefs are not understood by the psychologist. What also makes the Euro-American bias inappropriate for practice in South Africa is that it is individualistic in nature, whereas South African culture is collective. This leads to the inappropriate interpretation of African behaviour through a Western lens, further leading to inappropriate psychological methods being used in some cultural contexts.

Theme four explored culture as always changing. The data demonstrated that culture is not static and is always in a state of change, and therefore evolving. When trying to arrive at a definition for culture, it is important to bear in mind that, due to this, a particular description of culture will be tied to a specific time period. This will allow researchers to establish a comprehensive representation of how a particular culture has evolved over time. There are a number of factors that contribute to why cultures change over time, such as the environment or acculturation. When people need to adapt to new environments, this leads to changes in their culture, and when people of various cultural backgrounds come into contact it leads to modifications to their original culture.

## **Conclusion**

In order for psychology to become culturally relevant, a comprehensive understanding of the concept of culture needs to be achieved, which, as the earlier literature review demonstrated, is singularly lacking in the discipline in contemporary South Africa. This study constitutes an attempt to address this gap by reflecting on the ways in which culture is understood in post-apartheid psychology.

Accordingly, the results of a thematic analysis of journal articles published in two South African psychology journals for the period of 1994 to 2013 revealed four themes, namely: culture as a euphemism for race; culture ideologically represents difference; psychology lacks cultural sensitivity; and culture is always changing.

Thematic analysis does present limitations, as it can be too flexible. It also provides limited use for hypothesis testing, research bias and difficulty when establishing reliability and

validity. To combat these shortcomings, the researcher acted as a tool to create structure and meaning out of the data, by linking general statements together to establish a relationship. This method also allowed for a social and psychological interpretation of the data, which is necessary for the contextualisation of this particular research question.

It is the researcher's view that, in order for the discipline of psychology to achieve a rich and deep understanding of the concept of culture for marginalised individuals in South Africa, knowledge from the discipline of anthropology should be employed. Anthropologists could be referred to as the experts on culture as they study this extensively. They possess knowledge that could significantly improve and assist with the integration of culture into South African psychology. A further recommendation is to perform a discourse analysis of the data collected for this study. Given the limited scope of the present study, it was not possible to focus on either the discursive practices within the data set or their broader socio-political correlates. Since language is, to some extent, constitutive of the social world, it would be important to reflect on the ways in which talk of 'culture' in the post-apartheid period inaugurates particular social realities while marginalising others. If one reflects on the growing presence of PsySSA's Forum of African Psychology, the on-going debate over culture in South African psychology is, in fact, no less than a battle for the soul of the discipline.

## REFERENCES

- Alarcon, R. (2009). Culture, cultural factors and psychiatric diagnosis: review and projections. *World Psychiatry*, 8(3), 131-139.
- Alexander, V. (2003). *Sociology of the Arts*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Avruch, K. (2002). Cross-cultural conflict. *The Encyclopaedia of Life Support Systems (EOLSS)*. Oxford, UK: UNESCO, Eolss Publishers.
- Berry, J. (2013). Global Psychology. *South African Journal Of Psychology*, 43(4), 391-401.
- Braun, V. & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3(2), 77-101.
- Byrnes, J. (2009). *Guilt and Shame as Intergroup Emotions Applied within the South African Context*. Masters dissertation. South Africa: University of Fort Hare.
- Chibnik, M. (2011). *Anthropology, economics, and choice*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Comaroff, J. & Comaroff, J. (2009). *Ethnicity, Inc*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Dawes, A. (1998). Africanisation of psychology: identities and continents. *Psychology in Society*, 23, 3-16.
- Diala, I. (2001). Nadine Gordimer, JM Coetzee, and Andre Brink: guilt, expiation, and the reconciliation process in post-apartheid South Africa. *Journal Of Modern Literature*, 25(2), 50-68.
- Durrheim, K. (2001). Identity in Africa/African Identity. *Psychology in Society*, 27(1), 123-125.
- Eagle, G. (2005). Cultured Clinicians: The rhetoric of culture in clinical psychology training. *Psychology in Society*, 32, 41-64.
- Eagle, G. (2004). Therapy at the cultural interface: Implications of African cosmology for traumatic stress intervention. *Journal of Contemporary Psychotherapy*, 35(2), 199-209.
- Ember, C. & Ember, M. 2011. *Cultural Anthropology*.



- Gleckman-Krut, M. (2014). Constructing 'Corrective Rape' for South Africa: An evaluation of a global media discourse around sexual violence in South Africa. *The LGBTQ Policy Journal*, 1-15.
- Hassim, J. & Wagner, C. (2013). Considering the cultural context in psychopathology formulations. *South African Journal of Psychiatry*, 19(1), 4-10.
- Hayes, G. (2003). 20 Years of Oppositional and Critical Psychology. *Psychology in Society*, 29(1), 1-5.
- Holdstock, T. (2000). *Re-examining psychology*. London: Routledge.
- Holdstock, T. (1981). Psychology in South Africa belongs to the colonial era. Arrogance or ignorance?. *South African Journal Of Psychology*, 11(4), 123--129.
- Holub, R. (1992). *Antonio Gramsci*. London: Routledge.
- Hook, D. & Eagle, G. (2002). *Psychopathology and social prejudice*. Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press.
- Jamison, D. (2010). Fanon Revisited: Exploring the Relationship Between African-Centered Psychology and Fanonian Psychology. *The Journal of Pan African Studies*, 3(8), 179-193.
- Jervis, N. (2006). *What is culture?* New York: University of the State of New York.
- Juma, J. (2011). *African worldviews: Their impact on psychopathology and psychological counseling*. Masters dissertation. South Africa: University of South Africa.
- Klandermans, B., Werner, M. & Van Doorn, M. (2008). Redeeming apartheid's legacy: Collective guilt, political ideology, and compensation. *Political Psychology*, 29(3), 331-349.
- Kubokawa, A. & Ottaway, A. (2009). Positive psychology and cultural sensitivity: A review of the literature. *Graduate Journal Of Counseling Psychology*, 1(2), 13.
- Li, J. & Karakowsky, L. (2001). Do we see eye-to-eye? Implications of cultural differences for cross-cultural management research and practice. *The Journal Of Psychology*, 135(5), 501-517.

- Long, W. (2013). *A history of relevance: South African psychology in focus*. Doctoral dissertation. South Africa: University of Cape Town.
- Mare, G. (2001). From “traditional authority” to “diversity management”: some recent writings on managing the workforce. *Psychology in Society*, 27, 109-19.
- Martin, G. & Durrheim, K. (2006). Racial recruitment in post-apartheid South Africa: Dilemmas of private recruitment agencies. *Psychology in Society*, 33(1), 1-15.
- Mashau, M. (2012). Multi-Cultural Education: Is Education Playing A Role In Acculturating Different Cultures In South Africa? *American International Journal of Contemporary Research*, 6(2), 57-65.
- Mayekiso, T., Strydom, F., Jithoo, V. & Katz, L. (2004). Creating new capacity through postgraduate selection. *South African Journal of Psychology: South African Psychology: Reviewing The First Decade Of Democracy: Special Issue*, 34(4), 657.
- McKay, A. (1999). “Losers” and their mothers: Personal and political implications of poverty. *Psychology in Society*, 25(1), 77-80.
- Mistry, J. (2001). Conditions of cultural production in post-apartheid South Africa. *Extraordinary Times*, 1--20.
- Moll, I. (2002). African psychology: Myth and reality. *South African Journal of Psychology*, 32(1), 1-9.
- Ndlovu, S. (2010). Deracialisation! What deracialisation?: There's no end to race. *Psychology in Society*, (39), 56-62.
- O'Dell, L., de Abreu, G. & O'Toole, S. (2004). The turn to culture. *The Psychologist*, 17(3), 138-141.
- Patton, M. (2002). *Qualitative research and evaluation methods*. California: Sage Publications.
- Pedersen, P. (2009). Inclusive cultural empathy: A relationship-centred alternative to individualism. *South African Journal of Psychology*, 39(2), 143-156.

- Pillay, A. & Kramers, A. (2003). South African clinical psychology, employment (in) equity and the brain drain. *South African Journal of Psychology*, 33(1), 52-60.
- Pillay, A., Ahmed, R. & Bawa, U. (2013). Clinical psychology training in South Africa: A call to action. *South African Journal of Psychology*, 43(1), 46-58.
- Pillay, Y. & Petersen, I. (1996). Current Practice Patterns of Clinical and Counselling Psychologists and Their Attitudes to Transforming Mental Health Policies in South Africa. *South African Journal of Psychology*, 26(2), 76-80.
- Pretorius, G. (2012). Reflections on the Scope of Practice in the South African profession of psychology: A moral plea for relevance and a future vision. *South African Journal of Psychology*, 42(4), 509-521.
- Rebelo, M. (2004). *The influence of acculturation on the self-concept of black adolescents*. Masters dissertation. South Africa: University of Pretoria.
- Rorty, A. (1994). The hidden politics of cultural identification. *Political Theory*, 152-166.
- Rosenthal, K. (2009). Culture, Politics and the State. *Considering Africa*, 5(1), 1-22.
- Ross, N. (2004). *Culture & Cognition*. California: Sage Publications.
- Ruane, I. (2010). Obstacles to the utilisation of psychological resources in a South African township community. *South African Journal of Psychology*, 40(2), 214-225.
- Sawant, S. (2012). Postcolonial Theory: Meaning and Significance. In *Postmodern Literary Theory and Literature*. Nanded, India: S.R.M College.
- Sher, D. & Long, W. (2012). Historicising the relevance debate: South African and American psychology in context. *South African Journal of Psychology*, 42(4), 564-575.
- Skirbekk, S. & Skirbekk, S. (2005). *Dysfunctional culture*. Maryland, USA: University Press of America.
- Skovdal, M. (2007). Cross-cultural psychology: Still struggling with its encounters of the other. *Psychology in Society*, 35(1), 101-105.
- Swartz, L. (2000). *Culture and mental health: a southern African view*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Van der Merwe, W. (2005). Philosophy and the multi-cultural context of (post) apartheid South Africa.
- van der Riet, M. (2006). Trying to get culture!. *Psychology In Society*, 33(1), 68-71.
- Van Eeden, E. (2011). New South African keywords [Review of the book *School For Basic Sciences*]. South Africa: Vaal Triangle Campus, North-West University.
- Van Ommen, C. (2013). Resisting the obfuscation of 'race': The importance of acknowledging the socio-political in normative data research. *South African Journal of Psychology*, 43(2), 198-207.
- Waetjen, T. & Mare, G. (2009). Tradition's Desire: The Politics of Culture in the Rape Trial of Jacob Zuma. *Theoria*, 56(118), 63-81.
- Willig, C. (2001). *Introducing qualitative research in psychology*. Maidenhead, England: McGraw Hill/Open University Press.