act of expropriation is irreconcilable with national detente. This alien culture of the Seminary is as indigenous as the Afrikaner culture. It is not only as indigenous, it is also as tough. It cannot be destroyed, therefore it must be re-

moved to somewhere else. If this is the best the Government can show, its efforts in Southern Africa are doomed to fail.

After this editorial was written, the Rector of Fort Hare, exercising his government—given rights, announced that he would immediately take over the Anglican and Presbyterian buildings from the Seminary, including of course the student accommodation. Presumably he had decided that the Anglican and Presbyterian students could be accommodated by the other two constituent colleges. So the dispossessed must learn to live with the dispossessors. Surely the Seminary could have been spared that. The Rector's action makes the expropriation seem a meaner act than ever. □

STRESS OR BAD FAITH

The Professional Role in a Therapeutic Society

by John M. Raftery

The undeniable direction of most social and psychological research, during this century, has been in perfecting tech- niques of social control. In the private sphere, institutionalized psychology has emerged, according to Peter Berger "as one of the agencies supplying a population of anxious consumers with a variety of services for the construction, maintenance and repair of identities. In the public sphere, it lends itself with equal success to the different economic and political bureau- cracies in need of non-violent techniques of social control." And in "Law, Liberty and Psychiatry" (1963) Thomas Szasz has noted how the U.S.A. has become a 'therapeutic state'. Psychologism has permeated welfare and educational organiza- tions, personnel and business administration, and has become firmly entrenched as an orthodoxy of veiled psycho-mani- pulation. This makes it very easy to define away "social problems" as "anti-social behaviour" or "maladjustment", implying that the individual rather than the society is sick, and of course, a battery of therapeutic techniques are avail- able to "readjust" the individual.

This new impersonal authority of the therapeutic state, with its apparent reasonableness and its repressive tolerance, is simply an up-to-date variant of the paternalistic authority described by Oscar Wilde in 1891: "When it is used with a certain amount of kindness, and accompanied by prizes and rewards, it is dreadfully demoralizing. People . . . are less conscious of the horrible pressure that is being put on them, and so go through their lives in a sort of coarse comfort, like

petted animals, without ever realizing that they are probably thinking other people's thoughts, living by other people's standards . . ."

In present-day Britain, where 12 million barbiturate and 16 million tranquillizer prescriptions are issued each year[1], it cannot be denied that pharmacotherapy provides "a sort of coarse comfort" of adjustment. The magnitude of this medication into submission and benign chemical euphoria (benign, that is, from the "social stability" point of view), shows us that probably thousands of creative people are sedated prematurely into oblivion. The disillusioned victims of unjust social systems, when they are fearful, dependent and tranquillized, find rebellion or indeed any political initiative-taking, most unpalatable. It is easier to allow the social defects to fester, and to step up the dosage.

The therapy gospel has become international in recent years, and it may be a short step from the therapeutic state, to the therapeutic globe. In the words of Howard P. Rome: "Actually no less than the entire world is a proper catchment area for present-day psychiatry, and psychiatry need not be appalled by the magnitude of this task"[2]. He does not mention the mag- nitude of the profits, power and prestige which will accrue to

[1] Figures taken from an article by Professor S. Rose, in the Times Higher Education Supplement, of 23rd November, 1973.
[2] "Psychiatry and foreign affairs: the expanding competence of psychiatry." American Journal of Psychiatry, 1968, Vol. 125.

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his profession after its global expansion, but speaks only of its social relevance: "If psychiatry is to avoid the cul-de-sac of irrelevance and move into the avant-garde of meaningful social reform, it will have to greatly extend the boundaries of its present community operations." To facilitate this extension, Rome advocates a breaching of the "impermeable barriers of chauvinistic professionalism", so that all the humanistic sciences may co-operate in the therapeutic endeavour.

Now, if this co-operation and expansion were based on a radical commitment to exposing what Erich Fromm called "the pathology of normalcy", or "socially patterned defects", normality as oppression would be experienced by many as the actual condition of their own society and a critical, challenging independence would emerge among the members of that society. But it appears that the tools of human engineering and psychiatry will be guided in their use, by the traditional model, i.e. the contrast between the SICK patient and his environment which is assumed to be 'normal'; timid sociologists and political scientists will be assigned the task of "studying" the soci-economic problems, these 'problems' being defined in a way which will make them amenable to a mechanistic-autocratic 'solution', supplied by the definers. Real underlying problems like economic-military-cultural imperialism, the gospels of 'development', economic growth and affluence, for whose solution fundamental changes in values are absolutely essential, will meanwhile be watered down and deprived of their educative and transformative force. A good example of the study of pseudo-problems is given by Paul Hoch[3], when he talks about the student 'revolt'. "The presence of such revolt now calls for a battery of hypotheses, theories, studies, explanations, what have you. And all under the label of the 'student' problem—not of course the professorial problem, or the univerity problem, or the bureaucracy problems, or still the power structure problem."

And so it is likely that the extension of psychiatry might result in a new apologetics that would not propound nor tolerate any 'solutions' that lead to a significant deviation from social stability. Having observed the fact that there is a traditional deference paid to the health worker, that is not paid to politicians, what Rome advocates is a war against disease (mental and physical) because "wars" against poverty and ignorance . . . suffer from puzzling ambiguity and vagueness about which there are some nagging doubts." But the real problem here is that an all-out war against poverty and ignorance would involve a huge deviation from the norm of stability and a large-scale social upheaval, and this is a case where, the tools of psychiatry and social science become redundant and obsolete. And then the poor and exploited, the "non-experts" on poverty and ignorance, the "deviants" from the norm, are suddenly thinking and acting for themselves, and the politics of apologetics ends.

But at present, the world's poor, in general terms, have a "culture of silence", which makes them identify with their oppressors' opinions of them—idle, ignorant, stupid, deficient. The affluent, on the other hand, have a "culture of science" with its own inherent momentum, and over-aweing presence, and the masses deferentially bow to the Great Minds who produce science (and who are produced by science). We deeply honour the people who implant 'wants' in our minds,

tailor our conformities, and provide ready-made micromissions in life for us, that can only be fulfilled by the attainment of wealth, power, and status. And we passively acquiesce when confronted with the collective common sense of the "brilliant" Minds. In this way, the occidental 'culture of science' completes the global 'culture of silence'. The worlds of the voiceless peasant and the programmed consumer are equally governed by an overpower, a power that treats each of its subject atoms with a statistical contempt: in the West, the programmer is forced to generalize and to view unique human beings as demographic atoms; he must look at what makes people the same, not at what distinguishes them. Since this is the attitude that typifies the establishment of science and government, we can see that it is a very small step to commending sameness and conformity; ultimately, eccentricities are seen as being subversive, and the inconsistencies that define the human person, spoken of by Thomas Molyneux, will not be accommodated in the programme. "We will go astray in our loves, be rejected by our children, tell tales on our best friends, covet, look the other way, wonder about our courage, walk for days in the world without recognizing it. All people will. But the same people—or some of them—will renew those loves, forgive those children, sustain those friends, will come out of a quiet house at dawn after a troubled sleepless night and stop still at the thin precision of a low moon, the binding steadiness of an elm, a mysterious and solitary light in a neighbour's window. So long as the subject is people, or particular people, those contradictions are possible . . ." But for the technocrat, these contradictions are 'noise' in the sytem, and upset predictability, and preset categories.

The strong dread of the gut feeling of anxiety, generated by firing or ostracism, forces most people into line, and away from insights, which might expose the absurdity of some of the myths and symbols which confine their behaviours into narrow channels. It is easier to co-operate with the symbols in the ritual of self-deception, than to honestly evaluate one's professional mask, even though the consequences of the self-deception may often be injustice and rigid insensitivity. As Friedenberg correctly notes, people "will accept manipulation that constitutes a massive threat to their being, if it is done in such a way as to alarm them less severely than the consequences of resistance would. The political implications of this are obvious, and well known to government and law enforcement officials."[4]

The crucial quality here is the capacity to tolerate stress; a high stress tolerance is today, probably one of the most liberating personality traits, as it allows the person to fight against the reductionism that sees man as a mere role, occupation or function, and to slough off the straight-jacket of professionalism. Despite common usage, "stress" is not fatigue, or nervous breakdown or disenchantment, but is a non-specific response of the body to any demand made upon it. Stress should not be confused with possible results of stress (like heart and nervous disease, exhaustion). As Dr Hans Selye[5] states: "It would be wrong to say that stress must be avoided, because it is inevitable and because it would be tantamount to saying "avoid living". If you never make a demand on any of your organs you are dead . . . Avoiding stress is impossible; it means suicide." Thus the stress-

3 Paul Hoch "Academic Freedom in Action" (p.171)

4 Edgar Friedenberg "Laing", Modern Masters Series, 1973
5 Hans Selye "Stress without Distress", Lippincott 1974.

avoidance that medication into a vegetable state implies, is self-suffocating and produces an artifically streamlined creature. Pre-fabricated behavioural patterns, which constitute a role-prison, are adopted. According to Charles Reich[6] "The role-prison drastically restricts such fundamental aspects of personality as relationships with others, personal expression, modes of thought and goals and aspirations"; and the individual's own 'true' self, if still alive, must watch helplessly while the role self lives, enjoys and relates to others. Stress avoidance becomes confrontation avoidance, and the "other directed man" described by David Riesman[7] is the dominant professional personality type, seeking to avoid independant critical thought and anxiety, by reacting with radar-like alacrity to the expectations of his peer group; to be "out on a limb" or unpopular is to be miserable and tense, so a plastic, malleable and ingratiating character is adopted.

It may be that culture is man's "second nature", and the only condition in which he can live with a measure of safety, but today, we may have gone too far in the production of a homogenous culture. Professionals, who have been submerged in their social roles, in our modern therapeutic states, while working hard to create what would appear to the functionalists to be a "viable habitat", free from stress, may in fact be degrading our existing habitats by dangerous standardizing and padding. We might agree, for example, with Dr Ivan Illich that the medical establishment is a major threat to health today, since the health professions have transferred illness and death from a personal to a technical challenge. In all cultures pain leads to despair or anguish, but might remain human pain when the anguish is confronted and worked through with the resulting cathartic effect, "But", says Illich, "doctors now claim the power to manage pain, and are producing a new kind of pain—like the Hiroshima 'survivor guilt'—The concentrated attempt of the medical profession to kill pain produced the inability to suffer as a new kind of disease"[8] When pain, sickness and death are dehumanized because of professional expropriation, human beings are deprived of an important, if poignant source of existential awareness, and made more insensitive. And then, the human condition, says Illich, is one of "anaesthetized, impotent, lonely suffering in a world-wide hospital." Is this the "viable habitat" of the unbrave new world?

With the decline of religious absolution in the West, during this century, man can determine the rules and values, of his existence, within the framework and roles of an institutional-professional world. He should be free, in this framework, to symbolize and create meaning from absurdity. This meaning would transcend the false dichotomy between subjective and objective, since the external reality which exists has no life apart from the mind that perceives it, and the mode of exis-tence which organizes it. But if we accept the Cartesian dichotomy between mind and external reality, we can easily pretend to ourselves and others that things could not be otherwise, that we are bound to our way of life, and that we could not escape it even if we wanted to, i.e. what Sartre called "Bad Faith". Professional roles are permeated with Bad Faith, for, just as language can solidify and stifle creative thought, so roles and values, unless they are constantly being dismantled and reassembled, can also solidify and stifle spontaneity. The conviction that there are absolute moral laws to bind us, and that there is a predetermined path of duty stretching before us, imprisons us in oppressive roles which do not recognise the contingency, the absurdity, the nothingness, and so the freedom of the human being. Ideally, a person is the sum of his acts and not the victim of his roles.

Most of our professional educators, extol the benefits of Bad Faith, as they inculcate the tenets of this faith, into the minds of their students, with such rationalisations as "fitting into the real world" and "ensuring the students' success"—(the best interests of the students are always at heart, of course!)

Abraham Maslow summed up this repressive educational technique: "The young man is rewarded **only** for being patient, cautious, stubborn, controlled, meticulous, suspicious, orderly, neat, and the like. Some effort is made to train **out** of him his wildness, his unconventionality, his rebelliousness against his elders . . . his mystical impulses, and much more besides"; This technique might produce "clever" and "brilliant" performing professionals, but their minds will have been purged of all critical, autochthonous thoughts.

One of the few pedagogues who has devised an alternative to education for Bad Faith, is Paulo Freire. His method is to "problematize" social reality by using a few key 'generative' words, directly relevant to the difficulties of his students, on the basis of dialogue and question-posing, in a non-authoritarian way. This method overcomes the tightcasting and inhibiting effects of roles, and discovers many genuine, critical, and liberating alternatives to conventional modes of thought and behaviour. Although Freire's work is based on Latin America, it may have many applications to our own therapeutic societies. In the words of Michael Maccoby who reviewed Freire's work: "In rural Latin America, hopelessness has been caused by scarcity and oppression. Here it often comes about by consumerism, anxiety about the future and the lack of responsiveness or joy in human relations. To apply Freire's approach to our own society requires considerable study".[9]

But only this kind of study can counteract Bad Faith, expose the pathology of the professional role, and subvert the therapeutic state.◻

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6 Charles Reich "The Greening of America", Random House, 1970.
7 David Riesman "The Lonely Crowd"
8 Ivan Illich, Encyclopaedia Britannica lecture 1974, Edinburgh University.

9 Michael Maccoby "Literacy of the Favelas" Science, May 14th, 1971.