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Critiques of the relationship of knowledge to power in
social work and psychology in venezuela

Fleischman, Roberta Maso, Ph.D.

Stanford University, 1988

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CRITIQUES OF THE RELATIONSHIP OF KNOWLEDGE TO POWER
IN SOCIAL WORK AND PSYCHOLOGY
IN VENEZUELA

A DISSERTATION
SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
AND THE COMMITTEE ON GRADUATE STUDIES
OF STANFORD UNIVERSITY
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

By
Roberta Maso Fleischman
June 1988

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I certify that I have read this thesis and that in my opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Principal Adviser

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INTRODUCTION

This dissertation addresses the ways in which two disciplines of the human sciences, social work and psychology, developed in academic settings in Venezuela at a time when this Latin American country was undergoing its process of modernization. But, most importantly, it is the study of **how** critiques which addressed the political implications of knowledge arose within each field.

The Presence of Michel Foucault

Michel Foucault is fundamental to this dissertation in several ways. It was his work on the relationship between the proliferation of the human sciences and changes in social management in modern governments which motivated me to want to examine the discourses of psychology and social work in Venezuela. However, it was his exhortion to be attentive to 'subjugated discourses' or critiques of the relationship of knowledge to power which emerge in resistance to specialized knowledge, so as to expose and disseminate them, which really inspired this dissertation.

When I decided to examine not only which critiques existed in psychology and social work in Venezuela but **how** these had emerged I turned to Foucault and constructed a research design based partly on his discourse analysis and his analysis of the relationship of knowledge to

power.

For Michel Foucault the human sciences have developed, both in capitalist and socialist systems, alongside industrialization and a modernizing State. Industrialization produced the need for more efficient ways of production and for effective ways of managing social groups in accordance with the ethos of productivity and performance and, thus, promoted the need for knowledge about human beings. As knowledge was produced and applied, novel ways of social management emerged based on the examination, observation and classification of individuals according to norms established by experts of human behavior.

The complicity between the human sciences and modern social management imply, for Foucault, a different exercise of power. No longer is power exercised in a top-down fashion, but through a network of multiple relationships constituted by specialists within the fields of human sciences and their subjects. In this network, which sustains in part the fabric of everyday life, professionals such as teachers, nurses, doctors, social workers, psychologists and psychiatrists in their traditional practices subtly subjugate their subjects within the accepted social order. This subtle subjugation is possible because the human sciences form part of the 'regime of truth' of modern societies and the actions are not felt as oppressive or repressive, even though the final outcome is a series of strategies for the normalizing and disciplining of society. However, in this network of micro powers and in opposition to specialized knowledges, there are also continuous demonstrations of 'resistance' to the accepted truths of the human sciences, that is, there are critiques which expose the relationship of knowledge to power of the accepted knowledges (Foucault 1980b).

History shows that as the body of scientific knowledge expanded in

the late nineteenth century and, particularly, in the twentieth century, a literature of 'resistance' emerged which critically addressed the relationship of knowledge to power, that is, the production of knowledge or the use of knowledge to promote social control. At first it was historians, philosophers and sociologists who were concerned about the political implications of knowledge and who addressed this issue in general terms; however, as specialized fields of knowledge with respect to the human being mushroomed and proliferated, critiques of the relationship of knowledge to power have also emerged in particular fields of the human sciences. Practitioners in fields such as medicine, psychiatry, criminology, social work and psychology began to question the effects of power of the knowledge in their own professional areas.

In Latin America, psychology and social work developed together with modernization and became important contributors to programs of social management. As these disciplines became established, there was evidence of a body of literature which addressed the political implications of social work and psychology. In social work, especially, there is evidence of a strong critical trend which has developed since the sixties. The questioning of the relationship of knowledge to power in psychology is much more recent. In social work there are critical accounts of the discipline's origin in Latin America; there are also a few accounts of the emergence of critiques in the late sixties and seventies; yet there are no accounts of how these critiques may have affected the further development of the discipline or of recent critiques. In psychology there are no systematic critical accounts of its emergence and development in Latin America or of the emergence of critiques.

Scope of the Dissertation

In this dissertation I analyze the emergence of psychology and social work at a time when Venezuela was undergoing its process of modernization and I examine how these disciplines developed at the Universidad Central de Venezuela and at the Universidad Católica Andrés Bello. At the same time, I examine the demonstrations of resistance to specialized knowledge which have arisen within psychology and social work, that is, the critiques which address the political implications of these disciplines in Venezuela.

As the examination of the development of the disciplines is based on the Foucauldian discourse analysis, this study, consequently, focuses on the ways in which the knowledge base of the disciplines is constructed in relationship to events in the social, political and/or economic realms, as well as the ways in which the knowledge base of the disciplines may be related to social management. In order to analyze the relationship between a knowledge base and concurrent events I have employed the written curriculum and I have tried to understand the curricular changes in psychology and social work in relation to events within the university, within the social, economic and/or political spheres in Venezuela and in relation to events which originated out of the relationship between the North Atlantic and Latin America. It is important to note that, even though in the dissertation, I examine the ways in which the knowledge base may be constructed to support a professional practice which is to be integrated in modern ways of social management, I do not examine the ways in which the knowledge base of the disciplines is actually applied at the level of the workplace, that is, I do not examine the professional practice. Finally, the dissertation also examines the adequacy of the Foucauldian perspective in the analysis of the relationship of knowledge to power in a Latin American

country.

In this study I use two principal analytical constructs, one is the 'relationship of knowledge to power' and the other is 'discourse'. In Chapter I I review the different conceptualizations of the relationship of knowledge to power since Marx. This review is divided in two parts. The first part examines the literature which has arisen in countries of the North Atlantic region; the second part addresses the literature concerning knowledge and power in Latin America. The reason for this division is that as Latin America underwent a process of modernization different from that of Europe and the United States the literature which analyzes the political implications of knowledge in Latin America has singled out elements in the production and transfer of knowledge particular to this region. In both instances I review first the critiques which address the issue of the political implications of knowledge broadly; secondly I review some of the specific critiques which have emerged in psychology and social work and which were formulated by professionals within these areas. Thus, in the first part of Chapter I which focuses on the North Atlantic region, I examine the critiques of Marx, Gramsci, Althusser, Marcuse, Habermas, Jameson, Weber, Lyotard and Foucault; I also examine the work of Berger and Luckmann. For the specific critiques which have arisen within psychology and social work I review the literature in the United States and in the United Kingdom. With respect to Latin America I first review relationship of knowledge to power from the perspectives of dependency and cultural imperialism and then I examine the specific critical literature which addresses psychology and social work.

Chapter II: In this chapter I discuss the second construct, the 'discourse'. I explain which elements of the Foucauldian perspective were

retained for the design of the study and I explain how these were applied to the analysis of the development of the disciplines of social work and psychology. I describe the criteria for the choice of disciplines, the choice of academic settings and choice of data. I also describe the criteria for the use of the written curriculum in the analysis of changes in the knowledge base of a discourse.

Chapter III: In this chapter I analyze the emergence of social work in Venezuela and at the Universidad Central de Venezuela, I also analyze a critique of knowledge and power.

Chapter IV: This chapter is the analysis of the emergence of psychology at the Universidad Central de Venezuela and at the Universidad Catolica Andres Bello, together with the analysis of various critiques.

Chapter V: This is the closing chapter. Here I reflect on the adequacy of the Foucauldian perspective in the analysis of the development of the human sciences and their critiques in a country like Venezuela. I compare the critiques of knowledge and power in social work and psychology produced in the United States and in the United Kingdom with the critiques produced in Venezuela. I then address the possibilities and limitations of the written curriculum in the analysis of the knowledge base of a discourse. The difference in conceptualization of the relationship of knowledge to power in the Foucauldian and Marxist perspectives is also analyzed. Finally, I examine the significance of the study as well as its limitations and I suggest some areas for future research.

CHAPTER I

CRITIQUES OF THE RELATIONSHIP OF KNOWLEDGE TO POWER

This chapter reviews the literature which has dealt with the political aspects of knowledge; it is divided into two parts. First I will examine the literature which has arisen in countries surrounding the North Atlantic, and secondly I will address the literature concerning knowledge in Latin America. The reason for this division is that as Latin America underwent a process of modernization different from Europe and from the United States the literature which analyzes the political implications of knowledge in Latin America has singled out elements in the production and transfer of knowledge particular to this region. In both instances I will proceed by first reviewing the broad critiques of knowledge, and consequently I will zero in on the specific critiques of the knowledge produced in two areas of the human sciences: those of psychology and of social work.

I. Critiques of the Relationship of Knowledge to Power: the North Atlantic

Marxism through its analysis of capitalist ideology has contributed greatly to the study of the political implications of knowledge. Beginning with Marx, who established the groundwork in German Ideology, the examination and critiques of knowledge were continued by Marxist thinkers such as Gramsci, Marcuse, Habermas, Althusser, and Jameson producing an

array of different conceptualizations of knowledge and power and their relationship. Outside of the Marxist framework we have the work of Weber, of Lyotard and of Michel Foucault who have brought new insight to the problem of knowledge/power. I will also also briefly review the contribution of Berger and Luckman, mainly to show how these authors fail to address the issue of knowledge and power in their sociology of knowledge.

1.a Marxist-Based Critiques

Because of the search for the common good and the search for a fairer social system which underlies Marxist thought, the conceptualizations of knowledge and power are often constructed on binary opposites: knowledge which is a product and sustains the emancipatory project vs. knowledge which prevents emancipatory possibilities; knowledge free of the power of domination vs. ideology or a false knowledge imbued with the power to dominate; knowledge to be sought, to be hoped for vs. knowledge to be rejected or overcome. As we shall see below, some scholars, such as Habermas and Jameson, have felt constrained by this either/or attitude within Marxism and have constructed alternative views of the relationship between knowledge and power and presented different emancipatory possibilities.

1.a.1 Karl Marx

For Marx, knowledge has a material base and is related to the modes of production; thus a certain type of mode of production will produce a certain type of knowledge. In the case of capitalism its very condition of possibility is the epistemological inversion whereby man becomes

objectified and the commodity becomes the subject (Marx, 1978[1844]:70-81). The knowledge produced by the capitalist system is an alienating force which serves the interests of the dominant class and maintains the system. Because it is a knowledge that is ideological, it is also a knowledge which represses and dominates. It is, therefore, a knowledge related to power (Marx, 1978[1845]:173). In opposition to capitalism, Marx advocates an economy whose means of production are owned by the people. In this society classes would be an anachronism, and if classes become abolished, so will the need for ideology (Engels, 1978[1878]:683-717).

For Marx a knowledge free of ideology is possible through the interpretive method of historical materialism; but, it is ultimately only through the revolutionary change of the modes of production that ideology and domination will be done away with and a knowledge free of power will emerge. As we shall see below Marx's conceptualization of knowledge and power laid out the groundwork for subsequent critiques formulated within the framework of historical materialism. Some Marxists, such as Marcuse and Althusser retained Marx's original conceptualization, others such as Gramsci, Jameson and Habermas revised this concept and provided new perspectives within Marxism.

1.a.2 **Antonio Gramsci**

For Gramsci the overly economic analysis of class struggle of historical materialism did not provide an accurate understanding of the evolution of capitalism during the early 1900s nor of the failure of the communist parties to come to power. Adopting a more idealist position Gramsci proposed an analysis of the capitalist power structure not only in economic terms but also in terms of the relationship of ideological

domination of one class over another or hegemony. For him the stability or continuation of a regime depended not only upon organized state control but on its legitimacy and popular acquiescence and support. Through hegemony Gramsci identified the mechanism by which the ruling class popularizes its values, beliefs, and morality, all of which are internalized by the masses; consequently, what is supportive of the established order becomes part of 'common sense'. Hegemony, as an 'organizing principle' or cosmology, is diffused by agencies of ideological control and socialization and is sustained by the production of the intellectuals of the dominant class.

More than a philosopher in a traditional sense, Gramsci was above all an activist, a strategist. He was interested in the mobilization, in the revolution, of the Italian proletariat which so far had failed, and so he set out trying to understand the causes of this failure in order to implement new strategies. He was a philosopher of praxis. The problem for him was not how hegemony is historically possible but how to achieve hegemony of collectivism, then, during his time. However, even though his writings are impregnated with a definite sense of urgency, his revolutionary program was not a violent overthrow of the dominant order but a strategically and methodically planned 'war of position' to achieve hegemony (Gramsci, 1971:229-239) For Gramsci, if the dominant class exerts hegemony over the 'subaltern' classes through institutions such as the church, the school, and the family and if this hegemony, granted by acquiescence, is based on the production of knowledge, then the 'subaltern' classes must strive to place themselves in a position from which they can also exert their hegemony. This was to be achieved through education, through the harnessing of knowledge and technology, so that these classes might produce their own 'organic' intellectuals, whose values would be based on

collectivism and not on individualism. All this was to take place under the surveillance of the communist party. (Gramsci, 1971:5-23)

In the Gramscian concept of hegemony both knowledge and power acquire a different connotation from that found in Marx. First of all, in Gramsci, knowledge is no longer constructed as free of power on one side (communism) and imbued with a power synonymous with domination and repression on the other (capitalism). Knowledge always has the effect of power; moreover, it is always related to a value system. Thus he constructs his conceptualization of knowledge on opposing systems of values. That is, for Gramsci the knowledge produced within the capitalist system and which sustains it is based on individualism. This is a type of knowledge which is not desirable. In contrast, the knowledge which sustains communism is that based on collectivism, and this is what must be sought and must be constructed. In Gramsci we are told that knowledge, all knowledge, is related to power, but because knowledge is also related to value systems, not all knowledge is desirable. Secondly in the concept of hegemony there is no repression or violence but acquiescence and acceptance, identification with and emulation of the values of the dominant class, and this allows Gramsci to present another side of power; a power which connected to knowledge, makes of this relationship a productive instance, a relationship which must be harnessed and guided.

When Gramsci, in his critique of capitalism, discovers the mechanism of hegemony, he does not take issue with hegemony, per se, in order to overcome and abolish capitalism; instead he takes issue with the values on which capitalist hegemony is sustained. Understanding the force of hegemony what must be constructed, for Gramsci, is a knowledge based on collectivism, with the aid of the intellectuals who must emerge from the

people, or 'organic' intellectuals, under the supervision of the communist party. Revolution and the abolishing of capitalism will not bring about absence of hegemony or power - indeed revolution is only possible through a promoted, guided knowledge based on collectivism, and revolution will find its stability only through hegemony. As we will later observe in the review of critiques which emerged from within the field of social work, the Gramscian perspective of knowledge and power has provided the building blocks for radical professionals with which to formulate critiques of the use and application of the knowledge specific to their field of expertise.

1.a.3 Louis Althusser and Frederic Jameson

Another contribution to the issue of knowledge and power is that of Althusser's analysis of ideology. Like Gramsci, Althusser downplays economic determinism in Marxism and instead emphasizes the importance of the knowledge and values produced by the ideological apparatus in his explanation of the resilience of the capitalist system. However, similarities with Gramsci end here.

Althusser writes in the sixties and is greatly influenced by Lacanian psychoanalysis. He tries to do for Marxism what Lacan did for psychoanalysis; that is, just as Lacan re-read Freud and interpreted his work from a structuralist point of view, so Althusser re-reads Marx and interprets his work from a structuralist and Lacanian perspective. He rescues from Marx the concept of a dichotomized knowledge: knowledge free of power and of all illusion vs. knowledge which is illusory and results in alienation, domination and repression, making this the focal point of his theses. Based on structuralist psychoanalysis he goes through great lengths

to explain the mechanism through which this alienating knowledge is internalized by the individual subjects in a capitalist society.

For Althusser ideology functions in the unconscious and like the Freudian unconscious, which is an eternal structure of the human psyche, ideology becomes for Althusser an eternal structure of society. Althusser uses the Lacanian concept of l'imaginaire to localize ideology and to explain its mechanism. For Lacan l'imaginaire is that psychic instance that emerges during the "mirror stage" (Lacan, 1968, 1981)¹. It is here in l'imaginaire, in the illusory, that ideology is lodged. For Althusser the mother's gaze is also society's gaze. As the child grows, society's gaze is amplified to include the church's gaze, education's gaze, the media's gaze, etc., and these will inform the child's unconscious as to what subject society ideally wants him/her to be. It is in the shelter of l'imaginaire that the subject, in a sense, will take refuge, and it is here that the frustrations of everyday life brought about by the contradictions of the capitalist system wherein he/she is immersed are translated into illusory terms or ideology (Althusser, 1977).

Ideology for the French philosopher is defined in terms of its opposite, where ideology is alienating knowledge vs. transparent knowledge,

¹ To explain his concept of l'imaginaire Lacan refers one to a mother holding an infant, both gazing into a mirror. In the mirror the child's empty gaze meets the mother's gaze full of meaning, hope and illusion. The child does not see him or herself but sees in the mirror what he/she means for the mother, for the Other. At this stage the child is still the object of the Other's desire and fulfils it. Very soon, in the normal course of events, psychoanalysis informs us that the child ceases to be the object of the Other's desire and this is experienced by the child as no longer having that which the Other seeks, that is, it is experienced as a castration. Nevertheless, the experience of the mirror stage, which is internalized as the experience of l'imaginaire, will always remain for the human being, in an illusory way, a zone of refuge against the anguish one feels when faced with this personal lack, with this sense of castration.

free of all illusion and power. And the emancipatory project for Althusser is to be found in the practice of ideological analysis or Marxist hermeneutics, because it frees as it unmasks by separating that which is Real from that which is illusory and, at the same time, rescues any hidden collective meanings in cultural expressions.

However, for Marxist critics like Jameson, Althusserian theory is 'negative' hermeneutics which like neo-Freudian theory suffers from:

a nostalgia for some ultimate moment of cure, in which the dynamics of the unconscious proper rise to the light of day and of consciousness and are somehow integrated in an active lucidity about ourselves and the determination of our desires and our behaviour (Jameson, 1981:183).

For Jameson ideological analysis is feasible and emancipatory if it incorporates a 'positive' hermeneutics, that is, if an ideological analysis acknowledges the utopian as well as the ideological. Yes, says Jameson, ideology is false consciousness in the sense that it is not a correct representation of the actual material conditions of the Real but it is, at the same time, a representation of hope which is part of the cultural being.

Thus what Jameson proposes for ideological theory is that, first, ideology cannot be interpreted so as to achieve a permanent, non-illusory representation of the Real, as is often assumed by Althusserians; secondly, he calls our attention to the ideal utopian aspect of the illusory; and, thirdly, he proposes an analysis which avoids the dichotomy of good and evil, truth and falsehood wherein Althusserian ideological analysis has become entrapped. The relevance of Jameson lies in that he makes explicit some of the problems pertaining to Marx's original conceptualization of knowledge and power which has forced Marxist thinkers such as he and Habermas to revise the concept and to other thinkers like Lyotard and

Foucault, ex-Marxists, to discard this conceptualization of knowledge and power altogether, as we shall soon see.

1.a.4 The Frankfurt School: Herbert Marcuse and Jurgen

Habermas

Since World War II, the Frankfurt School has provided a constant critique of modern rationality. Marcuse, writing in the fifties and in the sixties was deeply concerned with the mechanisms of objectification and alienation.

In advanced capitalism, reason, which rests on the potentially subversive character of negation, revealing the 'internal inadequacies' of the existing world, has itself become subverted in the 'one-dimensional thought' of the technological rationality of advanced capitalism. If in bourgeois society the quest for truth operated dialectically, exposing contradictions between thought and reality and connecting such contradictions to the promise of the good life, in a technological society, with the predominance of instrumental reason, truth concerns correspondence not contradiction, and truth of 'fact' is separated from values. (Marcuse, 1966:131) The absorption of clashing opinions, of the driving power of negation, into technological rationality actually means that 'advanced industrial culture is more ideological than its predecessor' (Marcuse 1966:11). It is more ideological than early capitalism because ideology has become part of the very process of production. False consciousness is integral to the 'truth' of the logic of technical reason.

Emancipatory possibilities lie, for Marcuse, in technology itself. Following the logic of dialectics, technology, if pushed to its limits, will generate its own negation (Marcuse 1970:7). Like Marx in the Grundrisse

([1857]1978) technology implies freeing the human being from the bondage of production. Developing the idea further, aided by Freud's discussion on sexual repression and sublimation, Marcuse foresees a New Technology which would be based on 'sensuous rationality' (1961:208) and which contrary to Marx would not promote control of nature, but would instead advance preservation and foster and release the potentiality of nature.

For Marcuse knowledge was also conceptualized based on a dichotomy: a positivist, liberal technology which is ideological and alienating vs. a new, communist technology which will be liberating. However, the concept of power in Marcuse is different from Marx.

In this universe, technology also provides the great rationalization of the unfreedom of man and demonstrates the 'technical' impossibility of being autonomous, of determining one's own life. For this unfreedom appears neither as irrational nor as political, but rather as submission to the technical apparatus which enlarges the comforts of life and increases the productivity of labor. Technological rationality thus protects rather than cancels the legitimacy of domination and the instrumentalist horizon of reason opens on a rationally totalitarian society. (Marcuse 1966: 158)

In Marcuse, power is not conceptualized top-down; it is not localized in the State or the superstructure; instead, it is a condition of technological knowledge and action. It is, therefore, everywhere. Nor is power conceived as violently repressive. Marcuse, more than any other Marxist thinker before him, addressed the changing manifestations of power in a technocratic society. These concepts were to influence the work of Habermas; however, Habermas (below) introduced major changes in the conceptualization of knowledge.

Habermas' objective, like that of his predecessor in the Frankfurt School, is to offer a critical framework for the study of culture today and

the production of knowledge and to investigate and disclose its emancipatory possibility. Habermas concurs with Marcuse in the alienating effects of technological rationality; however, Habermas does not accept an either/or attitude with regard to the positivist and hermeneutic epistemology as put forth in Marcuse and as has traditionally marked Marxist writings. Instead, he argues for the need to transcend these dichotomies and oppositions of knowledges in order to combine a knowledge that is rational-purposive as in positivism but based on values as in Marxist hermeneutics.

For Habermas (1970) social systems are constituted by both work and interaction or purposive-rational action and communicative action; usually with the predominance of one over the other. Advanced capitalism rests on and has privileged purposive rational action, and what must be investigated and rescued is communicative action as a complement to technological rationality. And this seems to be Habermas' project.

Ideology is an important aspect of his argument on communication. For Habermas, like Marx, ideology is a form of false consciousness. However, he rejects the view of ideology as the instrument of the ruling class, an argument which was certainly valid during Marx's time. Instead, like Marcuse, Habermas holds that in advanced capitalism ideology is inherent to technology and to a pervasive rationality in which all participate. Furthermore, Habermas says that ideology does not consist so much of false perceptions, but of a systematically distorted communication, i.e., a type of communication that affects the capacity of groups or whole societies to arrive at satisfactory agreements concerning common problems (1970). Habermas regards both science and technology as a source of distorted communication; because of their sheer pervasiveness they are a

serious form of ideology, reflecting a rational-purposive action, and conflicting with communication oriented toward social solidarity and the attainment of consensus.

In order to overcome ideology or distorted communications, Habermas suggests psychoanalysis as an exemplar of a type of communication, an epistemology, that unites both paths of knowledge (positivism and hermeneutics) and which is, at the same time, emancipatory. Habermas, unlike Marcuse and Althusser, is not interested in the content of psychoanalysis, but in its form.

Habermas' argument on liberation, rationality and consciousness are not reduced to the determinism of modes of production. Systematic distorted communication may be an expression of a mode of production. In other words, advanced capitalism is sustained by and promotes rational-purposive action; it dominates through distorted communication because it is severed from communal values; nevertheless, it has also produced a form of interaction, the psychoanalytic encounter, with which to overcome ideology.

Following the Marxist tradition, knowledge and power in Habermas are still construed as a binary opposition, and power is conceptualized in a negative sense, i.e. ideology or systematic distorted communication = knowledge + repression vs. communicative action = knowledge without repression. But says Habermas, it is an opposition that must and will be overcome through the 'public sphere' wherein rational, informed individuals will critically evaluate social issues.

When the critiques of knowledge and power in psychology in the North Atlantic are reviewed later on in this chapter we will find Habermas to be of utmost importance, for he has provided, for some psychologists, the

conceptual platform from where to pose substantial changes in the professional area of psychology in order to transform it from an ideological tool of the system into an emancipatory praxis

In this brief overview of critiques of knowledge and its relationship to power we see how, as capitalism changed, so did the concept of power in Marxism. If to Marx ideology was a repressive tool in the hands of the dominant class, to Gramsci, Althusser, Marcuse and Habermas alienation or the power of knowledge to control society is not perceived as overtly repressive and dominating and this obliges them to go to great lengths, each in their own way, to explain the mechanisms through which ideology is internalized and accepted. However, except for Gramsci, power is conceived only as control and domination. In the Gramscian concept of hegemony, knowledge is never separated from power or from value systems and this permits Gramsci, in a sense, to show the positive side of the relationship of knowledge and power. Gramsci shows how societies are controlled not only through repressive methods, but through the acceptance of the values of the dominant class. The values are integrated in the knowledge diffused by institutions like the church, the school, the media, etc. In Gramsci it is not the relationship of knowledge and power which is alienating; instead alienation lies in the values on which knowledge is based.

Generally the concept of knowledge in the literature reviewed has been constructed on a binary opposition. In Marx we have a type of knowledge which is not alienated and based on a mode of production brought about by communism vs. a type of knowledge which is based on a capitalist mode of production and therefore alienating. In Althusser we have a type of knowledge which is scientific, free of illusion and power and accessed by Marxist hermeneutics vs. a type of knowledge which is illusory and

alienating. Marcuse's argument is based on a new, communist technology vs. the positivist technology of advanced capitalism. In Gramsci and Habermas we find, a knowledge based on communal or collective values vs. a knowledge based on individualism or lacking collective values.

With the exception of Habermas, the emancipatory project is a thing of the future, and it implies the materialization of the desired knowledge vs. the rejection of the other. In Habermas there is, instead, an attempt to overcome this opposition and to search for emancipatory possibilities in the present. Jameson also tries to overcome this opposition by introducing the utopian aspects of ideology.

1.b **Non-Marxist Critiques of Knowledge and Power**

We now turn to critiques which have been formulated outside the Marxist framework. These are the critiques of Michel Foucault, Max Weber and Jean-Francois Lyotard. I also briefly review the work of Berger and Luckmann.

1.b.1 **Michel Foucault**

Like Marcuse and Habermas, Foucault sees modern forms of rationality as a form of domination, of social control. And like Gramsci, he also recognizes the strategic power of knowledge and the productive side of power. However, even though these affinities exist, it is by positioning himself outside the discourse of Marxism that Foucault is able to pose fresh questions and place the production of knowledge under a different perspective. First of all Foucault avoids ideological analysis.

The notion of ideology appears to me to be difficult to make use of, for three reasons. The first is that, like it or not, it always

stands in virtual opposition to something else which is supposed to count as truth. Now I believe that the problem does not consist in drawing the line between that in a discourse which comes under some other category, but in seeing historically how the effects of truth are produced within discourses which in themselves are neither true or false. The second drawback is that the concept of ideology refers, I think necessarily, to something of the order of a subject. Thirdly, ideology stands in a secondary position relative to something which functions as its infrastructure, as its material, economic determinant, etc. For these three reasons, I think that this is a notion that cannot be used without circumspection (Foucault, 1980b:118)

For Foucault knowledge is never without effects of power and the relationship between knowledge and power is not economically determined. Each society manages a system of knowledge which it makes function as 'true'.

Each society ... has its 'general politics' of truth: that is, the types of discourse which it accepts and makes function as true; the mechanisms and instances which enable one to distinguish true and false statements, the means by which each is sanctioned; the techniques and procedures accorded value in the acquisition of truth; the status of those who are charged with saying what counts as true (Foucault 1980b:131)

As his conceptualization of knowledge and power is not based on a moral dichotomy and as all knowledge includes effects of power, Foucault has no need for hermeneutics. If it is evident that knowledge has effects of power, there is no need to interpret power so as to dismantle it or to overthrow it. Instead, one should ask: how are these regimes of truth produced; whom does power serve? (Foucault, 1980b:115) And this is the essence of his work.

Michel Foucault's work on modern rationality can be divided into two periods: in the first he questions the proliferation of the human sciences,

focusing on the construction of the discourses of two of the modern sciences: medicine (Foucault, 1973) and psychiatry (Foucault, 1965); and establishing a methodology which he discusses in the *Archeology of Knowledge* (Foucault, 1982). As his studies of knowledge of man progressed he became aware of the tactical aspects of the human sciences. During the second period, having suggested the connection knowledge/power, he addresses the possible effects of the human sciences and in his later works (Foucault 1979, 1980a) has suggested that knowledge and information about human beings and of their individual and group behavior produced by the human sciences is fundamental for modern methods of governance. It is through the presence of the human sciences that a normalization and a regulation of society has in part been possible. Henceforth, his analyses will emphasize not only the construction of discourse but its possible disciplining effects on the society and the indissoluble relationship of knowledge/power.

According to Foucault the social body has, since the eighteenth century, been carefully scrutinized, investigated by the scientific gaze of medicine, psychiatry, penology (the study of the penal system), psychology, engineering. If the telescope, the lens, the light beam introduced a major technology into physics and cosmology, the gaze of the human sciences with their "minor techniques of multiple and intersecting observations, of eyes that must see without being seen, were the means of establishing new knowledge of man." (Foucault 1976: 171)

With industrialization, knowledge of the social body became: knowledge of the management of the social body to insure productivity; the productivity of workers in factories, of pupils in schools, of convicts on the way to rehabilitation in prisons. The social body became an aggregate

of observable, docile, trainable bodies enclosed in functional sites such as schools, factories, prisons, barracks, hospitals.

While on the one hand the disciplinary establishments increase, their mechanisms have a certain tendency to become 'deinstitutionalized', to emerge from the closed fortresses in which they once functioned and to circulate in a 'free' state (form).The school tends to constitute minute social observatories that penetrate even to the adults and exercise regular supervision over them...as centres of observation disseminated throughout society, religious groups and charity organizations had long played this role of 'disciplining' the population (Foucault 1979:211-212).

From institutions like the schools the scientific gaze, in such disciplines as psychology and social work, turned to the parents, and thereby entered into the private domain of the home and into everyday life.

The Conditions of Possibility for the Disciplinary Action of the Human Sciences.

For Foucault the conditions of possibility for the disciplinary action of the human sciences would seem to rest on a certain number of 'technologies of power' which are incorporated in the practices of professionals of the human sciences. These are: the examination, the normalizing judgement and the hierarchical observation and monitoring (1979:170-194). For these modern technologies of power there is no particular order as to which is applied first; they are all part of the same process. From the scientific gaze which sometimes observes and monitors and, at other times, examines, comes the norm, which is then used to observe, to examine and to monitor.

Although for Foucault the analysis of knowledge/power has demonstrated how human sciences have developed because of their

possibility to discipline the social body it is important for Foucault not to perceive power only as repressive, as it is often perceived in Marxist analyses

... power would be a fragile thing if its only function were to repress, if it worked only through the mode of censorship, exclusion, blockage and repression, in the manner of a great Superego, exercising itself only in a negative way (Foucault 1980b:59).

What makes power's hold good, what makes it accepted, is simply the fact that it doesn't only weigh on us like a force that says no, but that it traverses and produces things, it induces pleasure, forms knowledge, produces discourse. It needs to be considered as a productive network which runs through the whole social body, much more than as a negative instance whose function is repression (Foucault 1980b:119).

The modern face of power for Foucault is its disciplining action, or its normalizing function through the human sciences. And because the human sciences form part of the 'régime of truth' of modern societies the actions are not felt as oppressive or repressive, even though the end result is a series of strategies for the disciplining of the social body or society.

In the Foucauldian perspective, power, in a substantive sense, does not exist "...power is not an institution, a structure, or a certain force with which certain people are endowed; it is the name given to a complex of strategic relations in a given society" (Foucault, 1980b:93) It is not something to be seized, acquired or shared. It is not located (e.g. superstructure), it has no defined directionality (e.g. top-down), it is more like a network of power/resistance. It is exercised from innumerable points. It does not circulate because of individuals; it circulates through them (Foucault, 1980b:92-95).

'Subjugated' Discourses

Even though Foucault tried to avoid the dichotomy in the conceptualization of knowledge present in Marxism by assuming from the outset that knowledge is always connected to power, in his later works he also made of an opposition of knowledges (Foucault 1980b). Thus, in the in 'Power/Knowledge' (1980b) we find discourses of organized knowledge regarding the social body and its normalization, and in opposition to these, there are 'subjugated' discourses whose function it is to constantly confront and challenge the discourses, to critique the accepted, organized groups of statements of the different disciplines. Besides the opposition between discourses and 'subjugated' discourses in the Foucauldian perspective of knowledge/power there is also a constant renewal of the expressions of resistance, so that, as 'subjugated' discourses become empowered and legitimated and become themselves subjugating, there are always new critiques which emerge to challenge the ever changing 'regime of truth'. Thus, one of Foucault's main objectives was to seek out these 'subjugated' knowledges inspite of the fact that by seeking them out these could lose their challenging effect

Our task will be to expose and specify the issue at stake in this opposition, this struggle, this insurrection of knowledges against the institutions and against the effects of the power/knowledge that invests scientific discourse ...Even if we run the risk that these subjugated discourses, after being exposed, very often become incorporated into the accepted discourse (Foucault 1980b:87).

According to Baudrillard (1987), Foucault's contribution for the understanding of power is fundamental in that he has managed to 'pulverize' the concept but he has failed to push the concept to its limits where power cancels itself out. For Baudrillard Foucault has not done with power what

he (Foucault) managed to do with sex: to make 'sex' lose its meaning, that is, 'to push the analytics of power to its conclusion to the point where power cancels itself out or where it has never been' (Baudrillard, 1987:38)

In Foucault

'everything still comes back to some kind of power - without having that notion reduced and expurgated...With Foucault power remains, despite being pulverised, a structural and a polar notion with perfect genealogy and an inexplicable presence in spite of a sort of latent denunciation, a notion which is whole in each of its points or microscopic dots...Only now Foucault does not see that power is dying (even infinitesimal power), that it is not just pulverized by pulverulent, that it is undermined by a reversal and tormented by a reversibility and a death which cannot appear in a genealogical process alone (Baudrillard, 1987:39-40)

For Baudrillard power has to be understood as a cycle of seduction, challenge and ruse. By the seduction of power Baudrillard means the not played out, exchanged in this cycle, it simply dies out - disappears and it is the immanence of its mortality, of its destructibility which makes power seductive. For Baudrillard this is what has escaped Foucault (Baudrillard, 1987:43-45). Foucault seems to have been seduced by power and what he 'does not see is that power is never there and that its institution...is only a simulation' (Baudrillard, 1987:41).

I personally find Baudrillard's analysis of power more of a mind game, with which to challenge other intellectuals and which must provide him great pleasure to play. However, it supplies little understanding of the experience and use of power and knowledge in everyday life. I have used the Foucauldian discourse analysis as the model on which to construct the methodology with which to analyze the emergence of psychology and social

work in Venezuela; as we will see in the last chapter, the Foucauldian model is not completely adequate when applied to regions like Latin America but not for the reasons exposed by Baudrillard.

1.b.2 **Max Weber**

Almost on a par with Marx for his influence on Western sociological thought there is the work of Max Weber. Weber's project, like Marx's, was to study society from an economic and historical perspective mindful of the conditions of possibility of freedom. However, unlike Marx, for whom freedom was only possible in an egalitarian society, for Weber it was liberal individualism which expressed the only possibility of freedom in human society. Thus a tension between societal domination and liberal individualism is always present in his writings on economy and society (Weber 1978).

For Weber one of inherent tasks of society is the administration of different facets of societal organization, such as, its economy, its military forces, its territory, etc.. Administration of society always implies domination and he distinguishes three forms of legitimation of domination, namely, traditional authority as in a patriarchal society, rational legality as in a bureaucracy and charismatic, personal authority, which is based on neither rational nor traditional rules but on the charisma of a person perceived as a 'savior, a 'prophet', or a 'hero' (Weber 1978:954). In modern capitalism the legitimate form of domination is legal rationality and it is exercised through the complex organization of bureaucracies.

There are other important differences between Weber and Marx in their perspectives of domination. For instance, bureaucracy in Weber, is not the outcome of modern capitalism as in Marx, and, even though it is a

recent manifestation of domination, it predates capitalism. Therefore, in Weber, bureaucracy does not require capitalism for its legitimation because it encloses within itself the conditions of legitimation, such as, being a technically superior system of administration, efficient, objective, democratic and based on expertise. The legitimacy of bureaucracy, not derived from its association with capitalism, permits Weber to affirm that the form of domination brought about by bureaucratisation will not disappear in a socialist system but will continue to subsist (Weber 1978:139). Thus, Weber does not envisage a discontinuity between capitalism and socialism. Another difference between the two German thinkers is that, if for Marx, it was the loss of ownership and control over the means of production which produced alienation in human beings, for Weber, it was, instead, the loss of ownership and control of the means of management in bureaucratized society which deprived persons of their autonomy. In the Weberian perspective formal rationality promotes the consolidation of power at the top of the bureaucratic pyramid, such that the advances of bureaucratisation inevitably entail a progressive decline in autonomy of action for those in the lower echelons (Weber 1978:980-983).

Thus, in Weber, we find that power, as domination through administration, is inherent to society and power is always exercised in a top-down fashion, whether we are in a bureaucracy, in a traditional society or in a situation of charismatic authority. And knowledge is connected to power, particularly in bureaucracy, where knowledge acquires the characteristics of specialized or expert knowledge. One of Weber's major concerns for the conditions of possibility of individual freedom in modern society came from viewing bureaucracy as a historical vector for a new

principle of organization which through formal rationality could curtail possibilities of individual freedom. And if individual liberalism was being threatened and thwarted by modern bureaucracy for Weber it was only a charismatic figure, whose leadership was based more on values than on rationality, who could irrupt, disrupt and revolutionize the bureaucratic order of things and restore certain possibilities for individual freedom (Weber 1978).

The Weberian views of domination and of the relationship between power and knowledge were particularly relevant for the development of Marxist thought, especially in the case of the Frankfurt School (above). The Marcusean analysis of modern capitalism wherein society is dominated by 'technical reason' is indebted to Weber's analysis of 'formal rationality', even though Marcuse conceptualized power differently from Weber, that is, for Marcuse power was no longer in the apex of the Weberian bureaucratic structure or localized in the State or in the superstructure and exercised top-down; for Marcuse power, in modern capitalism, was a condition of technological knowledge and action, it was, therefore, everywhere and no longer was it perceived as repressive. But in the Frankfurt School it was Habermas who remained closer to Weber's original conceptualization of formal rationality, that is, reason applied to means only and not to ends, and tried to develop it a step further. For Habermas, as we saw above, rational-purposive action or behavior based on technical rationality, in modern capitalism, is also divorced from values; divorced from communicative action or behavior based on the communal values of solidarity and consensus. However, Habermas rejects Weber's charismatic leadership as a solution to the domination of bureaucracy and recognizes in modern society forms of communication which could unite technical

rationality with values. An exemplar of this communicative possibility would be the psychoanalytic dialogue.

1.b.3 Jean-Francois Lyotard

Another critique of knowledge/power which has emerged outside the Marxist framework is that posited by Jean-Francois Lyotard (1979). This French philosopher is concerned with understanding the production of knowledge as well as social relations in societies in the postindustrial period. He argues that the models which arose in what is known as the modern era with which to understand western societies are no longer valid, namely Parsonian functionalism and Marxist class struggle. For Lyotard the ethos of efficiency and performance brought about by technological society and the innovations produced in the areas of information technology have changed both the ways in which societies operate as well as the production and status of knowledge of the postindustrial or post modern eras in these countries. According to Parsons a society was to be perceived as a functional whole, as a self regulating system, a sort of moderate welfare state. In this perspective knowledge is an indispensable productive force of the system. Marxism, instead was mainly concerned with the effects of capitalism on traditional civil society. Within the Marxist perspective society is not a unified totality but a complex of opposing forces and knowledge is that which scrutinizes the values and goals of opposing social forces. Lyotard reflects that this thinking, constructed on oppositions, does not correspond to the modes of knowledge in the post modern era and that nowadays Marxism has almost lost all its radicality and is in danger of losing its theoretical base and be reduced to a 'utopia' and a 'hope'. (Lyotard, 1979:24-29)

According to Lyotard in a society where the element of communication is becoming more evident both as reality and as a problem language acquires a particular relevance; however, not in the traditional sense whereby language is conceptualized either as a one-way manipulatory message or as freedom of expression based on dialogue. For Lyotard post modern social relations are to be understood from the perspective based on language games; a combination of communication theory and games theory, together with the inclusion of agonistics within its main assumptions. In his view the fabric of society is made up of a network of 'atoms' where each atom is placed at a crossroad of pragmatic relations and language games but where each atom is also displaced by 'moves' of language, in turn the atom will answer with a counter-move of language; this answer is not necessarily only reactive but can also be innovative (Lyotard 1979:20-35) There are, however, limitations to this network of language games, there are things which cannot be said and there are ways of saying. There are networks which will privilege certain types of statements, such as 'prayer' in the Church, 'commands' in the army, 'interrogation' in philosophy, 'performance' in enterprises, etc. (Lyotard 1984:66-67)

What are the political implications of knowledge within this perspective? Lyotard explains this by drawing a comparison between the status of knowledge in the modern era and the postmodern era; the former influenced by humanist values and the latter being influenced by the values of efficiency and performativity. According to Lyotard up to the modern era there were two types of knowledges: common knowledge and scientific knowledge; and one of their defining characteristics was that common knowledge was not concerned with legitimation whereas scientific

knowledge was. In the modern era, explains Lyotard, scientific knowledge found legitimation in the metalanguage of emancipation of humanity or the realization of the life of the Spirit, as in German idealism; nowadays, in the postmodern era, the basis for legitimation of scientific knowledge is no longer 'true/false', 'just/unjust' but the technical criteria of 'efficiency/inefficiency' (Lyotard 1979:76). In the modern period, with its particular humanist narrative of emancipation, one of the main issues was the acquisition of scientific knowledge for the liberation of society. Nowadays, mass education, mass media have facilitated the diffusion and acquisition of knowledge so the problem at present is no longer the gap between ignorance and knowledge but between knowledge for the maintenance or survival of the workforce and knowledge for the optimization of the performance of a project. Thus, in postmodern societies we no longer find a common knowledge and a scientific knowledge but two types of scientific knowledges: a type of knowledge for consumers and a type of knowledge for decision makers. This has occurred because the hegemony of information technology has imposed a certain logic and has changed the status of knowledge. (Lyotard 1979: 11-16)

Producers of knowledge as well as consumers of knowledge must have the means of translating into machine languages that which they are trying to invent and that which they are trying to learn; that which cannot be translated into machine language or quantities of information will be discarded. On the global setting the power of dominance of nations will be played out on the basis of merchandizing of knowledge. In the postmodern era knowledge is and will be produced to be sold. Knowledge is and will be consumed to be valued in a new production, in both cases, it is 'exchange'. Thus knowledge ceases being its own end and it loses its 'use' value. In

this merchandizing of knowledge, according to Lyotard, one could readily compare the flow of knowledge to flows of money where some channels are reserved for decision makers and others are reserved for the payment of debts, likewise knowledge travels along some channels and is used to repay each person's perpetual debt with respect to the social bond, while knowledge travelling through other channels is reserved for decision making. In the global perspective, Lyotard also points out the growing gap between the First World, which produces information technology and the Third World which is at best only a purchaser and user of information technology. (Lyotard 1979:11-16)

For Lyotard, in this network, wherein language circulates and knowledge is produced, there exists the possibility of fair play as well as of terrorism. Fair play is possible if all atoms or players have access to the data banks, if the rules are known and the moves are agreed upon by all players and are subject to eventual cancellation. If, however, rules are imposed only by some players then language games turn into terrorism. Another element of his perspective is the productivity inherent to knowledge: atoms are forever exposed to language moves to which they may respond with innovations, both in fair play or in situations of terrorism (Lyotard 1984: 67).

Like Foucault, Lyotard presents us with an atomized, reiform view of society. However, even though power is always connected to knowledge (there is always the possibility of terrorism in language games) power is not as salient a feature in Lyotard's analysis as it is in Foucault's. What Lyotard emphasizes, instead, is the capacity of language games to constantly introduce innovation, change, whether in situations of fair play or of terrorism; this capacity is inherent to society.

1.b.4 Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann

Finally the last work which I include in this review because of the relevance it has acquired in the sociology of knowledge is the treatise by Berger and Luckmann on the Social Construction of Reality (1967). In this work Berger and Luckmann describe the processes whereby social relations are 'objectified' into knowledge of the social world and how this knowledge is in turn internalized and reappropriated by individuals. This process gives rise to 'commonsense knowledge' and specialized knowledge. All members of society share in ordinary, 'commonsense' knowledge and it is through their specific roles in society that individuals create and have access to 'finite provinces of meaning' or specialized knowledge (Berger and Luckmann, 1967:25). As knowledge passes from one generation to the next it becomes legitimated, legitimation being the process of explaining and justifying. The authors distinguish four levels of legitimation of knowledge: the first level is when knowledge is initially objectified linguistically; the second level of legitimation encloses moral, normative prescriptions, examples of these are proverbs, legends folk tales; the third level contains explicit theories whereby institutional sector is legitimated in terms of a differentiated body of knowledge, for instance, the specialized knowledge of the sciences or of the Church; the fourth level is that of symbolic universes. A symbolic universe is the product also of objectification, sedimentation and accumulation of knowledge but it transcends everyday life and orders and integrates different provinces of meaning as well as 'commonsense' knowledge into an overarching universe of signification. The authors further distinguish four major types of conceptual machinery which serve to maintain a symbolic universe:

mythology, theology, philosophy and science. In Western culture it is science which has become the foremost ordering view of our universe, which for Berger and Luckman poses a problem; namely that since science is above all a specialized knowledge it is separate from 'commonsense' knowledge, this would account for the sense of loss which women and men are experiencing nowadays when they try to make sense of their lives.

The difficulty which I have with Berger's and Luckmann's extremely meticulous effort to explain the production of knowledge from a socio-cultural perspective is that nowhere in their study do they include the cultural dimension of conflict and struggle. The distinguishing feature between the work of Berger and Luckmann and the preceding critiques is the neutrality with which Berger and Luckmann describe social relations, the creation of social institutions and situations of control. Perhaps following Lyotard one can say that the preceding critiques are all written in the spirit of the grand narrative of emancipation particular to the humanist era. Even Lyotard's perspective, for all his efforts to establish a difference between the Marxist critiques and his work, his work still retains vestiges of the desire for emancipation when he alerts his readers of the danger of terrorism in his view of society as a network of language games. In the previously cited critiques there is a common commitment on the part of their proponents towards a more just social system, this commitment is absent in the Berger and Luckmann text and this absence renders a rather flat, dispassionate account albeit very detailed of the sociocultural production and status of knowledge where everything is accepted as a cultural manifestation. It is possible that their lack of commitment also led them to overlook the important component in the production of knowledge and that is its relationship to power.

So far we have reviewed some of the major critiques of knowledge and power. These, with the exception of Foucault who specifically concerned himself with the human sciences, have addressed the production of knowledge and its effects in general. Marxists have directed their critiques to the knowledge produced in capitalist societies while Weber, Lyotard and Foucault have addressed knowledge produced in industrial and postindustrial societies in general. The value of the afore reviewed critiques is that they have laid the ground work for the literature which will be reviewed below.

We now turn to critiques which have emerged from within the specific fields of psychology and social work and which question the knowledge particular to these fields. The critiques will address some of the ways knowledge and techniques developed in psychology and social work have often been applied towards social management. It is important to note at this point that I employ the term 'social management' to refer to what Foucault calls the 'disciplining of society' or as the 'disciplinary action' of the human sciences, that is, the examination, the establishment of norms, the classification of individuals or groups, the monitoring of individuals or group; all of which leads to a network of micro-technologies of power (or professional practices) which serve to regulate and normalize society. I have found that the term 'discipline' is too harsh, and contains too negative a connotation with respect to the effect of the human sciences which are often perceived by the recipients as 'necessary' and 'good'. The choice of a more innocuous term, such as social management, helps to convey the more subtle character of the normalization and regulation of social groups often produced by the application of knowledge and techniques produced by the human sciences. Social management, therefore,

in this dissertation refers to the end towards which psychology and social work are often applied in society and/or to the practices in which psychology and social work often participate which lead to the regulation and normalization of society.

The review which follows is limited to the critical production in the United States and in the United Kingdom. This decision was made because the dissertation ultimately looks at the critiques of knowledge and power in Venezuela, and these critiques are usually directed to a knowledge base which is first constructed and then transferred and imposed on the Latin American region as support to a capitalist social order (chiefly by the U.S. in psychology and the by U.S. and to a much lesser extent by the U.K. in social work). It was, therefore, thought that it would be profitable to examine the critical production in those countries of the North Atlantic which are usually associated with the production of mainstream knowledge.

1.d **Critiques of the Relationship of Knowledge to Power in Psychology**

The psychology I address in this dissertation is applied psychology, specifically the psychology that is applied to the areas of education, industry, mental health and community development. Applied psychology may be divided into diagnostic instruments, on the basis of which individuals or groups of individuals are examined or observed and classified, and techniques of intervention, which are designed to bring about change in the behavior of individuals or groups of individuals. The areas of applied psychology which developed during the first half of the twentieth century were, primordially, differential psychology, the diagnosis of individual differences such as aptitudes, intelligence,

personality, etc., and behaviorism, the study of man's observable behavior and techniques to change undesired behavior, and, to a lesser extent, child development and social psychology. Knowledge in these areas developed and strengthened without major concern on the part of psychologists as to the effects of its application; but as of the mid-fifties some psychologists began to address the relationship of knowledge to power in psychology² A critique, initiated by Abraham Maslow, was directed specifically to behaviorism and to the influence of orthodox psychoanalysis in the area of psychotherapy. It was posited as the 'third force' and would convert itself into a veritable movement in the sixties and seventies. In orthodox psychoanalysis, the third force, better known as humanistic psychology, challenged, "on the one hand, the mechanistic and reductionistic commitments of behaviorism, and, on the other, the irrational and brooding elements of Freudian theories. (Humanistic psychology) explicitly rejected attempts to comprehend psychological man either in physical terms or in terms of unconscious motivations" (Robinson 1979:237). Humanistic psychology was particularly concerned with behaviorism's technology of control and its denial of human consciousness (Graham 1986:27) and found that in both operant conditioning and in therapies inspired by orthodox psychoanalysis individuals relinquished all control over their lives in favor of the knowledge held by the expert (Matson 1973:15).

² Critiques of the relationship of knowledge to power have arisen both outside and inside psychology; those relevant to this dissertation, however, are the critiques which emerged within the discipline itself so as to examine the type of questioning and type of alternatives or solutions given by those who handle or develop the instruments of applied psychology.

If Freud "supplied to us the sick half of psychology we must now fill it out with the healthy half" (Maslow 1968:5), that is, with the 'self-actualized' person. And if, in traditional psychotherapy, power lay in the hands of the expert, in humanistic psychology the therapist would be converted into an aid in the process of the client's self-actualization (Rogers 1976). In opposition to the perspective of the human being at the mercy of his instincts or as a programmable machine in the hands of behavioral experts, humanistic psychology offered a conceptualization of the human being as master of his own destiny, a human being depicted as a fountain of creativity and potentiality which must be given a chance to be expressed. The discovery of the self moreover rested upon the belief in the uniqueness and autonomy of the person in the person's power to choose, "to lead his own life, to go his own way and to grow his own way, to be himself and to know himself and to become more himself" (Maslow 1973:21). Humanistic psychology was, in sum, a mixture of eastern mysticism and western liberalism. But, as critics have pointed out, there are a number of difficulties with regard to the propositions of humanistic psychology and of the human potential movement. Maslow's self-actualized person is suspiciously reminiscent of a white, middle-class, college educated individual, the concept also implies the elitism of those who are actualized with respect to those who are not (Braginsky & Braginsky 1974:77-73). Humanistic psychology's emphasis on individual freedom sustains the ethos of capitalism (Sampson 1983:101-103). According to Robinson

"The third force gives uncommon epistemological authority to the individual's private 'screen' and great moral weight to the individual's own moral sentiments and inclinations....(Another) obstacle surfaces each time the third force celebrates human individuality while attempting to improve the psychological

condition of social man. The individual, rife with nuances, needs, eccentricities, and privatistic considerations, must and longs to live in a world with others, each of whom is also sui generis. Collisions are inevitable, and the third force has not instructed us in how these are to be managed and settled" (Robinson 1979:169)

To a great extent, this third force has been one of opposition rather than one of progression. Its chief contribution is perhaps in laying bare the immense gulf separating 'scientific' psychology from the human person they presume to comprehend. (Humanistic psychology) points to but does not fill the void (Robinson 1979:269).

For some scholars the emergence, growth and success of movements such as that of humanistic psychology may be explained by modern society's reliance on a growing scientism and a subsequent lack of religiosity and mysticism (Szasz, 1979:9, Schofield 1964:150).

During the seventies, alongside humanistic psychology, other critiques of the relationship of knowledge to power in psychology began to emerge addressing different aspects of psychological knowledge and its application. Below I review some of these critiques. Most are posited from a Marxist perspective and these have been divided into those critiques whose purpose has been to demystify the different psychological theories and those critiques which, enclosing a much more ambitious project, have explored and presented alternative perspectives from which to study the human individual within her or his socio-historical and political context. The critiques which address only the ideological aspects of psychology will be presented according to the different areas wherein these have arisen, namely, experimental, differential, developmental, social and clinical psychology. At the end of the review of critiques in psychology I establish links between these and the previous, more general critiques reviewed in

part I.

Critiques which Address Ideological Aspects of Psychology

Social psychology.

An important area in psychology for the production of critiques has been social psychology. Below are some of the major criticisms which have emerged within this area

- Traditional social psychology assumes and perpetuates liberal ideology (Israel and Tajfel 1972)
- Traditional science has placed almost exclusive reliance on the experiment. By espousing positivism, social psychologists have perpetuated a partial and inaccurate image of human functioning (Buck-Morss 1977; Gergen 1978).
- Traditional science treats the scientist as an objective, nonpartisan bystander merely reporting the facts. Required is a conception of science recognizing the cultural embedment of the scientific process and the active role of the scientists within his or her cultural setting (Asplund 1972; Baumgardner 1977; Cohen 1973; Gergen 1982; Samelson 1974)
- Traditional science is ahistorical; it views various mechanisms and processes as transhistorically valid. (Gergen 1973, 1982; Harre, 1980; Rosnow 1987; Sampson 1978; Schlenker 1974)

Gergen, one of the first and most persistent critics of the political implications of knowledge in social psychology in the United States, has proposed that one way of avoiding theoretical biases is through 'encapsulation' within a theory of broader scope. "Once a given habit of

understanding is viewed as an entity within a broader perspective, it becomes objectified, and discussion of its various assets and liabilities is facilitated" (Gergen 1979:210). Gergen suggests that this outside perspective be given by a historical, dialectical approach (Gergen 1973, 1977, 1978, 1982, 1984) Harre and Secord (1972) in England, proposed, instead, a social psychology from a phenomenological perspective.

Experimental Psychology. In this area it has been demonstrated that, in order to understand the political implications of academic experimental psychology in the United States, experimental psychology must be placed in its socio-historical and political context. The 'origin myths' of the area of psychological knowledge are typically ahistorical and asocial and tend to emphasize, instead, the agency of singular pioneers. However, once the institutionalization of academic experimental psychology is traced to events in the history of the United States, it is evident that experimental psychology developed as it became associated with the growing need for greater efficiency in an emerging industrial nation, and postulated itself as provider of a scientific base to social management (Danziger 1979:27-45).

Differential Psychology. In the area of testing and individual differences we find the influential critiques of Kamin and Samelson. By placing intelligence testing in a historical perspective it was demonstrated how, in general, the classificatory function of IQ tests supported essentially repressive policies about different groups and races (Kamin 1974 and Samelson 1978). Samelson (1979) went on to specifically examine the relationship between the development of differential psychology and the U.S. Army Psychology Program in World War I. His piece ended with an exhortatory note to psychologists: these biases should not be viewed as part of psychology's past but should stimulate psychologists

to examine biases in present research.

A perspective which has generated much research in differential psychology has been that of 'locus of control'; nevertheless, it was not until recently that it was appraised critically. The perspective of 'locus of control' evaluates whether an individual's behavior is internally or externally controlled. There is evidence, however, that the individualistic orientation of the researchers in general has led them to place greater worth on internal over external 'locus of control'. This bias is rooted in the individualistic thinking inherent in capitalist culture in the United States; and this bias is especially manifest when it is individuals from minority cultures who are being evaluated (Furby 1979).

Developmental Psychology. In this area we have the work of David Ingleby (1978) on the ideological bias in developmental psychology. Ingleby is one of the most influential, radical psychologists of the United Kingdom. He argues that research in developmental psychology does not take into account the political context into which the child is born and reared, and it is, therefore, divorced from reality and is ideological. For Ingleby psychology is, in general, an eminently conservative science and profession. Like the other 'people professions' (he avoids using the term 'helping professions'), i.e. psychiatry, social work and education, psychology has developed because of its behavior-regulating and removal of 'social problems' functions in modern society, as well as because of its connections to the mental health, educational, penal and welfare systems. However, Ingleby suggests elsewhere that:

It is possible to practice a psychology which does something more than reproduce collective illusions....What is necessary is for psychologists to try and hold political realities and

psychological problems in focus at the same time; the result may not be a 'radical psychology'....but at least it will not be a reactionary one (Ingleby, 1974:327).

Also in developmental psychology, Buck-Morss (1979: 349-364)

zeroes in on Piaget's theoretical construction and testing device of formal logic in children and addresses the evidence that children of lower SES in industrialized societies and children from the Third World either in rural economies or as part of the lower echelons of the socioeconomic strata lag behind middle class children in industrialized societies and children born to the elites in Third World countries. She interprets these differences in performance on Piagetian reasoning tests as being associated with variables such as socioeconomic structure and the conscious participation in the abstract levels of the social whole. This allows her to hypothesize that:

1. Among certain groups, cognitive development in the skills of abstract thinking may be a priori impaired by these groups' exclusion from direct, conscious participation in the abstract levels of society. The child's imitation of parental models would function to perpetuate inequalities of cognitive development. Whereas for middle-class Western children or children of the third-world urban elite, identification with parents and education in formal logic are mutually reinforcing experiences in socialization, they are conflicting in the case of the out-groups, where 'satellization' on parental models and the development of abstract cognitive competence lead in opposite directions.
2. Differences in cognitive style both reflect and perpetuate class distinction within industrialized countries, and reflect and perpetuate the domination of urban elites in developing countries. To count on the socialization process as a self-regulating mechanism to adjust disparities between social and cognitive structures would seem to be overly optimistic.

3. Development of abstract cognitive skills among groups who presently lag behind requires socioeconomic and political reform as much as reform of educational curriculum.

In regard to research, the implications of viewing Piaget's stress on abstract formalism as expressing a socioeconomic bias would suggest the importance of relating test results to the structure of the child's society, the child's place within that society, and the child's cognitive grasp of that structure (Buck-Morss, 1979:359-360)

Continuing within the Marxist ideological analysis, but this time from a cross cultural perspective, Nahem (1981) compares psychology in the United States and in the USSR. In a narrow, orthodox manner Nahem argues that psychology in a capitalist system is an ideological tool of the superstructure designed for the reproduction of the system whereas psychology in the Soviet Union has no flaws or biases. This makes his work overly deterministic with respect to capitalism and too uncritical with respect to the USSR. By dichotomizing psychology as ideological under capitalism and not ideological in the USSR, psychology only has effects of power in capitalism and not in the Soviet Union.

Alternatives to Traditional Psychology

The perspectives of Sullivan and Wexler both appeared in the eighties. These are not only works of demystification but are serious attempts to generate psychological perspectives which are not ideological.

For Sullivan, in *Critical Psychology* (1981), all interpretation of human conduct or all knowledge about human beings has a value base. Moreover Sullivan sees the social sciences as marked by an ongoing debate about the conflicting perspectives of domination of the system and the exertion of human agency.

As a dualism both systems of thought are inadequate and have severe limitations in their extremes. One system sacrifices freedom for the sake of social order, the other sacrifices social coherence for the sake of freedom (i.e. anarchy). Most of what constitutes conventional psychology errs on the side of order. ... (It is) my contention that psychology serves the cause of the social order over the individual. Even where there is a focus on the individual, conventional psychology implicitly brings the individual in line with the social order. At the same time, most reactions to social order maintenance have been libertarian in nature. I count most of the human potential movement of the 1960s under this aegis. (Sullivan, 1981:174)

After examining the mechanistic and the organic metaphors in mainstream psychology he proposes a psychology which takes into account the dialectical relationship of individual and society. Following Habermas and Jameson he tries to construct an interpretive psychology which is also emancipatory in that it acknowledges the ideological force of the structure but does not assume the individual to be passive. Instead, he addresses the structure-agency, habitus-personal project dialectic and searches for signs of resistance.

Wexler (1983) examines social psychology from the vantage point of the Frankfurt School's critical analyses of knowledge in advanced technological societies. Wexler's purpose is to show how social psychology developed in conjunction with and because of advanced capitalism and how, following Marcuse (1968), it is one of capitalism's alienating forces, in the sense that, it makes us content with the present, portraying it as natural and inevitable. Later, following Habermas, he tries to develop a social psychology which may contribute to awareness and emancipation. Thus, Wexler first sets out to demystify the scientific naturalization of the socially specific, historically situated, partial explanation of social

psychology. This critique "displays the fashion by which social psychology affirms the present social order and blockades the future against a socially transformative social psychology "(Wexler 1981:3). He then constructs an alternative explanation which "enables us to change rather than affirm current social arrangements" (Wexler 1981:3).

Wexler focuses on three categories used by social psychologists as well as by ordinary people: interaction, self and intimacy; for the author these are aspects which are central to the culture of liberal capitalism. Wexler reinterprets them from a Marxist perspective and reveals how these are symbolic expressions of the social relations of capitalism. He shows also the social processes out of which they are constructed.

For Wexler social interaction in capitalist societies is understood as an exchange of equivalents and has been generalized as a model for all human interrelation. Rather than accepting the commonsense notion of fair exchange, critical social psychology analyzes how unequal exchanges occur socially and how they are culturally hidden. The 'self' is analyzed as a historical construct and as the result of the labor-power process in capitalism. Finally Wexler rejects viewing 'intimacy' as an exceptional case of social interaction. Instead, he explores its cultural compartmentalization and shows how 'intimacy' maintains, rather than questions exploitation in social interaction.

A Foucauldian perspective. Sedgwick (1982), together with Ingleby, is one of the most influential critics, both in the United Kingdom and in the United States, of the effects of psychological knowledge. As clinical psychologist, Sedgwick, provides us with an examination of the field of mental health in general from the fifties to the present from a Foucauldian perspective.

For Sedgwick mental illness exists, and in our days it has been exacerbated as a result of an industrialized social order. Advanced industrial societies have also produced a knowledge for the mental ills of our age. However, in the fifties extreme abuses of knowledge and power under the form of institutionalization of mental patients occurred. By the sixties hospitalization of mental patients had become too costly an affair. This coincided with advances in pharmacology that could guarantee the sedation and emotional containment of this segment of the population without the concomitant physical containment. Many mental patients were thus returned to their communities and the program of institutionalization became drastically reduced. The mental health area swung from an instance of violence through the abuse of knowledge and power to violence through denial, whereby hundreds of ailing, uncared for individuals are left on the street.

Parallel to deinstitutionalization in the sixties two critiques of knowledge and power in psychiatry and psychology arose. One critique, influenced by Cooper and Laing, has the tendency to separate mind from body and to assume that only the body can be subject to illness. Within this framework all psychiatric and psychological knowledge are expressions of abuses against the freedom of the individual. The other is a critique formulated from a civil libertarian stance. What is emphasized is the right of mental patients to individual choice of treatment and of self help. An attractive alternative to "indiscriminate medication which hits the taxpayer's purse in an age of recession, squeeze and arms race." (Sedgwick 1982:240) Sedgwick's argument is that we should be wary not only of main stream knowledge but also of critiques of knowledge and power in psychiatry and psychology which deny mental illness, and we should also be

wary of libertarian movements which support the rights of mental patients to self-help and demedicalisation because these are also easily translated into a denial of mental illness and its suffering. Mental illness cannot be denied because of abuses of psychiatric and psychological knowledge .

Alternative therapies offered by anti-psychiatric movements as well as civil libertarian movements have done little to offer a humane alternative to the horrors of the asylum. These have failed "to create the economic means of employment, the material apparatus of housing, the ethical structures of fellowship and solidarity, for those who through various forms of mental disability cannot purchase these benefits as commodities in the market-place".(Sedgwick 1982:241)

From the above critiques there is evidence of certain dissatisfaction within some branches of conventional psychology such as in the experimental, developmental, differential, social and clinical areas. Most of the analyses have been posed from a Marxist stance. However, except for Nahem, who adopts a reductionist view with respect to knowledge, the psychologists' Marxist critiques can be divided into a) those critiques whose purpose is to demystify psychological theory, i.e. try to show how it is ideologically rooted in capitalism and functions to maintain and buttress capitalist values (Ingleby, Kamin, Samelson, Furby, Bock-Morss, Gergen, Sampson, Tajfel and Israel) and b) those critiques which, besides showing psychology's complicity with the capitalist ethos, also try to reconstruct a psychology which places the individual in her or his historical, socio-economic and political context (Wexler, Sullivan). Both psychologists (Wexler, Sullivan) have found in the critical theory of the Frankfurt School a base on which to construct their argument. Wexler, closer to Marcuse, offers us a psychology which he has converted into a tool of

demystification of the insidious ideology of modern capitalist societies. Sullivan, instead, closer to Habermas, offers us a psychology which searches for emancipatory signs in the present and a psychology which perceives the human being as an active participant in the dialectics of individual/society.

Critique of knowledge/power have also emerged from among minority groups. These address the racial bias in psychology (Sue 1977; Pederson 1979)

1.e Critiques of the Relationship of Knowledge to Power in Social Work

Social work in the United Kingdom and in the United States emerged as a profession at the turn of the century. It originated in the philanthropic organizations of the private sector, such as the Charity Organization Society, which dealt with some of the urgent social problems related to industrialization. But as governments acquiesced to slowly assume the protection of a 'minimum standard of material security' (Wright 1976:115) of the citizenry, welfare programs were introduced and social workers became instrumental in their implementation. In the United Kingdom welfare programs were introduced in 1911 (Landon 1986:130) under the umbrella term of health insurance while in the United States major welfare policies were put into effect during the period of the Depression. Critiques of the relationship of knowledge to power in social work have been expressed in three forms: through rank-and-file participation in unions, through revolutionay magazines and through academic publications. Of the three, the rank-and-file movements has the longest history. It emerged in the United States in the thirties and since then its significance for social

work has been a subject of debate among liberals and socialists. For liberals, participation in unions, especially at the level of the rank-and-file, deprives social workers of their status of 'professionals' and reduces them to 'workers'; as professionals, social workers should support strategies other than unionization, such as lobbying. For socialists, instead, it is precisely the identification of the social worker with the worker that is important; the rank-and-file participation of the social worker has three simultaneous objectives, namely, to establish a coalition between social workers and social service recipients³, to struggle for the rights of social workers as well as for social service recipients and the democratization of the unions (Galper 1980:156-189). In the United Kingdom a strong critique, expressed in magazines and monographs, emerged mainly after the Seeborn report and the reorganization of the Social Services at the National level in the early seventies⁴. At present several publications have emerged which address the effects of power in knowledge of social work as well as efforts to organize and to form pressure groups in order to develop alternative practices in both the United Kingdom and the United States. For the most part these are also posited from a Marxist perspective. Below is a review of some of these publications.

The publications may be divided into two groups: a) analyses of welfare systems in capitalism, that is, analyses of knowledge and power at a macro level, and b) literature which examines the everyday practice of the social worker and suggests and exemplifies alternative styles

³ In 1938 public welfare workers in Pennsylvania organized to so demand the maintenance of "adequate welfare policies in that state in

supportive of radical perspectives, that is, analyses of knowledge and power at micro level.

The first group brings to light the significance of welfare policies and reforms. Here we have the perspective of welfare as a concession of the bourgeoisie, that is, as the willing price paid by the bourgeoisie so that

the face of political efforts to reduce benefit levels as the depression deepened. (in the) 1940s social work unions were continuing to battle for union recognition and for the right to participate in shaping policy issues in the social welfare arena in the face of escalating domestic repression encouraged by World War II...in the 1950s...social work unionization met increasing resistance" (Galper 1980:169). The United Office and Professional Workers of America and the State, County and Municipal Workers of America, the two major social work unions of the time, were expelled from the CIO for alleged communist domination. After a period of quietude there is evidence of a growing participation in unions in the 1970s. In the early seventies the Pennsylvania Social Services Union pursued a commitment to link the issues facing the union with the issues facing service users (Galper 1980:186)

⁴ The Seebohm Report of 1968 addressed and proposed to eradicate the divisiveness in social work which existed in the U.K.: on the one hand, professionals who performed in "the mainly social democratic tradition of social work, with roots in Christianity, voluntary action, reform and medical, social and behavioural science...(on the other hand, professionals who performed) in the tradition of local government welfare, with its emphasis on administrative and political control through a bureaucratic system, economic and political constraint and a knowledge base of common sense experience" (Payne 1979, p.17 in Howe 1986). These two styles of professionals serviced different types of clientele: the probation services, children's departments and psychiatric social work services worked within the tradition of social work; in contrast, work with the elderly and handicapped were in the welfare tradition. Following the Seebohm Report in 1970-71 social service in the U.K. was reorganized and expanded. A common bureaucratic structure, the Social Service Department, was created in the hope of creating a 'generic' social worker, with a more comprehensive attitude towards social problems and with the capacity of handling a wider range of work. The number of social workers was increased by 38% and social work assistants by 144% (Howe 1986:1-12)

capitalism may be ensured its stability (Woddis, 1976). Another perspective understands welfare as the response of capitalism to class struggles, and welfare policies as being shaped by class struggles (Piven & Cloward, 1972; Corrigan and Leonard, 1978; Brake and Bailey, 1980, Galper 1975, 1980)

In the second group we find a type of literature which forcefully addresses the radical social worker's dilemma: how to work against the system within the system. This literature emphasizes the importance of understanding the historical role of the social worker in the political economy of the nation (Pritchard and Taylor 1978, Cockburn 1978, Corrigan and Leonard). For Cockburn (1978) class struggle does not take place only at the workplace but also at home; thus, by extending the terrain of class struggle Cockburn "opens an arena of great importance to social workers and involves the conditions of the wageless, the sick, the old and the unemployed" (Brake and Bailey 1980:17). Brake and Bailey (1980) following Gramsci, view social workers, because of their class extraction and their clientele, as 'organic' intellectuals who can educate the consumers of social work towards collective action, "even though the common sense view is that most social work consumers are too damaged or inadequate to be involved". Davey (1977) writes about the relevance of social workers developing a power base through the use of their trade unions to influence departmental management concerning clients' needs. Wardmann (1977) examines the relation of the social worker to the prevalent ideologies in the social relations of production, and Simpkin (1979) acknowledges the need for social workers to join "with all those who are exploited in an organized mass movement". On the other hand, Tasker and Wunnum (1977) have cautioned about the dangers of an abstracted radicalism which loses

sight of the client's definition of the situation. Schragg (1977) urges social workers not to allow themselves to be used as a buffer between bureaucracy and client and to be well informed with respect to welfare policy in order to help organize clients with common demands towards collective action. For Statham (1978) it is important that the social worker becomes involved in radical alternatives which occur outside of the profession as they will provide ideological and emotional support and offer alternative view of reality. An important work is that of Howe (1986) who addresses the growing power of the managerial staff of the Social Service Departments in the United Kingdom after the 1970-71 reform and the parallel loss of power of the social worker who comes into direct contact with the consumer.

In the United States there is the work of Jeffrey Galper (1975, 1980). Galper is an academician who addresses the issue of a radical practice as well as the issue of a curriculum to support said practice, which he defines as follows:

..radical social work is social work that contributes to building a movement for the transformation to socialism by its efforts in and through the social services. Radical social work, in this understanding is socialist social work. Those who practice radical social work are those who struggle for socialism from their position within the social services. (Galper 1980:10)

Inspired by dialectical materialism, Galper's stimulating works, are an interpretation of the political implications of welfare. And in addition to suggestions towards a radical practice, his books enclose a wealth of information with regard to other critiques of the welfare systems as well as information about organizations in the United States, the United Kingdom and Canada which may serve as support to the politically

committed social worker.

To summarize, one can say that throughout this literature on radical practices in social work, emphasis has been placed on the understanding of the historical role of social work in the political economy of a specific country; secondly, emphasis has also been placed on the importance of unionization and of working within a team and not to undertaking political action alone; and thirdly great emphasis has been placed on the importance of organizing consumers of social work towards collective action.

Social workers working with ethnic groups have also made important contributions. With respect to ethnicity in the United Kingdom 'white British social workers have within their own culture notions of racial identity which impede their comprehension of the context in which black (West Indian and Asian) clients must exist (Husband 1980:85). The institution of social work has not changed to adjust to the needs of the changing multi-racial composition of its clients (Jones 1977). However, in view of the profit Britain has derived from its history of economic exploitation and psychological scapegoating of West Indian and Asian people it would be naive to expect innovations in its social work agencies which might threaten this function (Sivanandan 1976). The white social worker is ambivalent about working with Asians and West Indians, yet, in spite of this, very few ethnic social workers are employed. The inclusion of social workers from the ethnic communities would be advantageous both to the communities and to the white social workers as they would assist the latter in the understanding of cultural differences (Husband 1980:83).

Finally, there is the work of Stanley Cohen (1985), a social worker and sociologist. Following Foucault and Illich (1976) Cohen examines the social control of deviancy and the 'people-processing' professions since the

sixties in the United States and in the United Kingdom.

According to Cohen, the sixties marked the beginning of a period of deinstitutionalization of a control system which had been erected nearly two centuries ago. New terms in social-control talk - 'deinstitutionalization', 'anti-psychiatry', 'demedicalization', 'decriminalization', 'non-intervention', 'decarceration' - all conveyed the spirit of deinstitutionalization. Yet for Cohen deinstitutionalization of social control meant only a shift in control; from institutionalized control the emphasis moved to community control. With this shift there was an expansion of community services and a growth of 'soft-end people-processing' professions such as social workers, teachers, psychologists versus 'hard-end people-processing' professions such as judges, psychiatrists. Cohen examines the implementation of policies which brought about this shift; he also examines the growing network of micro-power exercised by these professionals and the manifestations of their function to classify and control the deviant and potentially deviant.

Summary of Critiques in Psychology and Social Work

I have reviewed briefly some of the critiques of knowledge and power which have arisen in the United States and in the United Kingdom among psychologists and social workers. While Marxism has been the theoretical basis of most critiques Foucault also inspired a few. Moreover, the review indicated that, in psychology as well as in social work, the Marxist critiques of knowledge and power can be divided into ideological analyses and works which are both ideological analyses and proposals for an emancipatory professional practice.

If we look at the literature of emancipatory praxis in both professions, we notice a difference in the perception of the relationship of

knowledge and power. The literature of emancipatory praxis in psychology is rooted in the critical theory of the Frankfurt School. Here the power related to knowledge is generally perceived as not emanating in a top-down fashion and not localized in the State or in the superstructure; instead it is a condition of technological society and is found everywhere (Marcuse, 1966); it is an integral part of a pervasive rationality in which all participate (Habermas, 1970). Social psychology also participates in and sustains this pervasive rationality and this is what must be demystified and reconstructed.

In the literature of emancipatory praxis in social work the power related to knowledge is perceived more in a Gramscian fashion, that is, as being exercised top-down. This literature acknowledges an evergrowing number of poor, disabled and unemployed on the margins of capitalism. It also acknowledges a capitalist State with welfare policies and a mainstream knowledge in social work which sustains the values of the capitalist system. The radical social worker is comparable to Gramsci's organic intellectual, who, through information educates the oppressed and the marginalized and aids to organize their struggle.

In reading critiques of knowledge and power in social work and psychology there is a sense of urgency in social work (similar to the sense of urgency that is felt when reading Gramsci) which is missing from the critical works in psychology - these seem to be more laid back, more aloof. The rethinking of psychology still comes across more like an academic exercise; while the rethinking of social work comes across like a question of survival.

In the critiques which are rooted in the Foucauldian perspective the social worker or psychologist has stepped outside of the academic and

professional ambit in order to examine the politics of knowledge from the level of the recipients of these specialized knowledges. This perspective led Cohen to describe how a shift in social control was partly possible through the expansion of a network of micropower of the 'people-processing' professions. And it led Sedgwick to describe how the mentally ill were first abused by mainstream psychiatric and psychological knowledge and in turn neglected because of critiques of knowledge and power in the fields of mental health.

2 Critiques of the Relationship of Knowledge to Power: Latin America

The above critiques of knowledge arose in countries which participated in the industrial revolution during the nineteenth century in the North Atlantic; the critiques which follow address the problem of knowledge and power from the perspective of Latin America. These critiques examine the problem of knowledge and power in countries which underwent a process of modernization different from the countries of the North Atlantic and single out elements in the production and transfer of knowledge particular to the region. Some critiques are posited from the dependency perspective and others from the perspective of cultural imperialism. Although both perspectives address issues of capitalism within a global perspective there are some distinguishing features between both perspectives. Critiques based on cultural imperialism address principally the channels and mechanisms whereby knowledge is transferred from the countries in the core of the capitalist system to the countries in the periphery. Critiques based on the dependency perspective, incorporate the perspective of cultural imperialism, that is, address the

mechanisms and channels through which knowledge is transferred, but place more emphasis on the struggles played out on national ground and in the ways in which knowledge may promote class struggle.

2.a. Cultural Imperialism

The perspective of cultural imperialism, is based on the Marxist theory of imperialism, and analyzes specifically the transfer of knowledge from the core of the capitalist world system to the countries situated in its periphery. It studies the channels and mechanisms whereby the core controls the management of knowledge in the periphery and how, through this control, the dependent relationship between core and periphery is maintained and how research in the periphery also reproduces this dependent relationship.

Carnoy (1977) has shown that, for the countries situated in the periphery of the capitalist system, scientific discourses of the human sciences were usually shaped initially in the core countries and then transferred to the periphery as a necessary support to the capitalist order. And according to Mazrui the universities often serve as centers of distribution of the knowledge produced in advanced economies (Mazrui, 1975). The production of knowledge in the periphery reflects and reproduces the vertical kinds of linkages that characterize the political and economic relationship between the center of the periphery of the international system and at the same time it "serves to legitimate the transnational power of the international system itself" (Weiler 1983:18). Research in Latin America has shown how discourses have been influenced by professional elites in the periphery and by the relationship of these peripheral elites with their counterparts in the core (Fuenzalida, 1983;

Gyarmati, 1981) It has also been demonstrated how research programs, funded by philanthropic organizations and development agencies from the core, have continued to shape these discourses (Arnove, 1982).

2.b **Dependency**

Dependency is an umbrella term for different perspectives based on the Marxist theory of imperialism which analyzes the possibility or non-possibility of development of capitalism in Latin America. More than a formal theory, dependency is a critique of the development strategies implemented in Latin America (Palma 1978). The majority of survey articles on dependency (Palma, 1978; Chilcote, 1974; O'Brien, 1975) tend to distinguish three different foci of analysis in this literature. The perspective initiated by Baran (1957) and Frank (1966, 1967, 1969) and followed by Dos Santos (1969, 1970) states that there is a dependent relationship between the center of the capitalist world system and its periphery whereby the development of the center must be based on the underdevelopment of the periphery. This approach gave rise to a series of stagnationist perspectives of Latin America and has been criticized for being too mechanico-formal, static and ahistorical.

Another approach has been that of post-war United Nations Economic Commission on Latin America - ECLA. The proponents of this approach addressed the gross social, economic and political inequalities exacerbated by capitalism in Latin America and proposed that a fairer capitalist development which would benefit the popular classes as well as the elites was possible only through greater State intervention and control.

A third approach is that which analyzes the development of capitalism in very concrete situations and purposively avoids

generalizations in view of the marked differences among Latin American countries. In this approach, initiated by Cardoso and Falleto (1969) the dependent economy under scrutiny is considered an integral part of a capitalist world system which is subject to contradictions and which is constantly undergoing changes. The dependent economy not only is exposed to the external forces of the capitalist system of which it is a part and to alliances between national and international elites but it is also subject to internal struggles and to alliances between classes at a national level. According to this approach development occurs with different characteristics in each Latin American country.

Because education and science and technology formed part of development strategies implemented in Latin America, dependency has also inspired the analysis of the transfer, production and management of knowledge in Latin America. Studies within the approach proposed by Cardoso and Falleto, show the political implications of knowledge and how knowledge is harnessed, guided and monitored by elites at international and/or at national levels; how, for the most part, knowledge is sustained by values which promote capitalism or how knowledge may promote class struggle and collectivism. (Bronfenmajer 1982, Casanova 1982, Fernandes 1975, Fuentes Molinar 1981, Garreton 1981, Vasconi 1981)

2.c **Critiques of Knowledge and Power in Social Work**

Social work as a practice began in Latin America in the thirties, and academic programs began to be organized shortly thereafter. It was shaped initially by the external influence of Europe and then by the United States.

Critiques of knowledge and power in social work began to emerge in

the late sixties in countries like Argentina and Chile and soon afterwards in Brazil and, through professional meetings and congresses, were then transmitted to the rest of Latin America. These critiques were contemporary with the dependency approach and were much influenced by it.

The critiques reacted to the technocratic, functionalist and developmentalist perspective of a social work patterned after that in the United States.

In the technocratic conceptualization, the action of social work was proclaimed to be apolitical and non ideological, but it was in reality oppressive, because it underplayed existing contradictions and temporarily effaced the effects of an unjust global system. This educational perspective led students of social work to an atomistic view of social reality, a conceptualization of man based on individualism, which was in turn based on a decidedly psychological perspective. (Ander-Egg 1975:16-22)

The critiques unanimously postulated a theoretical decolonization of social work, the construction of an indigenous body of knowledge and a practice towards the liberation of the oppressed sectors of the population.(Ander-Egg 1968, 1969, 1970, 1973; Kruse 1965, 1968, 1970; Kisnerman 1972; Alayon 1971). In the early seventies on the academic scene there is evidence of new curricula for undergraduate courses with texts such as Freire's Pedagogy of the Oppressed and with the introduction of Marxist thought (Alayon 1982). An outstanding aspect of this period is the role played by the professional congresses and the other professional meetings in Latin America in the reconceptualization of social work. Representatives of different Latin American countries voiced their dissatisfaction with and rejection of the colonization of their field and

advocated different strategies that would enable these professionals to create a knowledge base that would sustain a view of social work as an action towards liberation. One of the outcomes of these professional encounters was the founding of CELATS (Centro Latinoamericano de Trabajo Social) in 1974 with headquarters in Lima, Peru. This is an organization with a Marxist orientation which has published and continues to publish a series of analyses of social work in Latin America. CELATS has published the works of authors such as Rodriguez and Tesch (1979).

2.d Critiques of Knowledge and Power in Psychology

The academic discipline of psychology and its professional practice is relatively new in Latin America. It was introduced in most Latin American countries after the mid-fifties (Ardila 1986:66) and industry, public administration, the schools, psychiatric hospitals, mental health services welcomed its classificatory capacity and normalizing promises. Psychology in Latin America was influenced mainly by behavioural approaches developed in the United States, by psychoanalysis and by European theorists like Piaget and Fraisse (Ardila 1986:69). As elsewhere, it became a very productive professional field, for example, by 1985 there were fifty-two professional journals (Ardila 1986:61-62).

Until the eighties Alberto Merani's texts (1973, 1976, 1982) provided the only critical perspective of psychology in Latin America. Merani argued, from a philosophical stance, against the mainstream psychology taught and practiced in countries of the North Atlantic as well as in Latin America. Merani's critique can be summarized as follows:

- the emphasis of the capitalist system is a maximization of production and consumption.

- without 'conditioned' work there's no growth in production; without 'conditioned' consumers there is no growth of the market.
- from the study of man's conscience, psychology, in the twentieth century, becomes the study of man's actions. It produces the necessary knowledge to train men to become better producers and better consumers.
- in the twentieth century power can no longer be localized e.g. in the State or in the bourgeoisie. Power becomes anonymous.
- truth resides in the 'norm'. 'Specialists' are in charge of normalizing⁵ men and, at the same time, have created the possibility for every individual to be identified as 'abnormal', that is, to be placed in the category outside of the norm established by the desired equilibrium (Merani 1982:524-540).

For Merani "psychology is a cultural necessity: it is the need of the human being to know how and why he is a human being, why and how hominization gave way to humanization" (Merani 1982:9) As a disciple of Henri Wallon⁶ he defends a psychology based on dialectical materialism. Psychology, for Merani, is:

A theory of the human being as a being in a specific situation in the world and at the same time as creator and as transformer of that situation and that world....The psychological explanation, according to Wallon, is a personal conversation which is perpetually in an unstable equilibrium. The least change in the conditions of that being or of his/her environment changes both being and environment and creates a new equilibrium which demands a new explanation. At the

⁵ Specialists, such as psychologists, determine the parameters and characteristics of 'normalcy'.

⁶ Henri Wallon (1886-1962), a French psychologist, formulated a developmental psychology within the framework of dialectical materialism.

same time, that explanation, because of the changes of attitudes it fosters, determines another transformation of that equilibrium. Psychology as theory of the human being is continuously transformed by the transformation of the real and ends, always, by being one of the causes of those transformations." (Merani 1982:669).

Merani's critique continues to be nowadays a solitary voice. It has left no particular mark on critical thinking within psychology in Latin America. However, as of the eighties, a questioning of psychology, possibly constructed in a language less complicated than Merani's and with an implied activism, is emerging from El Salvador (Martin-Baró 1983, 1986) and creating some excitement among psychologists.

Basing his arguments on the dependency perspective and on the theology of liberation, Martin Baró (1986) views psychology in Latin America on the one hand as a product of a cultural neocolonialism and on the other as constantly seeking 'big brother's' approval through mimetic scientism. Psychology, for Martin Baro, suffers from extreme positivism, hedonism, a homeostatic vision and is ahistorical. In these terms it has very little to offer Latin America. He proposes a psychology of liberation, that is, psychology in Latin America must stop being its own center of attention and concerned solely with its scientific status. Instead, it should center its attention and its services on the popular classes and their oppressive condition; it should contribute to the recuperation of the historical memory of the people, it should dis-ideologize their everyday experience and strengthen their virtues. He proposes a political psychology and, following Fals Borda (1985), he proposes participatory action research. Within this framework, the knowledge derived from professional practice should be placed at the service of popular power, a power which should allow the people to become the architects of their own history and

to carry out the changes necessary to enable Latin American societies to become more just and more humane (Martin-Baró 1986:219-231).

SUMMARY

In Chapter I I began by reviewing some of the general critiques of the relationship between knowledge and power which emerged in the region of the North Atlantic. Within Marxism we reviewed the critiques of Marx, Gramsci, Althusser, Marcuse, Habermas and Jameson. Outside of Marxism we examined the critique of Weber, Foucault and Lyotard.

We appraised how, as capitalism changed, so did the Marxist critiques of knowledge and its relationship with power. The Marxist literature that we reviewed premised the concept of knowledge on the basis of a binary opposition. In Marx we see a concept of knowledge which is not alienated and based on a mode of production brought about by communism vs. a knowledge which is based on a capitalist mode of production and therefore alienating. In Althusser we have a knowledge which is scientific, free of illusion and power and accessed by Marxist hermeneutics vs. the knowledge which is illusory and alienating. In Marcuse: a new, communist technology vs. the positivist technology of advanced capitalism. In Gramsci and Habermas: a knowledge based on communal or collective values vs. a knowledge based on individualism or lacking values.

With the exception of Habermas, the emancipatory project in Marxism is a thing of the future as it implies a change in the mode of production with the subsequent emergence of the desired knowledge vs. the rejection of the other. In Habermas instead there is an attempt to overcome this opposition and to search for emancipatory possibilities in

the present. Jameson also tries to overcome this opposition by introducing the utopian aspects of ideology.

The concept of power also underwent changes in Marxism. For Marx ideology was a repressive tool in the hands of the dominant class; for Gramsci, Althusser, Marcuse and Habermas, instead, alienation or the power of knowledge to control society is not perceived as overtly repressive and dominating, and this obliges them to go to great lengths, each in their own way, to explain the mechanisms through which ideology is internalized and accepted. By means of the concept of hegemony, Gramsci shows how societies are controlled not only through repressive methods but through the acceptance of the values of the dominant class. The values are integrated in the knowledge diffused by institutions like the church, the school, the media, etc. In Gramsci it is not the relationship of knowledge and power which is alienating. Instead alienation lies in the particular values on which knowledge is based. The power connected to knowledge, although not overtly repressive in the Gramscian model, is still exercised top-down. For Marcuse and Habermas, instead, ideology is not representative of or shaped by an intelligentsia; it is part and parcel of modern, technological rationality itself; it is pervasive and we all participate in it.

Outside of Marxism, in the Foucauldian model, knowledge/power is also non-directional; diffused and it is exercised from innumerable points. Foucault is particularly concerned with what he visualizes as a network of micropowers brought about by the proliferation of knowledge in the human sciences.

In Lyotard's perspective society is, as in Foucault an atomized network, where knowledge is constantly being produced. In Lyotard power

is conceptualized as domination, however, even though knowledge is always connected to power – there is always the possibility of terrorism – power is not as salient a feature as it is in Foucault. Lyotard prefers to emphasize the generative capacity of language, whereby innovations and, thereby, different knowledges (language games) are incessantly introduced into society.

To examine the critiques which have emerged from the particular fields of social work and psychology in the North Atlantic I chose to review the critiques produced in the United States and in the United Kingdom. In psychology critiques began to be formulated with a certain force only since the mid-seventies. Most of these critiques are rooted in Marxism and can be divided into a) those critiques whose purpose is to demystify psychological theory, i.e. try to show how it is ideologically rooted in capitalism and functions to maintain and buttress capitalist values and b) those critiques which, besides showing psychology's complicity with the capitalist ethos, also try to reconstruct a psychology which places the individual in her or his historical, socio-economic and political context.

Within the array of general critiques of knowledge within Marxism the critiques produced in psychology tend to be closer to the critical theory of the Frankfurt School and in particular to Habermas: psychology is perceived to be one more element of the ideological knowledge which permeates our everyday existence and sustains modern capitalism. However, psychology may also be restructured towards an emancipatory practice and theory.

Critiques in social work are also mostly posited from a Marxist stance. However, these critiques have a longer history than the critiques in psychology, and the literature on emancipatory praxis seems to be more

numerous than the literature which is only ideological analysis. The literature on radical social work practice is sometimes modeled after Gramsci's 'organic' intellectual, who, through information educates the oppressed and the marginalized and works to organize their struggle.

In the second part of this chapter I examined the critiques of knowledge and its relation to power that were formulated in Latin America. In the Latin American region these critiques are usually posited from the perspectives of dependency and cultural imperialism and are influenced by Gramsci. The critiques demonstrate how knowledge is harnessed, guided and monitored by elites at international and/or at national levels; how, for the most part, knowledge is sustained by values which promote capitalism or how knowledge may promote class struggle and collectivism.

Turning to the specific fields of social work and psychology we found that in social work critiques of knowledge and power constitute a solid and vigorous part of its history. Formulated from a dependency perspective they postulate a theoretical decolonization of social work, the construction of an indigenous body of knowledge and a practice towards the liberation of the oppressed sectors of the population.

In the area of psychology we found that it is now, in the eighties, that a critique is slowly emerging mainly among social psychologists. It is rooted in dependency and in liberation theology.

This dissertation is based on two main analytical constructs, one is the 'relationship of knowledge to power' and the other is 'discourse'. This first chapter has provided us with an overview of the different conceptualizations of the 'relationship of knowledge to power'; in the following chapter I proceed to address the second construct, 'discourse'.

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHOLOGICAL APPROACH

I begin this chapter by defining the meaning of the construct discourse in the Foucauldian perspective so as to state the research objective of the dissertation. I then turn to discuss the elements of Foucault's discourse analysis and analytics of power which I have retained for the analyses of the discourses of psychology and social work. This is followed by an explanation of the choice of discourses, choice of academic settings, selection of interviewees, selection of documents, areas of data collection and periodization.

1. **Research Objective**

In Foucault 'discourse' is used to describe a group of statements that give rise to a corpus of knowledge with respect to the human being and the relationship between this group of statements and the historical, social, economic and political circumstances in which these statements arose and developed (Foucault 1982:179-195) If we apply this construct to a discipline in the human sciences the knowledge base or the main assumptions would be the nucleus of the discourse, but the discourse in itself is much more than the knowledge base. Discourse is the knowledge base or main assumptions together with the relationship between this

knowledge base and concurrent events in the sociopolitical and/or economic realms. And discourse analysis in Foucauldian terms is the understanding of this relationship.

The objective of this dissertation is to analyze two separate discourses in academic settings in Venezuela at a time when this Latin American country was undergoing its process of modernization. In the study I elucidate some of the different ways in which discourses are constructed; I examine how critiques of knowledge and power in the human sciences emerge and analyze which aspects of knowledge/power⁷ these critiques address.

I have chosen the discourses of psychology and social work at the Universidad Central de Venezuela and at the Universidad Catolica Andres Bello in Caracas, Venezuela in order to:

- examine how discourses in social work and psychology emerged and were constructed in these academic settings
- analyze the manner in which critiques which address the elements of knowledge/power have appeared in psychology and social work in Venezuela
- discern which aspects of knowledge/power of the discourses are exposed by these critiques
- follow the outcome of these critiques. In other words, to analyze the impact of each particular critique on the discourse; whether the

⁷ 'Critiques of knowledge/power' are any initiatives, or efforts to examine and to question the relationship between knowledge and power. As this relationship is perceived differently subject to the perspective on which the critique is based, care will be taken, whenever necessary, to explain the different conceptualizations.

critique was acknowledged or not; whether the critique redefined the knowledge base or whether the critique was co-opted and its questioning capacity neutralized.

2. Theoretical Framework

Below are the aspects of the discourse analysis and of the analysis of knowledge/power in Foucault which I have found useful for this study as well as an explanation of the way in which I have utilized them in the theoretical framework and methodology. The sources have been Foucault's earlier work 'The Archeology of Knowledge' (1982) and his later works, 'Discipline and Punish' (1979), 'The History of Sexuality' (1980a) and 'Power/Knowledge' (1980b).

2.a. Discourse Analysis and the Foucauldian Perspective

Within the Foucauldian perspective the analysis of discourse is not an analysis concerned with the theoretical consistency of the science under scrutiny. It is rather the description of the interconnectedness between a particular group of scientific statements about the human being and events in the social, economic and political realms within the historical period in which these statements arise.

The Foucauldian perspective avoids any analysis of knowledge that focuses on the '**interiority**' of a discourse, whereby knowledge is the product of subjective consciousness, or that which is not manifest. In Foucault the hermeneutic tradition of the discovery of the hidden, latent, 'true' meaning of discourse is considered to be irrelevant "Because this underlying meaning is arrived at by an individual act of interpretation, a

single manifest formulation may also give rise to an endless number of latent meanings" (Sheridan, 1980:101)

For Foucault knowledge is socially constructed; it is a concrete practice in a complex set of relations and it is this which Foucault seeks to describe. He, therefore, wants to remain at the level of what is said, what is apparent, that is, in the '**exteriority**' of discourse.

The distinction between interiority and exteriority is an important one in Foucault. As we have seen above interiority for Foucault is hermeneutics and when applied to discourse analysis it is a methodology which implies a drawing out, a showing of that which is not evident and of that which is only accessible through interpretation. Interpretations for Foucault are always subjective and, being the result of individual acts, hermeneutics may result in innumerable and varied meanings depending on how many and who analyzes the situation. Foucault prefers to steer away from the uncertain terrain of subjective interpretations and to stand on the firmer ground of that which is evident and requires no interpretation; through the concept of exteriority Foucault tried to convey that in a discourse he is only interested in that which is manifest, such as a group of scientific statements about human beings, and to understand these statements on the basis of their relationship to events in the social, political or economic realms.

Another important element in the Foucauldian analysis is that discourses are treated as fragments of history, which are limited in time and regional in location. That is, there is no intention to universalize the experience of a specific discourse but to present the discourses as particular configurations; to present them as descriptions of a process

with characteristics given by a specific period in time and location.

2.b Application of the Foucauldian Perspective

I began this analysis by addressing first how discourses in social work and psychology first surfaced, what their main assumptions were and how these changed over time. Subsequently I addressed the emergence of critiques of knowledge/power and the aspects of the discourses which these critiques challenged. Let me emphasize at this point that in the Foucauldian analysis 'discourse' signifies the knowledge base of a discipline, or the main scientific assumptions of a particular field plus the relationship between these main assumptions or knowledge base and the historical, social, economic and political circumstances in which these assumptions or knowledge base arose and developed.

The discourses which I decided to look at were discourses which arose in an academic setting. I, therefore, searched for the principal traits of the knowledge base in documents such as the written curricula (this is fully explained in Section 3.d) and examined how these were connected to events in the political, economic and social context. For instance I found that in social work the knowledge base at the beginning came mostly from the medical field. I then examined events in the socio-political and economic realm which were connected to the initial discourse in social work and which contributed to this particular choice of knowledge base. Likewise in psychology I found that the only knowledge base used at the outset was clinical psychology and this was heavily influenced by psychiatry. Here I also examined the external events related to this choice of knowledge base.

The knowledge base, as evidenced by the numerous curricula in psychology and social work, went through a series of changes and each time a change appeared in the knowledge base I examined these within the greater context of social, economic and political events internal and external to the university, internal and external to Venezuela and related the changes in the knowledge base to pertinent surrounding events.

The critiques were also submitted to the same treatment. For example, the critique which arose at the School of Social Work at the UCV in the late sixties was analyzed on the basis of its relationship with different events occurring at the time. The critique was related in part to the failure of populist strategies and to the ensuing radicalization of students in public universities in Venezuela, in part to the recent emergence of the dependency perspective and in part to the movement of reconceptualization of social work which was also emerging in Latin America at the time; it was also related to a successful Cuban revolution. And this critique, firmly grounded on the dependency perspective denounced the practice of social work based on the knowledge which served to maintain a capitalist social order and was detrimental to the popular classes, it also addressed the relationship between social work and the State and the relationship between the Venezuelan State and the core countries within the capitalist world system.

Thus, when I examined a discourse it was not in order to refute or falsify knowledge, it was not to engage in a theoretical discussion whether the psychiatric model in clinical psychology is appropriate or not but to describe in what way a choice of knowledge base is related to external events in a particular historical period. In doing this I have

focused on an analysis based on the **exteriority** of discourses and on the **exteriority** of critiques.

Following the Foucauldian model my intention has also been to present each discourse and each critique as particular to the region wherein they have emerged, that is, not to generalize on the basis of these discourses but to treat them as singular experiences and to show their specificity and their uniqueness.

2.c. **Knowledge/Power in the Foucauldian Perspective**

Above we have discussed the application of the Foucauldian methodology in the analysis of the emergence and structuring of discourses and in the emergence of critiques of knowledge/power. Another aspect of this dissertation is to examine whether the critiques which analyze the political implications of psychology and social work in Venezuela address the same issues of knowledge/power present in the Foucauldian perspective or whether these critiques address other aspects of knowledge/power in the human sciences.

Even though the Foucauldian analytics of power were discussed in Chapter I let us briefly review them here. In some of Foucault's later works such as *Discipline and Punish* and *Power/Knowledge*, discourses of the human sciences acquired a particular relevance based on a singular relationship between knowledge and power which he had discerned. In these works Foucault argued that discourses in the human sciences are significant for their relationship to issues of social management such as 'manpower needs', 'public assistance', 'education'. For Foucault the human sciences developed and proliferated in the twentieth century because of

their connection with social management, at the same time, their relationship with social management facilitated a different exercise of power.

In order to understand the action of the human sciences in social management Foucault argues that the traditional conceptualization of domination with a top-down directionality is obsolete. Foucault points out that the human sciences are based on such practices as observation, examination and the establishment of norms and these practices are constantly present in our everyday life in our contact with such professionals as educators, social workers, psychologists, or psychiatrists. For Foucault these practices are the modern 'technologies of power' which function to classify, segregate, normalize society, in sum to regulate and to discipline the social body.

In order to explain the effects of power in the human sciences Foucault makes use of the analogy of a web. Power for Foucault does not exist in a substantive sense "...power is not an institution, a structure, or a certain force with which certain people are endowed: it is the name given to a complex of strategic relations in a given society" (Foucault, 1980:93). In this web, power circulates constantly, it is exercised from innumerable points, it is not something to be seized, acquired or shared. It is not located and it does not circulate because of people but through people. Thus, in the Foucauldian analytics of power (Foucault, 1980:82-95) there is no directionality as for example in the traditional view of domination as being top-down; nor are there agents of knowledge/power as for instance in the role of the owners of the means of production in Marx (Marx, 1978[1845:173]).

However, the complicity between the human sciences and social management and the microphysics of power, which are made possible by the normalizing and disciplining practices of the human sciences are only some of the elements of the Foucauldian perspective. Demonstrations of resistance or critiques which emerge within the human sciences in opposition to the accepted knowledges are also vital elements in the Foucauldian perspective of knowledge/power in the human sciences. It seems that even though Foucault tried to avoid the dichotomization of knowledges present in Marxism (see Chapter 1), in the end, he also had to resort to a conceptualization of knowledges in opposition to each other. Thus, in the Foucauldian perspective there are discourses and in opposition to these, there are 'subjugated' discourses, whose function it is to confront and expose the effects of knowledge/power present in the discourses in the human sciences. For Foucault a discourse analysis has to be complemented by the search for and exposition of these demonstrations of resistance

3. **Methodology**

3.a. **Selection of discourses**

In selecting psychology and social work for this study I wanted to address two fields of the human sciences where professionals, basing their work on a set of scientific postulates, come into direct contact with people and intervene in a diagnostic, therapeutic or counseling capacity. Both fields satisfy this requirement, albeit differently. As is shown in Chapter 4 psychology in Venezuela does not mean experimental psychology but applied psychology and this is divided into clinical, counseling, industrial,

educational and social psychology. Thus, for the purpose of this study, clinical psychology satisfies the requirement because the professional intervenes on the basis of a diagnostic and/or therapeutic capacity; in counseling psychology the professional intervenes on the basis of a counseling or therapeutic capacity; the industrial psychologist intervenes on the basis of a diagnostic, planning and, sometimes, a counseling capacity. The social psychologist is also included in the study because in social psychology there has been an interesting shift from a sociological research methodology to a participatory and action-research intervention (see Chapter 4). In social work the professional generally also intervenes on either a diagnostic, counseling or therapeutic capacity.

From a brief overview of the discourses and of the critiques of psychology and social work in Latin America carried out before going to the field, it was evident that an appreciable difference existed between the fields. In social work there seemed to be a spirit of critique in the Latin American continent in general, which was less noticeable in psychology. In Venezuela, based on limited information at hand, this difference between psychology and social work seemed to be sustained.

In order to research the structuring of these discourses I chose two academic settings in Caracas. Since academic settings are repositories, consumers and producers of theories regarding the human being, it was deemed for this to be an optimal way to research the knowledge base of each discourse in relation to concurrent events within and without the universities.

3.b. Selection of academic settings

Both social work and psychology⁶ emerged as disciplines in higher education with the University Reform of 1958, at this time the populist regime of Democratic Action (Accion Democratica) decreed 'open door' policy in higher education so that the tertiary level could become a professional training ground and, therefore, be considered as a stepping stone to the market place (see Chapter III). Thus, the existing universities in Venezuela at the time, Universidad Central de Venezuela, Universidad de los Andes, Universidad Catolica Andres Bello and Universidad Santa Maria, became, in part, professional schools. The two academic settings that were chosen for the analysis of the discourses of psychology and social work in Venezuela were the Universidad Central de Venezuela - UCV and the Universidad Catolica Andres Bello - UCAB.

In the case of psychology both universities are representative since until 1979 these were the only institutions of higher education with programs of psychology at undergraduate and graduate level. In 1979 a third program in psychology at undergraduate level was begun at the University Rafael Urdaneta, in the state of Zulia. In the case of social work the UCV was the first university to offer a program at tertiary level and at this time it is the only institution with a degree in social work in Caracas. The only other program at tertiary level in Venezuela is offered at the Universidad de Oriente, in the eastern region of the country; it is a smaller program. Although at the UCAB there is actually no program for social work, the circumstances surrounding the emergence and disappearance of

⁶ Psychology began as a program within the Department of Philosophy at the Universidad Central de Venezuela in 1956 but achieved recognition of a separate discipline with the University reform of 1958.

their tertiary program which lasted from 1969 to 1975 are an important part of the history of social work in Venezuela.

The UCV, founded in 1721, is the oldest and most prestigious of the public and autonomous universities in Venezuela. Psychology began in 1956, as a program within the Department of Philosophy, and became a discipline, together with social work and other new careers, with the University Reform in 1958. The UCAB, instead, was recently founded, in 1953. However, it is the oldest among the private universities. Psychology began in 1958 and social work was offered at UCAB from 1969 to 1975.

It is important to note that when I refer to both disciplines I refer to the disciplines at undergraduate level. In the United States, undergraduate education at four-year institutions of higher education provides an ample base of different courses so that students may have the opportunity to explore their intellectual and eventual professional tendencies; the amount of time spent on the 'major' or area of concentration in Bachelor of Arts degrees in humanities is generally between twenty-one and forty percent (median) of the program of study and in the social sciences this amount of time is generally between twenty-one and thirty percent (Levine 1978:32-33). Contrary to the United States, the programs of study at undergraduate level in universities in Venezuela for disciplines such as psychology and social work are highly concentrated and constructed around the field of expertise and the degree, the 'licentiate' (licenciatura), obtained at the end of the four or five year program, provides the licentiate license to practice in the professional field. To reiterate, the principal focus of this dissertation is social work and psychology at undergraduate level. As is in Venezuela social work is only offered at undergraduate level. At the UCAB

there have been attempts, in the past to organize a post-graduate program; it seems however, that at the present time there is a serious effort on the part of the current administration to offer a post-graduate program. At the UCV there are some courses at a Master's level, but only four percent graduate, this aspect is described in greater detail in Chapter 4. In this dissertation, therefore, when I refer to 'psychology' at the UCV or at the UCAB I refer to the undergraduate level and when I refer to psychology at post-graduate level I will identify it as such.

3.c. **The Interview and Selection of Interviewees**

The interview (see appendix 1) was mainly intended to direct me to documents with which I was not familiar or which were not readily available and it was intended to cover as broadly as possible the historical context from the mid-fifties to the present.

Social Work

With respect to social work at the UCV one of the criteria used was the length of involvement in the field of social work. Thus I selected two faculty persons who had been teachers at the first school of social work founded in Venezuela in the forties, at the secondary level and who then became teachers at the UCV; then I selected four faculty members who have been present at the School of Social Work at the UCV through the different curricular changes; I also interviewed the Director of the Research Institute of the Faculty of Social and Economic Sciences, who had been a member of the faculty of the School of Social work and who has written extensively on the subject of social work in Venezuela. Among the

interviewees were also two faculty members who had been recruited after the educational reform of 1970 so that I could obtain information from the perspective of teachers newer to the field.

With respect to social work at the UCAB, as the program of social work is non-existent at the present time, I interviewed the retired Director of the School of Social Sciences, of which social work was a part, an ex-director of the program and three graduates. The President of the College of social workers (Colegio de Trabajadores Sociales), the professional association was also interviewed. The manner in which the interviews were used in the analysis of social work is explained in greater detail at the beginning of Chapter 3.

Psychology

With respect to psychology at the UCV I interviewed twelve faculty members who have been present throughout the different curricular changes, among which there was the current Director of the School of Psychology and two past Directors; I also interviewed the first Director of the School, who is now retired.

At the UCAB I interviewed the current Director of the School of Psychology, an ex-Director, who is now professor of ethics and two other professors. The President of the Federation of Venezuelan Psychologists was also interviewed. An explanation of how the interviews were used in the analysis of psychology is to be found at the beginning of Chapter 4.

A third group of interviewees were approached in search of the historical, social and political data in order to better understand the relationship between the knowledge base and the concurrent events or

between the content of the critiques and the concurrent events. For this purpose I interviewed four sociologists and two historians at the UCV.

3.d **Selection of Documents for the Knowledge Base of Discourses**

Within a Foucauldian discourse analysis the intention is not to make a very detailed, exhaustive examination of the knowledge base but, rather, to describe how a knowledge base is constructed in relation to concurrent events in the economic, social and political spheres. Therefore, I searched for documents which could convey a concise, general and longitudinal view of the knowledge base and of its changes over time of both disciplines⁹. Aspects of the knowledge base of the discourses of psychology and social work were found to be present in journal articles and papers presented at professional meetings, in syllabi and in the written curricula. It is important to note that 'curriculum' in this dissertation refers strictly to 'the written document' (Beauchamp and Beauchamp 1973 as cited by Portelli 1987:358), and to the 'programme of activities' (Barrow 1984 as cited by Portelli 1987:359). Since the late 1900s the concept of curriculum has generated an important debate in the area of education. This debate has centered around curriculum as 'content', curriculum as 'experience' and curriculum in terms of a 'plan' or a 'goal' (Portelli 1987:357) Recently the debate has also focused on the 'hidden' curriculum or 'that which is unknowingly or covertly put across' (Barrow 1984 as cited by King

⁹ The documents which could be used as evidence of the knowledge base of discourses were obtained through the interviews and through the examination of the collections of journals and of monographs of the libraries of the School of Social Work and of the School of Psychology at the UCV

1987:82). In this dissertation the word 'curriculum' refers to the written document, that is, to content; this content, however, is then examined in relation to concurrent events in the economic, social and political realms inside and outside the academic settings.

Of the collected documents, journal articles and papers presented certain problems; they provided only a partial picture of the knowledge base used at the university as not all areas of the disciplines generated articles and monographs. And with respect to the syllabi it was impossible to obtain complete sequences of syllabi which could provide a perspective of the changes which took place in the knowledge base over a period of time. Only the most recent syllabi were available. Thus the syllabi and journal articles and monographs were used as evidence for certain aspects of the knowledge base. The written curriculum, instead, maintained a constant presence and thus offered the opportunity to observe broad changes in the content of the programs from the time of their inception to the present and, moreover, because of the long process of approvals and legitimization to which a written curriculum has to be submitted, the curriculum also represented the official knowledge imparted by the disciplines. The written curriculum is first approved by the Departmental Committee or 'Consejo de Escuela'; then by the Committee of the School or 'Consejo de Facultad'; then by the Board of Directors of the University or 'Consejo Directivo'. Until 1974 the process of approval ended at this point. However, because of the 1970 University Reform, since 1974 all curricular innovations or new curricula have to be submitted for final approval to the higher state authority of the National Committee of Universities 'Consejo Nacional de Universidades'. Thus, of all the documents collected, the

written curriculum was considered to be the most adequate as it had the advantage of providing a general, concise overview of the official knowledge over a period of time, and curricular changes could be used to show shifts in the knowledge base of the discourses.

3.e Selection of Documents for Critiques of Knowledge/Power

In order to find evidence of critiques of knowledge/power different documents were scrutinized. Among these were written curricula, syllabi and their bibliographies, titles and abstracts of dissertations, abstracts of research by faculty (Trabajos de Ascenso) used for their academic advancement. Other sources were titles of papers presented at professional congresses, publications and their bibliographies and journal articles. The School of Psychology at the UCV has generated a number of publications through the University Press, besides the three journals, 'Anales de Psicología' (Annals of Psychology), 'Psicología' (Psychology) and 'Asociación Venezolana de Psicología Social - AVEPSO' (Venezuelan Association of Social Psychology); it has also hosted a number of professional and academic meetings and congresses at national and international level. Social work at the UCV has not generated journals, however it has sponsored various publications from the University Press and has hosted national and international meetings and congresses. Evidence of critiques were found in all the above mentioned sources.

As it is explained in Chapter 4 the make up of the School of Psychology at the UCAB is such that it mainly emphasizes the teaching of psychology which is to be applied in the areas of education, mental health and industry, and does not support other activities such as experimental or

fundamental research. The only research effort it underwrites are the undergraduate theses. The documents which I examined at this university were the abstracts of dissertations, syllabi and curricula. I found no evidence of critiques of knowledge/power.

4. Areas of data collection

For the purpose of data collection I divided the study into four areas.

The research objectives for each area were:

- the emergence and establishment of the discourses of psychology and social work as well as their subsequent changes
- the emergence of critiques
- aspects of knowledge/power addressed by the critiques
- the response to the challenge of critiques and their outcome

4.a. How the discourses of psychology and social work have been established in Venezuela

At both universities the data collected related to the following aspects:

Emergence of the discourses:

With respect to the emergence of discourses I examined:

- historical context preceding the emergence of the discourses
- political climate in Venezuela at the time of their emergence; type of government and the goals of the government with respect to education

- the political significance of Venezuela within the capitalist world system
- linkage between UCAB or UCV and other universities in core countries of the North Atlantic or in Latin America
- rationale for opening the schools
- the main assumptions of the discourses
- key actors in the decision making process

Subsequent changes in the knowledge base of discourses

In all three programs examined (psychology and social work at the UCV and psychology at the UCAB) it was found that the knowledge base of the discourse changed; that is, some theoretical perspectives were eventually rejected and other theories were favored and adopted. These curricular changes were examined on the basis of their relationship to events in the political, economic and social realms.

4.b. **The emergence of critiques**

Here I related the type of critique to concurrent events such as the Academic Renewal of 1969 in Venezuela or the movement of reconceptualization of social work in Latin America. I also examined the relationship between the critiques and other critical perspectives prevalent at the time of their emergence, e.g. dependency approach, Marxism, cultural imperialism.

4.c **Aspects of Knowledge/Power which were addressed by the Critiques**

In this area I tried to identify whether knowledge/power was perceived by the psychologist or social worker who posited the critique as an unequal relationship between core and periphery with respect to intellectual production and management in Venezuela (dependency perspective), and whether knowledge/power implied the normalizing function of the human sciences (Foucauldian perspective), or whether knowledge power was perceived from another perspective, unknown to me.

4.d **The Responses to the Challenge of Critiques**

In this area I was interested in the types of responses to critiques, for example, a) did a critique go by unacknowledged? b) did the critique become established as an alternative? that is, did it generate literature, did it generate changes in professional practice? did it generate changes in curricula, syllabi? etc? c) was the critique co-opted? that is, did it become integrated into the conventional discourse, but produced no changes? d) was the critique not established as an alternative, but as a result of the critique, there was evidence of changes in the discourse? e) was the outcome the reaffirmation of the authority of the established discourse? possible indicators of this would be an increment of traditional training programs and practices, or the termination of contracts of those academicians who actively participated in the critique of the discourse.

5. **Periodization**

Both social work and psychology began at the UCV in 1958. The

specific period which is of interest for this dissertation is 1958-1987, approximately thirty years. However, in order to understand the events of this period, especially with respect to social work, I have presented a brief historical account of the area of social assistance during the first half of the present century in Venezuela. The periodization is thus organized:

a. pre-1958

b. 1958-1987. This period is subsequently divided according to the dates of curricular changes at both universities.

In sum the implementation of the Foucauldian methodology requires first of all the search for evidence of the knowledge base of the discourses and, from there, the search for evidence of the connections between knowledge base and concurrent events, it then requires the description of these connections and, wherever there is evidence, to demonstrate the relationship between knowledge base and social management. As the study is limited to the academic settings of the UCV and UCAB the written curriculum was found to be the most adequate document among documents which provided evidence of the knowledge base. The written curriculum, because of its constant presence, provided a general overview of the changes of the content of the programs of psychology and social work and could serve as base from where to examine relationship between curriculum and concurrent events in the political, economic and social realms. With respect to the critiques, the first task is also to look for evidence, this was found in journal articles, papers, in conclusions of congresses and in the written curriculum. Subsequently, the task is to examine the relationship between critique and knowledge base and concurrent events.

CHAPTER III

THE DISCOURSES OF SOCIAL WORK IN VENEZUELA AND AT THE UNIVERSIDAD CENTRAL DE VENEZUELA

I A brief Description of the Implementation of the Methodology and of the Collection of Data for the Emergence and Construction of Discourses and for the Emergence of Critiques

In this chapter I describe the emergence and the structuring of the discourse of social work in Venezuela and in particular at the Universidad Central de Venezuela - UCV. I also briefly address the attempt to structure a program of social work at the Universidad Catolica Andres Bello - UCAB. I begin by looking for evidence of the knowledge base of the discourse of social work. Consequently I consulted the historical analyses of social work in Venezuela (Guerra 1980, Mendez Cegarra 1986a, Marquez 1982, Martinez 1977, Pulido 1984); the only historical account of the Catholic School of Social Services (Mejias Delgado n.d.); all the written curricula at the School of Social Work at the UCV and its objectives; some current syllabi at the School of Social Work at the UCV and their bibliographies; the conclusions of the Pan American Congresses of Social Services, 1945, 1949, 1957; monographs of the faculty used for their academic advancement (trabajos de ascenso) and their bibliographies. With respect to syllabi, only some of the current ones were available - which meant

that with the syllabi I could not examine the overall changes in the knowledge base, because the available syllabi provided only partial information. The conclusions of the Pan American Congresses of Social Services together with the monographs of the faculty also provided only a partial picture of the knowledge base; however, these documents, together with the syllabi, could be used as supporting evidence of the knowledge base or critiques. The written curriculum, instead, because of its constant presence, provided me with an anchorage from which to examine the knowledge base and its relationship with concurrent events.

Subsequently, I proceeded to search for evidence of the relationship between knowledge base and concurrent events and to describe these relationships. Besides the historical analyses of social work in Venezuela (Guerra 1980, Mendez Cegarra 1986a, Marquez 1982, Martinez 1977, Pulido 1984) and the historical account of the Catholic School of Social Services (Mejias Delgado n.d.) I also made use of historical accounts of the democratization of Venezuela (Carrera Damas 1979, Lombardi 1982); socio-economic accounts of Venezuela in the twentieth century (Baptista 1986, Sonntag and de la Cruz, 1985); accounts of Rockefeller's international enterprise (Arnove 1982, Brown 1982); documents pertaining to the initial organization of the Ministry of Health and Social Assistance (Orellana 1971); historical analyses of the origin and development of social work in Latin America and its relationship with social work in the North Atlantic (Alayon 1971, 1982, Ander Egg 1968, 1970, 1971, 1973, 1975, CELATS 1983, Rodriguez and Tesch 1979); the history and role of the university in Venezuela (Bronfenmajer and Casanova 1982, Silva Michelena and Sonntag 1984, Este et al. 1984). Specific evidence of the relationship between social work and social management in Venezuela was found in the

accounts of Rockefeller's participation in the organization of the area of social welfare in Venezuela (Martinez 1977, Mendez Cegarra 1986b, Orellana 1971); in the history of social security in Venezuela (Valbuena); in the history of policies of social welfare in Venezuela (Mendez Cegarra 1986b); in the historical analyses of social work in Venezuela (Guerra 1980, Mendez Cegarra 1986a, Marquez 1982, Martinez 1977, Pulido 1984); in the objectives of the School of Social Service at the UCAB (Calvani 1963).

With respect to the emergence of critiques of the relationship of knowledge to power at the School of Social Work at the UCV, evidence was found in the 1970 curriculum and in its objectives, in the collected papers presented at the First Venezuelan Congress of Social Work (see appendix 2), and in some of the historical accounts of social work in Venezuela (Guerra 1982, Martinez 1977, Mendez Cegarra 1986a).

I was informed of the existence of a great part of these written sources through the interviews. The interview (see appendix 1) was mainly intended to direct me to written evidence with respect to the critiques of knowledge/power with which I was not familiar or which were not readily available. However, the interview also served to obtain information about the history of social work in Venezuela. One criterion for selecting interviewees at the UCV was the length of time of involvement in the field of social work. Thus, I selected two faculty persons who had been teachers at the first school of social work founded in Venezuela in the forties, at secondary level, and who had later become teachers at the Universidad Central de Venezuela; then I selected four faculty members who had been present through the different curricular changes; I also interviewed the Director of the Research Institute of the Faculty of Social and Economic

Sciences who had been a member of the faculty of the School of Social Work and who has written extensively on the subject of social work in Venezuela. In order to obtain information from the perspective of teachers newer to the field, I interviewed two faculty members who had been contracted after the educational reform of 1970, one of whom is the current Director and the other is the Assistant to the Director. The other criterion which I followed in the selection of the interviewees was their ideological identification ('ideological' is used here as synonymous to value systems). The faculty at the School of Social Work at the UCV is presently divided into three ideological areas: approximately seventy percent of the faculty hold a radical perspective of social work; of the interviewees there were six who identified with this ideological area. The second group of importance, approximately twenty percent of the faculty, are the social workers who favor the mainstream perspective of social work and promote the use of psychological techniques; of the interviewees, two identified with this area. The third group, approximately ten percent of the faculty, has been dubbed the group of the 'old women' (las viejas) because of their lengthy involvement in the field as well as their very traditional views, of the interviewees only one belonged to this group. With respect to social work at the UCAB, as the program of social work is non-existent at the present time, I interviewed the ex-Director of the School of Social Sciences, of which social work was a part, an ex-director of the program and three graduates. I also interviewed the President of the Association of Social Workers of Venezuela (Colegio de Trabajadores Sociales de Venezuela).

The interview, as can be seen from appendix I, begins with the assumption that there is a relationship between knowledge and power in

social work. This assumption was readily understood by the six interviewees who identified with the radical perspective and it was easy for me to obtain information with respect of evidence of critiques of knowledge/power in the field of social work. The social workers who did not identify with the radical perspective, did not feel comfortable with the assumption of knowledge/power in social work, even though they acknowledged the existence of the critique at the UCV. With these professors I focused more on information with regard to the general history of social work in Venezuela and at the UCV and on the role of the social worker with a university degree in public administration.

The collected material was organized for the present chapter in the following manner. I begin the historical account of social work in Venezuela with a description of the socio-political and economic setting in which social work as a practice first arose. Throughout the chapter I use the written curriculum and subsequent curricular changes as a guiding thread of the knowledge base the discourse. As I follow the structuring of the discourse of social work through a period of approximately fifty years I try to remain at the level of its exteriority, that is, I examine each curricular change in connection with concurrent events in the social, political and economic spheres and in relation to social management. With respect to the critique of knowledge and power which emerged in the mid sixties, I also analyze its relationship to events in the social, political and economic spheres. I then examine which aspects of the mainstream knowledge base the critique addressed as well as the perspective on which the critique was based, that is, whether the critique was based on a perspective such as dependency.

2 Social Work in Venezuela prior to 1958

Social work emerged in Venezuela in 1936, during the country's transition towards an oil-based economy and industrialization. We will now examine the socio-political context for the emergence and structuring of Social Work in Venezuela.

Even though oil had been discovered at the turn of the century, Venezuela continued to be an agricultural economy based on latifundia¹⁰ and dependent on the North Atlantic markets of coffee, cocoa and hides well into the 1920s. At this time the Venezuelan population was approximately three million and the GPA was thirty percent lower than the five countries considered most representative of Latin America. Life expectancy in the 1920s was thirty to thirty-four years (Baptista, 1986:22) with yellow fever, malaria, tuberculosis, gastroenteritis and syphilis endemic to the country (Martinez 1977:115).

General Juan Vicente Gomez, the last of a succession of strong men in Venezuela, and dictator from 1908 until 1936, encouraged petroleum extraction by foreign companies and by 1931 Venezuela had become the world's largest oil exporter. Oil exploitation brought changes which affected Venezuela both internally and externally. Of interest to us are the following: a) the strategic significance of petroleum for the countries of the North Atlantic made Venezuela's political stability a matter of concern

¹⁰ Large land holdings, with absentee landlords and with people in serf-like conditions. The latifundia system was rooted in the Spanish colonial period when the Spanish Crown granted 'encomiendas' or large tracts of land with indians in slave-like conditions to Spanish colonists. Latin American independence from Spain only consolidated the political power of this 'criollo' landed oligarchy and did nothing to change the serf-like situation of the rural population.

to them, b) the hydrocarbons law of 1920 which stated that concessionaires would have exploration rights only, not ownership of the deposits (Lombardi, 1982: 279), c) the demographic changes of this predominantly rural country with a shift towards a more urban society and d) the public health programs which were undertaken at this time.

Although the conditions for the extraction of oil favored greatly the foreign enterprises, the hydrocarbons law of 1920 also assured a steady revenue for Venezuela that would later sustain the expansion of the modern state bureaucracy. Oil exploitation disrupted the prevailing semi-feudal order, and the rural population began to concentrate around oil exploitation centers, giving rise to the oil camps. The rural exodus also flowed to the existing urban areas. Their living conditions in settlements around the cities and around the oil camps were deplorable and thus worsened the existing health problems. The foreign oil companies, concerned about the health of their labor force, both foreign and national, proposed to aid in organizing a public health structure. Among the foreign companies working in Venezuela was Creole Petroleum Corporation, the Venezuelan subsidiary of Standard Oil of New Jersey of the Rockefeller family. As early as 1917 the Rockefeller Foundation¹¹ began to organize

11 "The emergence of American philanthropic foundations represented a confluence of economic, political, and social forces at the beginning of the twentieth century. These included the following: the amassing of great industrial fortunes; the industrial processes and social relations of production that led to both great wealth in the hands of a few and to poverty and discontent on the part of many; the social reformism of the period that proposed the application of rational social planning and scientific expertise to the amelioration of social ills; and the recognition on the part of the federal government, corporate management and the conservative wing of of the labor movement that they must work together to address common problems or face the prospects of radical social change.....From the beginnings, the activities of the giant

the field of public health starting with campaigns against yellow fever (Orellana, 1971:9). And in 1930 it also helped in organizing the Ministry of Health, Agriculture and Animal Husbandry (Ministerio de Salubridad, Agricultura y Cría). At this time dispensaries for the treatment of childhood diseases were installed, and vaccination campaigns against malaria were begun. (Martinez, 1977:120-123)

Gomez died in 1936. His twenty-eight year-long dictatorship had given the country a period of continuity which it had not experienced during the constant coups and turnover of strong men which had preceded him. It was under his military rule that the country embarked on a transition from a failing, dependent agricultural economy to a modern oil-based, dependent economy. This period of continuity had been possible because he had successfully stifled any attempt of political opposition.

After Gomez's death, the country undertook an uneven and oftentimes

philanthropic foundations were concerned not only with promoting stability and orderly change in the emergent national society, but with extending the 'benefits' of Western science, technology and value systems abroad." (Arnove 1982:4,5) The Rockefeller fortune became involved in the fields of public health and Western medicine in general in the US and abroad as early as 1901. According to E.R. Brown (1982:123-146) Rockefeller had two purposes in mind: through modern medicine to introduce scientific and industrial worldviews in areas like the Orient; through public health management to promote a healthier population and thus a healthier workforce and, at the same time, introduce scientific and industrial worldview in areas like Latin America. "In addition to the material and ideological benefits that were expected from scientific medical programs, the Rockefeller philanthropists understood that of all forms of foreign intervention, medicine was irresistible to people the world over. Its dominating and culture-transforming qualities were invisible compared with education or religion....The desire for health is a unifying force 'whose values go to the palace of the rich and the hovel of the poor'. Medicine is 'a work that penetrates everywhere'." (Brown, 1982:132)

rocky course towards a democratic political order and a structuring of public administration. New avenues for social struggle opened. Workers' unions were formed. Strikes were organized to demand better living conditions. New political parties appeared, and their political platforms were either populist¹² or socialist. It was a period of impatience, of making up for lost time, of implementing social reforms, maybe too hurriedly. It was Venezuela's entry into the twentieth century.

Within this climate of 'aggiornamento', of social reform, physicians, with the advice of the Rockefeller Foundation, continued to organize the public health field and that of social assistance. A network of social management was emerging with physicians as its architects. The Ministry of Health, Agriculture and Animal Husbandry was divided into two ministries: the Ministry of Health and Social Assistance (Ministerio de Sanidad y Asistencia Social - MSAS) and the Ministry of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry (Ministerio de Agricultura y Cria) (Martinez 1975:124) Thus the agricultural and livestock health issues and management were separated from human health issues and management.

¹² The new oil-based economy and the nascent industrialization of Venezuela gave rise to a new elite: the industrial bourgeoisie in opposition to the traditional dominant group, the landed oligarchy. Neither group was sufficiently powerful to eliminate the other and sought the support of the emerging middle sector and of the popular sector through ample social reforms. The result of these 'populist' measures was to benefit and enlarge the middle sector, and to limit any popular movement which promoted a major change in the social structure. (Silva Michelena, 1984:36-37)

Figure 1
List of Abbreviations

MSAS	Ministry of Health and Social Assistance
ENSS	National School of Social Service
ECSS	Catholic School of Social Service
AD	Social Democratic Party
COPEI	Christian Democratic Party
UCV	Central University of Venezuela
UCAB	Catholic University
CNU	National Council of Universities

In 1936 besides the fight against malaria and yellow fever the government also decreed a major campaign against tuberculosis. And a small group of women volunteers joined the MSAS to work in this public health campaign. These were women who belonged to the same educated class as the architects of the emerging field of public health and shared with them populist and progressive views. The responsibility of these volunteers was to help doctors in educating the affected population in preventive measures. That same year Dr. Jose Ignacio Baldó, Minister of SAS, as per the suggestion of the Rockefeller Foundation, invited the Puerto Rican social worker Celestina Zalduondo to train this group of volunteers and to organize the field of social work in Venezuela. After a short three-month course, these women became salaried employees of the State. By the end of 1936 doctors also required the specific assistance of the women social workers in two other areas, that of venereal diseases and that of abandoned children (Martinez, 1977:125-127). Thus the beginnings of social work in Venezuela are related to an emerging industrialization, to populist reforms and to the health care of a potential labor force. It began as a paramedic activity in a social assistance apparatus designed and

administered by physicians. Social Work was an occupation assigned to women and women of the educated class, women who, like their brothers and fathers, were committed to populist, progressive ideas of the period. It was an action directed towards a population of sick women and children or abandoned women and children and it was designed to intervene, to treat, to educate a population which could be integrated into a productive work force.

The MSAS took over a space which had traditionally belonged to the Catholic Church since colonial times. But the action of the MSAS differed from the charitable action of the Church at the turn of the century. When the Church intervened among the needy to treat and educate it did so based on the possibility of extending a conception of good conduct, morality and of good relations between classes. While the action of the Church was directed towards the soul and the acceptance of God's will, the action of MSAS was directed towards the body and the forging of a modern society within a capitalist world system. It was directed to improve environmental conditions, to assist medically, juridically and, sometimes, even financially, so as to alleviate the precarious conditions which surrounded most of the Venezuelan population. In turn this would result in a healthier labor force which could be integrated into an industrialized Venezuela.

Thus Venezuela began to modernize, supported by a knowledge base, with medical science participating in a major way in the restructuring of Venezuelan society. In other words, through the MSAS experience the emergent democratic state relied on medical discourse to implement a novel style of social management. At the same time it gave the medical field leverage to organize and expand by stimulating the creation and

subsequently controlling subsidiary fields of knowledge such as nursing and social work. However, the experience was not original to the country. Venezuela's modernizing enterprise was assisted by the United States for whom Venezuela had strategic significance as an important source of crude oil, and this was made possible through the management of knowledge at an international level.

2.a **The National School of Social Service**

By 1938 the MSAS began to plan a school of social work in Venezuela. 'The significant achievements in the systems of security and social assistance... and the growth of institutions and programs of social service' in France and Belgium had had a great impact on certain countries of Latin America, such as Chile, Argentina and Uruguay (Martinez 1977:154). Venezuela, like its Latin American counterparts, also looked to Europe for academic models to emulate. Luisa Amalia de Vegas, a social worker, was chosen to visit different schools of social service in Belgium and in France. By 1941, under the administration of Medina Angarita, a moderate populist government, the National School of Social Service (Escuela Nacional de Servicio Social - ENSS) was founded with Sra. Vegas as its first director. At the time of its foundation there was a polemic as to whether, if funds were limited, it was more profitable for the nation to found a Nursing School instead of a School of Social Service. The nursing school was founded two years later.

From the moment of its inception in the structuring of the MSAS, Social Work was held in high esteem by the architects of the new republic. Indeed, the President of the Republic was present at the School's first graduation, (thirty women) which took place at the Teatro Nacional, the

second major theatre in the country. (Martinez, 1977:153-155). Social work was a profession which was regarded as the product of and contributor to progressive, populist government measures and it was, at the same time an accepted, proper avenue of participation for the women of the elites.

The ENSS was a school for women. It was established at the post-elementary level and had a two-year curriculum (below).

Figure 2
National School of Social Service
Curriculum
1941

Language	Venezuelan Geography and History
Mathematics	World Geography and History
Home Economics	Natural Sciences
English	Elemental notions of Biology
Introduction to Law and Social Legislation	Social Work Activities
The bases and the biological, psychological, social and historic goals of Education	Technics of Social Work
Psychology at the service of Social Work	Hygiene
Elemental notions of Sociology and Political Economy	Child Rearing
Elemental Notions of Nursing	

(This curriculum was designed for a three year program but it does not specify the yearly distribution- it also included 6 3-month internships) (Mendez Cegarra, 1986:38-40)

The school was under the jurisdiction of and funded by the MSAS. The teachers were mainly physicians, the same doctors who administered the Ministry and some of the lawyers who were involved in the Ministry in

programs of social assistance. In the curriculum, modeled after the European schools, there was a marked tendency towards medicine, law and psychology, and the pragmatics of social work rested only on the 'individual case study' (Marquez, O., 1982:18)

The influence of the United States in matters of social assistance and public health, however, continued to grow in Venezuela and in the rest of Latin America. In 1941 The Executive Committee of the US based Association of Schools of Social Work and the Consulting Committee of the Children's Bureau invited, through the Department of State, fifteen representatives of schools of social work in Latin America to visit schools and agencies of social work in New York, Chicago, Cleveland, Philadelphia and Washington as well as rural programs in Illinois, Indiana, Maryland and Virginia. This visit to the United States coincided with a conference on social work. As a result scholarships were offered to Latin American countries for the training of Social Workers in the United States. This visit served not only to expose Latin Americans to the United States style of social work but also to establish stronger ties among the representatives of the schools of social service in Latin America which shared the same Belgian and French influence.

2.b **The Catholic School of Social Service**

The Catholic Church also had been wanting to organize a school of Social Service. Ines Ponte McClong, a young woman from one of the prominent families in Caracas, had visited Belgium to become acquainted with Catholic women's organizations and upon her return, in 1931, founded the Young Women's Catholic Association for the young women of elite Catholic families. These women visited poverty-stricken homes and

offered spiritual and, if possible, medical assistance. In 1936 Countess de Hemptienne from Belgium and Head of International Young Women Catholic Association visited Venezuela and put Ines Ponte in contact with the International Catholic Union of Social Service and with other Catholic Schools of Social Service in Latin America. But it was not until 1946, after World War II that the Catholic School of Social Service (Escuela Catolica de Servicio Social - ECSS) was to open under the technical direction of Dr. Missong, a political scientist from Germany, and M. Ecurra from Argentina and under the administration of Ines Ponte. The School was oriented towards girls from well to-do Catholic families, also at the post-elementary level. (Mejias Delgado, n.d.:3-7) The teachers of the ECSS were predominantly lawyers, male, who were prominent Catholics as well as members of the Christian Democratic Party: COPEI, founded in 1945 ¹³.

The differences between both schools were well defined. The National School of Social Work was financed and academically managed by the MSAS; its academic staff were mainly physicians, its graduates were to be employed by MSAS, it was ideologically identified with populist, progressive views of the government and later with the social democratic party, Acción Democrática. The Catholic School of Social Work, on the other hand, was financed by the Church, based on Christian principles of charity, and its object was to train women to work in Church organizations and projects. The instructors were mainly prominent lawyers. Politically it

¹³ COPEI, the Christian Democratic Party of Venezuela, founded in 1945, was from the outset identified with the Catholic Church and the elites. In Venezuelan political history it will be a conservative force with a marked tendency towards a technocratic management of the nation. COPEI established strong ties with the Christian Democratic parties in Chile and in Germany.

was identified with the more conservative COPEI party. The ENSS was the precursor of the undergraduate studies at the Universidad Central de Venezuela. And the ECSS was the precursor of undergraduate studies at the Universidad Catolica Andres Bello.

2.c Social Work 1945-1957

The moderate populist party, the Venezuelan Democratic Party, (Partido Democratico Venezolano - PDV), of Medina Angarita was ousted in 1945 and an impatient, more radical social democratic party, Democratic Action (Accion Democratica - AD)¹⁴, took over. However, the reforms planned by the social democrats frightened and irritated the military and the conservative elites. In 1948 a coup-d'etat initiated the ten year dictatorship of General Marcos Perez Jimenez. Every effort was made to crush AD: the party was abolished, its members assassinated, incarcerated, exiled or forced to go underground.

This was a period of repression and regression. Certainly in the area

¹⁴ The roots of Accion Democratica go back to 1928, to a university revolt under Gomez. After Gomez's death in 1936 many of the men who had been exiled or incarcerated because of the revolt participated in the leadership of populist or socialist political parties. Of the parties, the most radical and closest to socialism was the National Democratic Party (Partido Democratico Nacional - PDN). In 1936 it set out to organize labor unions and when it staged a national strike the Government of Lopez Contreras quickly suppressed both party and unions. It was reinstated in the populist government of Medina Angarita under the name of Accion Democratica. Critical of and dissatisfied with populist reforms it sought the collaboration of young military officers who belonged to the Patriotic Military Union (Union Patriotica Militar-UPM) and took over the government in 1945. The Venezuelan constitution and the reforms introduced by AD were models of socialist reform. Perez Jimenez in 1948 abolished the party and persecuted its members mercilessly. In 1958 Accion Democratica won the first democratic elections in the country.

of social reforms and education, after the momentum created by the previous populist regimes, things seemed to be at a standstill or seemed to have returned to the rule of the oligarchy.

For Social Work it was a period of political conflict (as we shall see below) but it was also a time to try to become more independent vis-a-vis medicine and law; and to define the academic and professional territory of this new profession. This was supported and stimulated by events such as the Panamerican Congresses of Social Service, which took place in 1945 in Santiago de Chile¹⁵ and in 1949 in Rio de Janeiro¹⁶ under the auspices of

¹⁵ The I Panamerican Congress of Social Service took place in Santiago de Chile in 1945. It advocated, first of all the urgent need for a distinction between the Sanitary Nurse, Public Health Nurse or Health Visitor and the Social Worker or Social Visitor, as she was sometimes called. In the academic area it recommended the opening of Schools of Social Work. It also recommended that Social Work be a post-secondary three-year program and suggested a curriculum with a substantial mix of psychology, sociology, economics, jurisprudence, history.... It contained a profile of the Social Worker as an 'honorable', 'understanding' and 'responsible' professional who should always be ready to contribute to alleviate human disgrace, to improve human relations and to promote all initiative tending to the attainment of goals which tend towards freedom'. It also recommended that men be admitted in the field. (Memorias 1968:359)

¹⁶ The II Panamerican Congress of Social Service took place in 1949 in Rio de Janeiro. Its central theme was social service and the family. Among the recommendations we find that social workers should organize professional associations 'to look after the interests of the profession'. With respect to the curricula of the Schools of Social Work the recommendations were that: -subjects be related to social work and to the functions of social assistance, -a close relationship should exist between theory and the basic methods of research in social service (social service of individual cases, social service of groups, social organization of community and social action), -field work and practice should be carried out in institutions which guarantee the application of social service methodology and the supervision of the practices by competent personnel (Memorias... 1968:361-367).

the Washington based Organization of American States - OAS and of the State Department of the United States

In 1949 Lila Ruiz, a recent graduate from a Master's program in Social Work in the United States was made director of the ENSS. Under L. Ruiz the school acquired a four year curriculum (below).

Figure 3
National School of Social Service
Curriculum
1950

1st year

Physical and Social Geography of Venezuela
Venezuelan History
Elements of Biological Sciences
Home Economics and Nutrition
Spanish Composition
Mathematics
English
Visit to Institutions *

2nd year

General Psychology
General Sociology
World History
Spanish Composition
Pedagogy
Moral Doctrines
English
Theory and Practice of the Individual Social Case *

3rd Year

Social Security *
Psychology applied to Social Work *
Sociology applied to Social Work *
Hygiene
Family Law and Legislation of Minors *
English
Theory and practice of Group Social Work *

4th Year

Applied Psychology/
Psychopathology *
Work Legislation *
Service Organization and Administration *
Child Rearing
Professional Ethics *
Social Medicine and Health Organization *
Theory and Practice of Collective Social Work *

(Martinez, 1977:167-168)

Although the new curriculum was still geared to the specific needs of the MSAS; the knowledge base began to be tailored more specifically to the practice of social work. 'Elemental Notions of Nursing' was eliminated; no more confusion with the field of nursing, as stated in the I Panamerican Congress of Social Service. There were now twelve courses which were specific to the practice of social work in contrast to three in the 1941 curriculum, these are marked with a * in both curricula. Methodology included group and collective social work besides individual social case study. An important change introduced by L. Ruiz was to gradually include more social workers at faculty level, in order to help consolidate a knowledge base more pertinent to the practice of social work (Martinez 1977:169) In this curriculum there is evidence of a knowledge base which, even though it is still designed to sustain the functions of social work in the public administration arena, it is no longer only defined by physicians, but also by social workers. The social workers at the ENSS were partly influenced by the changes in the knowledge base which occurred in the field of social work in the United States and which were transmitted to Latin America in events like the Panamerican Congresses of Social Service.

In 1953 men were permitted to be admitted into both Schools of Social Work. However, in 1956 the ENSS was closed by Perez Jimenez because the students, who were politically identified with AD, continued to protest the military regime.

3 Social Work at the Universidad Central de Venezuela: 1958-1969

When the dictatorship of General Perez Jimenez ended in 1958, the democratic project was taken up once more. Public higher education

became a priority and social work became one of the new disciplines offered at the Universidad Central de Venezuela - UCV ¹⁷. In this section we will analyze the objectives of the first curriculum of Social Work at the tertiary level and the socio-political context that led to its change in 1968.

The populist governments between 1936-1945 had been primarily interested in expanding the base of the educational pyramid and deemphasized the importance of the secondary and tertiary levels. Subsequently, Perez Jimenez (1948-58) encouraged the privatization of

¹⁷ The Universidad Central de Venezuela was founded in 1721 and together with the Universidad de los Andes, founded in 1810, was one of the two institutions of higher education in Venezuela until 1953. Higher education in Venezuela, as in the rest of Latin America was accessed only by the landed oligarchy and the reduced petite bourgeoisie with the Church as the screener of the student body. Even after the death of Gomez and well into the 1940s the universities concentrated on the traditional disciplines of medicine, law, philosophy;... with medicine and law drawing 67 percent of the student body in 1936 and 71 percent by 1944. The universities traditionally identified with the latifundistas served only to reproduce the prevailing order. It was not until industrialization that this order was challenged within the university by the emerging industrial bourgeoisie and middle class, and it was at this point that the university began to constitute a space for the emergence of counter hegemonical movements. Such was the case of the 'generation of 1928' which sprung up from the UCV against Gomez and which was made up of the men who would later lead Venezuela in its democratic experience. The UCV was closed down by Gomez's military forces and the rebels were either incarcerated or exiled. Again during the dictatorship of Perez Jimenez, 1948-1958, the UCV constituted a space to denounce the military regime. Like Gomez before him, Perez Jimenez's solution was to close the UCV, and incarcerate the activists. At the same time he encouraged the privatization of tertiary education in the hands of the conservative elites. Thus in 1953 the Catholic University (Universidad Catolica Andres Bello - UCAB) was created under the auspices of COPEI, the Christian Democrats. The University Santa Maria was also founded that same year.

higher education and looked to higher education as a means of constructing a technological base for the country in the hands of the elites. In 1958 the social democrats, AD, came to power. Within AD's perspective education was regarded as an effective agency of social mobility and as a means of integrating sectors of the population into a modernized economy while constructing a representative, democratic government. The open door policy of primary education of the populist reformers was now extended to secondary education and, in particular, to tertiary education. Higher education was no longer the privilege of the oligarchy; other sectors of the population now were to gain access to it. The ideology of free and equal access to higher education coincided with a demand for more skilled workers and professionals from the productive sector which, because of the initial stage of import substitution, was going through a phase of expansion. A growing labor demand also came from an equally expanding state bureaucracy.

The growth of the public and private sector, the possibility of employment, and a spirit of growing professionalism, set the stage for a group of social workers to pressure the Minister of SAS to, in turn, pressure the administration of the UCV to introduce social work at the tertiary level. The basic concern of the social workers was to be able to professionalize in order to compete with other tertiary level professions in the public sector.

In 1958 Espiritu Santo Mendoza, Minister of SAS, and member of AD, approached the UCV to include social work among the new options in higher education. The project was rejected on the grounds that the University lacked funds. Mendoza then decided to economically support the School of Social Work at tertiary level during the first years with a grant from MSAS.

This enabled the Ministry to choose the initial director, a woman physician, Zaira P. de Andrade, and, thus, to continue to maintain control over the profession.

A tentative curriculum was elaborated and this, together with the curricula of the ENSS and ECSS, were submitted to Elizabeth Shirley Enosch of the Council of Social Work Education and to Karl Schweinitz of the Social Security Administration of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare of the United States. These experts had been invited by the MSAS to revise and develop a curriculum for the UCV. They produced a curriculum "according to the programs which are most used in Social Work education and according to the guidelines of K.A. Kendall, Assistant Director of the Council of Social Work Education" (Martinez, 1977:76). This was duly approved by the authorities of the UCV and became the 1958 curriculum.

Figure 4

UCV - School of Social Work
Curriculum - 1958

<u>1st year</u>	<u>2nd year</u>
History of Social Assistance	Individual Social Case
Methodological Statistics	Physical, emotional and mental growth and development of the individual
Human Geography	Statistics
Introduction to Anthropology	Legislation and Assistance Services
Introduction to Sociology	Social Medicine, Medical Information and Health Organization
Social Psychology	Methods of Popular Education
Economic Theory	Practical Training

3rd Year

Administration of Social Agencies
Psychopathology
Seminar on National Social Problems
Group Social Service (Practical Training)
Rural Sociology. Agrarian Reform
Theory of Group Social Work

4th year

Juvenile Delinquency, Prevention and Treatment
Development of Social Thought
Professional Ethics
Social Research
Practical Training in Programs of Community Development
Industrial Relations. Labor Legislation
Theory of Community Development and Organization
Seminar on Social Security Planning (optional)

(Ficha Individual. Control de Estudios de la Facultad de Ciencias Economicas y Sociales, UCV, in Mendez Cegarra, 1986:72-73)

The objectives of this curriculum are as follows:

"To achieve the improvement of social work through the training of a team (cadre) able to assume the administration of all the matters related to social welfare and social assistance and to succeed in the training of graduates with a good technical reputation.

"The social worker, because of specific studies, is a professional able to face and to try to resolve social problems which affect the personal life of the individual as well as to resolve the individual problems which affect the well being of the collectivity. They (the social workers) cooperate with all those who are trying to improve social conditions in urban as well as in rural areas, advising them in the planning of programs. He/ she cooperates in the appliance of laws and in the administration of the institutions which result from this planning. (The social worker) tries to facilitate the efforts of individuals and groups to improve their personal conditions and the condition of the community they live in. He/she is a master in resolving difficulties.

"The social worker not only has to study certain courses like those indicated in the curriculum but he/she also has to learn to think in a way that is required by the formulation of social policy and the development of social programs. This intellectual process is accompanied by the capacity to act and obtain practical results. Moreover the study of the theory of practice of social work has to contribute to cultivate the capacity to

understand and appreciate human emotions and in particular the emotions of those who have personal difficulties. The congeniality of the social worker must be a disciplined congeniality, one which recognized the importance of helping the individual in a way that the individual may conserve his/her initiative and may strengthen his/her self-confidence. This congeniality obliges the social worker, sometimes to be firm besides being generous and kind."

"The objectives of social service education is to enable the social worker to put to practice good intentions and to collaborate in the effective appliance of laws and measures in order to benefit each and every member of the community." (MSAS.Los Estudios de Servicio Social 1959:6 in Pulido, 1984: 41,43 and in Martinez, 1977:177)

A year later the MSAS contacted the United States' Embassy for additional help and the State Department invited Felicidad Catala, a Social Worker from Puerto Rico, to visit as advisor to the School. Catala revised the Practical Training Courses of the career and added other objectives¹⁸,

In gaining access to higher education the Social Workers sought to continue the process of defining and obtaining control of their field of knowledge, to cease being an auxiliary profession to medicine and/or jurisprudence, and to increase their status in Venezuelan society. Through

¹⁸ "The practical training in Social Work is designed so that the student may overcome the phase of the intellectual discussion regarding the needs of the human behavior of individuals or of groups. It is designed so:

-that the social work student may develop receptive skills to understand the most subtle form of expressions, desires, needs longings of those they are supposed to help,

-that the social work student may acquire a clear understanding (not purely intellectual) of the binomium individual/society and of its implication for the professional of social work,

-that the social work student may be experienced with the required techniques for the adequate exercise of the profession -that the social work student may live the process of self discipline so that he/she may carry out correctly the duties and responsibilities of social work" (UCV, Anteproyecto para las practicas...in Martinez, 1977:180)

higher education they wanted to have access to and compete on the same decision levels of the state bureaucracy as other sociologists, psychologists, economists, etc. This movement was influenced by the professional activism in the United States and by events like the Panamerican Congresses of Social Service¹⁹.

From a professional standpoint the 1958 curriculum was an improvement over the 1950 curriculum of the ENSS. It was no longer directed only to relevant areas in the MSAS. A discourse was emerging that was no longer subjected to medical and judicial knowledge. It now included 'labor relations', 'community development', social security', areas specific to social work as stated at the III Panamerican Congress of Social Service 1957. The objectives of the curriculum state, though not very forcibly, that the social worker of the UCV will be prepared to administered programs of social welfare. However, what is evident in these objectives is that social work seems to be a question of acquisition of gender characteristics besides the acquisition of specific knowledge. It is clear that the MSAS, who co-authored these objectives for the UCV, wanted to maintain a 'maternal' presence in its contact with the population. Thus, we see how the desired 'motherly' characteristics of the social worker sometimes override the discourse of social work. The profession is

¹⁹ The III Panamerican Congress of Social Service took place in San Jose de Puerto Rico in 1957. The central theme was "The Function of SS. in the Development of Welfare Programs, Indispensable at all levels of the Community". It recommends what should be the various functions of social service in welfare programs; it suggests the areas which should incorporate welfare programs: education, health, housing, recreation, work, social security, social protection. It also recommends the international use of a Social Service Glossary. (Memorias.... 1968:370-372)

imbued with the spirit of sacrifice and the social worker should be 'congenial', 'generous', 'kind' but 'firm', in other words a 'mother' in the traditional Latin American sense.

Thus, towards the end of the fifties we have a discourse, which is being structured on the basis of the needs of the State, and on the needs of an auxiliary profession in search of independence from the medical and juridical fields. United States hegemony in the field of social assistance and welfare in Venezuela and in the Panamerican Congresses of Social Service is such that by now the profession is well patterned after the profession in the United States and the discourse influenced by the prevalent scientific currents in that country.

3.a **Radicalization of the UCV and of the School of Social Work**

The sixties was a period of growing radicalization of the UCV, and some schools, like that of Social Work identified more than others with this movement. Several factors at the national and international level brought on this radicalization.

At national level radicalization was influenced by political decisions concerning industrial development and education. When the democratic period was reassumed in 1958 the political parties with more representation (AD, COPEI and URD) and the Federation of Chambers of Commerce and Industry (Federacion de Camaras de Comercio e Industria - FEDECAMARAS)²⁰ made a pact to cooperate in the industrial development of

²⁰ FEDECAMARAS, the Federation of the Chambers of Commerce and Industry of Venezuela, is the organism which represents the industrial and commercial bourgeoisie of the country. It was form in 1945 to coordinate

the country. A result of this pact was the exclusion of the extreme left from the political scene. Deprived of legal voice or outlet the extreme left opted for guerilla tactics. And the public universities, particularly the UCV, became a recruiting center for the radical left during the sixties. The traditional liberal model of education, the open-door policy of 1958, which extended higher education to middle and some lower sectors of the population also aided to ignite the questioning spirit of the public universities.

At the level of Latin America there were complementary and parallel events which influenced the radicalization of the UCV. On the one hand, we have a 'successful' Cuban revolution for many and an event which offered an alternative to capitalism and, on the other hand, the growing presence of international agencies (Agency for International Development - AID, International Development Bank - IDB, Organization of American States - OAS) and programs like the Alliance for Progress in an effort to maintain Latin America in the 'free' world of capitalist enterprise and to avoid further revolutionary movements. Social scientist began to react critically to the presence of these international agencies which had begun to be evident at many levels of governance: education, health, finance, etc. A questioning of their presence and a questioning of the knowledge base which sustained their programs began in academia throughout Latin America but most forcibly in the countries of the southern cone, Chile and Argentina, and in Brasil.

This critique was posed from a Marxist perspective and was directed to socio-political and economic issues of development/underdevelopment

economic groups and policy and to bridge the gap between private and public sectors (Lombardo 1982:282)

and to the relationship of Latin America with the North Atlantic. This critique was to mature into the Dependency perspective.

An academic area in the southern cone which was to receive the impact of this critical approach were the Schools of Social Work. Here academicians had begun also to challenge the dominant knowledge base of social work.

It was felt that Social Work rested on a theoretical model which corresponded to a capitalist mode of production, a mode which was inevitably exploitative of the working and marginal classes. Social Work was a discourse which had arisen in the countries of the North Atlantic and which had little to contribute to Latin American reality. As one of the principal critics of traditional social work in Latin America noted:

"In the technocratic conceptualization, the action of social work was proclaimed to be apolitical and non ideological, but it was in reality oppressive, because it underplayed existing contradictions and temporarily effaced the effects of an unjust global system. This educational perspective led students of social work to an atomist view of social reality, a conceptualization of man based on individualist, which was in turn based on a decidedly psychological perspective". (Ander-Egg, 1975:16)

The questioning of the accepted discourse of social work would be known by the seventies as the 'reconceptualization' of social work (la reconceptualizacion). It was postulated as a theoretical decolonization of Social Work, as the construction of an indigenous body of knowledge and as a practice towards liberation of the oppressed sectors of the population.

The rethinking of the knowledge base began to be transmitted to other Latin American countries in the Latin American Association of Schools of Social Work (Asociacion Latinoamericana de Escuelas de Trabajo

Social - ALAETS) meetings ²¹. These meetings were held concurrently, that is, in the same location and at the same time as the Panamerican Congresses of Social Service.

The above events all left their mark on the School of Social Work at the UCV and contributed to its radicalization. Towards the end of the sixties the School of Social Work, together with the Schools of Sociology and School of Economics, became known as the 'red' schools of the UCV.

3.b **Rift between School of Social Work and the MSAS**

In the mid-sixties there was evidence of a growing rift between the School and the MSAS, the principal employer of Social Workers. This was partly due to the democratization of the UCV and partly to the radicalization of the School.

When social work first appeared in the populist era under the protection and direction of the medical field, it was a vehicle for the participation of upper-middle class women. Democratization of higher education not only opened the doors to the middle and lower sectors, but also to women in general. Thus women of the upper-middle sector who would have thought of social work at a para-secondary level as an option in years past now, at the tertiary level, had a wider choice of disciplines made available to them. At the same time as populism was giving way to a technocratic perspective of governance, women whose families belonged to the governing stratum or elite groups become interested in fields like psychology and communications and moved away from fields like social

²¹ The Association of Latin American Schools of Social Work (Asociacion Latinoamericana de Escuelas de Trabajo Social - **ALAETS**) was founded in 1965 as an association for teachers of social work with the support of the Organization of American States - OAS.

work associated with populist intervention and by now very radicalized. On the other hand, the School, now made up of students from lower middle and lower sectors (mostly women), had begun to challenge not only dependent capitalism in Latin America but to challenge the accepted role of social work within the State apparatus.

The MSAS reacted. Besides boycotting the employment of graduates of the UCV, Raul Quijada, Head of Social Assistance, a physician and member of AD, changed the name of the Department of Social Work to the Department of Social Welfare Promotion and opened a school at the MSAS for Social Welfare Promoters (Promotores de Bienestar Social). Changing the name of the department from Social Work to Social Welfare Promotion meant for some that this professional space was opened to other professionals such as sociologists, psychologists or anthropologists, provided, in this particular case, they were affiliated with the Social Democratic party (Mendez Cegarra, 1987). The creation of the school was further interpreted as a way for the Social Democrats (Adecos) to regain control of this professional field. However, besides the Adecos wanting to retain ideological control of the agents through whom they established contact with the popular sector, it seems likely that this was also a case of the medical field trying to exercise control again over the field of social work. That is, it represented a return to a period when the medical field or the MSAS trained the social workers according to their needs, because they had indeed lost their grip over this academic area. At this time there was no longer the hand-picked physician from the MSAS as director of the

School at the UCV. And the ENSS, for all practical purposes had been eliminated except for its name²².

3 c. **The Year of the Renewal**

Towards the end of the sixties the open door policy of the populist government of AD entered into crisis. The depression of the international oil market, the depression of the national market as import substitution had passed its initial expanding phase and the over production of university graduates resulted in serious restrictions of employment opportunities. This limited the role of education as an effective channel of mobility, especially for the middle sector (Este, 1984:6-7). To this socio-economic dimension we have to add the growing radicalization of higher education in Latin America in general, a successful Cuban revolution, almost ten years old, and the student protests in France in 1968. All these factors converged at the UCV and shook its foundation during the Year of the Renewal, 1968-69.

The questioning had initially arisen out of academia in the early sixties and now, almost a decade later, it reverted onto the university itself. It focused on the role of the university within the capitalist system; on the authoritarian relations between the administration and the students; on the lack of student representation; the process of decision making; on the choice of theoretical perspectives, their origin, their

²² The ENSS had been integrated in the secondary system and was now under the Ministry of Education (Ministerio de Educacion - ME). Admission requirements were raised to the third year of secondary schooling and the four-year program reduced to three years. The new school at the MSAS was a para-secondary affair, similar in structure to the old ENSS.

application...all was confronted. It was a year of radical revision and change.

During this year (1968-69) the old curriculum of the School of Social Work, the one drawn up by the United States specialists and by the MSAS, was rejected and the Curriculum of the Renewal took its place.

4 Social Work at the Universidad Central de Venezuela: 1969-1973

In this section we will briefly review the Curriculum of the Renewal. We will then describe the reaction of the State to the radicalization of the autonomous universities, and we will delineate the events which led up to another curricular change in 1974.

4.a. UCV - The Curriculum of the Renewal

Figure 5
UCV - School of Social Work
Curriculum
1968

<u>Basic Cycle</u>	
<u>1st semester</u>	<u>2nd Semester</u>
Introduction to Scientific Thought	Statistics I
Mathematics	Social Work I
Economic and Social History I	Economic and Social History II
Pre Seminar I (Study Methodology and Learning Systems)	Pre seminar II
	Introduction to Anthropology
<u>Profesional Cycle</u>	
<u>3rd semester</u>	<u>4th semester</u>
Statistics II (Applied)	Sociology II
Psychology I	Social Anthropology
Sociology I	Psychology II
Social Work II	Political Economy II
Political Economy I	Social Work III

5th semester

Psychology III
Social Security
Social Work IV
Research Methodology I
Law I

7th Semester

Administration
Training II
Professional Practical training I
Social Communication
Planning
Specialization cycle

9th semester

Social Planning
Seminar: Programming
*Research in Social Work I
**Social Welfare Administration I
Administration II
***Social Security I

6th semester

Research Methodology II
Demography
Law II
Theories of Underdevelopment
Workshop: Social Work I

8th semester

Professional Practical

Seminar: Social Problems
Workshop: Social Work II

10th semester

Venezuelan Political Economy
Workshop: Social Work III
*Research in Social Work II
**Social Welfare

***Social Security II

*/**/** designate the three options of this cycle
(Escuela de Trabajo Social. Documentos de la Renovacion. Caracas, 1969 in
Mendez Cegarra, 1986:72-73)

The objectives of this curriculum are as follows:

The central objective of the School is to educate a social worker who is able to contribute to the solution of the global problematic; (a social worker) who is able to project her/himself on the great masses who require to raise their rationality before the unsatisfactory economic and social situation which the country is undergoing and which is the product of underdevelopment and of a distorted neocolonialist culture.

To educate an integral social worker:

-(As a) permanent researcher of the serious problems which the country faces, oriented towards the elaboration of an objective diagnosis of the national reality, identifying the structural causes together with their dynamic manifestations.

-(As a) critical professional, cognizant of that reality and conscious of her/his role in its transformation. Endowed with a flexible and ample mind which will allow her/him to assume a critical attitude towards society.

-(As a) scientific technician, above all, able to contribute significantly to the change which the country demands, through practical action based on scientific knowledge.

In conclusion, (it is necessary to educate) a realistic, committed social worker, in spite of the structural strictures which may limit her/him to carry out, as university professional, a transforming function in consonance with the possibilities of the present and the imperative demands of the future of the Nation; (a professional) at the service of the people and not (at the service) of interests which disregard the progress and development (of the Nation).

(Documentos de la Renovación, Escuela de Trabajo Social. UCV, p.7. in Mendez Cegarra, 1986:56-57)

From a critique with roots in the movement of reconceptualization and in the dependency perspective and in opposition to a knowledge base used mainly in the social management of the popular sector, the 'subjugated discourse' (to use a Foucauldian term) at the School of Social Work now became a legitimate discourse. However, it was only legitimate in an institution which was divorced from the State. The Curriculum of the Renewal of the School of Social Work was, first of all, illustrative of the theoretical perspective and political mood of the university at this time ²³, and, secondly, it was a 'desiderata' for a new, radical social worker, very different from the traditional, motherly type of 1958.

²³ A curriculum at the UCV in order to be approved had to go through a series of administrative steps. It had to be approved first by the School Council (Consejo de Escuela), then by the Faculty Council (Consejo de Facultad), and lastly by the Council of the Board of Directors (Consejo Directivo). Thus, a curriculum represented the consented, official discourse of the university.

4.b **The Educational Reform of 1970 at Tertiary Level**

The events of 1968-1969 in public higher education in Venezuela represented the crisis and the end of an era of populist regimes in Venezuela. AD (social democrats) lost the the elections in 1969 and a more conservative, technocratic COPEI (christian democrats) won by a small margin.

Parallel to the radical discourses emerging from public universities the State began to develop a series of measures to marginalize the rebellious institutions and to neutralize their connection with the popular sector:

- the introduction of the 1970 Educational Reform
- military violation of the autonomy of the UCV and the temporary closing of the UCV
- budgetary restriction for public universities
- a social pact: "peace at work", through collective contracts to improve economic conditions and block the political action of the working sector

Alongside the "autonomous" universities the Educational Reform of 1970 introduced a complex network of universities such as the Universidad Simon Bolivar, Universidad Simon Rodriguez and Universidad Abierta, as well as institutes, university colleges and pedagogical institutes under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education. And atop of this binary system was placed the National Council of Universities (Consejo Nacional de

Universidades - **CNU**) with direct linkage to the State apparatus ²⁴. Through the CNU the State centralized the most important decisions with regard to higher education and limited the autonomy of the public universities.

Thus, even though the apparent strategy of the State in the 1970 reform was to regulate the expansion of the tertiary level and to adjust higher education to the new economic policies, it also exerted political control to contain the process of radicalization (Este, 1984:14). If the diversification of higher education was designed to expand the career choices, through the creation of many institutions at different levels of tertiary education and through new academic programs, many of which were short two-year experiences, it also avoided great concentrations of students in any one place and over a long period of time

In what way did this reform affect the School of Social Work at the UCV? a) In the sixties access to the School was controlled by the Student Federation, identified with the political left; towards the end of the seventies access to higher education in general would be centralized through the CNU and selection of the national pool of applicants would be made on the basis of grade point average. Therefore, if before 1970

²⁴ The CNU was founded in 1962, and it was constituted by a representative of the Ministry of Education, the presidents of the public and private universities and three professors representing 1)the public universities, 2)the experimental public universities, and 3)the private universities. In 1970, with the Educational Reform, to the CNU were added two university professors appointed by the Congress of the Republic, a representative of the National Council of Science and Technology (Consejo de Investigacion, Ceincia y Tecnologia - CONICIT), the Director of the Office of University Planning and Supervision (Oficina de Planificacion y Supervision Universitaria - OPSU) and a representative of the Ministry of Finance.

political affiliation was an important factor in accessing public universities, this avenue would eventually cease to exist; and if through political affiliation the lower classes had a greater access to the higher educational system this would also be eliminated towards the end of the seventies. b) Any curricular changes now had to be approved by the CNU. c) Besides the programs of social work at the UCV and at the UCAB (see section 4) one of the junior colleges: Colegio Universitario de Caracas, offered a two-year program. Graduates of this program received the title of Higher Level Technician in Social Organization and Development (Tecnico Superior en Organizacion y Desarrollo Social).

The Educational Reform of 1970, however, was not only directed to the tertiary level; it had originally been intended as a major reform at secondary level. In the next section I examine how the changes introduced at secondary level were to affect the field of social work.

4.c **The 1970 Educational Reform at Secondary Level**

The ideology of free and equal access to education of the populist regimes was giving way to the ideology of a highly diversified higher and secondary educational system to correspond to an equally diversified and specialized workplace. Within this perspective access to the workplace would take place from different points along the educational pyramid. Thus the six year secondary level was changed to a three year basic cycle and a three year diversified cycle. In the diversified cycle a branch denominated Assistential Education was created. This branch was to train students in the following field of social assistance: social work, nursing and childcare. The certification obtained was a High School Diploma with a Major in either Social Work, Nursing or Childcare (Bachiller Especialidad Asistencial

Mencion Trabajo Social / Enfermeria / Puericultura). It was interpreted as an effective and quick access to the workplace and in a short time this program was offered in nine public high schools and in six private high schools in the country. But the programs were either understaffed or poorly staffed and lacked proper supervision. According to researchers of the field of social work, the product of these programs was of dubious quality and only contributed to add one more category to an already divided professional space.

4.d. **The Professional Space of Social Work**

Because of the different strategies of the State with respect to the training of Social Work towards the end of the seventies the professional field was divided among the following categories:

- Social Worker graduated at tertiary level (Licenciado en Trabajo Social) [1958]
- Technician of Social Work (Tecnico en Trabajo Social). This certificate went to a number of persons who were admitted at the UCV without secondary school diploma [1958]
- Social Worker graduated at Secondary Level (Bachiller en Humanidades con mencion en Trabajo Social) [1958]
- Social Worker graduated from the Assistential Secondary Level (Bachiller, Especialidad Asistencial, Mencion Trabajo Social) [1970]
- Promoter of Social Welfare (Promotor de Bienestar Social). Para-secondary course held at the MSAS [1965]
- Social Worker from ENSS or ECSS (Trabajador Social) [1941]
- Auxiliary of Social Service (Auxiliar de Servicio Social) persons who with a sixth grade level took a brief course at a specific institution and

then worked in the welfare programs of that institution. [1958].

This balkanization made social work a very difficult field to organize in the struggle for professional rights that other professions had been able to accomplish. Since the sixties there have been two organizations: the Association of Social Workers (Asociacion de Trabajadores Sociales) which groups those who are at a secondary or para-secondary level; and another association for social workers who are university graduates (Colegio de Trabajadores Sociales); however, membership in both organizations has always been very low. Social work was to remain a fragmented professional field, with no force.

Before proceeding to the next curricular change we will briefly examine the Social Service program at the Catholic University. Although this program graduated only approximately thirty social workers over a span of ten years, it is a part of the history of social work in Venezuela.

5 Social Service at the Universidad Catolica Andres Bello: 1959-1980

In 1958 the Catholic University Andres Bello (Universidad Catolica Andres Bello - UCAB)²⁵ in response to the climate of new opportunities in higher education also decided to broaden its spectrum of programs.

²⁵ Perez Jimenez (1948-1958) encouraged the privatization of higher education in the hands of the elites and the Catholic University Andres Bello was founded in 1953 under the auspices of Christian Democratic party COPEI. It began with the Faculties of Law and Engineering. Its governing board is constituted by the Chancellor of the University who is the Archbishop of Caracas, the Vice-Chancellor is the Provincial Director of the Society of Jesus in Venezuela, the Foundational Council (of the Society of Jesus) and the University Council

At this time the Christian democrats (COPEI), in the persons of Aristides and Adelita Calvani, approached the UCAB with a project for a School of Social Sciences. Aristides Calvani, a prominent member of COPEI and a prominent lawyer, had been a key organizer of the ECSS as well as a teacher there, and had married Adelita Abbo, a graduate of that same school. For the Calvanis the enterprise of social work was of extreme importance as a means to detain or avoid the radicalization of the popular sector (Brito 1987).

The project for the School of Social Sciences (below) included three academic and professional areas: sociology in order to study social phenomena, social service to intervene at the level of the popular sector and industrial relations to intervene in the industrial sector. In the objectives of the curriculum for the School of Social Sciences society was represented as a sick body. The ills were partly produced by the abuses of capitalism. This could be improved or even prevented by preparing a cadre of professionals cognizant of the roots of these social ills and committed to implementing programs to cure the maladies.

Figure 6

Universidad Catolica Andres Bello
School of Social Sciences

Objectives of the 1959 Curriculum:

It is necessary to obtain pure social researchers, that is, researchers exclusively dedicated (to study) the anatomy and physiology of the social body. It is necessary to have a group of scientists who will dedicate all their efforts to the study of social phenomena in order to describe them, study their causes and effects, their reach... Herein lies the meaning of the program in SOCIOLOGY.

It is not sufficient (however) to examine a social problem and bring to light its causes, its effects...it is also necessary to arrive at a

diagnosis, prognosis and to formulate a treatment. Besides a pure investigator of social phenomena we need learned persons to try to heal the diseases of the social body and to try to arrive at a scientific solution of the different social problems previously analyzed and studied....Herein lies the meaning of the program of SOCIAL SERVICE.

Socio-economic relations constitute one of the axis on which our modern life operates. Within these relationships we find the prototype of these socio-economic relations: the work relations within an enterprise. It is necessary to have specialists of the social body to direct their interest specifically to the investigation and knowledge of work relations, to the diverse ways of working together within an enterprise and to possible solutions to conflicts. Employer-employee problems would not be comprehensible without economic notions, nor could they be explained without social causes. Herein lies the meaning of the program in INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS. (Calvani, 1963:2)

The three programs of the School of Social Sciences have a common basic cycle of two years and three years of specialization.

The administration of the UCAB, however, turned down the project because it was felt that economically it would be a drain on the private University. These were not traditional professions of the upper middle class, and should they attract students from the lower-middle and lower classes these would have to be financed. The UCAB was not set up to give financial aid at the time (Brito, 1987).

Calvani came back six months later with complete financing from the Fundación Creole²⁶ and the School of Social Sciences opened in 1959 with Sociology and Industrial Relations. Social Service did not begin because apparently the Calvinis did not find anyone suitable to manage what was for them the most important part of the project (Brito, 1987).

²⁶ Fundación Creole is the foundation created by the Creole Petroleum Corporation, the Venezuelan subsidiary of Standard Oil of New Jersey of the Rockefeller dynasty.

The 'right' person was eventually found in Consuelo Morillo, a woman lawyer and the 'right' program to emulate was found at the University of Quebec, in Canada. "For Calvani this university represented a worthwhile mix of values from the old world and values from the new world" (Brito, 1987) The funding for the project came in 1963 through the Ford Foundation²⁷ and it was only upon Dr. Morillo's return from the University of Quebec, in 1969, that the program began. A series of events at the national and international level coincided, however and the program of Social Service was never able to strengthen and maintain itself at the UCAB. These events were the creation of Popular Promotion (Promocion Popular) a government organization to promote community development in the popular sector, the radicalization of the students and faculty of Sociology at the School of Social Sciences at the UCAB, and the repercussion of the victory of Allende's Unidad Popular in Chile as well as the growing radicalization of the Church in Latin America.

When the Christian Democrats won in 1969 they came to govern with a diagnosis of the Venezuelan nation and a clear plan of social action at all levels. Their diagnosis may be summarized in the following terms: on the economic side the principal problems were a lack of dynamism in exports as the first phase of the process of import substitution had been exhausted, and a dependency on the external sector. On the social side the progressive growth of the marginally social sector was due to a lack of participation of this sector, a resistance to change and inequality in the use of available

²⁷ By 1963 the Ford Foundation was also participating through the financing of five full professors, plus five scholarships abroad for other professors of the School.

educational and cultural resources. To counteract the above, the State would promote the creation of new units of production and increment productivity, augment exports, obtain a greater autonomy vis-a-vis the external sector; create sufficient jobs, further scientific and technological research and promote popular participation (Mendez Cegarra 1986a:449). To promote popular participation the project of Popular Promotion (Promocion Popular) was launched in several 'barrios' in the marginal area of Caracas. The project was under the direction of Adelita Calvani and dependent only on the Presidency of the Republic. (Aristides Calvani had meanwhile become Minister of Exterior). It is the opinion of some social workers that if the Calvinis' original project for the School of Social Sciences had come into effect, by 1969 they would have had a cadre of social workers trained at the UCAB in key positions in Promocion Popular but because of the lack of social workers it was sociologists, trained at the UCAB, who were placed in managerial positions in the newly founded organization of Popular Promotion (Brito, 1987).

As we have seen one of the problems that faced the Christian Democrats when they came to power was a radicalized public higher education and how one of the measures they undertook to deal with a rebellious UCV was to intervene militarily and to close it. What subsequently occurred was that some of the students of the UCV moved to the UCAB and the UCAB began to undergo its own questioning process from a Marxist perspective. At the same time the Institute of Theology had also begun to lean toward liberation theology. As at the UCV, sociology was the academic area which took the lead in the confrontation of the UCAB. The Catholic University reacted by expelling the faculty and the students of Sociology and eliminating the Institute of Theology. The Program of Social

Service, which had begun in 1969 as a part of Sociology, was also affected by the actions of the administration. The faculty of Sociology was later reinstated but the Institute of Theology remained closed. The reaction of the authorities at the UCAB can be explained if we look at two ongoing processes which were taking place in Latin America at the time: the growing radicalization of the Catholic Church in Latin America as well as the growing radicalization in Chile which had evidently lead to the weakening of the Social Democrats in that country and the strengthening of the Popular Union (*Unidad Popular*) and Allende's victory in 1970. The Catholic Church and the Christian Democrats in Venezuela were trying to contain similar processes in Venezuela. This was the climate in which the program of social service began in 1969. Only five students registered the first year; in 1970 four registered and in 1971, only three (Baquedano, S.J. 1987, Salerno 1987). After 1971 the program was no longer offered.

6. The School of Social Work at the UCV: 1974-1986

In this section we will look at the Educational Reform of 1974 at the secondary level and how this affected the field of social work. We will also look at the last curricular change of the School.

6.a. The Educational Reform of 1974

In 1974 AD won the elections and another educational reform was introduced. This time the Assistential Programs of the Diversified Cycle of secondary education, of which social work was a part, were eliminated. Social Work was now located in the system of technical schools, that is, it returned to the para-secondary level whence it had originated. This was

received as another blow to those tertiary level social workers who were trying to compete in the public administration.

6.b. **The Curriculum of 1974**

A new curriculum came into effect in 1974 (below). This curriculum, according to the Educational Reform of 1970, was approved by the CNU. In this particular case objectives were delineated by the CNU (Mendez Cegarra, 1987).

Figure 7
School of Social Work - UCV
Curriculum
1974

Objectives:

The current curriculum (designed in 1974) is not accompanied by a definition of objectives other than those which are established by the Law of Universities...and which appear in Article 57 of said Law and which state that the School is destined.... to the education of professionals in Social Work at higher level and to the improvement of the profession through the study, research and diffusion of its theoretical and ideological foundations, objectives, methods and functions."

(Monasterios, "Formacion para el Trabajo Social en la UCV" Caracas, 1977:31-32 in Mendez Cegarra, 1986:56-57)

1st semester

Introduction to Scientific Thought
Mathematics
Sociology I
Pre-Seminar I
Economic and Social History

2nd semester

Introduction to Social Work
General Statistics
Sociology II
Pre-Seminar II
Introduction to Economy

3rd Semester

Social Work I
Statistical Applications
General Anthropology
Research Methodology I
Political Economy I

4th Semester

Social Work II
Demography
Social Anthropology
Research Methodology II
Psychology II (optional)

5th Semester

Theory of Underdevelopment
Law I

6th Semester

Social Work III
Seminar: National Social
Problems
Law II
Planning
Social communication (optional)

Introduction to Administration
Psychology III

7th semester

Professional Practical
Training I
Seminar: Venezuela Social Policy

8th semester

Professional Practical Training II
Seminar: Administration of Social
Welfare Programs (optional)

9th semester

Professional Practical
Training III
Integration Workshop (optional)

10th semester

Special work (optional)

Description of the Study Plan: Basic Cycle: 1 and 2nd semesters, all subjects are required. Professional Cycle: 8 semesters, contains (5) optional subjects

(Escuela de Trabajo Social, Oficina de Control de Estudios, Pensum I. Monasterios, "Formacion para el Trabajo Social en la UCV", 1977, in Mendez Cegarra, 1986:74-75)

Not everyone at the faculty of the School of Social Work at the UCV had been affected by the "Marxist measles" (el sarampion del Marxismo) as the period of the Renewal is often referred to now. Although most of the faculty was radicalized; there was a small group who perceived social work both as a therapeutic aid to the lower and marginal sector and as a

means of integrating individuals and communities into the modern sector and defended the traditional knowledge base which relied on the use of scientific techniques, emphasized the psychological dimension of the individual.

When the new curriculum was introduced in 1974 it received criticism from both sides. It had few changes as far as subject matter was concerned in comparison to the previous one. What disappeared were the objectives couched in Marxist terminology. These were replaced by very broad, generic objectives drawn up by the CNU and which were applicable to any and all disciplines. For the radicals the 1974 curriculum placed undue emphasis on the technical aspects of the field. Those who believed in the value of techniques, on the other hand, found the curriculum too encyclopedic, too broad and not specific enough (Mendez Cegarra, 1986:85-86)

By the eighties the faculty of the School of Social Work at the UCV had settled into three ideological²⁸ groups: the "old ladies" (las viejas), a reduced group of three women who were involved in teaching Social Work since the ENSS; the "followers of psychology" (los psicologistas) a group of approximately seven women and men partial to a social work solidly based on an array of psychological techniques and following mainstream social work theories used in the United States; and the "radicals", women and men, by far the most numerous group, always alert and critical, but less militant than they had been previously and even somewhat remorseful for the excesses of the sixties and seventies. Each group interprets the curriculum to their advantage. The two first groups are more closely identified with

28 'Ideological' is here used as synonymous with value system.

the discourse of social work in Venezuela. The third group still constitutes a constant source of critique and, based on their written work, the preoccupation with the lack of leadership of the social worker in the workplace is as present as always.

7 The Critique of Knowledge/Power at the School of Social Work at the UCV

In this section I look more closely at the critique which emerged in the sixties and seventies, and I examine which aspects of knowledge/power are addressed therein.

As it was shown above, during the sixties, together with the failure of the populist regimes, we find a growing suspicion with the North American presence in Latin America; a growing questioning of the capitalist system and of the dependent relationship of Latin America with the core countries of the system; and a questioning of the knowledge base which sustains presence of the United States in Latin America. This questioning produced an interaction of written material which was vital for the communication and consolidation of the critical perspectives such as dependency and reconceptualization in social work²⁹. At the same time, the School of Social Work at the UCV, because of the open door policy, attracted mainly students of the popular sectors who quickly identified with and participated in the radical climate of the university. As a result,

²⁹ A bibliographic study of the works produced by the 'radical' social workers at the School of Social Work at the UCV (see appendix I) shows that the critique which emerged in the sixties and in the seventies was greatly supported by works produced by other Latin American social scientists.

the discourse of social work and the relationship between social work and the State were challenged.

The critique which emerged in the sixties and in the seventies was both a critique of the discourse of social work patterned after the discourse in the United States as well as a demand on the part of social workers to be included at a different level in the State bureaucracy. An exposition of this critique was found in the central address 'New Practical Conception of Social Work in Venezuela' given at the First Venezuelan Congress of Social Work, hosted by the UCV in June 1973 (see appendix II for summary)

The critique is posited from a dependency perspective. According to this document the knowledge which is examined, challenged and rejected is the knowledge that is produced within the capitalist system. It asserts that the knowledge which emerged in the twentieth century within a capitalist order has progressed through departmentalization and specialization.

The growth in knowledge with respect to social and physical phenomena produced the myth that progress was possible only through science and technology. Some thought it was possible to eradicate poverty and bring about the union of countries through the instruments of science and technology. In effect, (science and technology) has contributed to a greater productivity and promoted a creative action and improvement of quality of life.

Although the authors believe that science and technology, in themselves, are desired goods because they are productive, creative and improve the quality of life, it is when these emerge within a capitalist system that they become distorted because the system makes irrational

demands on knowledge. Knowledge produced by the social sciences offers placating solutions to the social ills produced by capitalism. It is within this context that social work emerges:

as in all bourgeois social sciences, we find a tendency to psychologize social phenomena and social processes and to search ways in which to remedy conflicts among the dispossessed. This makes of social work another link of the bureaucratic machinery and a purveyor of pseudo solutions.

In the capitalist system knowledge is linked to a power which is oppressing.

As science progresses and its branches of knowledge extend it can become an oppressor of mankind. In our countries in particular (science and technology) have not influenced collective welfare, rather they have contributed to worsen the contradictions.

There is alternate knowledge, not linked to capitalist ideology, based on dialectics, which clarifies and informs about relationships of dependence, of domination within the capitalist system at national and international level, which raises the consciousness of the oppressed. The power linked to this knowledge is liberating, productive - not dominating and stagnant.

The central address given at the First Venezuelan Congress of Social Work, not only refers to the knowledge base used by the social worker but also challenges the role of the social worker and her/his lack of participation at the planning level of public administration,

The social worker has (up to now) not participated at decision making levels. The social worker has (traditionally) been placed at the level of implementation of policies and programs. Under the new perspective of social work, the social worker has to carry out certain tasks which are basic to social change. These are: promotion and planning of

development, scientific research, normative and functional legislation of social welfare and academics.

Together with the critique of the accepted discourse and the structuring of a different knowledge base the profession demands once again to be taken into account as producers of knowledge and contributors in social planning; a situation which had been barred to them.

In Venezuela, as in any state following the technocratic model, science informs planners, who in turn require and continuously promote the production of new scientific data. Under these circumstances the human sciences constitute the knowledge base of modern technocratic styles of governance. However in the case of social work in Venezuela the complicity between knowledge and social management seems to begin to wane as the discipline acquires access to the tertiary level. From the moment that social work becomes a career option at the UCV there is evidence of a growing struggle between the profession and the State. On the one hand, there is the need for social workers to produce a scientific base for the area of social welfare and of social assistance so as to be included at the decision making levels. This perspective appears clearly in two documents: in the 1958 curriculum of the School of Social Work at the UCV where the social worker is viewed as a professional who can contribute from a scientific base in planning and decision making levels, and in the critique of mainstream social work where the proponents, even though they contest the traditional knowledge base in social work and denounce the prevailing socio-political and economic order as being detrimental to the popular classes, they also perceive the social worker as prepared and willing to insert her/himself in the public administration as a planner. But, on the other hand, there is evidence of the State not

perceiving the social worker as a planner or a scientific contributor but as only an implementor of policies drawn up and informed by other professional fields. For the State the social worker is an important human resource not as a scientific contributor but as the human, motherly contact between the State and the popular sector. Besides, from the State's point of view, secondary education can impart sufficient information to a larger number of social workers who will be used not in planning but in implementation.

We turn now to the conceptualization of knowledge and power in the critique. The relationship between knowledge and power in the critique is conceptualized in Marxist terms, that is, knowledge in capitalism is connected to power, perceived only as domination vs. knowledge, based on dialectics, free of power and generator of freedom. In this perspective, social work emerged in capitalist societies as part of the bureaucratic machinery and is also an instrument of alienation.

The document under analysis, 'New Practical Conception of Social Work in Venezuela', does not refer specifically to the directionality of knowledge and power. The directionality of knowledge and power may be discerned from the objectives of the 1968 curriculum and may be found writings of professors, such as, M. Martinez (1977) and B. Lima (1974), who were active participants in the critical movement at the School of Social Work. In these writings knowledge/power is conceptualized from the perspective of dependency and viewed in a top-down directionality: core-periphery, State-popular sector.

8 Reflections on the Construction of the Discourse of Social Work in Venezuela and at the UCV

For Foucault, as we have seen, a discourse is both the knowledge base and the relationship between this knowledge base and concurrent events in the social, political and/or economic realms. With regard to the human sciences Foucault found that the events which were related to the knowledge base had to do with the disciplining of society, which I prefer to refer to as social management. For Foucault knowledge in the human sciences is related to power, which, in his view, has traits of domination in its regulatory function in society but power is also a productive force in that power promotes new knowledge.

In this analysis of the history of social work in Venezuela I have used the curricula as representative of the knowledge base of the discipline and I have examined the initial curriculum and subsequent changes in relations to concurrent events in the social, political and/or economic spheres. It was evident that social work emerged in Venezuela with the first attempts at social management by the democratic governments of the late 1930s. But there was also evidence that the knowledge base did not emerge solely from and in conjunction with practices of social management pertinent to the region, as the Foucauldian perspective implies. In the case of social work, the knowledge base at the ENSS, the National School of Social Service, and later at the School of Social Work at the UCV, was in great part the knowledge base of the discipline in the United States which was the result of programs of social management in that country.

The analysis of the curricula at the UCV has brought to light the following aspects. The manner in which the 1958 curriculum was

constructed shows the hegemony of social work theories constructed in the United States on social work in Venezuela. It also shows, however, that not only was a knowledge base transferred from the core to the periphery but the need for social work to define itself as a separate profession. At the same time, there is evidence that for the State, in this case the MSAS, social work was significant mainly in its capacity to provide the human contact between State and popular sector through the implementation of programs of social management. Thus the knowledge base of the discourse of social work at the UCV in 1958 is related to the ascendancy of mainstream social work from the United States on the field of social work in Venezuela as well as to the specific role which the MSAS had assigned to social workers.

With respect to the 1968 curriculum, this curriculum continues to be related to the need to construct a knowledge base which could provide the social worker with a unique professional identity (and break away from the image of a sub-profession); but the curriculum is principally related to ongoing critiques of capitalism and of the dependent relationship between Latin America and the core countries in the capitalist world system, and as a result of this, the need to create a knowledge base at the service of the popular classes. In Foucauldian terms³⁰, the 1968 curriculum is no longer part of the discourse of social work because it is a group of scientific statements in relation to the popular classes which are in opposition to the perspective of social management of the State.

With respect to the 1974 curriculum, is this curriculum representative of the knowledge base of the discourse of social work in

³⁰ In the Foucauldian view a discourse's knowledge base satisfies and sustains the practices of social management in modern governments.

Venezuela? Even though State intervention eliminated the objectives which declared the knowledge base to be in opposition to the needs of the State, it is a curriculum in the hands of a faculty divided in three ideological groups, who are interpreting the curriculum according to their value systems. Thus, in this anarchic situation, the 1974 curriculum is representative of the knowledge base of the discourse of social work in Venezuela, only in the hands of those professors who rely on the use of scientific techniques, who emphasize the psychological dimension of the individual and perceive social work both as a therapeutic aid to the lower and marginal sector and as a means of integrating individuals and communities into the modern sector.

In sum the Foucauldian discourse analysis has permitted us to discern how the discourse of social work in Venezuela developed in relation to social management, and how, at the UCV, this discourse was interrupted through the emergence of a critique. What the Foucauldian perspective, within its particular atomized, reticular, non-directional view of knowledge/power does not account for in the development of the discourse of social work in Venezuela, is the strong evidence in this analysis of a different expression of knowledge/power, that is, that in dependent capitalist states it is often science from the core countries which informs the emerging modern State, as was the case initially in the area of public health and social assistance in Venezuela. With respect to the critique of social work, it is understandable that when a power relationship is so forceful in a region as the relationship of dependence between peripheral country and a core country that it is this relationship which will be principally addressed in a critique.

CHAPTER IV

DISCOURSES OF PSYCHOLOGY IN VENEZUELA AT THE UNIVERSIDAD CENTRAL DE VENEZUELA AND AT THE UNIVERSIDAD CATOLICA ANDRES BELLO

1. A Brief Description of the Implementation of the Methodology and of the Collection of Data for the Emergence and Construction of Discourses and for the Emergence of Critiques

In this chapter I examine the emergence and the structuring of the discourses of Psychology at the Universidad Central de Venezuela - UCV and at the Universidad Catolica Andres Bello - UCAB in Caracas, Venezuela as well as the emergence of critiques at the UCV. Before I proceed it is important to remember that in this dissertation when I refer to psychology in Venezuela I refer to applied psychology because psychology programs at the tertiary level in Venezuela are designed mainly to train professionals to apply psychology in the fields of mental health, education and industry.

As in social work, I began by looking for evidence of the knowledge base of the discourse. I examined syllabi and their bibliographies, however, it was impossible to obtain all the syllabi, from 1956 to the present, so as to have an overall appreciation of the knowledge base and its changes overtime, in fact, very few were available. I also examined monographs presented by the faculty for their academic advancement (trabajos de

ascenso) and journal publications by the faculty. The monographs and publications, however, provided incomplete evidence of the knowledge base because in some areas of applied psychology, like industrial psychology, there were no publications or monographs. The written curriculum, instead, through its constant presence, provided me with an anchorage from which to describe the knowledge-base, the changes in the knowledge-base as well as the relationship between knowledge base and concurrent events.

The next step was to search for evidence of the relationship between knowledge base and concurrent events. Information for the description of this relationship was obtained mainly through the interviews. As I explained in Chapters II and III, I used the interview chiefly to direct me to written evidence of critiques of knowledge/power, as well as to data pertaining to the history of psychology in Venezuela, with which I was not familiar or which were not readily available. At the UCV I interviewed twelve faculty members who have been present throughout the different curricular change, I also interviewed the first Director of the School of Psychology, who is now retired. The criteria for the selection of the interviewees were, on the one hand, that the faculty members have a lengthy period of involvement with the School of Psychology and, on the other hand, that they be representative of one of the areas of specialization. At undergraduate level the School of Psychology now has five areas of pre-specialization and I interviewed a representative of each area. I also interviewed the current Director and two past Directors. The graduate courses at Master's level and doctoral programs are carried out at the Institute of Psychology of the UCV, here I interviewed three faculty members.

The interview with faculty members in psychology did not go as smoothly as with faculty members in social work. But for a few exceptions, there was a general difficulty with the understanding of the construct of knowledge/power. The term 'critique' was usually taken to refer to critiques of theoretical consistency within an area of specialization in psychology or to critiques which had been elaborated from a theoretical perspective and were addressing another perspective in psychology. Based on this interpretation of 'critique' the interviewees would proceed to demonstrate how fertile a field psychology was in the production of theoretical criticism. Whenever this occurred I explained the meaning of knowledge/power from the Foucauldian perspective and from the dependency perspective. The interviewees' reaction was then to say that knowledge/power could or should be an important issue in psychology but up to the present it had not been a concern in their particular area of specialization. When faced with the absence of critiques, I proceeded to explore with the interviewees, the historical aspect of psychology in Venezuela in order to obtain information about written evidence. However, at the School of Psychology, unlike the School of Social Work, there is evidently no great concern about exploring the origins and history of the field in or out of Venezuela. Of the three historical accounts to which I was referred, two were very brief and superficial, the third was somewhat more complete. This third account, like the accounts in social work, was constructed around the different curricular changes of the School. The interviews were of great help, however, to direct me to documents which reported the events of the Academic Renewal of 1969 at the School of Psychology, which enabled me to describe some of the changes which took place in the written curriculum. Through the interviews I was also

informed about the study by Sanchez (1985) on The Placement of the Psychologist in the Work Sector (Ubicacion Laboral del Psicologo), the only evaluation of psychologists in Venezuela. Based on this study it was possible to show the high rate of acceptance of psychologists in both public and private sectors. With respect to the critiques of knowledge/power, the interviews who were familiar with the concept of knowledge/power provided information about articles and papers presented at professional meetings which enclosed elements of critiques.

At the UCAB I was able to obtain only one historical account of the School activities, this was also constructed around the different written curricula. At the UCAB I interviewed the current Director of the School, an ex-Director, who is now professor of ethics and two other professors. There was no evidence of any critique of knowledge/power at this university; however, there were courses on existential philosophy and on philosophical anthropology of which I collected the syllabi and bibliographies in order to examine their content more closely. Evidence for the relationship between curricular changes at both universities and the hegemony of psychology in the North Atlantic was obtained partly through the interviews and partly through the examination of the bibliographies. The President of the Federation of Venezuelan Psychologists was also interviewed. From this interview I obtained information to describe the relationship between curricular changes and the organization of the professional areas in psychology in Venezuela.

The collected material was organized in the following manner. I begin the chapter with the analysis which of the discourse at the School of Psychology at the UCV where there is evidence of critiques of knowledge/power. I then turn to the discourse of psychology at the UCAB.

At this university, even though there is evidence of a questioning of psychology from a phenomenological perspective, the issue of knowledge/power has not been addressed as yet.

Both academic programs began toward the end of the fifties. In order to analyze these discourses over a period of approximately thirty years I have divided this time according to the changes which appear in the written curriculum. Examined in this way, the curricular changes represent shifts in the knowledge base of the discourses. And these curricular changes are examined in relation to events in the socio-economic and political realms as well as in relation to events in the academic and professional areas in the North Atlantic.

As in this dissertation we approach the analysis of psychological discourse after having examined the discourse in social work we will find some important differences between them. In contrast to social work, which emerged when Venezuela was beginning its process of industrialization in the late thirties, psychology appeared when industrialization and modernization were well underway, in the late fifties. The public and private sector had modernized under the hegemony of core countries, and there was a growing need for more rational objectifiable ways of social management in industry, in schools and in institutions of mental health. And psychological discourse in Venezuela, well grounded on a knowledge-base developed in the core countries in connection to social management, soon became part of the public and private sector. Another difference was that whereas social work emerged as a semi-profession in a bureaucratic situation, psychology emerged from the outset at the tertiary level with professional status.

2 Universidad Central de Venezuela

2.a. The Emergence of Psychology at the Universidad Central de Venezuela: the Curricula of 1956 and 1957

In this section we look at the emergence of psychological practice in Venezuela and relate this to the hegemony of core countries in a modernizing Venezuela. We then turn to the UCV and examine the first two curricula of the program of psychology in relation to concurrent events inside and outside Venezuela.

Psychology appeared in Venezuela under two forms: a) as psychometrics related to education and vocational counseling and b) in academia as a subject related to philosophy.

Psychometrics had developed as a by product of industrialization in the countries of the North Atlantic and mainly in the United States. There it emerged and flourished together with the need to organize and manage as efficiently as possible students, workers and soldiers. It also contributed to the classification and management of those who could not or refused to be included in the mainstream of society, for instance, the 'mentally' or 'emotionally handicapped'. The thirties, forties and fifties were the golden years of psychometrics in the United States as well as of the excesses of this novel aspect of scientific management of society. It would not come under the scrutiny of concerned social observers and alarmed psychologists until the sixties (this is reviewed in Chapter 1)

Following the lead of the northern countries, psychometrics began to be applied in Venezuela in the forties in the most elite of the private and public high schools which catered to the upper class and the emerging middle class. These schools opened departments of vocational guidance and

selection of students by psychologists who had trained in psychometrics abroad. Thus, the *Gabinete Psicologico* at the *Colegio San Ignacio*, a private Jesuit high school, began in 1943 and in 1945 the *Liceo Andres Bello*, a public high school, began its *Servicio de Psicologia Aplicada*. In 1947 the *Caracas Pedagogical Institute* opened its *Seccion de Psicodedagogia* (Escotet 1978:49).

By 1950 the *Universidad Central de Venezuela - UCV* also started its *Institute of Psychology and Psychotechnics (Instituto de Psicologia y Psicotecnia)*. The Institute began under the directorship of Dr. Ramos Calles, a psychiatrist who had been the director of the *Psychiatric Hospital* in *Caracas* and whose thesis had been on 'The use of Tests in the Selection of Male Nurses' in 1936. The purpose of the Institute was the adaptation and normalization of psychological tests for the Venezuelan population, and as a sideline to inform the public as to benefits of vocational guidance and to provide vocational counseling for the UCV students, (Salazar 1982:13-14).

However, because of the political climate of the country and the militant role of the UCV the Institute had a precarious beginning and a slow and interrupted growth. During this time Venezuela was under the dictatorship of Perez Jimenez and the UCV represented one of the few outlets to protest the social injustice of the dictatorship. In 1952 the UCV was closed by Perez Jimenez and so was the Institute. It reopened in 1953. However, a year later, in 1954, all the personnel of the Institute except one were fired for political reasons, and all activity ceased until 1963. (Salazar 1982:15)

We now turn to academia to analyze how psychology evolved from a topic in the Philosophy Department at the UCVm to a full-fledged career at

tertiary level. Psychology had often appeared as a subject in one of the curricula of the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters at the UCV since the early nineteenth hundreds. In 1956, however, psychology was promoted from a subject to a structured academic program by a group of Spanish republican emigrés at the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters at the UCV. After the Spanish Civil War of 1936 and the victory of the Franquistas there was a large exodus of Republican intellectuals to Latin America. Among the Republicans who settled in Venezuela there were a few philosophers who were eventually employed by the UCV. With the influx of these philosophers from Republican Spain into the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters came innovation, and one of the new areas was psychology. These philosophers, together with psychiatrists and psychologists, also in exile because of Franco, undertook the organization of an academic program of psychology. Thus, the Seccion de Psicologia was founded in 1956 (Perez Enciso, 1987). It is important to note at this point that the UCV was modelled after the Napoleonic university in that research and teaching were held separate (Silva Michelena and Sonntag, 1984:20-23). Research was carried out at the 'institutes' and teaching was carried out at the 'faculties'. At the faculties, students were trained to undertake a specific profession or trained to undertake a teaching career in a particular field. Thus psychology at the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters was, from the outset, envisioned as a profession: graduates of the program would perform as teachers of psychology or apply psychometrics in an educational or clinical setting.

If we examine the first curriculum of the program of psychology (below) we will notice it has a marked emphasis on the teaching of psychology (*), on philosophy (***) and on psychometrics (two years).

There are courses which may be applied to the educational field (developmental psychology, psychopedagogy, professional guidance and psychometrics) and there are courses which may be applied to the clinical field (biotypology, developmental psychology and, of course, psychometrics). There is also a sampling of social psychology and psychoanalysis.

Figure 8
UCV - School of Psychology
Curriculum - 1956

<u>First Year</u>	<u>Second Year</u>
* Pedagogy	Developmental Psychology
Psychology	Psychometrics I
Biology	Psychophysiology
Anthropology	Biotypology
** Introduction to Philosophy and to the analysis of Philosophical Texts	** Ethics
Modern Language (Eng/Ger/Ital/Fre)	Modern Language (Eng/Ger/Ital/Fre)
Pre-Seminar	Seminar
 <u>Third Year</u>	 <u>Fourth Year</u>
Social Psychology	Psychoanalysis
Psychometrics II	Statistics
Psychopedagogy	Professional Guidance
** Esthetics	History of Psychology
** Modern Philosophy	* History and structure of the Education in Venezuela
Modern Language (Eng/Ger/Ital/Fre)	** Contemporary Philosophy
	* Pedagogy
	* Teaching Practices
	Seminar

Cadenas (1981:Appendix 1)

The above curriculum reveals that psychology, as envisioned at the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters, was a combination of philosophical concerns, pathological perspectives of the psyche and psychometrics. The program was to provide graduates the possibility of teaching psychology at the secondary or university level, working in an educational setting administering psychological tests, or working in a clinical setting, under the supervision of a psychiatrist.

Once the program in psychology was established at the UCV the psychologists and psychiatrists teaching in the program of psychology immediately undertook two tasks: the first was to begin to define the professional territory of psychology, the second was to redefine the knowledge base giving more weight to clinical psychology. Thus, in 1957 they founded the Venezuelan Association of Psychologists (Asociacion Venezolana de Psicologos) where members of the association could be either graduates in psychology or graduates of another field of the human sciences but who had practiced psychology for at least five years. And that same year, 1957, a new curriculum (below) was approved which was to last until 1960.

Figure 9

UCV - School of Psychology
Curriculum - 1957

<u>First Year</u>	<u>Second Year</u>
Introduction to Philosophy	Human Biology II*
Psychology	General Statistics
Anthropology	Child and Adolescent
Psychology*	
Biology*	Sociology
Modern Language (Fr/En/Ge/It)	Modern Language
(Fr/En/Ge/It)	
Pre-Seminar	Seminar

<u>Third Year</u>	<u>Fourth Year</u>
Psychopathology and Mental Health*	Psychology applied to
Education	Industrial Psychology
Neurophysiology*	Clinical Psychology*
Social Psychology	Professional Guidance
Differential and Personality	Critical Analysis of
Psychology*	Psychological Theories
Theory and Practice of Tests	Projective Tests (optional)*
Statistics applied to Psychology	
Teaching Methods for Secondary	
and for Higher Education	
Modern Language (Fr/En/Ge/It)	

Cadenas (1981: Appendix 2)

In this second curriculum, philosophy is no longer a strong presence; it is reduced to one course in the first year (Introduction to Philosophy) and to one course in the last year (Critical Analysis of Psychological Theories). And there is also only one course on teaching (Teaching Methods for Secondary and Higher Education). Psychoanalysis is eliminated, and Psychometrics (Theory and Practice of Tests) is reduced to one year, with projective tests as optional. However, Industrial Psychology and Educational Psychology are added.

In this curriculum we can see how the knowledge-base was shifting from its emphasis on a philosophical perspective of psychology and psychology as a teaching career to a greater emphasis on clinical psychology (the pertinent courses are identified with an*) There is also an intent to broaden the applicability of psychology to include the industrial area, besides the clinical and the educational areas. It is important to note, however, that at this time students interested in professional careers in industry or in a school setting went to work in their particular

area of interest with a markedly clinical knowledge base, that is, with a pathological view of the individual.

The following year, 1958, the program of psychology, now in its second year, was going to be affected by the political events which were taking place in the country. With the overthrow of Perez Jimenez in 1958 the democratic process was resumed once more with Accion Democratica - AD in government. At this time the strategy of the populist government of AD was to emphasize that higher education as well as primary and secondary education were to be free for all and, hand in hand with education, came the promise of access to the workplace, upward social mobility and democratization of the country.

With the decree of an open door policy in higher education, the UCV was reorganized in order to offer more choices in professional training to a much larger and continuously expanding student body. The Faculty of Philosophy and Letters became the Faculty of Humanities and Education and the Seccion de Psicologia was upgraded to Escuela de Psicologia, which in academic terms in the United States meant that it changed from being an area in a department and was constituted into an academic department.

The School of Psychology soon became one of the most popular schools of the Faculty of Humanities³¹. The roots of psychology's popularity lay partly in the students themselves and partly in the

³¹ The Statistical Bulletin of the National Council of Universities (Consejo Nacional de Universidades-CNU) discriminates UCV data by Schools only from 1963-64: the student body is thus divided: Psychology: 43%, Education: 28%, History: 7%, Journalism: 7%, Letters 6%, Geography: 5%, Philosophy: 3%, Library Science: 1%.

modernizing public and private sectors. For the students, psychology was not only a future profession and the promise of access to the workplace and/or social mobility; it was also a discipline which promised to provide knowledge about themselves and about the people around them, together with techniques with which to diagnose, to help, to change people. In the workplace, even though there was no visible open demand in the public or private sector for psychologists per se in the sixties, the need for this new knowledge applied to education, mental health and industry had begun to emerge and grow because of the changing styles of social management. Since the thirties the private and public sector had continued to be shaped by the modernizing presence of the United States in Venezuela. In industry the number of multinational companies multiplied; in education development strategists, mainly from the United States, continued to offer and finance programs in mental health; and in mental health, although there were no clear cut plans to modernize this area, the hegemony of the northern country reflected in international meetings and professional journals also influenced the organization of mental health in Venezuela. Thus, the on-going modernization of the public and private sector would create a need for a more objective, scientific way of selecting, hiring, motivating in industry; of selecting, classifying and counseling in schools; and of classifying in the area of mental health and thereby also creating a space for this new professional.

2.b Psychology at the UCV: the 1961 Curriculum

In this section we examine the curricular changes of 1961. The task of improving the curriculum of the School of Psychology was a constant preoccupation at the UCV. Thus, when Dr. Emilio Mira y Lopez arrived in

Venezuela in 1960 for a somewhat prolonged visit, members of the faculty, taking advantage of his presence, submitted the curriculum to him for revision and modifications. E. Mira y Lopez was a reputed Spanish republican psychiatrist in exile who had become one of the patrons of clinical psychology as well as of psychometrics. He had settled in Brazil but his work and influence radiated to the rest of the Latin American continent. In 1961 a curriculum (below), modified by Mira y Lopez, was introduced at the School of Psychology.

Figure 10
UCV - School of Psychology
Curriculum - 1961

<p><u>First Year</u> Readings in General Psychology Practical Training in General Psychology Logics and Methodology Biology Readings in Neurophysiology Practical Training in Neurophysiology Mathematics English</p>	<p><u>Second Year</u> Readings in Developmental Psychology Practical Training in Developmental Psychology Anthropology and Sociology Psychology of Personality Statistics English Pedagogy</p>
<p><u>Third Year</u> Theory and Practical Training in Psychometrics Differential Psychology Psychopathology English Didactics Projective Tests</p>	<p><u>Fourth Year</u> Educational Psychology Clinical Psychology Professional Guidance Industrial Psychology Seminar Psychological Theories Practical Training in Teaching</p>

Cadenas (1981:Appendix 3)

In the above curriculum we note that the changes brought about by Mira y Lopez provided more opportunities for practical training for the future psychologist in neurophysiology, psychometrics and developmental psychology. Mira y Lopez eliminated philosophy once and for all and reopened a space for psychology as a teaching practice. The choice in modern languages was eliminated and English was chosen as the only requirement, thus acknowledging that most of the information in psychology used at the UCV was being published in the United States. In sum the modifications introduced by Mira y Lopez helped to emphasize the professional character of the School in that the new curriculum stressed and provided more opportunities for the practical training of the novice psychologist and maintained the emphasis on the clinical knowledge-base.

2.c **Psychology at the UCV: the 1966 Curriculum**

In the 1956, 1957 and 1961 curricula we have observed how the knowledge base in psychology quickly shifted from a knowledge-base grounded in philosophy and didactics to a knowledge-base which was mainly clinical; it was sustained by psychiatric perspectives of the pathological aspects of the mind. However, after the 1961 curriculum we begin to perceive a shift towards the adoption of a behaviorist knowledge-base in order to end the psychiatric influence. In this section we examine this shift which brought about the curricular changes in 1966 in the light of concurrent events.

The formal consultation with Mira y Lopez was to be the last expression of dependence on the part of psychology at the UCV with respect to the psychiatric field. The need to determine, to single out scientifically and professionally, the territory of psychology as separate

from that of psychiatry in Venezuela was going to become one of the driving forces at the School of Psychology in the sixties.

By 1961 the first psychologists had graduated at the UCV and some were immediately asked to join the faculty of the expanding School of Psychology. This influx of young and active professors imbued with the spirit of newfound freedom and possibilities which permeated Venezuela after the dictatorship gave new force to the proposal to give psychology its own identity. Again the strategy was to act on two fronts: the professional and the academic.

On the professional front the graduates in psychology from the UCV together with the first group of graduates from the Universidad Catolica Andres Bello founded in 1961 a new association of psychologists (Colegio de Psicologos de Venezuela) with the graduates of the UCV maintaining control of the new association. The difference between the Asociacion Venezolana de Psicologos, founded in 1957, and the Colegio de Psicologos de Venezuela, founded in 1961, was that the new association was modelled after and was under the patronage of the Association of Venezuelan Professionals which had emerged to protect the rights of national professionals. According to the new association a practicing psychologist in Venezuela had to have the certification (licenciatura) of an institution of higher education in Venezuela. This meant that those professionals practicing psychology, many of whom had founded the first association, who were either graduates of foreign universities or were graduates of other fields were obligated to acquire a certification from a national university or be barred from professional practice. This gave graduates of the UCV and the UCAB control of the professional field, and

the first association, founded in 1957, soon became inactive and ceased to exist.

On the academic front the issue was not to deemphasize the clinical thrust but to end the psychiatric hegemony on clinical psychology at the UCV. It seemed that the most assured, scientific manner in which to proceed to separate psychology from its psychiatric model was to adopt the behavioral model in clinical psychology. In order to achieve this objective it was decided to take advantage of the times and the generosity of the populist measures of the government with respect to the institutions of higher learning in Venezuela and to send as many professors and as many of the selected, deserving students on scholarships abroad to be trained in the behavioral field and, to a lesser extent, in other fields of their choice (Perez Enciso 1987).

The post-graduate studies of the faculty abroad became one of the ways through which information or knowledge would be channelled from the North to the School of Psychology at the UCV. The return of the professors from the North strengthened the tendency towards behaviorism and implicit in behaviorism were the positivist scientific rigor together with an emphasis on research. A change in curriculum now became imperative. And with a change in curriculum the shift away from a psychiatric knowledge-base would become a reality. This occurred in 1966.

Figure 11
UCV - School of Psychology
Curriculum - 1966

First Year

General Psychology I
Sociology
Neurophysiology
Logic and Methodology
Biology
Math and Statistics
Introduction to Seminar
English

Second Year

General Psychology II
Psychophysiology
Developmental Psychology
Anthropology
Statistics II
Methods of Exploration I
English

Third Year

Differential and Personality
Psychology
Experimental Psychology
Psychopathology
Methods of Exploration II
Social Psychology
Seminar I
English

Fourth Year

Psychological Theories
Educational Psychology
Clinical Psychology
Seminar II

Fifth Year

Industrial Psychology
Professional Guidance
Seminar III
Research Paper.

Cadenas (1981: Appendix 5)

This new curriculum was extended from four to five years. What first strikes us about this new arrangement is the contrast between the first three years and the last two years of the curriculum. The first three years are a highly structured combination of theoretical perspective and methodologies; while the last two years, dedicated to applied psychology,

are sketchy and skimpy. It is a curriculum which on the one hand aspires to organize the teaching of psychology on the basis of research and on the other tries to maintain the professional character of the School of Psychology. The purpose of the School was, from the outset, to be a school for training in applied psychology, and it had produced a discourse which was well integrated with the needs and possibilities of social management in the country. However, the search for an identity separate from that of psychiatry coincided with the development of behaviorism in the United States and this positivist study of observable behavior offered a scientific guarantee on which to base psychology.

The changes during the first three years were the following: Personality and Differential Psychology were collapsed into one and given less relevance in the curriculum, and Pedagogy and Didactics and Practical Training in Teaching were eliminated. Psychometrics and Projective Tests were also scratched because the importance now given to the study of observable behavior of individuals made these testing practices obsolete. The elimination of the above courses and the joining of Differential and Personality Psychology granted space to courses which were based on the positivist methodology of behaviorism. These courses were Psychophysiology where behavior was studied in relation to its physiological component; Experimental Psychology which introduced Skinnerian behaviorism, in which the emphasis was placed on operant behavior; and Methods of Exploration I and II which introduced the student to research on behavior under the controlled environment of the laboratory.

In the last two years of the curriculum there was an attempt to broaden the professional scope of the School by seemingly granting equal time to the other areas of applied psychology besides clinical. However

this was never put to practice because the Academic Renewal of 1968-1969 would truncate this curriculum in the middle of its third year.

2.d. **Psychology at the UCV: the 1970 Curriculum**

The initial and main concern at the School of Psychology had been to provide adequate training in applied psychology, a more recent concern had to do with constructing a program which was scientifically sound.

Alongside these academic concerns we have observed how the faculty and students also organized the professional field. The decade which followed the opening of the School was a period for the assembly of a knowledge base with theoretical perspectives and techniques which, on the one hand, could be applied in social management in Venezuela and, on the other hand, had acquired solid scientific validity in the core.

At the end of the decade, in 1968, we encounter, for the first time, a critique of the application of psychological knowledge emerging at the UCV and so I begin this section with an analysis of some of the writings of the author of the critique, Alberto Merani. Merani examined the alienating effects of some of the new currents in psychology from a Marxist perspective but his questioning of psychology, which continued until his death in 1984, was never acknowledged at the School of Psychology. Below I address some of the possible reasons for the circle of silence which surrounded Merani's work at the School. I then turn to examine the impact which the Academic Renewal at the UCV had on the School of Psychology and analyze the curricular changes of 1970 in relation to the Renewal and other concurrent events.

Alberto Merani had been brought to the UCV in 1963 by the Dean of the Faculty of Humanities and Education and was asked to head the

moribund Institute of Psychology (Salazar 1982:16). Merani was to administer the Institute until 1973, at which time it was argued that he had mismanaged the Institute and his contract was not renewed. As was noted above, the Institute was designated as a place of research and separate from the School of Psychology.

Merani was an Argentinian psychologist and a Marxist; he had trained in Paris in the dialectical psychology of Henri Wallon and for political reasons could not return to his country. But Merani was, above all, a philosopher, and at the Institute he engaged in what he called 'fundamental research', that is, essays on the philosophy of psychology. (Salazar 1982:16). His area of interest was developmental psychology, and during his stay at the Institute he published a number of monographs related to this area³². However, he also became increasingly preoccupied with the influence of new currents in psychology which he perceived as alienating. One of these currents was behaviorism as we shall see below. This preoccupation would become the sole object of his writings³³.

Merani denied psychology's claim to being a formal science yet regarded psychology to enclose extremely powerful perspectives of the human being (Merani 1968). Like Wallon he believed that reality is continuously being transformed through the interrelationship of environment and human being: the human being acts upon the environment

³² Psychobiology (1964), Introduction to Child Psychology (1965), From Praxis to Reason (1965). Psychology and Developmental Age (1965).

³³ "From Bergson to Wallon" (1966), "Is Psychology Really a Science?" (1968a), "Methodology and Objectives in Psychology" (1968b), "Conflict between Science and Philosophy in Jean Piaget" (1968c), "Dialectics in Psychology" (1968d), "Freud and the Talmud" (1969), "Psychology and Alienation" (1973), "A Letter to the Consumers of Psychology" (1974).

and the environment acts upon the human being. When psychology tries to explain human conduct and/or the human being, it too transforms reality which, in turn, affects the human being. Thus, psychological explanation is in a perpetual, unstable equilibrium. A minimal change in human being or in environment will transform both (being and environment) and this new equilibrium merits then a new explanation. In turn this new explanation will transform this new equilibrium... and so on. Psychology as theory of man is continuously transformed by the transformations of reality and always ends by being one of the causes of those transformations. (Merani, 1966, 1968a)

In behaviorism Merani sees a psychology which in order to be a science like physics or physiology can only have as object the observable action, that is, movement in animals and human beings. In the Skinnerian perspective, Merani argues, conscience, reason, volition are conceptualized as epiphenomena or culturally distorted interpretations of behavior. Thus, behaviorism is alienating because it reduces the human being to a behavioral dimension; in this perspective the human being is not only the summation of behaviors but behavior is perceived as the result of conditioning. For Merani behaviorism is a scientific contribution which responds to the needs of a social order based on the maximization of profits and efficiency. Behaviorism provides the scientific bases for the management of society; in a capitalist society it provides the base for the conditioning of better producers and better consumers (Merani 1968:51-62, 1973:21-43).

At the School of Psychology there was no reception for Merani's critique, for the critique emerged at a time when professors were returning from abroad and were busily implementing the fruits of their

post graduate courses; it was a time of construction both in academia as well as in the professional field; it was also a time when psychology graduates were successfully entering the workplace. And although Merani's philosophical essays were and are highly regarded in Spain and elsewhere in Latin America, particularly in Argentina, in Venezuela, and specifically within the School of Psychology, very few were or are familiar with his theoretical works in developmental psychology or with his critique of psychology.

Merani's critique emerged in Venezuela because he was physically writing at the Institute of Psychology at the UCV, but the critique had more relationship to a growing concern with modern psychology which was developing in France (where he had trained and worked), in England and in the United States where psychology had a longer history than psychology in Venezuela. In the countries of the North Atlantic, psychology also had a record of abuses (see critiques in Chapter I) which psychology in Venezuela in its first stages of organization, did not have as yet. In this sense it was a premature critique in Venezuela. It was a critique which had significance in countries with a lengthier experience with the application of psychological theories. It was going to be the events triggered by the Academic Renewal which were going to leave more of a mark on the discourse of Psychology at the UCV in the seventies than Merani's writings.

The Academic Renewal which violently shook the bases of the UCV in 1969-1970 proved to be a very difficult period for most of the schools of the Faculty of Humanities and Education. However, at the School of

Psychology, even though the Renewal was a time of great agitation, it was not one of irreconcilable conflicts.

It is important to remember that even though the Renewal was in a sense a repercussion of the students' protests in France in May 1968, the Renewal in Venezuela, as in the rest of Latin America, was firmly rooted in the dependency perspective. This implied that the questioning of knowledge which took place at the UCV addressed and stressed mostly the facets of cultural imperialism and proposed a knowledge which was not divorced from Latin America's social and historical problematique.

In keeping with the spirit of the Academic Renewal the students at the School of Psychology demanded greater representation of the student body in the decision making process and questioned the evaluation process. However, with respect to a revision of the knowledge base in accordance with the values of the Renewal, only a handful of students and a few professors, mostly related to social psychology, questioned the theoretical perspectives and psychological techniques and their lack of correspondence to the Venezuelan context. The rest demanded changes which reaffirmed the use of psychological knowledge developed in core countries.

In 1969 all activities were suspended for approximately six months. An assembly was chosen of forty-four students, forty-four professors and ten members of the office staff, and committees were formed to examine the different demands (*Documentos de la Renovacion* #1, 1969). Imbued by the spirit of positivism, the students questioned the School for its scientific laxity and demanded a greater theoretical and methodological rigor as well as research opportunities and post-graduate courses. At the same time, some professors with the help of some students, taking

advantage of the climate of turmoil and upheaval, tried to reorganize and redefine the academic territory, not only to grant equal representation to all areas of applied psychology - industrial, counseling, educational, clinical and social psychology - but to convert the last two years into what they called the 'cycle of pre-specialization'; that is, the last two years would be dedicated to the study of one of the five areas of applied psychology. Of course, the option to keep the last two years as non-specialized was still open for any student who wished to do so. Initially the students had demanded specialization at the post-graduate level, but these professors argued instead, that Venezuela, due to its developmental stage, was ready for and demanded psychologists who had pre-specialized at undergraduate level (Montero 1987). Thus the organization of post-graduate courses was left for a later date.

The actions of these professors constituted a second attempt to bring to an end the supremacy of clinical psychology at the UCV. The first attempt had come in the previous, 1966 curriculum. The difference between the changes contained in the 1966 curriculum and the curricular changes proposed in 1969-70 was that in the former curriculum it was stipulated that during the last two years the program would give counseling, industrial, educational and social psychology as much relevance as clinical psychology and would expose the student to just as thorough a practical training in all five fields; instead in the pre-specialization cycle proposed in the new curricular reform students would concentrate in only one area.

The period of Academic Renewal at the School of Psychology produced more than thirty final documents with regard to the overall proposed changes and these may be summarized as follows.

- The School was to be governed by a Directive Council made up of three professors, three students and one office worker elected in an assembly. Although the School had adopted co-governance internally, the Dean of the Faculty adhered to the previous administrative patterns and named as director of the School the professor who had received the majority of votes.
- The curriculum, which was approved by the Assembly of the School of Psychology introduced the following changes:

a) it adopted the semester system and incorporated an evaluation at the end of the semester, thus eliminating the final yearly exam.

b) it was divided in two cycles:

- A Basic Cycle, which consisted of six semesters of fundamental knowledge common to all psychology students.

- An Applied or Pre-Specialization Cycle, which consisted of four semesters. At the level of the seventh semester the student was to choose one of the pre-specializations (clinical, counseling, educational, social, industrial psychology) or could maintain a general approach to his or her studies and not pre-specialize. That is, at this level the student had six options from which to choose.

- There were elective subjects in both cycles

- A thesis was required (200-400 pages) in order to graduate (undergraduate level)

(Cadenas 1981:8-10; Documentos de la Renovación #10, 1969)

In 1970 the curriculum of the Renewal (below) was given the seal of approval by the authorities at the UCV. The curricular changes which were produced during the Academic Renewal at the School of Psychology had little to do with the Academic Renewal per se, that is, the changes were

not related to the questioning of a knowledge foreign to the Venezuelan context³⁴. But it can be said that the events of the Academic Renewal furnished the occasion for professors, who were involved in the areas of industrial, social, counseling and educational psychology, to confront the prominence of clinical psychology at the School, and to reorganize the academic areas of applied psychology into equal areas. By giving relevance to areas which had been, up to the time of the Renewal, secondary in importance to clinical psychology, these professors, particularly those involved in the areas of education, counseling and industrial psychology also facilitated and increased the flow of mainstream perspectives and technologies developed in core countries into the School of Psychology at the UCV, as is described below.

Figure 12
UCV - School of Psychology
Curriculum - 1970

Basic Cycle (6 semesters)
Required Courses

General Psychology I	Statistics I
II	II
III	III
Psychometrics I	Neurophysiology
II	Psychophysiology
Developmental Psychology	Social Theory
Venezuelan Social Structure	Social Psychology
Experimental Psychology	Psychopathology
English I	Personality
II	
III	

³⁴ Except for some courses in the pre-specialization cycle in social psychology and in the course on social theory in the basic cycle.

Pre-Specialization Cycle (4 semesters)

Required Courses

Industrial Psychology

Organizational Theory
Psychological Examination
Analysis of Work

Personnel Selection
Venezuelan Economy

Labor Relations and Social
Security
Personnel System
Internship

Clinical Psychology

Introd. to Clinical Psychology
Child Clinical Psychology
Adult Clinical Psychology
General Neuropsychiatry
Theory of Psych.Treatment
Practical Training I
" " II
" " III
" " IV

Mental Retardation
Behavior Therapy
Criminology
Rehabilitation
Internship

Educational Psychology

Educational Psychology I
Educational Psychology II
Educational Psychology III:
Exceptional Children
Venezuelan Schooling System
Techniques in Group
Leadership
Therapeutic Procedures

Case Study and Integration
Internship

Counseling

Principles of Counseling
Individual Interview Techniques
Occupational Information "
Group Counseling "
Characteristics of Adolescence
Organization of Services and
Methods
Psychological Theories
Evaluation of the Individual
Internship

Social Psychology

Seminar on Advanced Social Psych.
Applied Social Psychology
Organizational Theory
Introd. to the Study of
Delinquent Conduct
Techniques in Group Leadership
Seminar on Social Problems in
Venezuela
Research Techniques in Social
Psychology
Internship

(Cadenas 1981: Appendix 6)

In this curriculum we can appraise how the knowledge-base was reorganized to acknowledge the importance of social, educational and industrial psychology and counseling, as well as, clinical psychology. We can also appraise how in the Basic Cycle there is a slight shift away from the previous emphasis on behaviorism in that the courses on Methods of Exploration I and II (laboratory behavioral research) were eliminated and courses in Psychometrics I and II were reinstated. Social Theory and Venezuelan Social Structure were added.

The course in Venezuelan Social Structure was introduced in answer to the demand of a group of students for a knowledge base in psychology which was not as divorced from the Venezuelan context as was the knowledge base at the School of Psychology. Even though there were also attempts in the Pre-Specialization Cycle to relate the knowledge base of the different areas to the country's reality, the only area where this continued to be a concern was in the area of Social Psychology. In the other areas models which were proven to be successful in and valid for the North were preferred (Montañez 1987)

Behaviorism, although still a strong presence in the Basic Cycle became solidly anchored in the specialization of **Clinical Psychology** (Dembo 1987). In this perspective emotional and intellectual disorders are studied as behavioral disorders; treatment is based on conditioning techniques. **Counseling Psychology** became associated with Rogerian humanism (Losada 1987) which is based on the fulfillment of human potential. In the client-centered therapy proposed by Carl Rogers the therapist becomes an aid in the process of the client's self-actualization; in the process the client assumes responsibility for her/his

life and discovers her/his creative potential³⁵. **Industrial Psychology** was based on organizational theory and on techniques of personnel selection and classification which involved intelligence, aptitude, achievement and personality testing. The student of industrial psychology also learned techniques with which to improve the efficiency of the employees (Losada 1987). **Educational Psychology's** knowledge base was a mixture of Piagetian genetic theory, the humanism of Carl Rogers and Abraham Maslow, and differential psychology for the classification of students according to their intellectual, aptitude and vocational traits, which relied heavily on psychometrics (Cabrera 1987). **Social Psychology** received the impact of the crisis in social psychology in the North and was influenced by Gergen's critical perspective (see chapter 1) which addressed the need to situate the object of study within its historical context. This perspective together with the desire to construct a social psychology which was pertinent to Latin America and Venezuela molded the knowledge base in this area (Marin 1979, Montero 1987).

Although the curriculum was approved in 1970 it was not to be put to practice until 1972-73 because the UCV was once more closed by the government. With the failure of the populist measures, the growing unrest among the working class, the guerilla warfare and, finally, the Renewal at

³⁵ Contrary to the experience in the United States, where humanistic psychology arose as a critique of behaviorism and psychoanalysis and as a self-proclaimed 'Third Force' in the field of psychotherapy, at the UCV humanistic psychologists did not directly question or confront behaviorism or its hold on clinical territory. Instead, humanistic psychologists siezed the opportunity of the reorganization and changes of the curriculum and settled mainly in the area of counseling, while clinical psychology remained firmly in the hands of behaviorists.

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the public universities, the Christian Democrats -COPEI in 1970 decided to intervene at various levels. At the level of higher education the intervention constituted a major educational reform which was to greatly diminish the power of the autonomous universities. However, in the case of the UCV the government also intervened physically closing the University campus to curtail political activity.

Again the School of Psychology reacted atypically with respect to the student body of the Faculty of Humanities and Education. For most of the students at this Faculty, the closing of the university meant another indefinite interruption of their studies. The students of the School of Psychology instead tried to reorganize extramurally and to continue its academic activities. The University soon reopened and resumed its activities in 1972 and the School of Psychology put into practice the 1970 curriculum.

Meanwhile at the Institute of Psychology, Merani's ten year contract had ended and he was not asked to stay; on the contrary, his departure was very welcome. It was felt that under Merani, the Institute had not engaged in any significant research and that the separation between Institute and School of Psychology had widened. The faculty of the School of Psychology, which had grown in prestige, had sufficient power to convince the Directive Council at the UCV that the Institute of Psychology could serve as the graduate level of the School of Psychology and the research projects there undertaken would provide opportunities for undergraduates and graduates to partake of such activities. In 1973 the Institute became an extension of the School of Psychology; the directorship was given to Guillermo Perez Enciso, a fierce defender of behaviorism and under him the Institute was reorganized to include the Laboratory of Experimental

Behavioral Analysis; three post-graduate courses were also organized at this time: Experimental Analysis of Behavior, Methodology and Group Dynamics. (Salazar 1982:18)

2.e **Psychology at the UCV: after 1974**

Even though there were no other curricular changes after 1970 at the UCV 1974 is to be marked as an important date in the history of psychology at this university. It is in 1974 that the National Council of Universities gave official approval to the 1970 curriculum of the School of Psychology, and it is after 1974 that psychology enters a period of stability and enormous productivity until approximately 1980. It is also after 1974 that other critiques of knowledge/power emerge: a strong critical trend emerges in social psychology and a course is introduced for all students to examine the adequacy in Venezuela of psychological theories constructed in the core; Merani, still in Caracas, continues to address the issue of knowledge and power and one of his articles is published in the School's journal. I have divided this section into three subsections. First we will look at the period which could be defined as the golden years of psychology, which coincided with the oil boom in Venezuela; then we address the critiques of knowledge/power and lastly we take a quick glance at the problems which the School of Psychology faces in the present depressed economy.

2.e.1 **1974-1980**

As stipulated by the Educational Reform of 1970 all curricular changes in higher education had to be submitted to the Consejo Nacional de Universidades - CNU for approval. And the Curriculum of the Renewal of

the School of Psychology was officially approved in 1974. The time period between 1974 and 1980 represents the golden years for the School of Psychology as well as for the Institute of Psychology. It is also the period of the oil boom for the petroleum economies like Venezuela. Under the administration of Carlos Andres Perez the country had become a regional power, and Venezuelans felt not only prosperous but omnipotent as well. It was a time of great euphoria, a time when everything was possible, and the country was bustling with projects at all levels. To use psychiatric jargon it could be said that the country was in a manic state.

The School of Psychology under the directorship of E. Santoro was also bustling with projects. "Psicologia", a the quarterly journal of the School, appeared for the first time in 1974. With the end of hegemony of the clinical area at the School of Psychology and equal recognition of the other areas, these strengthened and organized professionally. Professors of the UCV founded the Association of Social Psychology of Venezuela (Asociacion Venezolana de Psicologia Social - AVEPSO) in 1975. The First Latin American Congress of Social Psychology was held in Caracas in 1975 and was co-sponsored by the UCV. In 1978 professors of the UCV also founded the Associations of Educational Psychology and of Industrial Psychology. In 1978 AVEPSO began its quarterly publication by the same name published by the UCV.

The Institute of Psychology was also very active. In 1976, under the leadership of J.M. Salazar, the Institute began to offer the first post-graduate courses at a Master's level, these were Experimental Analysis of Behavior, Methodology, Group Dynamics and Social Psychology. At this time the information center on psychology in Latin America was also founded: Centro de Informacion de Psicologia en Latinoamerica -

CIPLA (Salazar 1981:16-17).

This period of economic bonanza meant in addition that it was possible to increase the flow of information from the North Atlantic to Venezuela by increasing the importation of books and journals and, thus, keep abreast with the most recent developments in countries such as the United States. Below is a list of the foreign journals cited in the bibliographies found in the two journals of the School of Psychology during this period

Foreign Journals Cited in
'Psicologia' 1974 - 1980. and 'AVEPSO' 1978-1980.

American Journal of Psychiatry, Hanover, NH
American Psychologist, Washington, DC
Annual Review of Psychology, Stanford, CA
Behavior Therapy, New York, NY
Behavior Modification, Beverly Hills, CA
Behavior Research and Therapy, Oxford
Child Development, Chicago, Ill.
Educational and Psychological Measurement, Durham NC
Enfance, Paris
Harvard Educational Review, Harvard, Mass.
Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology, Washington, DC
Journal of Applied Behavior Analysis, Ann Arbor, Mich.
Journal of Applied Psychology, Washington, DC
Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry and Allied Disciplines,
Oxford
Journal of Clinical Psychology, Brandon, VT
Journal of Comparative and Physiological Psychology, Washington, DC
Journal of Consulting Psychology, Lancaster, PA
Journal of Counseling Psychology, Washington, DC
Journal of Educational Psychology, Baltimore, MD
Journal of Experimental Psychology, Princeton, NJ
Journal of Experimental Analysis of Behavior
Journal of Marriage and the Family, Menasha, Wis.
Journal of Social Issues, New York, NY
Journal of Social Psychology, Worcester, Mass.
Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, Washington, DC

Journal of the American Statistical Association, Washington, DC
Journal of Vocational Behavior, New York, NY
Occupational Psychology, London
Personnel and Guidance Journal, Washington, DC
Personnel Psychology, Durham, NC
Psychological Bulletin, Washington, DC
Psychological Reports, Missoula, Montana
Psychology Today, New York, NY
Vocational Guidance Quarterly, Alexandria, VA

In 1978, Ligia Sanchez, of the Institute of Psychology, undertook a national survey of the psychologists in Venezuela. The results reflect the acceptance and the compatibility of the profession with the expanding public and private sector. Of the sample only approximately three percent were unemployed and of those employed only four percent were working outside of their professional field. Sixty-six percent were employed by the public sector, twenty-eight percent by the private sector and six percent were in private practice. Of the psychologists working in the public sector fifteen percent were in middle management positions, eleven percent were in management, and four percent were in planning. In the private sector twenty-seven percent are in management positions. Finally, seventy-nine percent of the sample indicated that they were pleased with their choice of profession (Sanchez 1985)

In 1978 the Law of Professional Exercise (Ley de Ejercicio del Psicologo) is approved by the Congress of the Republic. This meant that the exercise of the profession in Venezuela was now legally protected and controlled by the different national associations of psychologists and by the Federation of Psychologists, also founded in 1978.

In the late seventies something curious happened to the curriculum at the level of pre-specialization. Since the early seventies a small group of professors had undertaken psychoanalytic training, and they began to

offer a few elective courses in psychoanalysis to which some students responded positively. By the end of the seventies a reduced number of students had chosen the sixth option in the Pre-Specialization Cycle and had fashioned the last four semesters with courses related to psychoanalysis. It must be remembered that the sixth option had been left open to students to give them the possibility of designing their own non-specialized curriculum for the last four semesters of the program. This sixth option had become known as the 'nameless option'. Now, since the late seventies, the 'nameless option' became associated with psychoanalysis; that is, it implied that the student had chosen a specialization in the psychoanalytic perspective. Thus the only piece of unclaimed territory at the School of Psychology had been captured. Even though unofficial and covert, the 'nameless option' had become the psychoanalytic option.

2.e.2 Critiques of Knowledge/Power

Amidst all this professional and academic growth and affirmation, Merani, who had left the UCV but had made Caracas his home, persisted in his scrutiny of psychology. In 1976 he published his very extensive "Critical History of Psychology". Of this encyclopedic work which analyzes psychological thought since Aristotles, I will only refer to the issues which concern this present study.

For Merani the emphasis of the capitalist system is clearly a maximization of production and consumption. Moreover, it is a system predicated on conditioning. Without 'conditioned' work there is no growth in production; without 'conditioned' consumers there is no growth of the market. Parallel to the development of capitalism is the emergence and

development of modern psychology. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, psychology had been the study of man's conscience; in the twentieth century it becomes the study of man's behavior and produces the necessary knowledge to train men to become better producers and better consumers. For Merani in the twentieth century, truth resides in the 'norm'. 'Specialists' are in charge of normalizing men and, at the same time, have created the possibility for every individual to be identified as 'abnormal', that is, to be placed in the category outside of the norm established by the desired equilibrium. Another important part of his analysis is that in this age of 'specialists' power becomes anonymous; it can no longer be localized e.g. in the State or in the bourgeoisie. (Merani 1982:523-539)

Except for an invitation to write an article for the School's journal in 1979 there was no other sign of interest in Merani's work among the faculty or the students at the UCV. On this occasion he chose to write on 'Psychology and Relationships of Power' in which he refers to some of the aspects in his major work *Critical History of Psychology* and which I have summarized above.

In 1979 Merani also confronted and questioned the significance of psychological programs for the low income and marginal people in Venezuela. 1979 had been decreed the International Year of the Child. For the occasion, the Venezuelan government had begun programs of early stimulation and behavior modification for children of the popular sector. These programs were suggested, planned and carried out by psychologists working for the government. This situation motivated Merani to place these rehabilitation programs in the context of Latin American demographic data. Concretely, in Latin America, Merani explains,

demographics published by the Organization of American States tell us that forty-three percent of the population is poor and twenty-four percent are below the poverty line, and the forecast is that by the end of the twentieth century twenty-five million children will have died of starvation in Latin America. Will psychological theories resolve problems of underdevelopment? Will early stimulation and psychological engineering of desired behavior regulate and remain the damage caused by malnutrition? Do these theories study concretely the child whose body has deteriorated through hunger and his spirit alienated by an early insertion into slavlike work conditions? Merani asks. The answer is no. For Merani it is then imperative to, first of all, carry out a critical and historical review of psychology in general in order to rescue the few worthwhile concepts which may be applied to the concrete study of the concrete child. Secondly, in Latin America psychological work must be centered on the concrete Latin American child. The child's context may be terrible and inhuman, but children must be studied within their present circumstances and as soon as possible. Once more he advocates the urgency of psychological analysis based on dialectical materialism, that is, based on the interrelationship of the physiological and psychic aspects of the child with her/his physical, social, economic, historical, cultural and familial environment (Merani, n.d.)

As an observer of psychology his vision encompassed the historical span of psychological thought since Aristotle to recent theoretical developments in core as well as in peripheral countries. Thus, he was familiar with psychological perspectives which had developed in the North, and it was these which provoked his initial concern in psychology and his critical production. However, he also observed, with great

preoccupation, how these alienating perspectives were being absorbed by countries like Venezuela. However, to the young psychologists caught up in the enthusiasm of a successful profession, Merani's observations were not welcome. They defended themselves by saying that Merani's arguments were framed in an archaic, difficult language; there was no proof to sustain his critique; he only wrote books so that he could quote himself; they felt he disliked Venezuelans. They felt that, like most Argentinians, he held the rest of Latin Americans in contempt (Losada 1987, Padron 1987)

In the late seventies two other psychologists at the UCV also began to address the aspect of knowledge and power in psychology: Maritza Montero and Ligia Montañez. Their perspectives, as we shall see below, are rooted in contemporary on-going critiques in Latin America.

Of all five sub-areas of psychology at the UCV, Social Psychology is the only one which became identified with the demands of the Renewal. That is, it questioned knowledge in the light of the Venezuelan context and tried to construct a social psychology which was pertinent to the country's social needs. The emergence of social psychology as a separate program within the Pre-Specialization Cycle at the School of Psychology at the UCV coincided with a growing discontent in social psychology in the North Atlantic where various aspects had come under attack. It was argued that traditional social psychology assumed and perpetuated liberal ideology (Israel and Tajfel 1972); traditional social psychology had placed almost exclusive reliance on the experiment and by espousing positivism, social psychologists had perpetuated a partial and inaccurate image of human functioning (Buck-Morss 1977; Gergen 1978); traditional science assumed the scientist to be a nonpartisan, objective bystander merely

reporting the facts thereby not recognizing the cultural embeddedness of the scientific process and the active role of the scientists within his or her cultural setting (Asplund 1972; Baumgardner 1977; Cohen 1973; Gergen 1982; Samelson 1974); traditional social psychology was ahistorical; it viewed various mechanisms and processes as transhistorically valid. (Gergen 1973, 1982; Harre, 1980; Rosnow 1987; Sampson 1978). In England, Harre and Secord (1972) proposed a social psychology from a phenomenological perspective while in the United States it was the broader perspective of historical materialism which was preferred to elucidate the above issues. At the UCV certain professors in social psychology also adopted the Marxist perspective which had arisen in the United States. Maritza Montero's work, in particular, became associated with the historical perspective of Gergen (1973, 1978, 1982, 1984), one of the first and most persistent critics of the political implications of knowledge in social psychology in the United States (Montero, 1978).

Montero is a social psychologist who, together with Jose Miguel Salazar, has been the backbone of the program of Social Psychology at the UCV. She is also one of the principal organizers of the Latin American Association of Social Psychology (Asociacion Latinoamericana de Psicologia Social - ALAPSO).

In her current writing Montero does not specifically address the ahistorical, apolitical characteristics of traditional social psychology. This she accomplishes at the level of her teaching (Montero 1987) where different social theories are examined in the light of a historical perspective as well as their ideological underpinnings. Authors such as the following are read: Sergio Bagu, Mario Bunge, Michel Foucault, Lucien

Goldman, Alvin Gouldner, Kurt Lenk, Herbert Marcuse, Karl Marx and Frederich Engels, C.W. Mills, Max Weber, Irving Zeitlin (Syllabi 1983-1984). In her writing, which refers to social psychology as applied to communities at the level of the popular classes, Montero goes directly to the analysis of how social psychology may be converted into an instrument in favor of the socio-political needs of Latin America. Montero's project is not unique. She explains that towards the end of the seventies other Latin American social psychologists, like Luis Escovar from Panama and Ignacio Martin-Baro from El Salvador (see Chapter 1), all coincided in their perspectives while working at the level of the popular classes. These social psychologists tried to resolve the issue of knowledge and power in psychology through 'participatory action research' (investigacion-accion participativa) (Montero, 1987)

Participatory action research - PAR, also known as participatory research, was first proposed in Latin America by Orlando Fals Borda (1959). In the late fifties and sixties Fals Borda, a Colombian academic sociologist, had begun to question the relationship of the social scientist vested with the power of a specialized knowledge with the objects of his/her research. This methodology emerged from Fals Borda's studies of the dispossessed. He was particularly concerned with the powerlessness of the dispossessed to voice their social demands when faced with the expertise of specialists. For Fals Borda it was important to change this relationship and to construct a methodology which would serve as an instrument for the popular and marginal classes to bring about a social change which would take into account their needs. In PAR it is required that, first of all, the social scientist be committed to the popular and marginal classes. In PAR the traditional object of the study, in this case

the marginal community or group, becomes also the subject of the study; and the role of the social scientist is to enable the group to become aware of their situation, their needs and for the community or group to assume control of their own project of transformation. Power no longer resides in the 'expert' but in the community or group. And the process of transformation affects not only the community but the social scientist as well (Montero 1981, 1982, 1986).

As a methodology PAR is rooted in the methodology of participant observation. Participant observation is the methodology par excellence of the ethnographer; by the 1920s participant observation in the core countries had transcended the field of anthropology and was beginning to be used in sociological studies. "The first studies, as such, originate from the Chicago School of North American sociology: from Anderson (1923) who made a study of hobos... The expression 'participant observation' was first coined by a sociologist from this school: Lindemann (1924, p.183) differentiated between an 'objective observer', who approaches a culture from outside using interviewing as an instrument, and a 'participant observer', who researches a culture from within, using observation" (Friedrichs 1975:8) Studies like Lynd & Lynd (1929,1937) used participant observation to examine the socio-political and economic aspects of the communities under scrutiny. Fals Borda, trained in Western sociology, was also exposed to participant observation as an alternative methodology and participant observation became one of the building blocks of PAR. For Fals Borda (1986) what gives PAR its particular characteristic is that PAR incorporates in participant observation the possibility of transforming the socio political reality of the situation that is being researched at the level of the dispossessed. For Fals Borda PAR is rooted in participant

observation but, more importantly, it is rooted "in the perspectives of dependency (Cardoso and Furtado); in the sociology of exploitation (Gonzalez Casanova); in the counter theory of subversion (Camilo Torres); in the theology of liberation (Gutierrez); on dialogical techniques (Freire); and on the reinterpretation of the thesis of the intellectual's commitment and neutrality of Marx and Gramsci, among others (Fals Borda 1985: 15). Methodologies similar to PAR began to emerge in other Third World regions such as Africa (Kemal 1983) and India (Paranjabe et al. 1981, Rahman 1984, Sheth 1983) (Vio Grossi et al, 1981:10). At the present time PAR is a methodology which is used by social scientists in peripheral as well as core countries such as the Germany (Moser 1978, 1982) and Sweden (Swedner 1983) (Fals Borda 1985:143-149).

This brief account of the emergence of PAR and of other similar strategies of research and of their present usage indicates how, in the 1930s in the United States, methodologies emerged in sociology to take into account the socio-political and economic aspects of the communities under scrutiny; and how sociologists from the periphery, trained in the Western social sciences, were exposed, not only to mainstream perspectives which privileged the positivist and quantitative methodologies, but to methodologies such as participant observation which could be employed in the study of the socio-political and economic aspects of a community, as Lynd & Lynd did in their study of Middletown (1929, 1937). This brief account also shows how some of the social scientists from the periphery introduced changes in the existing methodologies in order to address the socio-political needs of the region wherein they worked.

as journals and professional meetings to privilege its particular type of knowledge and to prevent other critical approaches from having access to the communication media which the proposers of PAR dominate. It will be interesting for future research to monitor the development of PAR in social psychology in Latin America to see whether it has the elasticity and the capacity of incorporating new radical perspectives to revitalize itself or whether it will concentrate its efforts in controlling its intellectual space.

The other critique comes from Ligia Montañez. Montañez offers a course on "Psychological Theories" at the level of the ninth semester for undergraduate students at the School of Psychology. According to Montañez her syllabus provides the only opportunity for the students to analyze psychological theory and practice from a dependency perspective.

In this course students examine the conceptualization of the human being in the different theories with which they have come into contact during their coursework. Montañez then asks her students to examine how these concepts relate to their own conceptualization of the human being; and to examine possible conflict between their conceptualization and the conceptualization of the human being in psychological theories in relationship to professional practice. Another aspect of the course is to examine the conceptualization of knowledge in general and of science of the different psychological theories with which the students have come in contact. A third aspect is the analysis of historical determinants, e.g. the characteristics of the historical moment out of which these theories emerge and the relationship between the emergence of these theories and their historical moment. Did these theories take into account the social demands of the time? Students also analyze different

conceptualizations of ideology and examine the ideological aspects of the different theories. Towards the end of the course students are confronted with the concept of scientific and technological dependence and are asked to examine the significance and the consequences of scientific and technological dependence in professional practice of psychology. It is Montañez's objective for students to critically analyze the information and the training they have received as students and, on the basis of a concrete intervention in the area of their specialization, for the students to analyze critically their decision making process.

In Montañez's critique of knowledge and its relationship to power, psychological knowledge is conceptualized within the dependency framework. That is, as a knowledge which emerges responding to the needs of capitalism in the countries in the North Atlantic and which sustains the expansionist actions of capitalism in countries of the Third World; a knowledge which in Venezuela exacerbates the socio-political reality of the country. For Montañez the psychologist is a product of the capitalist system and an instrument of its reproduction and of its perpetuation. In her examination of psychological theories her goals are for the students to become aware of this last aspect. There are no attempts to reconstruct a psychological practice on her part; that is left to each individual student (Montañez 1987).

However, when Montañez works with them, students are at the end of their training and anxious to begin their professional practice; at the same time, they are insecure and wonder whether they have enough tools to perform adequately in their area of specialization. Therefore, it is hardly a time for students to very willingly want to examine and deconstruct something which has taken five years to assemble and is

about to be put to test in the workplace. I asked her whether the course would be best placed at a graduate instead of undergraduate level. "No", says Montañez, "the problem is that there is no tradition of critical thought at the School of Psychology, and it is difficult to get into the spirit of the course if the tradition is lacking...There should be other similar courses included in the first semesters." Montañez feels that the spirit of the Renewal was crushed at the School, and instead of acquiring a critical attitude towards the accepted knowledge base, the majority of students, seconded by the faculty, uncritically demanded more of the same, for instance, positivism in clinical psychology and humanism in counseling.

"Psychological Theories" is a required course which was added to the 1970 curriculum in 1978 under the pressure of a group of students and professors, of which Montañez was one. However, the students have a choice of two syllabi and three instructors for this course. One syllabus is drawn up by Montañez (above) and the other is drawn up by Luis E. Hernandez, very committed to behaviorism, and by Silvia Sanchez who considers herself an eclectic. The emphasis in this second syllabus is to examine the scientific basis of behaviorism, psychoanalysis and humanism (Syllabi 1984).

Montañez sees herself as the product of the populist educational strategies of the late fifties, that is, as a member of the lower classes who through education has had access to a middle class existence; to her it is important not to forget her class origin or the social demands of the popular classes in Venezuela.

Although Montañez feels that hers is something of a solitary project at the School of Psychology, she regards her pedagogical activity as

"project of social transformation within the context of social reproduction" and she is fully committed to it (Montañez 1986:1). At a paper presented at a Congress of Pedagogy in La Habana, Cuba, in 1986 she explained that the relevant elements of a pedagogical project such as this are, first of all, for the educator to be committed to a political perspective for the interpretation of the historical moment and of the social situation in which she/he lives; secondly to inform the students as amply and as generously as possible; thirdly to maintain a permanent critical attitude with respect to the information that she/he transmits to students and self-criticism with respect with the perspective of knowledge which is adopted; fourthly the educator should engage in a continuous reflection about her or his own conceptual framework and its relationship with social practice. The permanent clarification of the ethical criteria of one's own academic practice is also important as is the commitment of students towards the same clarification with respect to her/his practice. And lastly for Montañez it is important to obtain a higher level of personalization in the academic work in the sense that the fundamental aspects of the pedagogical project acquire a meaning for the professor as well as for the student.

At the School of Psychology, Montañez receives little support from her colleagues; she is regarded as something of an eccentric. But the evaluation of the students at the level of her course work is very positive (Montañez, 1987). However, at the level of theses, she has only tutored three in the span of eight years. Theses are usually undertaken by pairs of students, which means that only six students out of approximately 700 were willing to analyze a problem from the perspective proposed by Ligia Montañez.

2.e.3 Psychology at the UCV in the Eighties

I begin this section by addressing the number of research projects at the Institute of Psychology, as well as the number of papers and publications which have resulted from these projects; I also briefly review the objectives of the research projects in social psychology. I then review the types of post-graduate courses at Master's level offered at the Institute of Psychology, the number of students and the number of those who have graduated from these courses. Lastly, I describe how the current economic situation is affecting psychology in general at the UCV.

The Institute of Psychology: 1980-1984³⁶

According to a report issued in 1985, during the period between 1980 and 1984 the personnel of the Institute of Psychology and some post graduate students have been working in forty-four research projects broken down in the following areas.

Department of Fundamental Psychology

Classical and Operant Conditioning of Behavior: 3 Projects
Laboratory of Experimental Analysis of Behavior: 2 Projects
Self-Control: 1 Project
Punitive Control: 1 Project
Stimuli Control: 1 Project

Department of Applied Psychology

General Psychology

-Professional Practice: 1 Project
-University Counseling and Teaching: 3 Projects

³⁶ The Instituto de Psicología is the only institution where psychologists are employed as researchers; there are eighteen psychologists. However, even though their main responsibility is research, they also participate as professors in post-graduate and undergraduate courses at the School of Psychology. These researchers represent nine percent of psychologists in Venezuela.

-Instructional Processes: 16 Projects

Social Psychology

-Environmental Psychology: 4 Projects

-Early Development and the Family: 5 Projects

-Nationalism: 5 Projects

-Social Psychology and Health: 2 Projects

These projects have generated the following number of papers, journal articles and monographs:

Papers presented at national meetings of psychology: 69

Papers presented at international meetings of psychology: 24

Articles published in Venezuelan journals: 26

Articles published in Latin American or Spanish journals: 9

Articles published in journals in the English language: 6

(Interamerican Psychologist: 1, International Journal of Psychology: 1, International Social Science Journal: 2, Spanish Language Psychology: 1, Journal of Environmental Psychology: 1)

Monographs published by the UCV: 4

Monographs published by private enterprises: 1

(Instituto de Psicología, 1985)

As is demonstrated above, the information generated from the research projects is communicated mostly through professional meetings in Venezuela and, secondly, through local journals (mainly 'Psicología' and AVEPSO'). One of the objectives of researchers in psychology, whether working within mainstream perspectives or within a radical framework, is to publish in journals in the North Atlantic; articles are continuously being submitted, yet, seldom are these accepted. This difficulty constitutes one of the major frustrations of these researchers (Recagno, 1987) Thus, it can be said that, in the field of psychology in Venezuela, there exists a minimal flow of information from this country to countries of the North Atlantic; whereas, there has been a substantial flow of information in the

inverse direction (an example of this is the presence of journals from the North Atlantic in Venezuela, as reviewed in pages 35-36).

In reviewing the objectives of the research projects in social psychology at the Institute of Psychology it is clear that the influence of the Renewal, i.e. the necessity to develop a knowledge pertinent to Venezuela, underlies most of the work in social psychology³⁷. In the area of 'early development and the family', for instance, the objectives are to contribute to the knowledge of this area at the level of the popular classes. According to the researcher, in the area of early development and the family most treatises in child development reveal a uniformity of developmental stages and family structures which are not applicable to the popular classes in Venezuela (Recagno, 1987). The uniformity of these treatises is due to the non inclusion of family structures, and behaviors pertaining to different cultures or different socio-economic levels which are considered by the experts on child development and the family as 'atypical' (Instituto de Psicología 1985:24-27).

In the area of 'nationalism' two research projects are based on the objectives to advance in the theory of social perception and in the theory of attributes in cross-cultural studies in Latin America. One research project analyzes the identification of students in Latin America with the category of 'Latin American', this research is being carried out simultaneously in Venezuela, Brasil, Colombia, Mexico and the Dominican Republic. Another project studies the modification of the national image and its effect on behavior in Venezuela. And another project analyzes

³⁷ Except for 'social psychology and health' where one project studies attitudes towards stutterers and another formulates plans of intervention in campaigns such as the prevention of breast cancer (Instituto de Psicología 1985:42-43).

psychological aspects with respect to the consumption of nationally produced music, film and clothes. (Instituto de Psicología 1985:34-41)

In 'environmental psychology', besides the goal to construct a psychology pertinent to the Latin American context, we find objectives such as the development of models through which to understand the psychological processes which mediate the interaction between behavior and environment; the study of the relationship between psychosocial variables, economic and political variables and participatory behavior at the level of low income housing; the design and implementation of techniques to promote participation (Instituto de Psicología 1985:17-23). Thus, it is in projects which refer to communities at the level of the popular classes that social psychology is used, once more, as an instrument to promote participation.

With respect to post-graduate studies at the Institute of Psychology, a report issued by the Faculty of Humanities and Education at the UCV in 1985 states that, since the beginning of the post-graduate program in 1976 up to 1984, there have been 286 registered students in post-graduate courses in psychology at Master's level, of these thirty-eight have had their theses proposals approved and of these thirteen have graduated. The reason for the low rate of graduates is that most of the registered students are working professionals and have little time to devote to a thesis; thus the majority take these courses as 'specialization' courses for which they receive recognition and points in their salary scale. 'Specialization' courses do not require a thesis. Below is a breakdown of the courses per area (Montero, 1987).

Figure 13
Masters in Psychology, UCV, 1976-1984

Area	Registered Students	Proposals Approved	Graduates
Methodology	10		
Experimental			
Analysis of Behavior	57	7	7
Educational Psychology	37	7	
Social Psychology	72	5	2
Group Dynamics	110	19	4

(Estudios de Postgrado, 1985)

By 1985 the Institute of Psychology had also approved nine doctoral degrees.

Economic Recession and Psychology at the UCV

The shattering of the oil cartel by the end of the seventies, the diminishing oil revenues, and the inevitable economic recession impinged upon all spheres of Venezuelan life. The middle-class profession was especially hard hit. Funds for projects were reduced or eliminated, subemployment and unemployment soared.

The economic situation at the UCV has become particularly precarious. For some, the economic crisis of the UCV is not only a reflection of the country's economic situation; it is considered to be a deliberate strategy to continue to weaken the institution and its political potential (Padron, 1987). The National Council of Universities has denied all salary raises for academicians since 1982. In 1987-1988 salary increases were approved, but the budget was not increased. The explicit message was that each School should generate its own funds to cover its

deficits, like the departments in private academic institutions in the United States (Padron 1987). According to the director of the School of Psychology, part of the problem stems from the generous pension funds established in 1958 under the populist regime of Accion Democratica; at present a substantial part of the UCV budget goes to cover these funds. With no budget increases, it means that when a professor retires with a full pension, there are no extra monies to replace him or her. There is, therefore, a growing number of vacancies, or 'frozen' jobs, and a heavier academic load for the remaining professors.

The economic squeeze on the UCV has also meant a drastic reduction in library funds which has translated in the elimination of acquisition of journals. The acquisition of monographs was also greatly diminished. It is customary now that professors with common interests will each subscribe to a journal which will be shared with the rest and articles reproduced for academic purposes. It also means that funds for travel to professional meetings are difficult to come by.

Two ways of solving the present economic situation presently being discussed at the School of Psychology are to either reduce the student body or reorganize the curriculum and eliminate the areas of pre-specialization. Many proposals for the curricular change have been discussed but none have been approved. It is a particularly sensitive area as many professors are not ready to relinquish the territory conquered at the time of the Renewal.

2.f Reflections on the Construction of the Discourse of Psychology at the UCV and the Critiques of Knowledge/Power

As in the previous chapter, I have used the written curriculum to analyze the knowledge base of the discourse and the relationship between changes in the knowledge base and events in the socio-political and economic realms, as well as the relationship between the knowledge base and events in the academic and professional areas in the North Atlantic. Whenever possible, I have also shown the relationship between the knowledge base in psychology and social management.

The analysis of the first two curricula demonstrated how the knowledge base of psychology at the UCV was constructed at a time when industrialization and modernization were well underway in Venezuela. With modernization came a need for more rational, objective ways of social management in industry, in schools and in institutions of mental health. The analysis also showed how the construction of the 1956 and 1957 curricula was in the hands of Spanish republican emigres, philosophers and psychiatrists and, to a lesser extent, psychologists. Consequently, we have, at the beginning, a knowledge base which, on the one hand, provided the teaching of psychological techniques developed in countries to be applied in the areas of education and mental health and, on the other hand, it included courses in the study of the philosophical roots of psychology. However, the ontological perspective of the human being was almost immediately set aside and, in the second curriculum, which was put in practice a year later, the knowledge base shifted its emphasis to clinical psychology molded by psychiatry. This meant that not only the knowledge base in academia was influenced by psychiatry but the

professional practice, whether in mental health, education or industry, was also marked by a clinical, pathological view of the individual. The professional character of the discipline at the UCV was firmly established when, because of the 'open door' policy in higher education in 1958, psychology became one of the new careers offered at the tertiary level and psychology's status changed from a program in the School of Philosophy to the School of Psychology.

Towards the mid-sixties the knowledge base, although still clinical, had broken away from psychiatry and adopted a behavioral perspective. Various events coincided to facilitate this change. The fall of the dictatorship together with the populist strategies in education brought with them a spirit of newfound freedom and possibilities of change and growth, both in academia and in the professional world. At the School of Psychology this translated into the search of a knowledge base which would permit the discipline to stand on its own and not be dependent on psychiatry or on philosophy as it had been at the beginning. This led to the adoption of behaviorism because behaviorism, firmly rooted in positivism, guaranteed a scientific base.

The examination of the different curricula from a Foucauldian perspective has permitted to place the construction of the knowledge base in relation to political events within the country as well as in relation to the emergence of a new professional class in Venezuela. However, the analysis has also shown the relationship between the knowledge base in psychology in Venezuela and the hegemony of psychological development in core countries. This relationship was much more subtle than in the case of social work. First of all, psychology was introduced in Venezuela on the basis of achievements of applied psychology in the North Atlantic in the

areas of selection and classification in schools, in institutions of mental health and in industry. And the implementation of psychological techniques was well received by the private and public sector which had also modernized under the hegemony of core countries. Then, in the early sixties, the urge to continue to professionalize and to expand the middle class through higher education led the government to provide funds for graduate training in the North Atlantic especially for university professors; this contributed to the establishment of clear links through which information flowed from the core to Venezuela. Other mechanisms for the flow of information, which emerged at the time, were the circulation of academic and professional journals published in the core and attendance at international academic and professional meetings. Thus, when Venezuelan psychologists, in the mid-sixties, sought to establish a separate identity, both academically and professionally, from psychiatry, it was the advances in behaviorism and, to a lesser extent, the advances in Piagetian developmental psychology in the core which provided the scientific base for psychology to become an independent discipline and an independent profession in Venezuela.

With respect to the hegemony of developments of psychology in the North Atlantic in Venezuela, the analysis of the 1970 curriculum further shows how the events of the Academic Renewal at the UCV provided the opportunity for some professors to unite in order to limit the importance of clinical psychology at the School of Psychology, while, at the same time, broadening the knowledge base following the trends established in the core countries. Consequently, in the curriculum of the Renewal the knowledge base was restructured to give equal relevance to all five areas of applicability: industrial, educational, social and clinical psychology as

well as counseling. In this new curricular arrangement behaviorism became solidly anchored in clinical psychology; industrial psychology was based on organizational theory; educational psychology's knowledge base was a mixture of Piagetian genetic theory, differential psychology and the humanism of Maslow and Rogers. Although the humanism of Maslow and Rogers arose in the United States in the sixties as a critique of both behaviorism and psychoanalysis, at the School of Psychology at the UCV it was not used to confront or question behaviorism instead it became integrated into educational psychology and, most importantly, it was used as the base on which counseling could constitute its academic and professional territory. In the case of social psychology, its knowledge base was also constructed on developments in core countries, however, as a questioning trend had begun to emerge at the beginning of the seventies within social psychology in some of the core countries, social psychology at the UCV constructed a knowledge base which included mainstream theories as well as the critique of these mainstream theories. The incorporation of the questioning trend from the core in social psychology at the UCV coincided with the impact of the demands of the Academic Renewal; and the result was the promotion in social psychology of a knowledge pertinent to the Venezuelan and Latin American context

Contrary to the critique developed by Merani at the Institute of Psychology, the critiques which developed at the School of Psychology became integrated in the curriculum. As we have seen above, the critique which arose in social psychology in the seventies was the result of the demands of the Renewal and of the influence of a critical movement which had surfaced during the same period in the core. In the eighties, as social psychology began to be applied to communities at the level of the popular

classes a different critical expression emerged; for it was when students moved from the classroom to the field that issues of incompatibility between the theories elaborated in the core and the social reality of Latin America really came to the forefront. Consequently, in the training practices of some students at undergraduate level and in research projects at the Institute of Psychology, we discover an ongoing search to find the means with which to construct a social psychology which may be pertinent to the needs of the popular classes through methods which promote the participation of the popular classes as, for example, 'participatory action research' - PAR. PAR constitutes another example of the convergence of critical perspectives from the core and Latin America. PAR is the result of a methodology borrowed by sociology from cultural anthropology in the United States in the thirties which allowed the examination of social, economic and political factors at the level of communities. In Latin America, the element of social change was introduced into the methodology at the same time as the issue of knowledge/power between expert and object of research came under scrutiny. The result was a change in the quality of participation of the human scientist. It is important to note that in PAR the problem of knowledge and power is viewed from a class perspective. In this perspective the knowledge that is addressed is that which is used in reference to the popular classes. The issue of knowledge/power is not extended to general psychological practice. That is, the elements of power inherent to the practice of psychology; its function in the classification and management of society in general, irrelevant of class, is not addressed. The issue of knowledge/power is presented as an issue between those who own the means of intellectual production and those who do not at the level of the

popular classes. This methodology has arisen in academia and mostly in countries around the Caribbean where political conflict has escalated in the 1980s and where internal problems of marked socio-political and economic inequality are aggravated by external intervention.

The other critique emerged out of L. Montañez' pedagogical practice. Like the previous critique it is also rooted in the Marxist perspective of dependency. For Montañez the psychologist is a product of capitalism and an instrument of its reproduction and perpetuation. In her perspective psychological knowledge is a knowledge which emerged responding to the needs of capitalism in the countries of the North Atlantic and which sustains the expansionist actions of capitalism in countries of the Third World. For Montañez it is important that students have an opportunity at the level of their undergraduate studies to examine from this perspective the historical roots of the theories and techniques they have been exposed to in psychology and to analyze their adequacy to the Venezuelan context.

The analysis of the content of critiques of knowledge/power has shown that these are sometimes related to critical trends in the core but, for the most part the critiques are based on contemporary, broader Marxist critiques in Latin America and the issues of knowledge/power which are questioned are pertinent to the Latin American experience. The critiques address the imperialist characteristic of knowledge at tertiary level in a capitalist dependent economy, as well as the role of the researcher working at the level of the popular classes.

3 Psychology at the Universidad Catolica Andres Bello

We now turn to the Universidad Catolica Andres Bello - UCAB. No critiques of knowledge/power emerged at this university. However, as the

UCAB is responsible for sixty-seven percent of psychology graduates in Venezuela we will briefly analyze the structuring of the discourse in psychology at the university. We begin with an overview of the differences in the Schools of Psychology between the UCAB³⁸ and the UCV. We then examine the three curricula of the UCAB and end with a tentative explanation for the lack of critiques at this university.

3.a Psychology at the Universidad Catolica Andres Bello and at the Universidad Central de Venezuela: Some Differences

The School of Psychology at the UCAB began its activities in 1957, a year after the School at the UCV. Until 1986 it was an undergraduate school, except for five post-graduate courses which were offered during a span of twenty-nine years. A department of post-graduate studies was organized in 1986-87 and began functioning with programs in organizational psychology and in cognitive psychology. However, when I refer to the UCAB in this dissertation I will only refer to undergraduate studies.

³⁸ The Universidad Catolica Andres Bello - UCAB was founded during the dictatorship of Marcos Perez Jimenez (1948-58). Perez Jimenez was interested in promoting alternatives to the politicized, public universities and encouraged the privatization of higher education in the hands of the elites. Thus the UCAB was founded in 1953 under the auspices of the christian democratic party - COPEI and the Catholic church and under the administration of the Society of Jesus. It was directed to the middle and upper classes and began with the disciplines of Law and Engineering; by 1957 the UCAB had expanded to include Economics and the Faculty of Humanities and Education which comprised Philosophy, Letters, Psychology and Education.

The UCAB prides itself on being a very cost-efficient private educational enterprise. One of the few pamphlets they have published shows that the yearly cost of a student at the UCAB is between one fourth to one third of the yearly cost at public universities (Informe del Rector, 1986) This lower cost is possible partly because the UCAB employs mostly professionals on an hourly basis whereas the faculty at public universities like the UCV is composed of a greater percentage of full time professors as we can appreciate below.

Figure 14
UCAB/UCV
Full-time Faculty, Half-time Faculty and Faculty on Hourly Basis

<u>Year</u>	<u>UCAB</u>			<u>UCV</u>		
	<u>FT</u>	<u>HT</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>FT</u>	<u>HT</u>	<u>H</u>
1969-1970*	11%	3%	86%	62%	21%	17%
1977-1978**	10%	6%	84%	58%	18%	24%
1986-1987***	9%	0%	91%	68%	20%	12%

FT = Full-time faculty
HT = Half-time faculty
H = Faculty on hourly basis

* Boletin Estadistico Año 1, #1, CNU
** Boletin Estadistico, # 5, CNU
*** Roster of faculty at UCAB and UCV

At the UCAB the main source of income for most professors is their professional employment outside the university. The salary is not very attractive, but among conservative, Catholic, upper middle class groups it is prestigious to hold a teaching position at the UCAB.

Another source of pride for the School of Psychology is that it is a very efficient professional school. The UCAB graduate is highly regarded (Azagra, 1987). Although there are no studies to corroborate this, the School's reputation is that it produces a psychologist who is very well prepared in the application of psychological techniques (Azagra, Miñarro, Ochoa 1987). The School of Psychology, according to Fr. Azagra, S.J., is based on the same criteria as the School of Engineering at the UCAB. "For Santiago Vera, one of the founders of the School of Engineering and a graduate of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, the country's development requires engineers who know a little of everything and who can be easily placed wherever needed", says Fr. Azagra. Likewise, the School of Psychology also prefers to train a psychologist who is technically prepared to perform in any of the different fields of applied psychology. Contrary to the UCV, the UCAB has maintained a general curriculum and has not opted for pre-specialization, it has also preferred to maintain yearly as opposed to a semester system.

Another difference between the schools is that the School of Psychology at the UCAB does not seem to be as permeable as the UCV to critical movements or to be able to generate questioning trends like the UCV. Although there is evidence at the level of the different curricula at the UCAB of courses which could promote critical examination of power/knowledge, as we shall see below, there is no evidence of any tendency towards a critical thrust either at the level of students theses (UCAB Abstracts of Thesis, 1971-1984) or at the level of the "trabajos de ascenso", monographs presented by the professors to upgrade their position.

As for most of the professors of psychology at the UCAB their main job is outside of academia, there is virtually no writing or publishing tradition among them whereas, in this respect, the faculty at the UCV is productive both in mainstream and critical areas.

Both Schools recruit their professors of psychology from their own alumni; that is, of the psychologists teaching at the UCAB's School of Psychology ninety percent are UCAB graduates, the rest have studied abroad. At the UCV's School of Psychology ninety-five percent of the professors in psychology are alumni (Faculty rosters at the UCAB and UCV, 1986-1987). This type of recruitment favors the maintainance and perpetuation of institutional values and characteristics. From the data below we will observe that, however, at the level of post-graduate studies the faculty is often exposed to institutions different from their alma mater at undergraduate level.

Figure 15
Post-graduate Training of the Faculty at the School of Pyschology
UCV/UCAB

UCV						
Master's Degree			Doctoral Degree		(Licenciatura)	
Venezuela		North Atlantic	Venezuela	North Atlantic		
Psychiatric Hospital	UCV	USB ³⁹	UCV			
0.01%	15%	0.01%	4%	9%	51.88%	
20%						

³⁹ USB - Universidad Simon Bolivar, has since 1973 a post-graduate program at Master's level in psychology.

UCAB						
Master's Degree			Doctoral Degree		(Licenciatura)	
Venezuela			North Atlantic	North Atlantic		
UCAB	UCV	USB				
21%	13%	13%	44%	8%	1%	

3.b Psychology at the Universidad Catolica Andres Bello: the 1957 and 1969 Curricula

In this section we will examine the first and second curricula of the School of Psychology at the UCAB. When the program in Psychology began in 1957 the motivations of the founders of the program were similar to those of the founders of Psychology at the UCV. On the one hand psychology represented a novel profession with a growing reputation of efficiency and objectivity abroad; and on the other hand, psychology was considered to be a welcome profession in a country which was modernizing and in need of more scientific ways of selecting, hiring, counseling and diagnosing⁴⁰; psychology also represented a 'proper' profession for the upper-middle classes to which the UCAB catered. There were, however, certain differences in the knowledge base between the universities. The initial curriculum at the UCV was forged by psychiatrists and philosophers while at the UCAB it was planned by psychoanalysts and educators of the Society of Jesus. As a matter of fact, psychology began as a joint program together with education. It was a four year program in which the first

⁴⁰ The Jesuits had been the first to formally make use of psychometrics and counselling in education, they had founded a Psychology Department in their high school in 1943.

two years were common to both disciplines and the last two years psychology and education each had its own curriculum. Both psychology and education were offered only in the evenings. The curriculum for psychology was as follows:

Figure 16
UCAB - School of Psychology
Curriculum - 1957

First Year*

Anthropology
 Pre-Seminar
 English I

 Mathematics
 Pedagogy
 Biology
 General Psychology I
 Philosophy

Second Year*

Didactics
 English II
 Practical training in
 Psychology
 Developmental Psychology+
 Personality Psychology+
 Sociology
 Mathematics

Third Year

English III
 Theory and Practice of Tests
 Psychopathology and Mental
 Health+
 Differential Psychology
 Social Psychology
 Psychology of Learning

Fourth Year

Professional Counseling
 Psychological Systems
 Ethics

 Educational Psychology
 Projective Tests+
 Clinical Psychology+
 Industrial Psychology

* Common curriculum for psychology and education until 1965
 Gomez Alvarez (1981:1)

In 1959 a parallel day program was added and there were two modifications to the curriculum: in the first year Biology became Biology and Neurophysiology, and in the fourth year Educational Psychology was changed to Practical Training in Psychology. The program of psychology

was to remain under the influence of a psychoanalytical perspective in clinical psychology (+ identifies the courses) until the mid sixties with a secondary emphasis on educational psychology and a sampling of counseling, social and industrial psychology (Syllabi 1962-1966). However, various factors converged and provoked a change in the knowledge-base towards the acquisition of positivist perspectives and experimental methodologies, simultaneously phasing out the psychoanalytic influence. These factors were: the UCV School of Psychology's growing reputation as a serious and scientific since the shift toward behaviorism ; the interaction with UCV students and graduates; the graduate studies of the alumni in the North Atlantic who then returned to teach at the UCAB; the separation of psychology and education as two separate schools in 1965. By 1969 a modified curriculum was introduced.

Figure 17
UCAB - School of Psychology
Curriculum - 1969

First Year

General Psychology I
Mathematics and Statistics I
Introduction to Philosophy
Biology
Neurophysiology
Anthropology
Introduction to Seminar
English

Second Year

General Psychology II
Statistics II
Psychophysiology
Sociology
Differential Psychology
Developmental Psychology
Seminar
English

Third Year

Social Psychology
Personality Psychology
Experimental Psychology
Psychopedagogy
Seminar
English

Fourth Year

Industrial Psychology
Methods I
Educational Psychology
Critique of Psychological Systems
Seminar

Fifth Year

Professional Ethics
Research Paper

Philosophical Anthropology
Psychological Counseling
Clinical Psychology

Gomez Alvarez (1981:2)

The curriculum was increased from four to five years. In the first two years we observe more emphasis on the study of the physiology of behavior; Pedagogy and Didactics were eliminated in order to make way for the Psychophysiology and to allott more time to Biology and Neurophysiology. In the last three years we observe more emphasis on behaviorist methodology: Projective Tests and Psychopathology and Mental Health together with Psychometrics were eliminated and replaced by Experimental Psychology and Methods. However, amidst the shift towards the study of behavior we also find the introduction of another course in philosophy: Philosophical Anthropology wherein the human being is examined from a phenomenological and existential perspective. I comment on the phenomenological component of the philosophical courses in my closing remarks on the discourse of psychology at the UCAB.

3.c Psychology at the Universidad Catolica Andres Bello: the 1972 Curriculum

With the intervention and the closing of the UCV in 1970 some of the students from different disciplines in the UCV who could afford private education transferred to the UCAB. With them they also brought

the spirit of protest of the Renewal which had not as yet affected the select, small university. Two years later, in 1972 the UCAB was also rocked by student unrest and protests and in July 1972 the University was forced to close. The students' general demands at the time centered on greater student representation in the decision making process of the University, especially with respect to curricula. The UCAB closed in order to assess the situation. It permanently closed the Institute of Theology because it sympathized with Liberation Theology; the School of Sociology was also closed because it harbored Marxist views and both professors and students were expelled (Baquedano, S.J., 1987). It also reorganized its decision making structure in order to give more representation to students, and by September of the same year the UCAB reopened. The School of Psychology also had its small influx of students from the UCV and in consonance with the spirit of Renewal at the School of Psychology at the UCV, the demands lay in the way of more rigorous theoretical and practical training. Part of the faculty demanded, however, to de-emphasize positivism and to have a more diversified knowledge base. A compromise was reached and the curriculum was modified as we see below.

Figure 18
UCAB - School of Psychology
Curriculum - 1972

Basic Cycle

<u>First Year</u>				<u>Second Year</u>			
	T	P	S		T	P	S
General Psychology I	4	-	6	General Psychology II	2	-	2
Math & Statistics I	3	2	6	Statistics II	4	2	6
Introd. to Philosophy	3	-	2	Psychophysiology	4	2	5
Biology	3	2	3	Developmental Psych.	4	2	9
Neurophysiology	3	2	4	Sociology	2	-	2
Anthropology	2	-	2	Psychometrics	4	2	4
Introd. to Seminar	<u>2</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>2</u>	Differential Psychol.	2	2	2
	<u>20</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>25</u>	Introd. to Experimental Psychology	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>
					<u>24</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>34</u>

<u>Third Year</u>			
	T	P	S
Social Psychology	4	4	6
Personality Psychology	2	-	6
Methods of Psychol.			
Exploration I	4	4	7
Experimental Psychol.	2	3	7
Psychopedagogy	2	-	2
Philosophy of Science	<u>2</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>2</u>
	<u>16</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>29</u>

Applied Cycle

<u>Fourth Year</u>				<u>Fifth Year</u>			
	T	P	S		T	P	S
Industrial Psychology	6	4	7	Professional Ethics	2	-	1
Methods of Psychol.				Philosophical Anthro.	2	-	2
Exploration II	4	4	4	Psychol. Counseling	6	4	10
Educational Psychol.	6	4	7	Clinical Psychology	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>10</u>
Critique of Psychol.					14	10	23
Systems	2	-	3	Thesis			
Psychopathology	2	2	4				
Seminar	<u>2</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>2</u>				
	<u>22</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>27</u>				

T = hours/theory

P = hours/practice

S = hours/study

Gomez Alvarez (1981: appendix I)

Because of the greater demands of time of this curriculum the evening program was eliminated and only the day program continued. The evening program had been constituted for people who worked and studied; now it was considered that a student could not satisfy the requirements of the above curriculum and work at the same time.

According to Padre Azagra, ex-director of the School and perennial professor of ethics there, this curriculum - which has been left unchanged since 1972 - is extremely demanding, "almost as demanding as engineering", he says. It provides the future psychologist with a diversified, ample mainstream knowledge base in the basic cycle together with a general but sound knowledge of and practical training in the different areas of applied psychology. At the level of the fifth year the students choose one of these areas of applied psychology and within it a topic for their theses. The theses may be a joint project, i.e., the students may work in teams of two or three. The curriculum has received the approval and praise of Benjamin Wolman⁴¹ who has been a visiting professor at the School. Under Wolman's recommendations some UCAB students were accepted in doctoral programs in certain universities in New York without the requirements of a Master's degree (Azagra, S.J. 1987)

⁴¹ Benjamin Wolman is Professor Emeritus, Doctoral Program in Clinical Psychology, Long Island University (New York). Formerly, Clinical Professor in Psychoanalysis and Psychotherapy, Post Doctoral Program, Adelphi University (Long Island, New York) and Lecturer in Psychiatry, Albert Einstein College of Medicine (New York); author of thirteen books and editor and co-author of twenty-two collective works in psychology, psychoanalysis and psychiatry; editor of International Journal of Group Tensions; editor of the International Encyclopedia of Psychiatry, Psychology and Psychoanalysis.

For the purpose of this dissertation what is interesting is the philosophical thread which runs through the present curriculum at the School of Psychology at the UCAB: Introduction to Philosophy in the first year, Philosophy of Science in the third year, Critique of Psychological Systems in the fourth year, Professional Ethics and Philosophical Anthropology in the fifth year. It is a questioning trend which appeared with the first curriculum and which has been granted more latitude in the subsequent curricular restructurings.

The objectives of the course on **Philosophy of Science** state that psychology is one of the sciences most in need of philosophy because when it separated itself from philosophy it took with it issues which were central to metaphysics (Syllabus: 1986-1987). The course is designed to familiarize the student with the philosophical underpinnings of three main trends in psychology to-day: mentalist psychology, behavioral psychology and psychobiology and from the philosophical perspective to examine the breadth and limitations of each theory (Syllabus: 1986-1987). **Critique of Psychological Systems** is both a historical overview of the emergence of the different psychological theories as well as a critique of these theories from the perspective of the Jungian psychoanalyst who teaches the course. In the course on **Professional Ethics** the student is briefly exposed to an overview of ethics and to the professional code of ethics of the Venezuela Federation of Psychologists. The objectives of the course are for the student to reflect on her or his personal and professional ethics.

Of particular interest is the questioning trend developed in the course of **Philosophical Anthropology**. In this course the student is exposed to the perspectives of Max Scheler, Martin Buber, Paul Tillich, E.

Levinas and, most importantly, the works of E. Coreth (1961)⁴². The objectives of the course are:

- to establish a difference between psychology and philosophical anthropology; the former is viewed as 'a profession which offers a direct service to mankind' and the latter as 'the science of the essential totality of mankind'
- to address such issues as the existence of God, religion, the nature of the human being, suffering, evil, death, freedom
- to evaluate critically psychological theories from the perspective of philosophical anthropology. (Syllabus 1986-1987)

From the data at hand the relationship between philosophical anthropology and concurrent events which would enable us to understand its emergence in the curriculum at the School of Psychology at the UCAB are not clear and merit further investigation. From a conversation with Fr. Fallon, S.J. from Santa Clara University, in Santa Clara, California, the issues addressed in this course seem to be related to growing concerns within the Catholic Church and more specifically within the Jesuit community in Europe, in countries such as Austria and Spain, where the

⁴² E. Coreth, Professor of Philosophy at the University of Innsbruck, Austria, addresses such issues as the existence of God, knowledge and the nature of the human being from the perspective of transcendental Thomism. In transcendental Thomism 'nobody can really 'learn', since previous to every learning, it is already at work in the learner's mind. He merely discovers what he has been holding unconsciously and affirming implicitly ever since the first stirring of his intellect. Transcendental Thomism... tries...to make the young mind aware of what it 'always already' possesses. It uses Socrates' maieutic method: it is a nice example of intellectual midwifery, by which the student's mind is delivered of the metaphysical embryo it carried within itself (Donceel, 1968:10)

thinking of Coreth has acquired particular significance. Although this course does not address issues of knowledge/power it invites the psychology student to reflect on the human being not from the specificity of psychological theories but from the broader outlooks of phenomenology and existentialism present in philosophical anthropology and from these perspectives to examine certain limitations of psychological theories.

3.d Discourse of Psychology at the UCAB

In this examination of the curricular structure of the School of Psychology at the UCAB we have observed how the discourse first arises at a time when industrialization and modernization of the public and private administrations welcomes the input of applied psychology in social management. This discourse is also connected to the community without and within the Society of Jesus from which the academic authorities of the UCAB could draw their experts. From the community of upper middle class Catholics came psychoanalysts and from the Society of Jesus came educators with a strong philosophical base. And so there emerged an initial joint program: psychology/education. The knowledge base was at first mainly a knowledge base in clinical psychology influenced by a psychoanalytic perspective. In the mid-sixties the knowledge base shifted towards positivism and behaviorism. This shift is connected to the changes at the UCV and to the exposure of alumni to mainstream currents in the United States during their graduate studies there. Three years later the knowledge base is again modified. Some of these changes were related to the repercussion of the UCV's Academic Renewal at the UCAB. Other changes were related to the influence of the Faculty of Engineering as the model academic program at the UCAB; that

is, following the lead of Engineering, the School of Psychology tried to maintain a curriculum which was as eclectic, as general as possible while being at the same time rigorous and demanding. The introduction of philosophical perspectives in the curriculum, such as phenomenology and existentialism, seem to be related to events within the Jesuit community in Europe. In sum, there is presently at the UCAB a knowledge base which provides the student with the opportunity to be informed generally with respect to all five fields of applicability of psychology: clinical, counseling, educational, industrial and social psychology; this is a knowledge base which, in Foucauldian terms, is part of the discourse of psychology in Venezuela as it sustains a psychological practice which is well integrated in social management in the public and private sectors.

CHAPTER V

REFLECTIONS ON THE FOUCAULDIAN METHODOLOGY AND ON THE CRITIQUES OF KNOWLEDGE/POWER IN SOCIAL WORK AND PSYCHOLOGY

In this final and closing chapter I examine whether the use of Foucauldian methodology in discourse and critique analysis in a peripheral country like Venezuela is fully adequate. I then address the similarities and differences in the Marxist-based critiques of knowledge/power in social work and in psychology between Venezuela and the United States and the United Kingdom; the use given to the written curriculum in this dissertation; and the difference in conceptualization of the relationship of knowledge to power in the Foucauldian and Marxist perspectives. Finally, I examine the significance of the study as well as its limitations and suggest some areas for future research.

I The Use of Foucauldian Methodology for Discourse and Critique Analysis in Venezuela

In the Foucauldian perspective discourses in the human sciences contain an indissoluble relationship between knowledge and power. Foucault's conceptualization of the combination of knowledge/power is a rich and extremely productive construct: in his works he shows us how social management requires knowledge; how this promotes the production of knowledge; and how knowledge, in turn, requires new spaces for its

applications. The Foucauldian perspective of the human sciences, however, is not only concerned with discourses, there is also a vital interest in 'subjugated discourses'. 'Subjugated discourses' are critiques which question the elements of domination in the human sciences.

The object of this dissertation was to understand **how** discourses in the human sciences emerged in a Latin American country, as well as, **how** critiques of the political implications of knowledge surfaced. For this purpose the disciplines of social work and psychology at the Universidad Central de Venezuela - UCV - and at the Universidad Catolica Andres Bello - UCAB - in Caracas, Venezuela were chosen.

Following Foucault, I tried to understand the emergence of these discourses according to their exteriority, that is based on the relationship of the knowledge base of the discourse to concurrent events within the university, within the social, economic and political realms in Venezuela and to events which originated out of the relationship between the North Atlantic and Latin America and, whenever possible, I examined the knowledge base in relation to social management. The critiques were also analyzed in relation to socio-political or economic concurrent events and in relation to other ongoing critiques at a national or international level.

As evidenced by this dissertation, Foucault has left us with a fruitful methodology which, when applied to the analysis of discourses and critiques of psychology and social work in Venezuela, has provided us with valuable insights. As I reconstructed the historical context around the discourses, there were indications of how, as Venezuela modernized and democratized, a space was created for new professionals of the human sciences and how both, social work and psychology, became an integral part of social management. Social work became a component of public

administration, albeit not as a contributor of knowledge but as an executor of policies created by other professionals, whereas psychology provided the technology for the examination and classification of individuals in the areas of education, mental health and industry and thereby became a welcomed element in both public and private sectors, often at a decision making level. There was also evidence of resistance and of a questioning of this knowledge involved in social management. However, as we are examining discourses in Latin America I found that the Foucauldian analytics of knowledge/power did not fully explain the structuring of discourses in the Latin American sub-continent, and that critiques in psychology and social work addressed aspects of knowledge/power which were absent from the Foucauldian perspective.

In Foucault, the complicity between modern methods of social management and the human sciences rests on the disciplining action of the latter. The exercise of professionals in the human sciences often consists of such practices as examinations, normalizing judgements, hierarchical observations and monitoring of students, workers, inmates, patients and so forth which, for Foucault, are 'technologies of power'. When these practices are as widespread as they are nowadays they result in a disciplining action of the society. However, because the human sciences form part of the 'régime of truth' of modern societies the actions are not felt as oppressive or repressive, even though the final outcome is a series of strategies for the normalizing and disciplining of society.

In the Foucauldian analysis of knowledge/power, power does not exist in a substantive sense "...Power is not an institution, a structure, or a certain force with which certain people are endowed: it is the name given to a complex of strategic relations in a given society" (Foucault,

1980:93). In a network, constituted by myriads of 'technologies of power', power circulates constantly; it is exercised from innumerable points; it is not something to be seized, acquired or shared; it is not located; it does not circulate because of people but through people. Thus, in the Foucauldian analytics of power (Foucault, 1980:82-95) we find no directionality as, for example, in the traditional view of domination, top-down; nor are there agents of knowledge/power as, for instance, the role of the owners of the means of production in Marx (Marx, 1978[1845:173]).

Foucault's analytics of power are conceptualized to take into account the network of micro-powers which have resulted from the proliferation of the human sciences and their disciplining action within a region but they are not structured to take into account directionality in the flow of knowledge between different geopolitical regions in the capitalist system nor its political implication.

The experience of Latin America with respect to the human sciences often is that discourses do not emerge as a regional product related to social management, but rather that discourses are transferred from the North Atlantic to the Latin subcontinent as a support to development strategies in the expansion of capitalism. That is, in dependent capitalist countries it is often human sciences from the core countries which inform the social management needs of the modernizing public and private sector. And this north-south, top-down directionality in the politics of knowledge also affects the type of critique which emerges in social work and psychology in Latin America⁴³. Thus, in choosing to examine the

⁴³ In the Western hemisphere the human sciences and their application in social management emerged and developed with industrialization within a capitalist system. In the North Atlantic, social work as a profession emerged at the turn of the century and psychology

emergence of discourses and critiques in a country like Venezuela from a Foucauldian point of view, that is, from a perspective where knowledge/power is no longer exercised top-down, but is intertwined within the network of social relationship of society and whose main characteristic is its pervasive omnipresence through the myriads of 'technologies of power', a different dimension of the analytics of power kept constantly surfacing in the analysis of psychology and social work, that of north-south directionality, for which Foucault had made no provisions. In the analyses there was evidence of power relationships between regions, namely, the region of the North Atlantic and Latin America and these relationships had a very definite top-down directionality. And there was evidence, as well, of channels and

applied to social management emerged in the 1920s. Subsequently critiques of the uses of these human sciences for social control began to emerge in social work as early as the 1930s and in psychology in the 1950s. In Venezuela, as in the rest of Latin America, however, social work and psychology and their application to social management did not emerge originally within the region, as they had in the North Atlantic. Professions like social work in Latin America together with industrialization and modernization were supported in part by development strategies which originated in the North Atlantic. Psychology in Venezuela, as in other Latin American countries, emerged and flourished when industrialization was well underway. Thus when critiques arose in psychology and social work in Venezuela, as in the rest of Latin America, the aspect which was addressed primordially was the relationship of dependency between Latin America and the core countries of the capitalist system whereby knowledge is transferred in support of a socio-economic and political system which is perceived as detrimental to the masses in Latin America. Radical critiques of knowledge-power emerged in Venezuela as they had, earlier, in core countries, such as in the United States and in the United Kingdom (see Chapter I). However, radical critiques in Venezuela, as in the rest of Latin America, focussed mainly on the north-south directionality of knowledge-power.

mechanisms through which knowledge was transferred from the North Atlantic to the Latin American sub-continent.

The relationship between countries which had achieved a high degree of industrialization within the capitalist system and those which had not in Latin America, but were being industrialized based on strategies implemented by countries of the North Atlantic with the consent of certain elites in Latin America had been the object of analysis in the dependency perspective. And the existence of channels and mechanisms for the transfer of knowledge had also been analyzed by the dependency perspective and the perspective of cultural imperialism. Therefore, in order to describe those relationships which did not fit in the Foucauldian analytics of power, I used terms coined by the dependency perspective such as 'core, 'periphery' and 'dependent capitalism'. This is not to say that knowledge/power as perceived by Foucault is not being played out in the periphery - it is - it means that the power relationships at a micro level, which Foucault has singled out, are up to now overshadowed by the exercise of power at a macro level, between core and periphery.

To summarize this discussion, the analysis of the discourses of social work and psychology in Venezuela has been carried out within the Foucauldian perspective; however, the analyses themselves have brought out certain international relationships which have structured scientific discourses in Latin America and which could not be explained from the Foucauldian perspective but from the perspectives of dependency and cultural imperialism. Thus, as will be shown below, following Foucault, I examined the structuring of the discourses of social work and psychology and their relationship to the expanding public and private sector, as well as the emergence of critiques. Based on the dependency

perspective, I examined the process of dependent development of Venezuela especially with respect to social work. And the perspective of cultural imperialism guided the examination of the channels whereby knowledge was transferred and some of the mechanisms whereby discourses are maintained in both psychology and social work, such as the experts which were consulted with regard to the curriculum at the School of Social Work at the UCV and, in the case of in psychology, such as post-graduate studies in core countries.

With this explanation in mind let us now refer to the findings of the analyses of social work and of psychology.

1.a Social Work at the Universidad Central de Venezuela

The examination of social work in Venezuela during the thirties through the fifties in relationship to concurrent events shows us how the initial discourse of social work appeared as the country began its process of modernization and was the result of the interaction of the medical field and the State with the assistance of the Rockefeller Foundation. In the thirties the emergent democratic State in Venezuela relied on medical discourse to implement a novel style of social management in the field of public health. This gave the medical field leverage to organize and expand by stimulating the creation and subsequently controlling subsidiary fields of knowledge such as nursing and social work. However, this experience was not original to the country. Venezuela's modernizing enterprise was assisted by the United States for whom Venezuela had strategic significance as an important source of crude oil, and modernization was made possible through the management of knowledge at the international level. The analysis also shows us how, later, United States development

strategies directed to Latin America shaped the discourse in social work at a time when social work in the United States was striving to become independent from the medical and juridical fields which had originally influenced it. Thus what was transferred to Latin America was not only a functionalist knowledge base for social work but also the need for a separate professional identity.

Towards the end of the fifties and with the advent of populist strategies of an open-door policy at the level of higher education, social work became one of the new careers offered at the UCV. Access to the tertiary level and thereby the promise of a professional status was thought to be a considerable gain for social workers who were trying to shed the image of sub-professionals in the area of public health. The discourse which first emerged at the UCV was the result of various simultaneous events. The discourse was partly related to the populist measures at tertiary level and partly to the striving of a group of social workers to construct a separate professional identity in order to be able to participate at a planning level and to have access to other fields besides the field of public health. The discourse was also structured by the financial control of the Ministry of Health and Social Assistance (Ministerio de Salud y Asistencia Social - MSAS) of the tertiary program, as well as by the dependent relationship of the MSAS with the field of social work in the United States.

Soon after, in the sixties, a growing suspicion arose among Latin American social scientists in general with respect to the North American presence in the sub-continent. This led to a questioning of the capitalist system and of the dependent relationship of Latin America with the core countries of the system, as well as to a questioning of the knowledge

base which sustained the political, economic and cultural presence of the United States in Latin America. In Schools of Social Work, particularly in Chile, Argentina and Brazil, there began a movement for the reconceptualization of social work in Latin America and for the construction of an indigenous knowledge base tailored to the needs of the social problems in Latin America. By the end of the sixties this movement had spread to the rest of the subcontinent aided by professional meetings. At the School of Social Work at the UCV a critique began to emerge related to this movement⁴⁴ but also related to a number of other events which were occurring at the UCV and in Venezuela during this period as we shall see below.

Towards the end of the sixties the open door policy of the populist government in Venezuela entered into crisis. The depression of the international oil market, the depression of the national market as an import substitution had passed its initial expanding phase and the over production of university graduates resulted in serious restrictions of employment opportunities. This limited the role of education as an effective channel of mobility. There ensued a growing unrest among the popular classes and a growing radicalization among students in public universities. The students of the School of Social Work who, because of the open door policy, were mainly from the popular sectors, quickly identified with and participated in the radical climate of the university. This

⁴⁴ Although during the late sixties and early seventies there were also movements to reconceptualize social work in the United States and in the United Kingdom, there were no citations of these radical writings in a bibliographic study of social work in Venezuela (see Appendix 3); only Latin American critiques of social work were cited. It is, therefore, assumed that these writings were not known in Venezuela and that the critique in Venezuela was rooted in the Latin American movement.

coincided with the influence exerted by Cuba, which represented the possibility of the establishment of a communist state in Latin America and a general dissatisfaction and protests in higher education in the western hemisphere. All these factors converged at the UCV during the year of the Renewal, 1968-69.

During the Renewal the questioning which had arisen out of academia in the early sixties reverted onto the university itself. The questioning examined the role of the university within the capitalist system; the authoritarian relations between the administration and the students; the lack of student representation; on the choice and origin of theoretical perspectives, as well as the adequacy of these perspectives to Venezuelan social reality. At the same time in the professional arena of social work not only had the university graduates failed to gain access to decision making levels but there was a virtual marginalization of social workers graduated from the UCV in public administration because of their growing radicalization.

The critique which emerged at the School of Social Work at the UCV at this time was related to all these converging events. It questioned the knowledge base patterned after the discourse of social work in the United States because it offered only placating solutions to the social ills produced by capitalism. It questioned the relationship between Venezuela and the United States. It also questioned the relationship between social work and the Venezuelan State, that is, the State's interest to maintain a socio-political order which was detrimental to the popular classes and social work used as a pseudo solution.

As we can see this critique addressed the political implications of knowledge at a macro level and not at a micro level. In this critique

knowledge/power is perceived within the global arena of the capitalist system. And within this perspective the knowledge which sustains social work practice developed as a condition of capitalism in the North Atlantic. There it had been a tool of the State and used as a palliative for the class inequalities produced by capitalism. As capitalism engulfed Latin America and a dependent relationship ensued between the peripheral Latin American countries and the core countries of the capitalist system, the model was transferred to Latin America and social work also became the tool of the Latin American States. In this line of reasoning knowledge/power is perceived as having a definite top-down directionality: north - south; core - periphery; state - popular classes

The critique was accompanied with a proposition for an alternate knowledge not linked to capitalist ideology, but based on Marxist dialectics, which brought to light the relationships of dependence, of domination within the capitalist system and national and international levels, and which raised the consciousness of the oppressed. Based on Marx' conceptualization of knowledge and ideology, this proposed knowledge was perceived as liberating, productive - not dominating and stagnating as in capitalist ideology.

However, together with the critique and the new knowledge base there was also a denunciation of an unkept promise of social mobility and once more the demand to be granted a professional status and to be included at a different level, in a decision making capacity, in the State bureaucracy was voiced. The proposers of the critique did not see great problems in the exercise of a Marxist social work practice within a capitalist state bureaucracy. It was felt that only a practice based on Marxism and with access to decision making positions would offer

solutions closer to the structural roots of the problems of the popular classes.

In 1969 the critique became the ideological basis for the curriculum of the Renewal of the School of Social Work, but at the time it was a knowledge base legitimated by an institution which was estranged from and in conflict with the State. The response of the State to the radicalization of the School of Social Work and of the UCV was on the one hand to devise a mechanism of control over the knowledge base in tertiary education and, on the other, to reemphasize the training of social workers at the secondary level.

We have seen how, for Foucault, discourses in the human sciences developed, both in capitalist and socialist systems, alongside industrialization and a modernizing State. In other words, industrialization promoted the need for knowledge about human beings, for more efficient ways of planning, administering and regulating societies. Knowledge was produced and applied. Novel ways of social management emerged and continued to promote additional knowledge, and so on. In this way the human sciences and modern social management developed in mutual cooperation. Using a Foucauldian methodology I have shown how the discourse of social work in Venezuela emerged and developed together with a modernizing State and a process of industrialization. However, events particular to the region and to the historical period in which the discourse developed marked the discourse of social work and gave it particular characteristics which differentiate this discourse from the Foucauldian view in two aspects. One aspect is that the discourse in public health, whence social work emerged, as well as the discourse of social work before the sixties in Venezuela were discourses developed in

the United States and transferred to Venezuela as Venezuela modernized. Like many other peripheral countries the State in Venezuela based its modernization on a knowledge and technologies previously developed in the core countries. The other aspect is that the State did not allow social work to contribute at a planning level in its management of the popular classes, but only at an implementation level. When social work first emerged it formed part of the area of public health; it was the discourse on public health controlled by doctors, under the sponsorship and supervision of the Rockefeller Foundation, which informed the State and expanded, creating spaces for social workers, and other semi-professions like nursing. From the beginning social work was valued more as a provider of the human, motherly link between State and the dispossessed and not so much as a producer of knowledge.

Influenced by the advances of social workers in the United States, social workers in Venezuela sought, through access to tertiary education, to differentiate themselves from the sub-profession in the area of public health and to acquire a professional status of their own in order to contribute together with other professions at a planning level in the State bureaucracy. This occurred at the same time as another process of differentiation was taking place in the field of social work in Latin America, that of constructing a knowledge base which, instead of addressing social problems from a functionalist perspective which was supportive of a capitalist order, would address social problems in Latin America from a Marxist-structuralist perspective. So, at the same time, as social workers were trying to find the means with which to compete at the level of other professions, they also began to participate in a critique of the knowledge base which had sustained their professional practice up

to that moment. The result was that social workers at the university level became radicalized and, as they became radicalized, they became even more marginalized from the level at which they aspired to participate in, in the public sector.

At present we have in social work a human science which in Venezuela is excluded from contributing at a planning level of the State bureaucracy. The State does not seem to perceive in the social worker a scientific contributor but an implementor of policies drawn up and informed by professionals such as sociologists, psychologists, medical doctors. And most importantly the social worker is perceived primarily as the human link between the State and the popular sector. Thus we can say that the discourse of social work which unfolded at the tertiary level was interrupted by the emergence of a critique and that, even though, the State intervened to regain control of the field, only a reduced number of the faculty participate in the discourse of social work; the rest interpret the curriculum according to a radical perspective of the function of social work.

In this succinct summary I have tried to show how the analysis of the discourse and critique of social work has relied greatly on the Foucauldian methodology, but I have had to utilize terms from the perspectives of dependency and cultural imperialism in order to describe some of the relationships of knowledge/power which exist between Latin America and the North Atlantic and which could not be accounted for in the Foucauldian perspective. Below, in point 3, I compare the critiques which emerged in the United Kingdom and in the United States with the one which emerged in Venezuela and comment on their similarities.

1.b Psychology at the Universidad Central de Venezuela and at the Universidad Catolica Andres Bello

We now briefly recapitulate the findings in the analysis of the discourses of psychology. It is important to be reminded that when we speak of psychology in Venezuela we speak of applied psychology. Like social work, psychology was offered as a new career at the UCV in 1958 in relation to the government's populist strategy which promised social mobility through higher education. Thus from the beginning it was looked upon as a profession, that is, as a means of entry into the workplace.

In the discourse of psychology we find a very different situation from that of social work. It is a knowledge base which corresponds well to the needs of social management in the private and public sector and, even though there is the emergence of a questioning of psychological knowledge, these critiques of knowledge/power never acquired the force or the dimensions of the critique in social work.

Using the Foucauldian methodology I have shown how the discourse of psychology in Venezuela emerged when the process of industrialization and modernization of the country was well underway and there was an unmet need for rational, objective techniques on which to base social management in industry, in private and public education, and in the area of public health. It was also noted that the knowledge base for this new career and profession had been previously developed in the core countries - also in connection to social management there. Once transferred, psychology fitted easily into a public and private sector which were modernizing under the hegemony of the core countries.

Unlike social work, for which the inclusion in tertiary education was an important step on the road towards gaining access to professional

status, the discourse in psychology began at the tertiary level and at a time when the workplace needed technical input in social management. Psychologists were immediately granted professional status and soon became integrated at decision making levels. Thus began the process of mutual contribution between psychological discourse and social management. On the one hand, psychologists provided the needed technical support and, on the other, the workplace, which benefitted from this knowledge, promoted additional use of applied psychology.

During the sixties while faculty and students at the School of Social Work examined the validity and relevance of a knowledge base constructed in the core to the Latin American context and thereby opened a space for questioning in their discourse, the faculty at the School of Psychology sought certainty and validity for their knowledge base in the scientific community of the North Atlantic. At the same time they rejected any attempt at questioning the knowledge base such as that of Merani, the Argentine psychologist's critique of the philosophical roots of twentieth century psychology or its adequacy to Latin America.

Originally the knowledge base in psychology had been basically psychometrics applied in the clinical and educational areas, and, in lesser measure, in industry. Soon afterwards the knowledge base shifted towards clinical psychology determined by psychiatry at the UCV and by psychoanalysis at the UCAB. The adoption of behaviorism in clinical psychology allowed both discourses (UCV, UCAB) to discard the medical knowledge base and to become more closely connected to the psychological discourse in the core countries.

The construction of the knowledge base of psychology at the UCV is closely linked to developments in psychology in core countries, however,

the linkages between psychology in the North Atlantic and psychology in Venezuela are not as evident as in the case of social work where there were clear connections between organizations in the United States and the government in Venezuela. The major connection between psychology in the core and psychology in Venezuela is made possible and sustained by the hegemony of the psychology of the core in Venezuela. In fact, applied psychology was first introduced in Venezuela because of its reputation in industrialized societies; then, as we have seen above, when psychologists in Venezuela wanted to constitute an independent discipline they did so by adopting behaviorism which had achieved scientific status in the United States and in the United Kingdom. Another major change in the curriculum which is linked to developments in the field of psychology in the core occurred during the period of the Renewal. Contrary to social work where events of the university movement at the UCV of the late sixties served to grant more potency to the questioning of knowledge and to finally legitimate the critique of social work within the UCV, in psychology, the events of the Renewal served to strengthen the use and the application of mainstream knowledge produced in the core, that is, the psychological knowledge base was broadened and redefined according to the trends in the North Atlantic.

However, it was not only mainstream knowledge from the North Atlantic which was adopted in Venezuela but critiques of psychological knowledge as well. In contrast to social work, where critiques of knowledge/power which had emerged in the United States and in the United Kingdom remained virtually unknown in Venezuela, two important critical movements, products of the sixties and of the seventies, became part of the new curriculum at the School of Psychology, albeit with different

results. These were humanistic psychology and historical social psychology. Humanistic psychology arose in the United States as a critique of behaviorism and psychoanalysis; however, in Venezuela humanistic psychology did not engage in a confrontation of behaviorism. Humanistic psychology was used mainly to constitute counseling as one of the five main areas of the School of Psychology, that is, it was utilized to give status to counseling and to place it on equal standing with clinical, educational, industrial and social psychology. The other critique which emerged in the North Atlantic in social psychology did, however, retain its questioning power at the UCV and was integrated in the questioning trend which had developed in social psychology as a result of the events of the Renewal. Social Psychology had been the only area at the School of Psychology which had been permeable to the critical thrust of the Renewal; consequently there arose in social psychology a critique which, influenced by Gergen's Marxist perspective, addressed the ahistorical character of social psychology and the political implications of knowledge within the global capitalist system. And influenced by the dependency perspective of the Renewal, the critique regarded social psychology as knowledge produced in the core and transferred to Latin America as a research tool for public administration within a capitalist order. As in social work, here, too, the questioning was directed to a knowledge associated with capitalism, harnessed by the core and transferred to the periphery to support a capitalist order. Finally it stressed the necessity of developing a social psychology to address the problems of Latin America.

By the eighties, another critical space opened in the curriculum of psychology at the UCV which also related to the impact of the Renewal.

This was in a course directed to all ninth semester students in psychology where psychological theories are examined from a dependency perspective and their adequacy to the Venezuelan context is assessed. Here again the critique of knowledge/power is posited at a macro level. In the interim, in the questioning trend in social psychology two changes had taken place. First, while still adhering to the dependency perspective, social psychology now addressed the problem of knowledge/power at the level of the professional and, secondly, it had switched from voicing a critique to action through participatory action research - PAR⁴⁵. However, it is important to note that the analysis of knowledge/power at the level of the professional in social psychology is different from the Foucauldian analysis. In the Foucauldian perspective the 'technologies of power' which are incorporated in the practice of all professionals and the disciplining effect of the human sciences affect society in general; in PAR the problem

⁴⁵ Participatory action research - PAR is another example of the convergence of critical perspectives from the core and Latin America, namely PAR is the result of a methodology borrowed by sociology from cultural anthropology in the United States in the thirties which allowed the examination of social, economic and political factors at the level of communities. In Latin America, the element of social change was introduced into the methodology, at the same time as the issue of knowledge/power between expert and object of research came under scrutiny. The result was a change in the quality of participation of the social scientist. In PAR it is required that, first of all, the scientist be committed to the popular and marginal classes. In PAR the traditional object of a specific research, in this case the marginal community or group, becomes also the subject of the research; in the context of PAR the role of the social scientist is to enable the group or community to become aware of their situation, their needs and to assume control of their own project of transformation. Power no longer resides in the 'expert' but in the community or group. And the process of transformation affects not only the community but the social scientist as well.

of knowledge/power at the level of the professional is addressed only in relation to the popular classes. In PAR it is a questioning posited from a Marxist perspective and based on class analysis. In this perspective only the expert who is working at the level of the popular classes is under scrutiny and the knowledge that is challenged is only the knowledge-base of research carried out at the level of the dispossessed. There is no general questioning of professional practices. The developments of the eighties in social psychology are not particular to the UCV nor to Venezuela. These are perspectives and strategies which are shared by many other Latin American social psychologists particularly those working in Central America at the level of the popular classes.

In brief there is evidence that the questioning of psychology at the UCV is sometimes related to critical trends in the core, but, for the most part, it is related to ongoing, broader Marxist based perspectives particular to Latin America. The critiques which are based on dependency perceive knowledge/power based on a top-down, core-periphery directionality, but, at the same time, search to develop a knowledge more pertinent to Latin American reality. In PAR knowledge/power is perceived in a double top-down directionality: not just core-periphery; but, within the periphery, between those who own the intellectual means of production and those who do not. Returning to the Foucauldian perspective and to the critiques of knowledge/power in Venezuela, it is not that psychology does not have disciplining and normalizing effects in Venezuela and therefore there are no critiques which address this aspect. It is, instead, that there are problems of domination which are particularly relevant to the Latin American experience, like the relation of dependence between Latin America and the core and the marked difference in classes,

and these overshadow problems of knowledge/power which form part of the professional practice in general.

At the UCAB the knowledge base in psychology initially developed in a fashion similar to that of the UCV, that is, it differentiated itself from medical discourse by embracing positivism and experimental psychology. However, contrary to the discourse at the UCV it never diversified into areas of specialization at the undergraduate level. It remained a general training ground and the program acquired a solid reputation for providing a technically well trained professional. At the UCAB there is no evidence of a critique of the political implications of knowledge; nevertheless the school has always maintained required courses for the philosophical examination of psychological thought. Since the seventies this examination is being made from a phenomenological perspective. The choice of perspective seems to be related more to events within the Catholic Church and within the Society of Jesus in Europe, mainly in Spain and Germany rather than to events within the Catholic Church in Latin America, or to other events in Latin America in general.

To succinctly sum up: our analysis was based mainly on the Foucauldian perspective, complemented by the perspectives of dependency and cultural imperialism. The analysis demonstrated how psychological discourse emerged at a time when industrialization and modernization in Venezuela was well under way and how it became integrated in the modernizing public and private sector. It has also shown how related the knowledge base at the UCV and at the UCAB is to mainstream perspectives developed in the North Atlantic, particularly in the United States. The curricula at both universities contain, however, spaces for the questioning of psychological knowledge. At the UCV the questioning is sometimes

related to critical trends in the core, but it is mainly related to on-going, broader critical perspectives in Latin America and to the pressing socio-political problems of the region. At the UCAB the questioning is more related to a philosophical perspective which is presently relevant to the Catholic Church in Europe and which originated in Spain and Germany.

2. **Psychology: Differences and Similarities in the Marxist-based Critiques of Knowledge/Power between Venezuela and the United Kingdom/United States**

In the review of critiques of knowledge/power in the first chapter the critiques were divided into two groups according to whether these had emerged in the region of the North Atlantic or in the Latin American region, because it was hypothesized that as each region had a different relationship to the global capitalist system and had undergone different processes of modernization the critiques of knowledge/power would be markedly different. We will now briefly compare the Marxist-based critiques in psychology which arose in the United Kingdom/United States with those which emerged in Venezuela, as Marxism is the framework which has generated the most consistent body of critical work in psychology in the core and in the periphery. Both in Venezuela and in United Kingdom/United States the critiques have been divided into ideological analyses and works which are both ideological analyses and proposals for an emancipatory professional practice.

Ideological analyses in the United Kingdom/United States try to show how psychology is ideologically rooted in capitalism and functions to maintain and buttress capitalist values. In Venezuela the critiques also address the ideological function of psychology but they do so from a

dependency perspective bringing the weight of the core-periphery relationship to bear upon the analysis. Here psychology is perceived as something foreign to the Venezuelan and Latin American context and as an ideological support to a dominant order which has been detrimental to Latin America.

With regard to the literature on emancipatory praxis we notice a difference in the conceptualization of knowledge/power between the work of Sullivan and Wexler (Chapter I) in the core and participatory action research - PAR in Venezuela. The work of Sullivan and Wexler (see Chapter I) is rooted in the critical theory of the Frankfurt School. Here the power related to knowledge is generally perceived as not exercised top-down, it is not localized in the State nor in the superstructure, instead it is a condition of technological society, it is everywhere (Marcuse, 1966); it is an integral part of a pervasive rationality in which all participate (Habermas, 1970); social psychology also participates and sustains this pervasive rationality and this is what must be demystified and reconstructed. Whereas PAR in Venezuela acknowledges the extreme class difference which exists in Latin America, it further states that it has been exacerbated by dependent capitalism. But, most importantly, it acknowledges the voicelessness of the marginal classes and their impotence to organize. Here power is conceptualized top-down: core-periphery; owners of the means of intellectual production-those who do not own. In ordinary research, power resides in the 'expert'; in PAR, power resides in the community, and the role of the professional is to enable the group to become aware of their situation, their needs and to assume control of their own project of transformation.

An explanation for this difference in conceptualization could be that the conceptualization of knowledge/power in the above mentioned emancipatory practices are related to the socio-political and economic context in which they arise. For, even though these emancipatory practices share the Marxist perspective of social and political inequality which accompanies capitalism, the proposed solutions to the problem of inequality is different. PAR becomes a viable option only after students of social psychology at the Universidad Central de Venezuela enter into contact with the everyday experience of the popular sector and experience the dramatic and pressing class differences which exist in Latin America. Likewise it could be that the proposed emancipatory practices in Sullivan and Wexler' psychology are the result of their experience of modern capitalism in the core.

3 Social Work: Similarities and Differences in Marxist-based Critiques of Knowledge/Power between Venezuela and the United Kingdom/United States.

When we compare the critiques of knowledge/power of social work in Venezuela and in the United Kingdom/United States we find more similarities than differences. In both Venezuela and in the United Kingdom/United States the critiques emerge among social workers working with the popular classes. In both, critiques begin with an assessment of the relationship between State and social work from the perspective of historical materialism. They all visualize the possibility of a radical practice within a State bureaucracy. Radical social workers of both regions perceive knowledge/power as exercised top-down, except

that the social worker in Venezuela also perceives the north-south directionality of knowledge/power.

For most of these professionals, social work is the point of insertion and participation in the economy, in other words, social work is their means of livelihood. The dilemma of the radical social workers is, therefore, how to exercise a radical praxis while being part of the State bureaucracy. The solution, both in the United Kingdom/United States and in Venezuela, has been a reversal of the traditional role of the social worker, that is, if, traditionally, social work has been a profession whose action is to regulate the popular classes so as to preserve the interests of the capitalist State, then the radical social worker develops a practice whereby the interests of the State are replaced by the interests of the popular classes and it is the interests of the popular classes which are protected. Thus instead of influencing the poor to accept the action of the State, radical practice in social work will aid the organization of the popular classes and at the same time try to influence the State to accept the interests of the people. The difference in the critiques of social workers in Venezuela and of social workers in the United Kingdom/United States is that in the core the critique is based on a practice. In Venezuela the critique encloses a proposed practice.

Common traits among the marxist critiques of psychology and social work in the core and in the periphery

Based on the Foucauldian perspective wherein the exercise of power had changed as a result of the process of industrialization, I assumed that the conceptualization of knowledge/power in the critiques in psychology and social work at the core would reflect this change and that there would

be a marked difference in the conceptualization of knowledge/power between core and periphery. In other words, I expected that, in the case of critiques argued from a Marxist framework in the United Kingdom/United States, the conceptualization would be closer to that of Habermas or Jameson. This was so only in psychology, whereas the critiques in social work at the core showed a conceptualization of knowledge/power closer to that of Gramsci and similar to the conceptualization of knowledge/power of the critiques which had emerged in Venezuela in social psychology and in social work. One possible reason for this similarity is that the proponents of these critiques are all involved professionally with the popular classes and this experience seems to influence their conceptualization and the types of solution that are offered to the problem of inequality. That is, when working with the popular classes, knowledge/power can only be perceived and experienced as exercised top-down, with the difference that for the radicalized professional in Latin America, top-down knowledge/power is experienced with double intensity: as a participant or member of the popular classes and as a member of a peripheral nation.

4 The Use of the Written Curriculum in Discourse Analysis

An important element of the study and one which has raised some questions has been the use of the written curriculum as a general, concise and longitudinal view over a period of time of the knowledge base of a discourse in the human sciences. The first issue which arose was that since 'curriculum' has been the subject of many debates and has generated diverse meanings, it was necessary, first of all, to determine the exact meaning of curriculum in this dissertation. As it was explained in

Chapter 2, the meaning of curriculum in this study is restricted to the written document or content; however, the written document is then examined in relation to concurrent events in the economic, social and political spheres. It is important to remember that within the Foucauldian discourse analysis the intention is not to make a very detailed, exhaustive examination of the knowledge base but, rather, to describe in what way the main assumptions of a discipline may be related to external events in a particular historical period. In this sense, the written curriculum, of all the documents examined, was the only one which conveyed a concise, general and longitudinal view of the knowledge base and of its changes overtime and which could be used as a basis for a discourse analysis in social work and psychology in an academic setting.

A second issue was whether the written curriculum is always representative of the knowledge base of the discourse. The study has shown that the written curriculum is representative of the knowledge base of the discourse if the educational institution where the curriculum is formulated identifies with the established socio-political order, or the 'regime of truth', to use a Foucauldian expression. If, however, the knowledge base of a discourse is legitimated by an institution estranged from the State then the written curriculum no longer represents the knowledge base of a discourse because it is not part of the 'regime of truth'. The researcher can never be certain, at first glance, of the curriculum being representative of the knowledge base of the discourse; it will be examination of the relationship between curriculum and concurrent events which will tell the researcher whether the curriculum is representative or not. For instance, at the School of Social Work at the UCV there was always a curriculum; however, the curriculum not always

represented the 'regime of truth' or dominant ideology. And it is only after one has examined the curriculum at the School of Social Work at the UCV and its relationships that one can say that initially there was a discourse of social work at the UCV - but that this was interrupted during the period of the Academic Renewal, and that, even though, the State intervened to take control of the field, the School now had an ideologically divided faculty and the curriculum is representative of the knowledge base of the discourse only in the hands of a reduced number of professors who participate in the discourse of social work, namely, in the hands of those professors for whom social work is a therapeutic aid for the lower and marginal sector and is a means of integrating individuals and communities into the modern sector. The rest of the faculty interpret the curriculum according to a radical perspective of the function of social work, that is, by inverting the profession's original role. In other words, if the function of traditional social work is to manage the popular class in order to protect the established socio-political and economic order, in the radical perspective the social worker, working within a State bureaucracy, aids the organization of communities at the level of the popular class and will try to influence the government to heed their interests.

It was also demonstrated that even though a curriculum is representative of the knowledge base of a discourse it may, nevertheless, have pockets of resistance wherein critical trends may develop as in the case of the curriculum of psychology at the UCV. To reiterate, the written curriculum is not, unconditionally, representative of the knowledge base of the discourse the curriculum; it is only the examination of its relationship with the dominant ideology or the 'regime of truth' which will tell us whether or not it represents the knowledge base of the discourse.

The third issue was that, as the dissertation focuses on the relationship between the written curriculum and concurrent events, this should not be interpreted to mean that the construction of a knowledge base is determined only by this relationship. Working within the Foucauldian perspective, my intention has been to shed light on how the written curriculum is related to these events; however, there are other elements which this study did not examine, which also contribute to the shaping of a knowledge base. The curriculum and curricular changes may be examined on the basis of external influences (e.g. government regulations, church, foundations, economic inputs) and internal influences (e.g. students, individual faculty members, presidents and academic deans, academic departments, the extracurriculum); in relation to breadth versus depth; skills versus understanding; integration versus fragmentation (Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching 1977:2, 29, 65); in relation to the hidden curriculum (Barrow as cited by King 1986:82)

Finally, it may also be the case that a more detailed study of the construction of the knowledge base in psychology and social work may show that the relationship between concurrent events and curricular changes may be more tenuous and more mediated than is implied by the present study.

5 The Relationship of Knowledge to Power and Demonstrations of Resistance in the Human Sciences: the Foucauldian View vs. The Relationship of Knowledge to Power and Emancipatory Alternatives in the Human Sciences: the Marxist View

The difference between the Foucauldian and the Marxist

perspectives of the relationship of knowledge to power and demonstrations of resistance or emancipatory alternatives in the human sciences lies in conceptualizations of the ways in which knowledges oppose each other in the human sciences. Generally the concept of knowledge in the Marxist literature reviewed in Chapter I has been constructed on a binary opposition. In Marx we have a knowledge which is not alienated and based on a mode of production brought about by Communism vs. a knowledge which is based on a capitalist mode of production and therefore alienating. In Althusser we have a knowledge which is scientific, free of illusion and power and accessed by Marxist hermeneutics vs. the knowledge which is illusory and alienating. Marcuse's argument is based on a new, communist technology vs. the positivist technology of advanced capitalism. In Gramsci and Habermas we find a knowledge based on communal or collective values vs. a knowledge based on individualism or lacking collective values. When human sciences come under the scrutiny of scholars influenced by Marxism, the opposition of knowledges is also evident. It is argued that in the human sciences there are those perspectives which participate in the dominant ideology and are, therefore, 'useful' and 'practical'; and, in opposition, there are those which are 'iconoclastic' and serve to challenge the existing 'social order' and are 'emancipatory'. Foucault tried to avoid the dichotomy present in Marxist thought by assuming from the outset that knowledge is always connected to power; but, in the end, he also had to recur to an opposition of knowledges, albeit conceptualized differently. In the Foucauldian perspective of the human sciences there are discourses, that is, knowledges which form part of the 'regime of truth' of a society, and, in opposition to these, there are what he calls 'subjugated' discourses,

whose function is to constantly confront and challenge the discourses. It is possible that because the assertion that knowledge is power in the human sciences is so forceful within the Foucauldian framework that a reader may overlook the opposition of knowledges which exists in this perspective. It is important to note that besides the opposition between discourses and subjugated discourses in the Foucauldian perspective, there is a continuous renewal of the expressions of resistance so that, as subjugated discourses become empowered and legitimated and become themselves subjugating, there are always new critiques which emerge to challenge the ever changing 'regime of truth'.

In general terms a Marxist analysis of the human sciences discloses the ideological elements of a discipline, bearing in mind a desire for a human science which may be free of power and non-subjugating or it may formulate, at the same time, an emancipatory alternative, as was the case of Wexler and Sullivan in psychology and the radical alternatives in social work practice in the North Atlantic and participatory action research in social psychology in Latin America. The Foucauldian analysis, instead, by assuming from the outset that knowledge in the human sciences is always connected to power and that power is not only dominating or subjugating but also creative and productive, concentrates on describing the political implications of the knowledge base of a field as well as its productiveness and then searches for and describes the demonstrations of resistance within the particular field under scrutiny as was the objective of this dissertation. In comparing perspectives it would seem that the difference lies in that for Foucault the force of 'subjugated' discourses within a period of time is limited and for this reason this resistance to specialized knowledges has to be continuously renewed through the

emergence of new 'subjugated' discourses, that is, the challenging effect of the subjugated discourses lasts while these remain subjugated or shortly thereafter, because, as they become empowered, they acquire the characteristics of the accepted knowledges. Whereas in Marxism, the emancipatory alternatives in the human sciences are perceived as not being so easily co-opted by the dominant ideology and to be, therefore a more stable source of criticism.

6 **Significance of the Study**

Analyses of the human sciences may be divided into two main groups. On the one hand, there are the analyses of the achievements in the theoretical and/or professional aspect of a human science; this group is the more numerous. On the other, there are the critical accounts, the analyses of this nature are fewer but are on the increase. These critical analyses are usually Marxist-based and they focus on certain aspects of a discipline and try to show in which way these are ideological; sometimes these analyses also formulate emancipatory alternatives in the human sciences.

The analyses which have been undertaken in this dissertation also fall within the critical group but have been based on the Foucauldian methodology. By applying the Foucauldian discourse analysis to the development of psychology and social work at the Universidad Central de Venezuela and at the Universidad Catolica Andres Bello the study has elucidated some of the political implications related to the emergence and the shaping of the disciplines in higher education in Venezuela and has addressed the demonstrations of resistance within these fields. The study has also served to examine the difference in the conceptualization of

knowledge/power among Marxist scholars and among scholars working outside of the Marxist framework. Finally, the study has examined the adequacy of the application of the Foucauldian discourse analysis to discourses in a peripheral country.

7 Limitations of the Study

One of the objectives of the study was to show how a knowledge base is related to events in the socio-economic and political spheres and, whenever possible, to describe the relationship of the knowledge base to social management. Both psychology and social work emerged in Venezuela in relation to social management - social work to be applied at the level of popular classes and psychology in the areas of mental health, education and industry - consequently, the School of Psychology and the School of Social Work became basically professional schools; however, as the study did not cover professional practice in social work and psychology, evidence of the relationship of knowledge base to social management is sparse, and often this relationship is established only by assertion.

Another limitation of the study is that it did not address the issue of gender in psychology and social work where the student body in both disciplines is more than three-quarters female. An examination of psychology and social work with gender as a variable will throw light on additional political implications of these disciplines, particularly with reference to women.

8. Areas of Future Research

8.a Professional Practice in Social Work /Psychology and Critiques of the Relationship of Knowledge to Power in Venezuela

As it was pointed out above, professional practice and gender are two dimensions which are lacking in the present study. The examination of both would provide a fuller view of the issue of knowledge and power and of the relationship between the knowledge base of both disciplines and social management. Nevertheless, as the areas of professional practice in psychology and social work are so extensive it would be advisable to examine one professional area at a time. And, because social work and psychology have constituted two ways of entering the labor market at professional level for women, gender is an important variable to be included in the study.

8.b Anthropology of the Conceptualization of Knowledge/Power

As a result of the comparison of the conceptualization of knowledge/power in social work and in psychology questions were raised which were not within the scope of this study. The questions had to do with the possible influence of the professional's identification with a particular class on her/his conceptualization of knowledge/power. One way of shedding light on the problem would be to examine the cultural contexts of different professionals who are involved in practices of resistance to the discourses in their areas of expertise.

8.c The Catholic University and Liberation Theology in Latin America

Another area of interest which emerged in the analysis of psychology at the Universidad Catolica Andres Bello and which merits further investigation is the relationship between this university and the movement of liberation theology in Latin America and the subsequent decision of non-involvement of the university with the movement. This study could examine the relationship at the Universidad Catolica Andres Bello or at a number of catholic universities in Latin America.

APPENDIX 1

Guide to the Interview

- Which are the critiques that have emerged within this field which have challenged and exposed the effects of knowledge/power of social work (psychology)?

- Which aspects of knowledge/power have these critiques challenged?

- When and where did the critiques emerge?

- What was the response of the mainstream academia, professional associations, private sector and state bureaucracy? (Depending on the interviewee's affiliation)

- Did the discourse reaffirm itself in face of the challenge and how?

- Did the critique go by unacknowledged?

- What pertinent documentation can you direct me to which may support the information you have given me so far?

APPENDIX II

Summary of Main Address "New Practical Conceptions in Social Work in Venezuela"

First Venezuelan Congress of Social Work - June 1973
Universidad Central de Venezuela

Social sciences in the twentieth century are based on nuclei of specialization in order to study different aspects of civilization. But if these specialized fields of knowledge are to carry out a useful and transforming function they have to be on a familiar basis with the problems which are brought on by the process of colonization in our countries (Latin America) and with the dialectical relationship of social phenomena.

The growth in knowledge with respect to social and physical phenomena produced the myth that progress was possible only through science and technology. Some thought it was possible to eradicate poverty and bring about the union of countries through the instruments of science and technology. In effect, (science and technology) contributed to a greater productivity and promoted a creative action and improvement of quality of life.

The Scientific and technological revolution in Latin America has contributed to the development of certain areas but has not had an overall effect on all spheres of social life. As sciences progresses and its branches of knowledge extend it can become oppressor of mankind. In our countries in particular (science and technology) have not influenced collective welfare, rather they have contributed to worsen the contradictions.

The characteristics of the scientific revolution in the capitalist system has determined the emergence and evolution of the social sciences which have been surrounded by demands of miraculous solution to attenuate the effects of social disorganization. Concretely, bourgeois sociology constantly produces practical solutions to assuage conflicts and to reconcile the people with capitalist relations of production. It is within this referential context that social work arose.

In social work, as in all bourgeois social sciences, we find a tendency to psychologize social phenomena and social processes and to search ways in which to remedy conflicts among the dispossessed. This makes of social work another link of the bureaucratic machinery and a purveyor of pseudo solutions.

The emancipatory process in Latin America (of the sixties and seventies) is contributing to create a social struggle which manifests itself in a rejection of the traditional forms of action of social work and in the aspiration to convert social work in a profession which participates daily and systematically with the people to facilitate their incorporation to the process of transformation. This aspiration is extended to achieve the complete satisfaction of the need of the people as well as the complete advantage of the benefits of the scientific and technological revolution.

The action of the social worker has to move in two complementary directions: first to attend to people with greater and more urgent needs of survival through whatever means the social worker had institutionally at hand, the second is to exert among the people a spirit of struggle and promote concrete actions towards the claims of their rights. The action of the social worker moves on both an immediate level towards the solution of subsistence needs and on a mediate level towards significant social changes. It is necessary for the social worker not to work alone but united with the people and with other professional groups moved by the same interests.

Professionally the social worker has to carry out certain tasks which are basic to social change. These are: promotion and planning of development, scientific research, normative and functional legislature of social welfare and academia.

Even though for more than a decade we have gone through a period of questioning. The critique has remained purely at a theoretical level. The professional practice in Venezuela has not changed from a practice at a microlevel and with reforming and curative intentions. This is due to:

- A social administration (of which social work is a part) based on policies of public administration which are expression of the interests of the dominant class.

- The social worker has not participated at decision making levels. The social worker has been placed at the level of execution of policies and programs.

- The institutions are in a hurry to put into practice and conclude programs which are short-range, limited in scope, and with no continuity between programs.

- The institutional framework of social welfare is the expression of rigid, bureaucratized, uncoordinated structures which leave no space for popular participation. Within these structures social work fragments in multiple placating tasks and any efforts towards technical or scientific improvement are lost.

- Even though social work at tertiary level was proposed to prepare the social worker for more complex technical and scientific level, the program lacked a theoretical base with which to understand the country from a socio-economic and political perspective. It also lacked the understanding of underdevelopment and of new methodological ways of undertaking actions at macro level, actions based on social responsibility, on union solidarity.

(In view of the above) it is necessary that the social worker become involved in interdisciplinary teams and to participate at the level of planning of social policies and social development. The social worker is prepared to participate in the planning, organization, direction and control of institutions and programs of social welfare.

Up to now the social worker has had limited opportunity to become involved in research. This is also a necessary step.

APPENDIX 3

Summary

The flow of Knowledge which Sustains Discourses and Critiques of Social Work in Venezuela

In order to take a closer look at the flow of knowledge which sustains discourses and critiques of social work in Venezuela I undertook a bibliographic study of monographs produced by the faculty of the School of Social Work at the Universidad Central de Venezuela - UCV - between the period of 1969 - 1986. The monographs were all "trabajos de ascenso": intellectual productions on the part of faculty on which depends their upward mobility within the meritocratic system of professorship. These monographs were either published or were mimeographed editions, and all were available at the library of the School of Social Work at the UCV for the use of the faculty as well as for the use of the student body. The collected monographs were divided by the researcher into two groups, according to the ideological identification of their authors. To Group A belong five monographs of those who adhere to mainstream knowledge and are influenced by psychological techniques and to Group B belong eleven monographs of the radicals. The bibliographies of the monographs of each group were extracted and rearranged into three categories: authors from Latin America/Spain; from the United States/United Kingdom; and from the Soviet block and Europe (except Spain and the United Kingdom). Each category of each group was then sorted according to 1) alphabetical order of authors, 2) year of publication and 3) by publisher

Findings:

	<u>Group A</u>			<u>Group B</u>		
	<u>Citations</u>	<u>X</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Citations</u>	<u>X</u>	<u>%</u>
LA/SP	39	8	26	150	14	52
US/UK	106	21	71	33	3	12
Fr/Gr/It/Soviet	<u>5</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>103</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>36</u>
	150	30	100	286	26	100

Group A: (Mainstream)

LA/SP These authors represent twenty percent of the citations. The bibliography is constituted by texts which refer to specific

problems of social work and its techniques, methodology and evaluation. There are also entries by critical Latin American authors but these also refer to questions of methodology.

US/UK The works of these authors represent seventy-one percent of the bibliography of Group A. These works are mostly technical and methodological, directed at very specific aspects of the professional practice from a psychological and social psychological perspective. Most are texts translated into Spanish and published mainly out of Buenos Aires, Madrid and Barcelona, and Mexico, D.F. A few are articles from United States' journals which are in English.

FR Group A had five citations from French texts.

The four authors of the five monographs of Group A have formed part of the faculty before the Renewal. Their post-graduate education has taken place outside of the UCV. Two hold Masters' degrees in Social Psychology from the Universidad Simon Bolivar, one has a Master's degree in Administration from the Universidad Santa Maria and another has a Master's degree in demography from a university in London, unspecified.

Group B: (radical)

LA/SP These works make up fifty-two percent of the citations of Group B. Most of the citations of this category are of published and unpublished monographs out of UCV. Also of importance are the publications ECRO and Humanitas in Argentina which publish critical and technical texts of social work and CELATS in Lima, which publishes only critical texts of social work.

US/UK These works represent twelve percent of the citations. Two thirds of the list are works which refer to social work, these are mainstream texts and published between 1944-1969. The remainder of the works which are cited are critiques of capitalism and these comprise the more recent publications cited. All these works are translated into Spanish.

FR/GR/IT/Soviet The works of these authors represent thirty-six percent of the citations. Most of the texts cited are written from a marxist perspective. The books cited are all in Spanish. Thirty-two percent are authors from the Soviet block; these books are published in Moscow by Progreso; thirty-five percent are

works of French authors and these have been published mainly in Mexico by Grijalbo and Siglo XXI

Nine of the eleven authors of the monographs of Group B have been in the School of Social Work at the UCV before the Renewal. Two became part of the staff in 1972 and 1973. Three hold a Doctorate and two hold a Master's degree in Social Sciences from the Faculty of Economic and Social Sciences (Facultad de Ciencias Economicas y Sociales - FACES) at the UCV. one holds a Doctorate in Social Security, also from FACES. two hold a Doctorate in Development Planning from the Center for Development (Centro de Desarrollo - CENDES) a research institute of the UCV. Two hold a Doctorate in Social Sciences from France (university not specified) and one holds a Master's degree in Urban Planning from the Faculty of Architecture at the UCV. Thus, nine have pursued their post-graduate training at the UCV.

SUMMARY Most of the cited texts which sustain the monographs on Social Work of the 'radical' group (Group B) are critiques of capitalism; some texts are about the practice of communism in the USSR and others are specific to social work in Latin America from a critical perspective. Instead for the 'mainstream' group (Group A) the cited texts tend to be more technical, more specific; these refer to concrete situations in the professional exercise and address issues such as evaluation, methodology and technique implementation.

For the critical works on social work in Venezuela fifty-two percent of the information comes from Venezuela and the rest of Latin America; these critical works also rely on information from European Marxists, mostly French, and from Soviet authors. All foreign texts have been translated into Spanish. The Soviet works are published in Moscow, the European marxists are published mostly in Mexico. The critical works of social work in Venezuela are also informed, albeit in lesser measure, by critical works from the United States. The critical works from the United States are also critiques of capitalism but do not include specific critiques of social work which have appeared both in the United States and in the United Kingdom (see Chapter I). It is possible that this is the case because they have not been translated into Spanish. It may be that they have not been translated into Spanish either because these are recent publications or because they are not marketable, as they address problems of social work in societies which are not like Latin American societies... The mainstream group, on the other hand, is heavily influenced by information from the United States in Spanish translation,

via mainly Argentina and Spain, and, in lesser measure, from Latin American authors.

In sum one can say that critical works in Social Work in Venezuela rely in first place on Venezuelan and Latin American information, secondly they rely on the intellectual production of European Marxist authors, mainly French, via publishers in Latin America, and on Soviet authors published in Moscow. They also receive input from a few critical authors from the United States, published in Latin America. The works of social work which sustain and contribute to the discourse of social work in Venezuela are mostly from the United States but are translated into Spanish and distributed by Latin American and Spanish publishers.

APPENDIX 4

Interviews Used in the Text of the Dissertation
January - February 1987

Social Work

Universidad Central de Venezuela
Faculty of Social and Economic Sciences
Research Institute
Caracas

Mendez Cegarra, Absalon Director

Universidad Catolica Andres Bello
School of Social Sciences
Caracas

Baquedano, S.J., Rafael	Ex-director of the School of Social Sciences
Brito, Marcos	Ex-Director of the Program of Social Service
Salerno, Maruja de	Graduate of the Program of Social Service

Psychology

Universidad Central de Venezuela
Faculty of Humanities and Education
School of Psychology
Caracas

Cabrera, Maritza	Assistant Professor
Dembo, Miriam	Associate Professor
Losada, Vicente	Agregado *
Montañez, Ligia	Instructor
Montero, Maritza	Associate Professor
Padron, Miguel	Assistant Professor and present Director
Perez Enciso, Enrique	Retired (Ex-Director)
Recagno, Ileana	Associate Professor

Universidad Catolica Andres Bello
Faculty of Humanities and Education
School of Psychology
Caracas

Azagra Labiano, S.J., Luis	Agregado *
Miñarro Llagostera, Andres	Agregado *
Ochoa Franco, Alvaro	Assistant Professor and present Director

* 'Agregado' is a level between Associate and Assistant Professor

Timothy Fallon, S.J.	University of Santa Clara, Department of Philosophy Santa Clara, Ca. (Telephone interview: 11-9-87)
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APPENDIX 5

Documents

Consejo Nacional de Universidades Caracas	Boletin Estadistico, Año 1, No.1
Universidad Catolica Andres Bello Caracas	Informe del Rector, 1986
____, Facultad de Humanidades y Educacion, Escuela de Psicologia	Syllabi, 1962 - 1966
____, _____, _____	Syllabi, 1986 - 1987 - Philosophical Anthropology - Philosophy of Science - Professional Ethics
____, _____, _____	Faculty Roster, 1986 - 1987
____, _____, _____, ,	Indice de Trabajos de Grado (Index of Graduation Monographs), 1971-1984
Universidad Central de Venezuela, Facultad de Humanidades y Educacion, Escuela de Psicologia, Caracas	Renovacion Academica en la Escuela de Psicologia (Academic Renewal at the School of Psychology), Documents * 1-15, 1969
____, _____, _____	Faculty Roster, 1986 - 1987
____, _____, _____	Syllabi, 1983 - 1984 - Psychological Theories - Social Theory

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| — | 1973 | <u>Hacia una Metodologia de la Militancia y el Compromiso</u> , Buenos Aires: Editorial ECRO. |
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