Enhancing Disciplinary Reflexivity: Insights from Empirical Studies of Published Work in Post-Apartheid South Africa

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South Africa psychology has always been contentious, and under apartheid, it was complicit in perpetuating racist ideology and reproducing social asymmetries. While structural inequalities permeated all areas of South African society, knowledge production played a particularly insidious role in the perpetuation of patterns privilege and marginalisation. South African critical psychologists have offered a unique perspective to unearthing the workings of power through the study of published work in psychology. This article provides a review of studies of knowledge production published in post-apartheid South African psychology. This analysis synthesises the themes, theories, and methods that are characteristic of this corpus, and illuminates trends in knowledge production both *under apartheid* and in the *post-apartheid* period. The article underlines the role of critical psychologists in promoting reflexivity in psychology through empirical research that reflects on the dominant patterns and gaps in published work, and identifies new directions for this type of research.

KEYWORDS
knowledge, power, reflexivity, research methods, social change

1 | INTRODUCTION

This article offers a synthesis of insights from empirical studies of knowledge production in post-apartheid South Africa as a way of thinking about enhancing reflexivity in psychology more broadly and the contribution of critical psychology to this imperative. Through a scoping review of a corpus of contemporary empirical research studies of knowledge production that were published in two historically significant psychological journals during the transition to democracy and post-apartheid periods in South Africa, the article collates the salient topics, theories, methods and findings in this body of literature. The post-apartheid period in South Africa's history provides a unique perspective for unravelling the complexities of knowledge production, as it is a pivotal time of profound socio-political change, and significant for the emergence of Constitutional freedoms, including academic freedom, and global re-insertion of academy within South Africa. This historical juncture provides the impetus for examining this timely area of study as a unique contribution of critical psychologists in post-apartheid South Africa. The article aims to provide an exposition of the gaps and possibilities that studies of knowledge production generate for future inquiry in South Africa, as well as its potential as a conduit to academic and disciplinary reflexivity.

Over 25 years have passed since the apartheid regime was officially dismantled, yet South Africa still struggles with the long-standing colonial and apartheid legacies of stark racial and class divides, staggering levels of structural inequality, widespread social problems such as high levels of interpersonal violence, underdeveloped infrastructure, poor public health care and education services, inadequate housing, and alarming levels of unemployment. Psychology in this context has an extensive history of complicity in supporting the colonial and apartheid ideologies of racism, sexism, and classism (Duncan, van Niekerk, de la Rey, & Seedat, 2001; Duncan & Bowman, 2009; Seedat & Suffla, 2017; Suffla & Seedat, 2004) and faces significant challenges in re-shaping its identity in contemporary South Africa. While there have undoubtedly been profound changes in psychology since apartheid was abolished (Cooper, 2014), the oppressive power relations associated with the country's past are still deeply entrenched (Duncan & Bowman, 2009), and psychology requires ongoing efforts directed at redress and social transformation.

Despite its contentious past and the legacy of profound challenges that remain, psychology has endeavoured to re-craft its identity. Psychology in South Africa today is a well-established profession and is one of the most popular disciplines in universities (Cooper & Nicholas, 2012). Since 1994, much of the discipline has dedicated itself to engaging with the efforts of national transformation through varied forms of participation in critical debates, service delivery and reconstruction initiatives, including those directed at enhancing the accessibility and relevance of mental health services (e.g. De Kok & Pillay, 2017); the development of mental health and social policies that promote and protect public interests (e.g. Pillay, 2016); rectifying the skewed demographic representivity of psychologists and academics (e.g. Carolissen & Swartz, 2009; De La Rey & Ipser, 2004); promoting equity in the selection of students into postgraduate training (e.g. Mayekiso, Strydom, Jithoo, & Katz, 2004) and transforming the nature of professional training programmes (e.g. Ahmed & Pillay, 2004; Ngonyama ka Sigogo, Hooper, Long, Lykes, Wilson, & Zietkiewicz, 2004; Pillay, 2009); and more recently, in developing decolonised academic curricula (e.g. Carolissen & Shefer, 2015; Heleta, 2016).

Critical psychology has emerged from different standpoints and social contexts, and encompasses a diversity of theoretical approaches (Parker, 2015). Critical psychologists in South Africa have played an instrumental role in illustrating how the oppressive laws and ideologies of apartheid have permeated psychology. Under apartheid, critical and community-orientated psychologists, though a relatively small grouping, made significant contributions to challenging the ideological dominance of apartheid in psychology (Seedat & Lazarus, 2011; Stevens, 2007). Much of the critical scholarship of the 1980s and 1990s in South Africa was characterised by ongoing debates about the 'relevance' of psychology as a Eurocentric, middle-class, individualist discipline to the broader black populace (Long,

2013b). In the post-apartheid period, critical psychologists have continued to actively engage with efforts to recon-figure psychology (Carolissen & Shefer, 2015; Painter & Terre Blanche, 2004; Painter, Terre Blanche, & Henderson, 2006; Painter, Kiguwa, & Böhmke, 2013).

During the early post-apartheid period, many critical social and community-oriented psychologists sought to establish the *relevance* of psychology through their alignment with the country's democratic vision and commitment to the transformation within the discipline (Seedat, 2010). Pressing efforts to establish the relevance of psychology to the country's populace arguably 'decentred' the importance of criticality (Seedat, 2010). However, many critical psychologists have recently re-engaged this stance in the wake of the widespread social protests related to the de-colonisation of higher education. The 'decolonial turn' has thus served to recentre *criticality* in psychology in this context (Seedat & Suffla, 2017). In contemporary South Africa, it is vital that a critical voice be maintained, in order to address the dangers of a lack of historical consciousness and the co-option of psychology into neoliberal and other oppressive political agendas in the post-apartheid period (Long, 2016).

The empirical study of knowledge production remains an important site for critical psychologists to advance a progressive social change agenda. Studies of published work can form a barometer for assessing social change, as well as a mechanism for detecting and reflecting on the continued presence of social asymmetries in psychology and society. Contemporary psychological knowledge production in South Africa has been shaped by its insertion into the global academic and institutional landscape. These include the emergence of entrepreneurial scholarship and academic-corporate research partnerships (Painter, Kiguwa, & Böhmke, 2013). South Africa's entry into the interna-tional community post-1994 positioned its academy within the global science system, which has led to the increased commodification of knowledge (Long, 2013b). Producing internationally recognised publications, with scientific cre-dentials, has increasingly become a significant part of the academic project. However, in this process, questions also come to the fore that speak to the nature of the intellectual role itself and the ways in which academic knowledge may serve to protect the vested interests of the privileged or dominant classes in society (Buroway & Von Holdt, 2012). This relates to the tensions within academia itself and the social accountability of intellectuals and universities. Here, there are risks that intellectuals may prioritise demands that ultimately serve to perpetuate an unequal status quo. Some scholars argue that the growth of a knowledge economy has ushered in the demise of an era of critical thinking in universities and in psychology (Painter et al., 2013). Others have signalled the lack of a critical historical consciousness in psychology in post-apartheid South Africa (Long, 2016), as well as the persistence of discourses in knowledge that reproduce larger patterns of inequality (Carolissen & Shefer, 2015).

This article reviews the contribution of a body of empirical studies of knowledge production in psychology in post-apartheid South Africa through identifying their topics, methods and key findings. Drawing on concepts in the theories of Pierre Bourdieu (1988, 1989, 2004, 2008) and Michel Foucault (1982/1994, 1986), I argue that the tradition of conducting empirical research on knowledge production trends offers a unique, and under-emphasised, contribution within critical psychology that can be used to uncover, reflect on, and resist dominant power relations, and thereby encourage reflexive thought and practice in psychology. In line with Jovanovic (2010), critical psychology here is defined by its commitment to be critical of both mainstream psychological science and the dominant social order. This article intends to stimulate debate within critical psychology, as well as provide an impetus for future empirical enquiry into knowledge production in post-apartheid South Africa and beyond.

2 | POWER, REFLEXIVITY & KNOWLEDGE

This article proposes that the study of knowledge production can be advanced by thinking about concepts of power, and how power relations are enacted, resisted and re-enacted in published work. Foucault's coupling of power/knowledge (1982/1994), and Bourdieu's (2004) idea of an 'activist science' and disciplinary reflexivity provide useful insights to this inquiry. Whilst there are significant tensions and areas of disjuncture between them, each of these theorists attests to the significance of power in society and provides concepts that can deepen our understanding of the importance of studying trends in knowledge production in psychology. Foucault (1982/1994) holds that power is a productive network that permeates the entire social formation, and that knowledge is part of the mechanism of power relations. The exercise of power creates new bodies of knowledge, which in turn induces the effects of power. Foucault (1982/1994) further contends that ideas cannot be isolated from the institutions within a specific historical, geographical and social context. Thus, the production of a set of discourses in textual, authored form is an act of power that draws on multiple power relations that are institutionally and socially embedded (Foucault, 1986). Thus, the profound changes in the South Africa's socio-political landscape since 1990, arguably alter existing power relations and the 'conditions of possibility' for knowledge production. Whilst power for Foucault is 'ubiquitous' and beyond agency and structure (Hindess, 1998), Bourdieu refers to symbolic power that is created and reinforced through the dynamic interplay of structure and agency reformulated through the concepts of 'habitas' and 'field' (Bourdieu, 1989). Bourdieu (1988; 2004) further elucidates the role of knowledge in academic disciplines, viewing each as a specific field with its own habitas. Bourdieu further posited that the intellectual class reflects the social tensions between the dominant and subordinate social classes, and that remains both socially engaged and disinterested (Bourdieu, 1989). In this sense, the academic is concerned with social dynamics, but also with the academy as an entity of its own and their own particular discipline. Bourdieu (2008) maintains that it is necessary to understand the logic of each discipline, including the complexities of its systems of classification and how class interests and power are represented and mediated therein. This understanding of academia casts doubt on whether academics can be truly responsive to social needs, or are more responsive to their own vested interests (Buroway & van Holdt, 2012). For Bourdieu (2004), this dilemma poses its own solution in the form of advocating for the constant need to remain reflexivity about the methods, theories and preoccupations of a discipline to guard against its inherent biases. Bourdieu (2004) contends that reflexive social science can be used to unravel this logic and resolve these problems. However, reflexivity should not simply turn itself to the scholar as an object to discredit this knowledge, but rather serve to do so in order "to check and strengthen it" (Bourdieu, 2004, p. 4). Thus empirical research serve an agenda of critical engagement and social change. Bourdieu (2004) argues that this reflexivity in scholarly work should include consideration of the concepts and methods of the particular area of study. Drawing on this standpoint, this article considers the study of the body of research examined here, including its foci, theories, methods and findings, to be a necessary component of strengthening reflexivity in psychology and highlighting possibilities for future critical enquiry. In the review that follows, these elements are highlighted. This review therefore responds to the call to collate key areas of existing South African research (Macleod, 2018), and in particular, to document the ways in which writers from the African continent have critically engaged with psychology (Palmary & Barnes, 2015).

3 | REVIEW APPROACH & PROCESS

A scoping review was considered appropriate as this approach provides an overview of the scope of studies, their salient contributions and knowledge gaps. According to Munn, Peters, Stern, Tufanaru, McArthur and Aromataris

(2018), scoping reviews are ideal for examining the coverage of a particular body of literature on a given topic. They are able to "give clear indication of the volume of literature and studies available, as well as an overview (broad or detailed) of its focus" (Munn et al., 2018, p. 2). This allows for synthesis and consolidation of the focus and range of the body of literature on studies of knowledge production in post-apartheid South Africa, as well as insight into how this research has been conducted. In order to be included in this review, studies had to be empirical and focussed on published work in South Africa (defined as studies on articles, chapters, reports that appeared in South African journals or books by South African authors). A study was considered empirical if it presented original research in which data collection took place, or which presented a novel secondary analysis of data (APA, 2009).
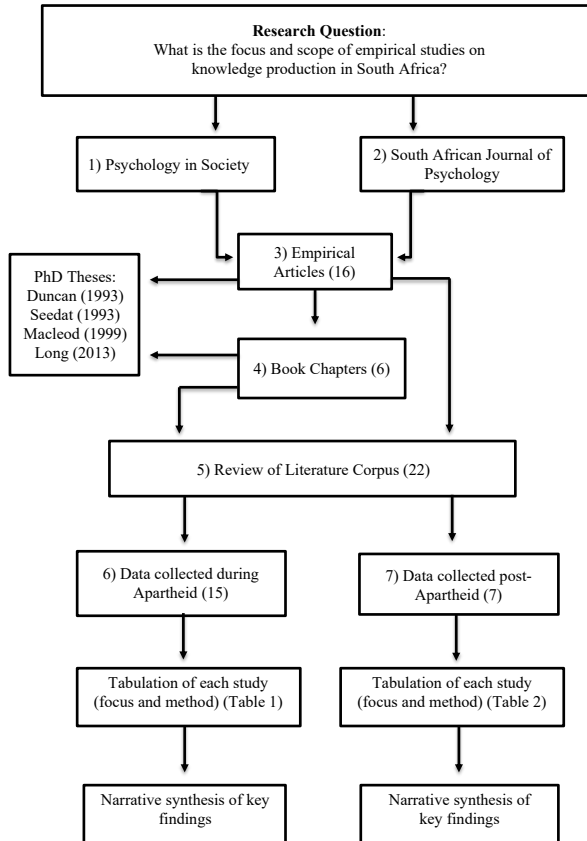
The initial identification of studies focussed on the *South African Journal of Psychology* (SAJP) and *Psychology in Society* (PINS). Both of these journals were selected due to their significance in South African psychology. The SAJP is the official journal of the Psychological Association of South Africa (PsySSA) and the country's foremost research journal (Cooper & Nicholas, 2012). The SAJP has a high level of circulation and readership in South Africa (ASSAF, 2010) and is useful for sourcing publications due to its popularity and standing in the profession (Seedat et al., 2004). PINS is historically significant as a forum for critically oriented scholarship (Seedat et al., 2004), that was geared towards psychologists who were disillusioned by mainstream psychology under apartheid (Cooper & Nicholas, 2012). PINS is renowned for its intellectually stimulating articles that promote alternative theoretical and methodological approaches and critical thought (ASSAF, 2010).

Articles were identified through the following process: 1) sourcing and manually perusing all of the abstracts and articles published in PINS (January 1990-December 2015); 2) sourcing and manually perusing all of the abstracts of articles published in the SAJP (January 1990-December 2015). 3) This search yielded a total of 16 published studies which were collated. 4) The dataset was then further expanded through tracing references to other studies published elsewhere within this body of work and/by these authors. A further 6 book chapters were identified through sourcing references cited in these texts, yielding a total corpus of 22 texts. 5) Each study was then reviewed in detail. 6) 15 studies with data published *during apartheid* or before (pre 1994) were grouped together, and 7) the remaining 7 studies with data showing post-apartheid trends were grouped together. Key areas of focus and methods used were then extrapolated and tabulated, and the main findings of each study were collated in narrative form. The review process is summarised in Figure 1.

4 | STUDIES

4.1 | Published Work in South African Psychology

The empirical study of published work in South African psychology journals in this review occurred in the 1990s, towards the end of apartheid, though the time periods of analysis span between 5 and 120 years. Table 1 provides a summary of the main focus and design features for studies on knowledge produced during apartheid, while Table 2 provides a summary of the main focus and design features for studies on knowledge post-apartheid. This table is arranged in alphabetical order of authorship for ease of reference. Tables 1 and 2 identify the names of the journals and/or other documents that were analysed in each study; the main focus or variables (e.g. topics, methods, race, gender); and the methodological features, like sample size, sampling approach and the type of data analysis (quantitative content analysis, thematic content analysis, discourse analysis). Sampling techniques varied to include the purposive sampling of articles, abstracts or titles, based on key word searches, domains of psychology; the identification of discourses; temporal limits (year of publication) and/or sampling by journal selection. Datasets used range from a small number of texts for qualitative studies, to larger quantitative datasets, as well as mixed samples for mixed method

FIGURE 1 Summary of Review Approach & Process

Research Question:
What is the focus and scope of empirical studies on knowledge production in South Africa?

1) Psychology in Society

2) South African Journal of Psychology

3) Empirical Articles (16)

PhD Theses:
Duncan (1993)
Seedat (1993)
Macleod (1999)
Long (2013)

4) Book Chapters (6)

5) Review of Literature Corpus (22)

6) Data collected during Apartheid (15)

7) Data collected post-Apartheid (7)

Tabulation of each study (focus and method) (Table 1)

Tabulation of each study (focus and method) (Table 2)

Narrative synthesis of key findings

Narrative synthesis of key findings

approaches.

Tables 1 and 2 also highlight that this body of research has in large part been qualitative, and analysed using thematic content analysis and discourse analysis. Even studies that have reported their data as frequencies, instead

TABLE 1 Published Studies of Knowledge Production in South African Psychology (Under Apartheid)

Author(s)	Name of Journals/Documents	Years (n)	Focus	Method
Duncan (2001)	Journal of Behavioural Science, Journal of Industrial Psychology, Journal of the NIPR, NIPR Bulletin, Perspectives in Industrial Psychology, PIRSA Monographs, Psigoflitse, Psigorama, Psigosoma, Psyche, Psychologia Africana, PINS, Psychotherapeia, Psygram, Sielkundige Studies SAJP, South African Journal of Psychology & Education, South African Journal of Science, South African Psychologist, South African Psychological Review, University of Zululand Journal of Psychology, Unisa Psychologia	1866-1988 (120)	*Race & racism* • Topics on race • Constructions of race • Manifestations of racism	Content analysis of selected race topics, with reported frequencies. Discursive analysis of constructions of race in 48 articles using Thompson's (1990) discourse analysis.
Durrheim & Mokeki (1997)	SAJP	1970-1995 (25)	*Race & racism* • Topics on race • Constructions of race • Manifestations of racism	Content analysed 478 articles for topics, research design and racial focus. Presented frequencies and Chi-Square analyses.
Macleod (2001)	Nursing RSA, South African Medical Journal, Salus, Outlook, Social Science & Medicine, International Journal of Adolescence & Youth, SAJP, South African Journal of Sociology	1970-1997 (27)	*Teenage pregnancy & mothering* • Constructions of teenage pregnancy • Discourses regulating mothering	Discourse analysed 77 articles (drawing on Derrida, Parker, Foucault, Rose and Fairclough). Presented 20 extracts of discourses that regulate mothering.
Macleod & Durrheim (2002)	Nursing RSA, South African Medical Journal, Salus, Outlook, Social Science & Medicine, International Journal of Adolescence & Youth, SAJP, South African Journal of Sociology	1970-1997 (27)	*Teenage pregnancy & race* • Race of authors and participants in articles on teenage pregnancy • Racialised discourses	Presented a discourse analysis (drawing on Derrida, Foucault, Parker, Fairclough) of 16 texts to illustrate the racialisation of teenage pregnancy by both black and white authors.

Author(s)	Name of Journals/Documents	Years (n)	Focus	Method
Macleod (2003b)	Nursing RSA, South African Medical Journal, Salus, Outlook, Social Science & Medicine, International Journal of Adolescence & Youth, SAJP, South African Journal of Sociology	1970-1997 (27)	*Teenage pregnancy and adolescence* • Deconstruction of teenage sexuality and pregnancy • Deconstruction of adolescence	Discourse analysis of text/body of 77 articles to illustrate shifts in the construction of notions of adolescence and the function this serves.
Macleod (2003a)	Nursing RSA, South African Medical Journal, Salus, Outlook, Social Science & Medicine, International Journal of Adolescence & Youth, SAJP, South African Journal of Sociology	1970-1997 (27)	*Teenage pregnancy and adolescence* • Topics related to teenage pregnancy • Changes over time	Discourse analysis of text/body of 77 articles to illustrate shifts in the constructions of teenage pregnancy as a social problem.
Mauer et al. (1991)	PSYCInfo Abstracts	1985-1990 (5)	Topic • Variation in topic	Coded topics of 1009 abstracts, presents percentages of topics overall and by article type.
Seedat (1990)	SAJP, PINS	1983-1988 (5)	*Authorship, topic, race and gender* • Field of Psychology • Race & gender of authors	Comparative content analysis of 153 articles by journal. Percentages of topics for both journals and some authorship gender/race observations.
Seedat (1998)	SAJP. PINS, Humanitas, Psychologia Africana, Index of Psychological abstracts, Journal of Behavioural Science, Psygram	1948-1988 (40)	*Authorship, topic, race and gender* • Race & gender of authors • Author affiliation/collaboration • Article type, fields and topics	Selected 977 theoretical and empirical articles, but excluded all books reviews, short reports, conference proceedings and the like. Conducted a content analysis, as reported results in frequencies and percentages.

Author(s)	Name of Journals/Documents	Years (n)	Focus	Method
Seedat (2001a)	SAJP, PINS, Humanitas, Psychologia Africana, Index of Psychological abstracts, Journal of Behavioural Science, Psygram	1948-1988 (40)	Authorship, race and gender • Race & gender of participants • Author race, gender, affiliation • Article type, setting & language	Quantitative content analysis of 970 articles with frequencies. Coding of article type and finer coding of empirical articles
Seedat (2001b)	SAJP. PINS, Humanitas, Psychologia Africana, Index of Psychological abstracts, Journal of Behavioural Science, Psygram	1948-1988 (40)	*Authorship, race & gender* • Race & gender of participants • Author race, gender, affiliation • Article type, setting & language	Quantitative content analysis of 970 articles with frequency comparisons between journals as a means to critically discuss ideological themes
Sher & Long (2015)	SAJP, PINS	1980-1994 (15)	*Conceptualisations of culture* • Discourses on indigenisation	Discourse analysed 48 articles by keywords on indigenisation synthesising conversation analysis and post-structuralist theory
Terre Blanche & Seedat (2001)	NIPR project reports	1946-1984 (42)	*Race & Gender* • Race of participants • Gender of participants	Content analysed frequencies of themes and discourse analysed race and gender terminology
Visser & Van Staden (1990)	SAJP	1979-1988 (10)	*Method* • Research design & sampling • Samples (student, intra/cross-cultural) • Approach to knowledge building	Selected 149 articles and conducted a content analysis using pre-defined categories. Reported frequencies and percentages for each year.

Author(s)	Name of Journals/Documents	Years (n)	Focus	Method
Van Staden & Visser (1990)	SAJP	1979-1988 (10)	*Topic* • Article types & topics • Statistical techniques	Content analysed 230 articles for topics with frequencies and percentages. Compared with trends in US journals.

of as themes or discourses, have utilised a qualitative approach to the categorisation and classification of the textual data in its initial phases. While not all of these studies were informed by a critical paradigm, this review illustrates that the use of critical theory and analytic methods is a hallmark of the majority of these studies. The sections that follow outline their main findings in the apartheid and the post-apartheid periods.

4.2 | Knowledge Production in Psychology under Apartheid

The first empirical studies of knowledge production in South African psychology that were identified in this review emerged in the early 1990s, towards the end of apartheid. Van Staden and Visser (1990) and Visser and van Staden (1990) content analysed subject matter, article types and preferred methods in the SAJP. Van Staden and Visser (1990) highlighted the broad domains of psychology in the SAJP from 1979-1989, illustrating a predominant focus on *clinical/counselling psychology* (13.0%), *personality* (10.8%), and *developmental psychology* (11.7%). Most articles were *review/analysis* articles, and few were on *theory development*, which the authors attributed to a lack of interest in or capacity in this regard (Van Staden & Visser, 1990). The authors noted a lack of advanced statistical analyses, speculating that this may signal skills deficits, or a paradigm shift (Van Staden & Visser, 1990). Visser and Van Staden (1990) reported on the *type of study, population characteristics, sample selection, sample composition*, and *knowledge building approach*. Sample composition comprised racial classification of *intra-cultural* (within race groups) and *cross-cultural* (between race groups) trends. Findings revealed that cross-cultural (cross-racial) research was minimal (17.4%), and most within-group comparisons used white samples (Visser & van Staden, 1990). Correlational designs were common (45.3%), and most studies used *extending findings* as a knowledge-building approach (57.2%) (Visser & Van Staden, 1990). Van Staden and Visser (1990) and Visser and van Staden (1990) reflected on similarities with the dominant global features of psychology, but also noted some important differences, such as a focus on race. Whilst van Staden and Visser (1990) and Visser and Van Staden (1990) provide significant thematic characterisations of psychology, they were critiqued for their narrow focus and intent (Seedat, 1998). Seedat (1998) argued that their interpretations of the data neglected "how colonial praxis and the legacy of apartheid knowledge production preferred, encouraged and enabled certain kinds of research over others" (Seedat, 1998, p. 75) and colluded with the silence around psychology's immersion in apartheid ideology.

Mauer et al. (1991) investigated general domains of psychology in journal articles, dissertations and research reports, but found that a focus on *social issues and processes, applied psychology* and *general psychology* were most common, and were consistent foci across these knowledge fora. Mauer et al. (1991) used their findings to motivate for a more relevant psychology in South Africa by arguing that much of the research neglected the socio-political issues facing the country. Whilst acknowledging the disjuncture between psychology and the socio-political context, this

TABLE 2 Studies of Knowledge Production in South African Psychology (Post-Apartheid)

Author(s)	Name of Journals/Documents	Years (n)	Focus	Method
Duncan et al. (2004)	SAJP	1994-2003 (10)	*Race and authorship* • Author race, gender, affiliation • Race of authors over time • Sole/collective authorship and order	Selected 692 authors from published articles, and classified the authors' race, and race by gender. Results reported as frequencies.
Kiguwa & Langa (2011)	SAJP, PINS	1994-2009 (15)	*Gender in topic choices* • Gender & HIV • Gender & violence • Masculinity studies	Content analysed 95 articles in SAJP and 42 in PINS, with frequencies and thematic commentary for gender topics
Macleod (2004)	SAJP & PsycInfo abstracts	1999-2003 (5)	*Topic, theory, method, authorship* • Article type, topic, theory • Participant age, race, gender, setting • Author affiliation & collaboration	Content analysed 432 abstracts and 147 articles with thematic commentary
Macleod & Howell (2013)	SAJP & PsycInfo abstracts	2007-2012 (6)	*Topic, theory, method, authorship* • Article type, topic, theory • Participant age, race, gender, setting • Author affiliation & collaboration	Content analysed 243 articles for trends in topics, theories, and authorship with frequencies and percentages

Author(s)	Name of Journals/Documents	Years (n)	Focus	Method
Seedat et al. (2004)	SAJP, PINS	1994-2003 (10)	*Authorship, topic, method* • Article type and topics • Author race, gender, affiliation • Sole/collective authorship • Participant race, gender, age, setting	Content analysed 47 articles and reported frequencies and broad thematic areas related to content.
Shefer et al. (2004)	SAJP	1994-2003 (10)	*Gender and authorship* • Gender, race of authors • Changes in gender/race over time	Presents gender and gender by race frequencies for 663 authors.
Stevens (2001)	SAJP	1990-2000 (10)	*Race and racism* • Topics on race • Research methods	Qualitative thematic and discursive analysis of 100 abstracts using Thompson's (1990) approach.

study did not explicitly link psychosocial problems to apartheid, and thus presented a more pragmatic than politicised analysis of the relevance debates.

Seedat (1990) compared the SAJP and PINS over a five-year period in the 1980s, exploring silenced topics in psychology, and the exclusion of black and women authors in knowledge production. This study showed a clear political agenda locating knowledge production within the apartheid system. This analysis preceded Seedat's (1993) doctorate on knowledge production in psychology journals under apartheid, which was published in several articles and book chapters. Seedat (1998) reported on the authorship, language, article type, participants, and topics, and highlighted the exclusionary ideology of published work from 1948-1988. He found that most authors were affiliated to *university settings* (62%), *white* (75.0%) and *male* (65.5%). Most articles were *empirical* (62.4%), *single authored* (75.2%) and written in *English* (82.8%). Most empirical articles used *white* participants (58.7%), and mixed gender samples (56.9%). The most well represented fields of psychology were *psychometrics* (28.4%), *industrial psychology*

(24.1%), *developmental psychology* (14.3%), *general psychology* (13.7%) and *educational psychology* (12.9%), which constituted 93.4% of the total. Only 2.2% (n = 22) of empirical articles were community psychology focussed, including the topics of skills training, alternative community services, prevention programmes, theory and methodology, and international community health services (Seedat, 1998). Seedat (1998) argued that the ideological biases of psychology journals were reflected in their research agendas and participants, and concluded that psychology had neglected the experiences of women and people of colour. Seedat (1998, p.74) maintained that knowledge production signalled that psychology was "an extension of the colonial and western ethnoscientific enterprise".

Appearing similarly in the late 1990s, Durrheim and Mokeki (1997) content analysed articles on race and racism in the SAJP from 1970-1995, as a means of uncovering psychology's complicity in maintaining apartheid ideology. They found that 31.7% of the articles dealt with racial themes, distinguishing between articles that addressed race explicitly and politically versus those that dealt with race in a scientific or neutral manner. Approximately half of the articles could be grouped in each category, but the proportion of *scientific* approaches to race declined over time, whilst *political* articles increased. Political articles about race were mostly evident in *educational* and *social* psychology, and least in *clinical* and *industrial* psychology. Political articles were more likely to be *theoretical* or use *qualitative* methods, whilst *scientific* papers opted for *quantitative* methods. Similarly to Seedat (1990, 1998), Durrheim and Mokeki (1997) argued that psychology had not been immune to apartheid ideology, and was likewise affected by shifts in this ideology over time.

A few years later, an edited volume titled *Race, Racism and Knowledge Production in South Africa* (Duncan, van Niekerk, De la Rey, & Seedat, 2001) consolidated a number of studies in knowledge production under apartheid. In this book, Duncan (2001), Seedat (2001b; 2001a), and Terre Blanche and Seedat (2001), each empirically addressed racism in knowledge production, using different data sources and methods. Seedat (2001a) reported on authorship, topics, participants and methodologies in published work. Marginal increases in *female* and *black* authors over the 40-year period were found (4% and 0.3%, respectively). Authors at universities increased dramatically from 4.8% to 84.2% over this time, with an decline in authors from government departments, hospitals, private practice, research institutes and the business/industrial sector. There was also a 16.1% increase in articles authored in Afrikaans. *Descriptive* and *review* articles decreased by 8.6% and 5.6% each, but *empirical* and *theoretical* articles both increased, by 4.9% and 8.7% respectively. The focus on *white* participants increased in published work under apartheid from 53.8% to 61.5%, whilst the use of *male* participants declined from 75.7% to 17.3%. Participants were increasingly drawn from *universities*, *colleges*, *secondary schools* and *primary schools*, whilst research in *hospitals*, *health centres* and *industry* declined.

Seedat (2001b) compared these variables in the same journals to highlight representations of race and gender, though the overriding emphasis of his analysis is on race and racism. Seedat (2001b) found that the *South African Psychologist* and *Psygram* "tended to regard blacks as invisible or marginal beings whose psychosocial life did not warrant academic inquiry", and "unashamedly excluded blacks as beneficiaries and producers of knowledge" (Seedat, 2001b, p. 119). Seedat (2001b) argued that *Psychologia Africana*, the SAJP, *Psygram* and the *Journal of Behavioural Science* showed a less explicit but more insidious form of racism that unreflectively aimed to 'civilise', 'domesticate' and 'acculturate' the African psyche according to Western ideals. Humanitas displayed a nationalist character and embodied the apartheid state agenda of using science to uphold its policies. Finally, this study highlighted that PINS and to a lesser degree, the SAJP (in the 1980s), showed an anti-apartheid activist stance. Thus, the study illustrated that some knowledge in academic journals was overtly aligned with apartheid ideology, some that contained more subtle forms of racism, and some that resisted the socio-political status quo.

Drawing on Duncan's (1993) doctorate, Duncan (2001) analysed articles from the 1900s to 1988 that focused on racism and related themes. Duncan (2001) highlighted categories related to *apartheid and its consequences;*

discrimination and its responses to discrimination; *prejudiced attitudes*; *race relations*; and *race differences*. He discursively analysed representations of black people in pre-apartheid and apartheid years. Salient discourses emerged of black people as *victims*, *inferior*, *culturally different*, *racially divided/fragmented* and *alien*. Duncan (2001) argued that these discourses revealed the influential role of academics in reproducing racist ideologies.

Terre Blanche and Seedat (2001) also investigated race and racism, but focused on industrial psychology. This study looked at National Institute for Personnel Research project titles for words used to frame the work as being scientific, words used to frame industrial research, words used to refer to individual psychological differences and terms used to describe racial groups. Terre Blanche and Seedat (2001) identified racial discourses related to black people as containing essentialist ideas, using functionalist terms, making reference to placement in the industrial economy, and reflecting ideas about race and occupational level. Discourses around whites included the threat of mixing class and race, lack of understanding or essentialising the inner life of whites, defining racism as a mental aberration and maintaining an apolitical stance (Terre Blanche & Seedat, 2001). Terre Blanche and Seedat (2001) concluded that the discourses demonstrated the contribution of industry to maintaining racist ideology. Whilst gender was also a focus of this study, gendered discourses did not emerge prominently.

Sher and Long (2015) examined discourses on culture and indigenisation in selected publications in the SAJP (1980-1994) and PINS (1983-1994). This study found its impetus from the doctoral work by Long (2013a). Sher and Long (2015) selected articles pertinent to indigenization debates by using a keyword search for terms such as 'relevance' or 'culture' or terms denoting locality and extra-locality, or knowledge-travel and adaptation. The analysis synthesised conversation analysis and post-structuralist discourse analysis. Sher and Long (2015) found that psychology underwent a sustained period of introspection and theoretical transformation in the years leading up the end of apartheid, with increasing calls for "social relevance". They identified three main culture-related discourses that represent strategies for dealing with cultural difference. Discourses of *cultural relativism* conceptualized "culture" as primordial/essentialist, or viewed culture as real/natural, and supported relativism within psychology. Discourses of *cultural constructivism* viewed culture as a resource or as artificial and constructed, and served to oppose essentialism. Discourses of *cultural pluralism* viewed culture as a dilemma, and as paradoxical. Sher and Long (2015) argue that cultural discourses are problematically decontextualized and apolitical, and noted similar discourses in both psychology and politics. These authors advocate for further study of cultural discourses in post-apartheid psychology.

Macleod's (1999) doctorate generated a line of empirical work on teenage pregnancy as a topic in South African grey and published literature from 1970-1997, including intersections of age, race and gender. This analysis mainly considers knowledge production under apartheid ending in the transitional period. Publications stemming from this work included constructions of mothering underlying teenage pregnancy (Macleod, 2001); the racialisation of teenage pregnancy (Macleod & Durrheim, 2002); constructions of adolescence as a transitional phase and its collapse around teenage pregnancy (Macleod, 2003b); and the emergence of teenage pregnancy as a social problem, tracing permutations that preceded the existence of this topic (Macleod, 2003b). This body of work collectively examined the challenge that teenage pregnancy presents to society in terms of disrupting the status quo in society and how prevailing discourses attempt to manage this threat. While Macleod's (1999) study focused on teenage pregnancy, similar trends related to constructions of gender and processes of racialisation emerge, indicating the situatedness of knowledge within conditions of structural inequality. The studies by Duncan (1993, 2001), Macleod (1999, 2001, 2003b, 2003a) and Macleod and Durrheim (2002), and Sher and Long (2015) are exemplars of an exclusively discursive approach to the post-apartheid analysis of literature published under apartheid.

4.3 | Knowledge Production in Psychology After Apartheid

In the democratic transition, race and racism continued to dominate the focus of empirical knowledge production studies. Gender also appeared, but to a lesser extent. Stevens (2003)'s discourse analysis of race and racism in the SAJP from 1990-2000 found that articles focused on *race, racism and the South African transition*, but racial categories were primarily explored uncritically using traditional social psychology. Articles reflected a preoccupation with *psychometrics* and culture bias, along with explorations of the '*black experience*', *comparative studies* of blacks and whites, and *emergent identities*. Stevens (2003) also reported *critical evaluations of psychology's history and relevance* of a more liberatory nature. Stevens (2003) found that race-related studies retained existing racialised understandings of self and other, but noted shifts in the range of methodological approaches, including experimental social psychology, critical historical and materialistic approaches, and critical modernist and postmodernist perspectives, due to socio-political shifts.

Studies of knowledge production in post-apartheid South Africa resurfaced in a 2004 SAJP special issue on *Psychology in Post-apartheid South Africa*, in which Duncan, van Niekerk and Townsend (2004), Macleod (2004), Seedat et al. (2004), and Shefer et al. (2004) collectively analysed article features, including race, gender, general topics and theories, as well as community psychology trends. Duncan et al. (2004) and Shefer et al. (2004) examined the SAJP in the period of 1994-2003. In terms of race, institutional affiliation and gender in authorship, they found that a majority were white scholars (78%), but black scholars had increased three-fold since the early 1990s, due to an increase in black psychologists in professional training (Duncan et al., 2004). However, the proportion of black female authors remained poorly represented at 7.6%. Shefer et al. (2004) reiterated that women were under-represented - less than 50% of authors in the SAJP, despite the feminisation of psychology in South Africa. However, black women authors were particularly scarce, with a substantial gap between white and black women authors (Shefer et al., 2004).

Macleod's (2004) analysis of the SAJP from 1999-2003 found that traditional topics of assessment, psychotherapy, counselling and psychopathology, as well as hard science methodologies, persisted in published work. Macleod (2004) also showed that knowledge is produced about the urban middle-class in the country's more affluent provinces, by academics from historically white institutions. Macleod (2004) noted there was little research on intersections between the individual and socio-political context, adding to debates about the relevance of psychology for the country's populace.

Seedat et al. (2004) content analysed community psychology articles in the SAJP and PINS from 1994-2003, reporting on authorship, article type, participants and topics. Most articles were single authored (63.9%), authored by men (52.6%), and affiliated to historically white institutions. Most articles were empirical (38.8%) and theoretical (31.9%). In the 18 empirical articles, adult samples dominated, while studies on children being least common (Seedat et al., 2004). Most studies used mixed gender samples. Most studies focussed on black participants, followed by mixed white and black samples, with only one study of white-only participants (Seedat et al., 2004). The topics of community psychology literature reflected responses to the 'crisis of relevance' in psychology, which surfaced in the 1980s. Topics included the *relevance, appropriateness and scope of psychology* (46.8%), *mental health policy and services* (34%), *specific mental health and psychosocial issues* (34%) (e.g. HIV/AIDS, violence, sexually transmitted diseases, political violence, suicide and psychopathology), *gender specific issues* (6.4%), and *'race' specific issues* (4.3%). While several authors had attempted to foreground gender and race, these foci remained neglected, both in authorship and content trends. Issues raised in community psychology articles included training deficits, the role of psychologists, the need for preventative, empowering and collaborative interventions with marginalised groups, valuing community strengths and competencies, and advocating for inclusive forms of knowledge production (Seedat et al., 2004).

Only a few empirical studies have included recent data. Macleod and Howell (2013)'s comparative analysis

of trends in Macleod (2004) examined in 243 articles from 2007-2012 in the SAJP and PsycInfo abstracts. The study revealed a decline in quantitative articles in the SAJP from 44.9% to 30.0%, with an increase in qualitative research from 7.9% to 23.4% (Macleod & Howell, 2013). Topics focussed on assessment and psychopathology, with few articles on social issues. Authorship continued to stem from the major cities, focus on middle-class populations, and there was reduced collaboration between South Africans and authors from Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Middle East (Macleod & Howell, 2013).

Kiguwa and Langa (2011) examined gender-related articles in the SAJP and PINS from 1994-2009 (n = 45) and found that 16.6% of articles were gender-focussed, with gender mainly associated with HIV/AIDS, violence and masculinity. However, the SAJP articles studied HIV/AIDS from a biomedical and individual-behavioural approach, whereas PINS approached HIV/AIDS from a social psychology perspective. Topics related to gender-based violence in the SAJP centred on general perceptions, experiences and narratives of gender-based violence, whereas PINS dealt more with ideological and social aspects. Kiguwa and Langa (2011) noted the growth of gender-related studies and increasing collaboration between feminist and masculinity researchers.

5 | SYNOPSIS OF THEMES & AREAS FOR FUTURE INQUIRY

Psychology in South Africa has traditionally been dominated by scientific, industrial and clinical-developmental foci, with little attention to socio-political issues, especially under apartheid, but even within the post-apartheid period. Examining choices in theory, method, topics, and groups of focus, as well as authorship features, are all relevant areas that enhance a critical understanding of psychology and enhance its reflexivity. A significant contribution of these studies, particularly those with a critical psychology orientation, has thus been to expose these ideological tensions, as well as highlight knowledge gaps. Ongoing analysis of scholarly work in psychology is necessary to elaborate on the interface between knowledge production, psychology, and society. The discussion here identifies salient issues from these studies and provides some direction for further critical investigation of published work.

5.1 | Universalist & Particularist Traditions

The first studies of psychological knowledge production in South Africa focused on the content and methods of published work. Seedat (1998) refers to these as *universalist* studies. The studies by van Staden and Visser (1990), Visser and van Staden (1990), and to a lesser extent, Mauer et al. (1991) are grouped by Seedat (1990, 1998) within the universalist tradition. Studies then progressed to focus on group representation and the embeddedness of psychology within the socio-political structures of the country, and then to noting both continuities and discontinuities with apartheid ideology in the post-apartheid period. According to Seedat (1998), these studies constitute a *particularist* perspective. Areas of critique and contention among proponents of this work have emerged in the political positioning of articles relative to their activist orientation or their silence around apartheid ideology. General trends mirror those of psychology elsewhere – the marginalisation of groups in society is mirrored by their marginalisation in published work.

Theoretical and methodological choices in psychology have come under scrutiny in existing empirical research, but to a lesser extent. Understanding the relationship between methodological and theoretical choices and forms of social exclusion remains a critical area for further study. The existing studies of knowledge production in South Africa reveal interesting theoretical and methodological trends. Content analysis and discourse analysis are the preferred methods of studying published work. Earlier South African studies typically analysed longer time periods,

owing to smaller proportions of publications. Much of the work has emerged from critically oriented doctoral studies (see Duncan, 1993; Long, 2013b; Macleod, 1999; Seedat, 1993) thereby enhancing its theoretical depth. Seedat (1990, 1993, 1998, 2001b, 2001a) locates knowledge production within a colonial pattern of domination and oppression, drawing from Franz Fanon (1952, 1963) and Hussein Bulhan (1985). Duncan (1993, 2001) and Stevens (2003) also draw on Fanon and Bulhan, along with Teun van Dijk's (1992, 1993) work on racism and discourse, and locate their discursive analyses within Thompson's (1988, 1990) depth-hermeneutics framework. Macleod (2001; 2003b; 2003a) and Macleod and Durrheim (2002) contributed a different line of theoretical choice in knowledge production studies. Whilst also preferring a discursive analytic method, these studies drew on the work of Michel Foucault, Jacque Derrida, Ian Parker and Norman Fairclough. Sher and Long (2015) were also influenced by Fairclough, as well as Ernesto Laclau, Chantal Mouffe, Margaret Wetherell and Norman Potter. This attests to the strong critical psychology orientation in this collective body of work.

5.2 | Race, Gender & Other Social Asymmetries in Knowledge Production

Given South Africa's history of racial segregation and oppression, it is not surprising that the most dominant focus in critical knowledge production studies in post-apartheid South Africa centres on notions of race, racism and related asymmetries. Much of the focus on race has centred on inter-racial interaction, the 'relevance' of psychology to the country's black majority, and the discursive construction of race, in both apartheid and post-apartheid periods. Much of this work was penned by black psychologists who have played a pivotal role in mobilising the academic study of race, racialisation and black psychology in South Africa (Stevens, 2015). The dynamics and discourses around race, racism, and racialisation have had varied permutations in South Africa. The focus on race in critical studies in particular is vital due to the history of racial classification under apartheid, and its broader embeddedness in histories of colonialism. Ongoing studies of race in knowledge production are necessary, especially as racial divides remain deeply entrenched. Several psychological journal-based studies have dealt with issues of diversity and representivity in authorship and reflected the marginalisation of black (and particularly black female) authors (Shefer et al., 2004). Whilst gender has emerged as an important theme in several studies of published work, the study of gender has largely emerged as part of the study of race in the earlier studies but seems to have assumed greater prominence in recent years. The embeddedness of gender inequality in apartheid ideology, the complex discourses around gender, and intersections of gender, race, class and other forms of social asymmetry remain an important area that requires further investigation. It is also important to ask questions and think more deeply about why particular groups and social identities, such as gender, may become secondary considerations, or even silenced. Moreover, many forms of social marginalisation appear to be largely absent in studies of knowledge production in psychology and we also need to question why this is the case, and question persistent patterns of presence and absence. This requires scrutiny of the power relations and discourses evident in intersecting and complex permutations of psychological topics, methods and social identities.

Studies reviewed here reveal that race has largely been used as a proxy for class, but the emphasis on the inclusion and representation of the poor, working class and unemployed in psychological research remains largely unexplored. This underlines Macleod's (2004) observation that research in psychology is conducted by and on the white middle class. Here, we also need to be aware of the extent to which research is conducted *for* the (white) middle class, that is in support of neoliberal ideals, entrenched systems of privilege, continued colonial relations and intellectual interests, to the detriment of knowledge about the interests of the marginalised. In South Africa, this means its relevance to the majority black, poor and working-class populace, but also other categories of marginalisation that may not be a primary focus of socio-political redress. Bourdieu's ideas about the intellectual role and the tendency of academic disciplines reproduce their 'habitas' is instructive in this regard in cautioning those who occupy the intellectual

role against their own potential personal biases and those of their discipline (Bourdieu, 1988). However, following Bourdieu (2004) the critical empirical analysis of these tendencies by those within the field present a viable way of inducing reflexivity in a discipline, creating insight and deeper learning from the past, and shifting the 'habitas' or in-grained unconscious tendencies and dispositions that are transferred intergenerationally within academic disciplines. However, in line with Foucault (1982/1994), sustained critical work of this nature is required to promote meaningful and sustained challenges to entrenched power relations. Shifts towards Foucault's social ideal of reversable, unstable, non-entrenched power relations is signalled by an absence of domination (Hindess, 1998).

This article highlights that social exclusion related to sexual orientation, HIV status, migration, location, dis-ability and age are neglected in empirical studies of knowledge production in South African psychology. Potential areas of study may therefore include investigating the discourses of psychology, particularly discourses around race, gender, class, culture, and other forms of difference, inclusion and exclusion, privilege and marginalisation, coloniality and de-coloniality, and how these discourses function to resist change and are reproduced in different psychological fora and settings, such as in formal institutional settings, the context of higher education, professional training programmes, formal and informal exchanges, community work, and in published work itself. Within the realm of knowledge pro-duction, it may be useful to assess discourses across texts, and across local and international publications, in order to more closely assess the ways in which knowledge practices reflect global and local disciplinary tensions and social inequalities. This includes the examination of contemporary discourses related to forms of social exclusion as well as their intersections (such as race, gender, class, sexuality, disability, migration and HIV) that are evident in psychological research and their implications.

5.3 | Intra-Disciplinary Boundaries & Knowledge Networks

The empirical study of trends in knowledge production is found in disciplines outside psychology (e.g. Garwood, 1993; Stroud et al., 2017), in different domains of psychology (e.g, Zebian, Alamuddin, Maalouf, & Chatila., 2007) and in inter-disciplinary studies investigating disciplinary overlaps with psychology (e.g Davidson et al., 2006). In historically more critically oriented fields of psychology, such as community psychology, the study of published work is an established reflexive feature of the the discipline's success in meeting its initial goals, that has been used since the first journals were published (e.g. Lounsbury, Leader & Meares, 1980; Novaco & Monahan, 1980). This tradition has undoubtedly informed reflexive knowledge practices among South African critical psychologists, many of whom were strongly affil-iated with a community psychology orientation as a form of activism and resistance under apartheid (Stevens, 2007). Thus, it is also a form of scholarship that has consolidated collaborative networks in critical psychology, across the country, evidenced by its collective appearance in special issues and edited volumes both in critical psychology, as well as in special issues that reflect more broadly on the current challenges in South Africa (e.g. Suffla & Seedat, 2004). Academic work of this nature in critical psychology has also been a hallmark of scholars who have exercised intellectual leadership both in psychology and critical psychology. Many of the authors appear in this review are af-filiated with local or international critical psychology journals, or have occupied positions in professional leadership structures, such as PsySSA. For Bourdieu, it is important for those in the academic class to occupy the position of 'pub-lic intellectual' to further social change and guard against the idiosyncratic interests of academics (Wacquant, 2006). Studies of trends in knowledge production may and have contributed through generating reflexive knowledge that can inform and shape broader changes in psychology. Future studies of knowledge production, including the study of the development and role of particular knowledge networks and enclaves, as well as an exploration of knowledge flow within and across contexts, sub-disciplines and disciplines, and different forms of citation analysis, may be instructive in tracking the trends in forms of knowledge and shaping work on knowledge production. This can illuminate shift-

ing and overlapping boundaries of sub-disciplines within psychology over time, as well as where these interface with other fields and disciplines, both locally and globally.

5.4 | Methodological Innovation in Studies of Knowledge Production

Table 1 and Table 2 illustrate the methodological variation in these studies. Ongoing attention should be given to the development and refinement of methods for studying knowledge production. These may include the exploration of different qualitative, quantitative and mixed method approaches to studying texts, exploring both the differences and possibilities of manually coded and data reduction and analysis software. Innovative mixed method approaches, such as concept mapping, may be useful to explore as a mechanism to further enhance the knowledge that can be gained from secondary analyses. Exploration of methodologies for examining the interface between knowledge uptake, citation analysis, and the use of particular writing styles, discourses, techniques and devices would also prove useful for researchers and yield insight into the subtle and hidden mechanisms of power operating in knowledge production. Technological advances in the analysis of big data on knowledge production trends presents further untapped opportunities for critical empirical analysis of knowledge. Methodological projects on knowledge production can potentially explore ways of ensuring the rigour of both qualitative and qualitative analyses of published work. Further consideration is needed of the ethics of research on knowledge production, and ethical concerns that are related to the use of secondary data, such as issues of public access, publication networks, copyright implications, social responsibility, authorship and anonymity, self-citation, and public interest and collegiality. Consideration of the methodological limitations of using secondary data would also be useful, as well as ethical ways of dealing with missing author characteristics (e.g. race or gender) or methodological information, especially in the information age where public access to personal information is often easily accessible.

5.5 | Knowledge Production in the Global Publication Landscape

The expansion of the selection of journals is a significant area for the expansion of empirical studies of knowledge production, as well as the comparative study of local and international journals within psychology. Amidst a mushrooming global knowledge-based economy and information age, and the rise of neo-liberal market pressures driving publication agendas in academia, remaining vigilant about trends in knowledge production is as pressing as ever. South African researchers are increasingly being encouraged to publish in international journals, and as a result, it may become more difficult to track publication trends in South African research, by exclusively investigating local journals. However, the insertion of South African research into a global arena also presents different opportunities for research on knowledge production and underscores its importance in a global discursive forum. Bourdieu (1988) suggests that the study of science immediately imposes its own limits in its conceptualisation of the social world, but that reflexive empirical study is one way to counteract this. Comparative empirical studies are a particularly illuminating way of uncovering these tensions. For example, comparative studies of South Africa and other countries in areas such as race, class, gender and other forms of social asymmetry are needed. The socially constructed nature of categories of social exclusion, such as race, can be especially highlighted through comparative analyses in different contexts. The insertion of knowledge making into a global knowledge-based economy may suggest that greater attention is needed to understand the reporting and implications of editorial, publication and research funding, and how these signify the institutional merging of science and industry. Palmary and Barnes (2015), highlight the problem of increased managerialism in universities, as well as structural mechanisms and constraints on the production of critical psychology in Africa. Understanding the corporate-academic bonds that are shaping psychology, including funding arrangements, national

and international institutional linkages are important for understanding the global forces that influence knowledge production (Long, 2013b). This would include the analysis of citation trends, and the impact of particular authors and publications.

6 | CONCLUSION

Attention to the concepts of power/knowledge and disciplinary reflexivity provide us with theoretical tools to recognise the significance of examining trends in empirical studies within psychology. Critical psychologists in South Africa have made a considerable contribution to foregrounding ideological basis of published work in South African psychology, and transferring these insights into collective debate, professional fora, leadership structures, and higher education discourse. Following Bourdieu's (1989) notion of symbolic power, it may be argued that knowledge accumulated through the empirical study of published work in psychology may be viewed as a form of cultural capital that can contribute to a reflexive disciplinary knowledge base. For Foucault (1986), each discipline also has its dominant concepts, as well as the ways in which these concepts may be resisted. Empirical studies of published work can assist in identifying these concepts and how they can be resisted. Foucault (1986) also signals the importance of understanding how disciplines attempt to resolve their own conceptual inconsistencies and discontinuities. Bourdieu (2004) alerts us to how power relations are perpetuated symbolically and intergenerationally through knowledge, but this same knowledge can stimulate reflexive disciplinary inquiry into its internal logic. We should be cognisant of knowledge trends, forms of symbolic power, and shifts in discursive formations. Here it is also useful to track the development and popularity of concepts and discourses over time and their cross-disciplinary migration and appropriation.

This article highlights the historical contribution of empirical studies in knowledge production and argues that these studies have created greater disciplinary reflexivity through highlighting broader collective trends in psychology at a distinct period of time. While not the exclusive domain of critical psychology, this paper foregrounds the distinct role of critical psychologists in post-apartheid South Africa in developing and deepening this body of work. Following Bourdieu (2004), the analysis of this corpus of empirical studies underlines the value of empirical research to highlighting how all psychologists should engage more with the theoretical, methodological and content choices of knowledge they endorse. Amidst the current global trends and tensions in knowledge production, psychologists in South Africa should resist the commodification of knowledge into forms that reproduce acontextual, apolitical understandings of people; and continue to develop our critical, social, and reflexive disciplinary base so that we can better account for how social-political structures and histories shape psychologies; open up more critique about the ideological basis of psychology; and maintain fidelity to a transformative social project through the inclusion of diverse areas of empirical and conceptual innovation, topics that are aligned to psychosocial and health priorities, and support for critically oriented theories and methodologies.

Psychologists within the academy need to recognise the deeper social imperatives of published work as well as the importance of their own positioning and knowledge practices in society, and how they are nested within power relations that are enacted and recapitulated over generations. Critical psychologists have a crucial role in contributing to intellectual and research leadership in South African psychology. However, we should also be mindful of mainstream appropriation of critical concepts. We need to remain reflexive and attuned to knowledge trends within psychology on an ongoing basis, in order to promote greater disciplinary reflexivity and insight about the research we produce as a collective, and be more alert to the underlying socio-economic, historical and ideological reasons for neglected topics, methods, theories and groups.

acknowledgements

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