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SOCIAL ENGINEERING:

A DISCOURSE IN APPLIED SOCIAL SCIENCE

by

JOHN POCOCK

**A study submitted in fulfilment of the requirements
for the Degree of Master of Social Science**

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1979

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P A R T O N E

We can no longer afford, in any science, to focus exclusively on one region and to leave the rest of the universe out of account until we complete our investigations. We never actually 'complete' our investigations, the nature of science being a continuous process of inquiry. Completeness is an illusion; and if, in any science, we forever keep the rest of the universe out of account, we will never be in a position to consider the whole.

John Spiegel

The heat of heavenly bodies and the heat of the fire seem to be very heterogeneous; so do the fixed red of the rose or the like and the apparent red in the rainbow ...; so again do the different kinds of death, by drowning, by hanging, by stabbing, by apoplexy, by atrophy; and yet they agree severally in the nature of heat, redness and death.

If anyone concur that my Forms (Laws) are of a somewhat abstract nature because they mix and combine things heterogeneous ... he may be assured that he is held in captivity by custom, by the gross appearance of things, and by men's opinions. For it is most certain that these things, however heterogeneous and alien from each other, agree in the Form or Law which governs heat, redness and death; and that the power of man cannot possibly be emancipated and freed from the common cause of nature, and expanded and exalted to new efficiencies and new modes of operation, except by the revelation and discovery of forms of this kind.

Francis Bacon

CHAPTER 1

METHODOLOGY

CHAPTER 1

METHODOLOGY

The following is a general overview of methodology. For a detailed examination in this area see Appendix III. The methodology of this work is based upon a modified Versteen principle. The present writer gathered 'evidence'¹ and gave it form until it became clear where that evidence led. The evidence was then formalised until it resulted in cogent patterns. The patterns were expanded until they achieved solidity, at which point attempts were made to destroy them by bombarding them with data. To the writer's gratification, they did not collapse under the onslaught. Rather they gained in weight and explanatory power. The patterns were then pruned so as to leave nothing but their fundamental essence. Illustrative modes were then selected on the basis explained in the overview chapter in order to give the patterns substance and the patterns were grounded in terms of and by means of example. The result is the present work.

The writer is indebted to Barney Glasser and Anselm L. Strauss² who dissolve a sociologist's nightmare³ by reconciling a sociologist's dilemma.⁴ They also explain very eloquently the methodology of this work.

And he (Merton)⁵ is so wedded to the quantitative method that he fails to consider that one should use the most appropriate method, whether qualitative or quantitative, to obtain data necessary to the task. As we have pointed out, qualitative research is often the best way -- and often the only way -- to get data on a subject. Furthermore, it is hard to believe that one could catch with panel analysis any developing, ongoing social process with many stages. A panel analysis becomes cumbersome after four waves,⁶ even if the quantitative data can be obtained (most often it cannot).

They go on to say that Merton in attempting to finally devalue qualitative research informs a large proportion of his colleagues that are not really sociologists at all. They claim that Merton attempts to enforce his methodological position by denying his colleagues their professional identities by stating that:

For, in the end the difference between plausible ideas and the systematic empirical investigation of those ideas represents a central difference between the literary observer of the human condition and the sociologist.

They cannot think this is an unacceptable dismissal serving only to comfort those who are methodologically entrenched while ignoring the important problems concerning qualitative research that they raise in their book. They ask two questions, firstly how can one systematise qualitative research, and secondly how can one systematically relate qualitative and quantitative research so as to obtain the best from both methods for generating what they call "grounded theory"?

They hold that these are problems for which sociologists have been attempting to find solutions for many years, and that there are a number of possible modes of solution which will depend upon the conditions and purposes of the specific research project to be undertaken; they say that Merton's attempt to define sociological research in such a way as to exclude qualitative research is not a constructive solution.

They go on to say:

In implying that theory can usefully be generated through speculation or reformulation of others' speculations, Merton opposes our position that a theory should fit and work, that is, be relevant to the area it purports to explain. In Merton's view, speculative theory can be assumed to have fit and relevance until this is disproved -- therefore it should be tested with quantitative data, this reasoning necessarily leads to the position that data should fit the theory⁷ in contrast to our position that the theory should fit the data.

They isolate five kinds of licence (to preserve speculative theory in the face of contrary evidence or lack of evidence to fit the theory) that result from the adoption of Merton's stance. Firstly, it can result in data being forced to fit the theory, for example indices may be constructed which interpret basic preserves in a way that deforms their original intention which can result in tests abandoning the reality of data.

Secondly, since data often cannot be fitted to theory, the theory is seldom threatened because if

clearly qualifying data cannot be found it is not the fault of the theory. Thirdly, when data are brought to bear on the theory they can be considered to be merely empirical approximations to the requirements of the theory which, because of the nature of the case, are indecisive. So the only available tests can easily be discounted and here again theory is not threatened. Fourthly, speculative theory by its nature has many variables and continuously generates more while quantitative research because of its restricted nature can only test a fragment of such theory, even where the data fits, which means that the theorist can occasionally admit a slight modification of his theory with immunity. This approach further indicates the importance of the theory by demonstrating that others are working on it.⁸ Fifthly, it is assumed that testing determines the extent to which the theory "captured significant variables and processes that are actually involved in the phenomena under examination", which results in the relevancy of the theoretical categories and their explanatory powers being seldom questioned because appropriate tests are difficult to find.

Grounded theory allows no such licence to generate and preserve theory; it holds that "the simple fact that one cannot find the data for testing a speculative theory should be enough to disqualify its further use" because this fact is sufficient indication that the

theory does not fit the real world. They conclude:

Therefore, why should we continue to assume that it (speculative theory) should fit or have relevant and powerful explanatory variables? Why not take the data and develop from them a theory that fits and works, instead of wasting time and good men in attempting to fit a theory based on reified ideas of culture and social structure? Generating grounded theory is what most of us end up doing, even if we start out to fit an existing theory to our data. This is well indicated (even) by the sociologists who have commented on Merton's theory of anomie in the same volume with his presentation.

Glasser and Strauss's comments constitute fundamental common sense in dealing with the problem of the generation of theory.

Their suggestions for dealing with speculative theory demotes it from its virtually unassailable position to a position where it is accountable. The central thrust in this move to accountability is the concept that theory should no longer be permitted to exist if there are no criteria for checking its validity or, to use their terminology, if it cannot be "grounded".

There is only one point on which social researchers might take exception with their assertions and that is their belief as to the obviousness of the many alternative resolutions to the problems of specific methodologies to be adopted in social research which will depend upon the conditions and purposes of that research.⁹ This writer holds that it will probably be very far from obvious to future researchers as to the form this resolution will finally take in their work.¹⁰

NOTESto Chapter 1

1. i.e., wholistic intuitive understanding. The specific methodology adopted was that of 'keyword'. During the research stage keywords were annotated on cards. Subsequent references were used either to enlarge the card index system or were cross-referenced with already existent entries. In this way a series of key concepts were created which were further grouped until they constituted a comprehensive set of criteria. This set was then formalised utilising a temporal pattern.
2. Glasser, B. and P.A.L. Strauss: The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research. London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1968, pp. 260-262.
3. i.e., how to establish a qualitative analysis in quantitative terms.
4. e.g., to play safe by utilising a purely technical approach (techne) or to achieve a fundamental understanding of a phenomenon by utilising an epistemological approach (episteme), passim Plato's Republic.
5. All quotations in this extract are taken from an essay in methodology written by Merton and published in 1964 and quoted in Glasser and Strauss, op. cit., pp. 251-262.
6. The writer's underlining, not in the original.
7. This is a good example of 'drift' which is dealt with more fully in Chapters 7 and 8.
8. This is another example of blind obedience to a methodology which has been reified (abstracted) beyond the point at which it is useful. In fact here it has become restrictive.
9. Cohen, A.S.: Theories of Revolution. New York: Wiley, 1975, passim.
10. This problem can best be understood in terms of legitimating theory.

CHAPTER 2

OVERVIEW

CHAPTER 2

OVERVIEW

The first part of this work deals principally with the examples designed to illustrate the thesis. It presents an example of a physical engineering project followed by a social engineering project. The reader is introduced to some principles of physical engineering before being introduced to examples of social engineering¹ in the hope that the latter examples will thereby be clearer.

Four areas of social engineering are used. Each deals with a different size of target group. The mother/daughter (SE1) example deals with a single person target. The family therapy example (SE2) deals with a four-person target. The advertising example (SE3) was used primarily to demonstrate situations where a population sample is the target; however, in treating this interaction, it became necessary in the interests of clarity to describe the additional dimension of the advertiser's client (SE3A) as the ancillary target. The fourth example deals with a national, international, ethnic, or cultural population (SE4) as the target. The object of using this fourth example is to demonstrate

that activities can be undertaken against a target of any size, the only limiting criterion being the communication system available to reach the target.

Examples SE1 and SE2 deal with the processes in domestic situations while example SE3 illustrates activity in the business sector. SE3 illustrates that the process can be applied to a homogeneous target (delimited by cultural boundaries) which is scattered throughout a wider population; SE4 illustrates the process enacted on a heterogeneous population that is grouped within geographic boundaries, and deals with the political sphere.

The intention has been to show that the processes of social engineering have universal applicability.

The number of illustrative examples has been limited to four in the interests of simplicity and brevity. It would be possible to give many hundreds of examples but, while they might make interesting reading, they would not make the argument the more valid.

The work proper commences with a brief outline of one specific problem in the area of physical engineering which is formulated as a demand for additional office space.² This problem is perceived principally through the eyes of the architect responsible for solving the problem and largely within the boundaries of his

discipline. It is an account of a relatively familiar activity. The architect and his activities are a familiar feature of civilisation within which he has a long-standing history. His job has been systemised and delimited in terms of clearly defined responsibilities which he has a legal duty to fulfil on pain of negative sanction if he fails to do so.

The social engineer functions in a different environment. His³ activities often pass unrecognised. He has much freedom of action, is often accountable to no one, not even himself, and rarely finds himself held responsible for the results of his activities. The fewer the numbers in the target group, the more likely this becomes.

Thus it is not the case that either example of physical engineering used below can be made to fit any of the examples of social engineering on a point-for-point basis. Indeed, it would be futile and misleading to attempt to make such comparisons. What the work attempts to do is to draw overall pictures of individual processes and then to compare them in general outline. One can quite easily contrast the two areas; in fact, at the level of specifics it is easier to do this. However, in order to see the principles clearly it is necessary, as the work unfolds, to suspend judgment on specifics so as to remain sensitive to the abstract

elements. It is hoped that this strategy will ensure that the theme is clearly communicated.

This writer also believes that any attempts to simplify the principles or treat them out of context will result in greater confusion, not greater clarity.⁴

One major problem area is that of consciousness and open awareness.⁵ The physical engineer is concerned to make himself conscious of the techniques that he applies. He consciously formulates the problem and then he sets out to solve it; he makes himself aware of the difficulties that he will encounter and ideally draws on whatever expertise is available to help him overcome the obstacles to achieving a solution. In short, he admits that he is engaged in a manipulatory process.

However, this is not necessarily the situation with the social engineer who is often at pains to hide the true nature of his⁶ undertaking. This is so even where the activity is obviously beneficial to the target group. For example, in SE2 the family therapist intends to improve the family situation. Insofar as this stands, she can admit this to the family members. In fact, it may be useful for her to do so, as it may reassure the family as to the nature of the process that they will subsequently undergo, thereby raising the likelihood that they will co-operate with her more fully. Would this however be the case if she were to confide in them

that she would do anything (i.e. engage in any kind of activity) in order to 'get inside' the family? For whatever reason, albeit even for the best possible motive, such as to increase the probability that the family dysfunctioning will be reconciled more easily, it is more than likely that such an open admission of tactics would cause members of the family to become alarmed and might well result in their becoming less, not more, co-operative. To make this point more clearly, the reader is asked to imagine what might have happened in this family situation if the therapist had admitted that one of the problems she wanted to resolve was the (presumably unconsummated) sexual relationship between the father and the eldest daughter. One must concur with the therapist⁷ in that it would have been impossible to make such a disclosure for fear of having the therapist shut out of the family and of precipitating this family's subsequent withdrawal from the therapy situation.

So, even in a situation where both engineer and target group gain from the successful completion of the engineer's activities, it may be impossible for the engineer to be open as to his perceptions and intentions.

This is more so the case when the social engineer is engaging in an activity which will benefit him in inverse proportion to the harm it will do to the target group -- a zero sum situation.

Such a situation could be said to exist between mother and daughter in SE1. For the mother successfully to achieve and maintain the status quo that she desires, the daughter must lose her freedom. Such can also be said to be the case in SE3. If the purchasers of wine in such a case are made aware of the techniques that are used to persuade them to purchase the product, the likelihood is that the sales of the product, to them, would fall off.

The second part of the thesis is concerned with theory. It opens with a diagram of the critical path analysis of the social engineering model in abstract and is immediately followed, for the purpose of comparison, by a diagram of the critical path analysis of the creation of a dam. For interest's sake, the reader is here in passing referred to one procedure which is of particular interest in the construction of a dam, i.e. the technique of temporarily diverting the flow of water while the wall is being raised. As a principle in social engineering, this is particularly significant because its corollary of creating a 'smokescreen'⁸ in order to direct the target's attention from the true intention of an engineering process is a tactic which occurs frequently.

Chapter 8 in Part Two draws out abstract themes of the social engineering process. The language used in

the exposition is based upon military vocabularies. These have been used deliberately because the processes described are aggressive ones and the nature of the interaction is one of a power struggle. Thus the militaristic overtones given by this language are particularly appropriate.

The critical path model has been followed by a purely theoretical section on key issues which has been deliberately kept to an absolute minimum in order to escape from the tempting pitfall of abstracting the model in general terms. It may be fruitful to do so later but at this crucial point, just beyond halfway between example and explanation, it is more important to understand theory in action, and, in fact, this is the only way that theory can be competently understood. Therefore, the following chapters⁹ immediately examine the four examples of social engineering namely, SE1, SE2, SE3A/SE3, and SE4 against the framework of the critical path model.

This section is followed by Chapter 14 in Part Two, which is a discussion of the morality of social engineering,¹⁰ not because it is necessary to defend the rightness of the procedures of social engineering nor because it is necessary for the social scientist to defend the activity of formulating and formalising the laws pertaining to it, but because it is useful to examine the

moral and ethical considerations surrounding the subject matter. As is stated in this chapter, sociological research falls within the boundaries of scientific inquiry which is perfectly adequate as a justification for the inquiry. As is also stated in this chapter, a discussion of the moral rights and wrongs of the processes is largely irrelevant because social engineering is not something that can be understood only as an endeavour which might be undertaken at some unspecified future time, but rather as a phenomenon that is omnipresent in the world around us. If we do involve ourselves in moral discourse, it can only be to question the desirability of what is already happening.¹¹

This section, in keeping with the remainder of the thesis, is concerned with maintaining the inquiry at a level of basic concepts. It would be simple, and in many ways very much easier, to discuss social engineering in abstract terms, but very misleading to do so. The shortcomings of such a treatment are dealt with in Chapter 15 in Part Two.

The thesis ends with a definition and conclusion.

NOTESto Chapter 2

1. Shaping the human environment.
2. This is not intended to be an examination of any specific project nor is it intended to be an exhaustive examination. It is designed solely to illustrate the way in which one need might be finally met (through compromise) with a reasonable degree of success.
3. Or her.
4. Hence the extensive use of example in order to ground the theory. Glasser, B. and P.A.L. Strauss: The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research. London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1968, passim.
5. Watzlawick, Paul, J.H. Beavin, and D.D. Jackson: Pragmatics of Human Communication. London: Faber & Faber, 1975, p. 44.
6. Or her.
7. Who expressed the following fears in interview with the writer.
8. i.e., the camouflaging of real intentions.
9. i.e., Chapters 9, 10, 11, 12 and 13 in Part Two of this work.
10. More exactly the position of moral concepts and standpoints as they influence social engineering practice.
11. In the shaping of the human environment within which we exist.

CHAPTER 3

- I SOCIAL ENGINEERING: Introductory Comments
- II Example No 1 PHYSICAL ENGINEERING:
The Creation of Office Space
- III Example No 2 SOCIAL ENGINEERING (SE1):
An Interpersonal Interaction
- IV SOCIAL ENGINEERING: Consciousness and Esteem

CHAPTER 3

I SOCIAL ENGINEERING:

Introductory Comments

Social engineering refers to what people create in society or with society and in some cases what they perpetrate on society.¹ It is a doing, an acting on raw material to achieve a desired end. It is more than a perspective and either more or less than a science. It provides a set of tools which can be used destructively or creatively. On one level it is about the process of construction between blueprint and structural completion; on another level it is blueprint, construction, structure and its maintenance.

It is, or can be, Machiavellian. It can be said to reduce human beings to component status in the process of building a social unit for one purpose or another.

It is what happens every day and night in the human world.² It is what others do to us and what we do to them. It is either the establishing of a power position over others or the establishing of our subordination to them. It is active and dynamic, but not necessarily changing.³ It is the achievement or attempted achievement

of a desired, or in some cases an undesired, end.⁴

It can be either conscious activity or unconscious activity.⁵

Only the result of the engineering process can be seen in a static analysis.⁶ The dynamic process of creativity or destructiveness is social engineering.⁷

The processes of physical engineering are similar in many ways to those of social engineering. So we will examine an example of physical engineering in order to note some steps in its processes which can then be used to illuminate the processes of social engineering.

Example No 1

II PHYSICAL ENGINEERING:

The Creation of Office Space

A building made of bricks, mortar, glass, steel, concrete, etc., exists as a result of deliberate structured human endeavour. We will take one hypothetical chain of events which could result in the building of an office block.⁸

Somewhere and somehow, a requirement for office space achieves ascendancy over other requirements⁹ and it is decided to build so many thousands of square feet of office accommodation. A number of sites are available

or potentially available for the purpose, some of which already have buildings on them, others of which are open ground. An architect is approached and given a specification in terms of floor space required and resources available to provide it.

He then applies a body of knowledge to this specification¹⁰ and examines it in terms of the forces available for construction, e.g. capital, labour, and (the contemporary state of) technology. From this study he can narrow down certain design features, which he will express in a number of ways, one of which will be in terms of foundation stability over time.¹¹

Potential sites will then be surveyed. Their geological structure in terms of rock-strata, water tables, subsidence, load-bearing limits, etc., and likely changes in these characteristics will be reported to him. He will then assess the geological characteristics of the potential sites against the foundation stability over time requirement and will reject those sites that show negatively.

Accountants will assess the costs of developing each remaining site and they might make a decision to reject further sites on which there is an existing building on the basis of prohibitively high costs of acquisition and demolition.

The architect goes ahead and produces various preliminary designs suitable for any of the remaining sites.

One site is finally decided upon from the commercial standpoint as being the best situation on the basis of commuter communication and the provision of clerical support services, etc. The architect finalises his design and, while planning permission is being obtained, the site is surveyed again, tenders are placed, and a building company is chosen. When planning permission is given, the site is occupied and foundations are dug. The problems now become principally logistical ones¹² -- flows of debris from the site, flows of material and technical expertise to the site.

Half-way through construction the scaffold erectors call a strike because one of their workers has fallen to his death. They claim his death is due firstly to the high winds around the building, secondly to the pace of work which prevents their taking adequate safety precautions, and thirdly to the lack of safety lines, harnesses, etc. Work is resumed only after an inquiry board is set up, additional safety equipment is provided, and a special 'danger through high winds allowance' is given to the scaffolders.

In the final stages of completion it is found that major problems exist with the air-conditioning/heating system proposed for installation. The building is

completed ten days behind schedule, minus its air-conditioning/heating system. Accordingly, a smaller final payment than originally agreed is paid over to the building company and the new owners take possession.

In conjunction with the architect and builders, maintenance schedules are drawn up, and the new owners provide their own maintenance in accordance with its dictates. This maintenance with only minor modification is found to be adequate -- a fact that is endorsed through periodic inspections by various government and private agencies.

Thus an architect has translated an initial need, by means of the structured expenditure of human effort over time and through the agencies of available resources and appropriate technology, into the provision of a material possession with which to fulfil that need.

In abstract terms, what has happened is that a guiding hand¹³ has planned a series of steps aimed at an end result which is desired in terms of fulfilling a need. The guiding hand then brought together the necessary resources and powers sufficient to achieve that end. Then that guiding hand steered the process until the task was successfully completed.

Example No 2

III SOCIAL ENGINEERING1(SE1):An Interpersonal Interaction

There are, of course, good reasons why the control of human behaviour is resisted. The commonest techniques are aversive, and some sort of countercontrol is to be expected. The controllee may move out of range (the controller will work to keep him from doing so) or he may attack, and ways of doing so have emerged as important steps in the evolution of cultures.

B.F. Skinner

Let us now examine a social situation in these latter terms. Let us assume a hypothetical situation¹⁴ of a woman, Mrs Y (hereinafter referred to simply as 'mother') who is in late middle age. Her psychological make-up is characterised by a dread of being alone in old age.¹⁵ She is aggressive, controlling, and dependent.¹⁶ She has a number of children, the youngest of which is a girl, Miss Y (hereinafter referred to simply as her 'daughter'), of amiable disposition and limited drive. Mother's husband is considerably older than herself. Let us assume that she dreads equally both loneliness and being with strangers. With a reasonable degree of intelligence and a passing acquaintance with human mortality rates, mother will be aware that in all probability her husband will die before her and she will therefore be a widow for many years before her death.

This woman¹⁷ in this situation¹⁸ cannot face the prospect of being alone, nor has she the resources, either human or emotional, to construct a new set of interests and/or a circle of acquaintances. Her easiest option, we will assume, is to turn daughter into a companion¹⁹ for her old age.²⁰ To this end mother sets out to inculcate in daughter a feeling of sympathy for her (mother) by reconstructing the reality of her (mother's) life as being characterised by hardship and misery which is not (even) conceivable to someone growing up in this contemporary world (i.e. daughter). If this process is dealt with correctly by mother, the daughter's perceived identity²¹ becomes inextricably bound up with her mother's professed misfortunes and with sympathy for mother.

Mother also points out that much of her hardship was incurred in making provision for her daughter. Conducted efficiently, this approach will result in feelings of guilt in daughter and will adjust daughter's attitudinal role²² so that she will be incapable of looking at herself or her position in the world without being reminded that she is beholden for both.²³

This structure is threatened by daughter's access to contradictory models of the world and/or alternative information about mother, therefore mother does well to isolate daughter, as far as possible, from all influences

that mother does not have control over or does not approve of, for fear that an idea may emerge in her daughter's mind that her situation is not as mother would have it to appear.²⁴

Mother anticipates this threat and circumvents it by conditioning daughter into believing (or at least accepting) that the (outside) world is a dangerous place, whose inhabitants are aggressive and unpredictable, thereby creating in her daughter a fear of venturing forth alone, and also creating in her a dependency need for someone to protect her.²⁵

If, however, such an idea does emerge in daughter's mind it will be possible by a calculated outburst (or outbursts) of aggressive behaviour by mother²⁶ (preferably disguised as injured pride or anguish at ingratitude) to make daughter censure and censor herself. An additional line of attack might be, overtly or covertly, to threaten daughter with abandonment to her fate in the dangerous world.²⁷

In this way any attempt by daughter to commence a chain of events which ultimately might threaten mother's planned companionship²⁸ can be turned to mother's advantage by anticipating the situation and delivering an attack which will further undermine daughter's spirit and confidence in herself.²⁹ After the need has been effectively dampened down³⁰ and the relationship has

achieved some semblance of stability, once more daughter's position has deteriorated in that she has been further squashed and made to feel more inadequate in handling³¹ (even) her home situation.³² The way is then further prepared for more emotional blackmail on the part of mother, turning around the theme of daughter's ingratitude for all that has been done for her in the past and is still being done for her in the present, which leads into the theme of filial duty (perhaps as quoted in the Old Testament) and the obligation daughter carries to repay 'in some small way all that mother has done for her.

Once one small concession has been obtained from daughter by mother, the likelihood of obtaining another increases. Moving away from the sanctions negative side of the relationship to the sanctions positive, mother might grant daughter certain freedoms³³ or privileges, such as the right to call mother by her christian name, the right for daughter to entertain (selected)³⁴ friends at home, and the right to smoke in the house.

Daughter has been made aware of the rewards of living with mother. Overtly stated have been the economic rewards of a preferential material standard of living at a reduced cost, unobtainable elsewhere than in mother's home.³⁷ Covertly it could be pointed out that daughter is congenitally inadequate to undertake successfully responsibility for herself in the world, and it is

therefore best that she is looked after. However, if mother is wise she will rather say that daughter is not as yet capable of undertaking responsibility for herself in the world, thus simultaneously both promising daughter her freedom and threatening her with it.

Daughter, in permitting continued temporal association,³⁸ allows the roots of the relationship to continue to grow deeper and thus they become more difficult to deal with, while simultaneously the relationship is progressively destroying the independent faculties and powers that she would need to free herself.³⁹ Eventually daughter will resort to an apparently logical justification for her predicament. She can hold that she is as happy as it is possible to be and that her situation is economically beneficial to both herself and her mother.⁴⁰ She will occasionally admit to herself that given her lack of worldliness and her inadequacies she is well set up in life with a guide, protector, and mentor.⁴¹

Daughter will experience a series of nervous crises which will be precipitated by the emotional stresses arising between conflicting feelings and conflicting world views⁴² (see model at the end of this chapter). These crises may be overcome in one of a number of ways, amongst which are: daughter dealing with them (internally) independently, mother recognising the crisis and resolving it for/with daughter, which is by far the most

satisfactory method (for mother), or by recourse to a therapeutic institution.⁴³ This latter method is one that is likely to appeal to mother if the gain she can make is having her perception of daughter as being an inadequate personality endorsed by an authoritative body, i.e. provided that the above gain either outweighs the social stigma of having her daughter undergoing therapy⁴⁴ (with the consequent threat that she might be accused of being a bad mother), or provided that she (mother) can adequately justify the situation to herself and within her social milieu.

As an authoritarian personality, ignorant of therapeutic operations, mother is likely to assume that an 'official institution' (i.e. part of the therapeutic community) will endorse her authority. When she discovers that it does not automatically do so, it is likely that she will experience insecurity about the outcome of therapy and will tend back towards 'resolving' the problem herself.

In this way mother maintains a status quo that she has painstakingly created⁴⁵ in order to answer her own emotional needs.⁴⁶

CONFLICTING EMOTIONS IN DAUGHTER

Forces influencing daughter's behaviour that tend towards stability in the situation

Change forces affecting daughter

Reality construct, experienced as consciously held model, and as emotion, that any move towards independence would precipitate a catastrophe

Drive towards independence

Fear
Guilt

Spontaneous emotional response to mother's worst excesses of control

Genuine affection for mother
Conditioned sympathy for mother

Progressively intensifying⁴⁷ feeling of emotional discomfort

Deviant sexual/emotional outlet; as (physical) necessity, independence needs, surrogate rebellion

More guilt

Fear of mother

Fear of mother
Reaction to mother's conquest of her

IV SOCIAL ENGINEERING:
Consciousness and Esteem

The question which is immediately raised is the degree of consciousness with which mother perceives her situation.⁴⁸ The process of creating a building can be seen to be a conscious one and can be admitted to be such because social opprobrium does not generally attach itself to such an undertaking. However, the processes of social engineering are usually denied for a number of reasons.

Firstly, there are fashions in the sciences just as there are in clothing or the arts. The current fashion in the social sciences is to express a predominantly humanistic egalitarian perspective of man (that is to say, it is generally accepted and acceptable to view man as essentially good, co-operative, etc., and to explain his selfishness in terms of his social conditioning).⁴⁹

Thus social engineering is an innovative perspective which conflicts with the current perspective (fashion)⁵⁰ in social science. Some popular resistance to this social engineering perspective can be traced back to the fact that any shift in perspective meets with resistance and takes time to gain acceptance.⁵¹

Secondly, since Copernican theory removed man from the centre of the universe and the centre of creation,⁵²

man's position in the physical order of things and his self-esteem have been progressively eroded by successive scientific discoveries. Men generally do not enjoy degradation⁵³ and the social sciences remorselessly strip men of their illusions and fantasies about themselves, filling the vacuum created with models and pictures that do not reflect favourably upon their subjects. Mankind wishes for whatever reasons to appear in a good light to itself, and social sciences give it little to admire.

Thirdly, those who are engaged in the manipulation of others on either a large or small scale are aware that to acknowledge their manoeuvring is largely to destroy its efficacy.⁵⁴ Even to admit the possibility of the existence of such processes is to raise the guard of their previously unwary subjects.

Fourthly, certain social engineers are individuals for whom the engineering process itself is, for them, the end product. This is to say that the manipulatory or controlling acts in themselves provide gratification. Their satisfactions come from each individual transaction⁵⁵ rather than through the realisation of a distant (in time or space) goal. Their need is to manipulate. Such people are usually fiercely committed to denial when confronted with their behaviour, quite understandably so because to admit the source of their gratifications

will (as in three above) raise the guard of their previously unwary subjects.

Fifthly, those who earn their livelihood through the manipulations of others stand to lose their means of subsistence and well-being upon exposure.⁵⁶

NOTES
to Chapter 3

1. No apology is due for this statement. One has only to examine Adolf Hitler's social engineering programme (to use an apocryphal example) to understand the power of the procedures outlined hereinafter.
2. e.g., in a marriage, the military, the business world, etc., etc.
3. A social engineering process can be just as easily utilised by the conservative or reactionary elements in society as the radical or revolutionary ones.
4. e.g., suicide is undesirable to most people but is it undesirable to the suicidee?
5. Berne, Eric: Games People Play. London: Deutsch, 1966, passim.
6. i.e., two or three dimensional analysis.
7. i.e., the fourth dimension being time.
8. The purpose of the following example is to demonstrate the fact that the end result is planned and guided. It does not just happen.
9. This is not tautological. All resources including those of planning cost something, i.e. they represent an opportunity cost in economic terms.
10. i.e., a requirement reduced to a structural equation.
11. i.e., a requirement viewed in terms of its present physical viability over its useful life.
12. Ideally.
13. Whether or not the same hand guided the separate steps is irrelevant. The fact is that there was overall control. If it is the case that there are a number of supervisors overseeing different sectors of effort this is to say nothing more than that central control has been delegated downwards and not that it does not exist.
14. The following example is based upon several relationships that the writer has observed over a number of years and serves as a compendium of more successful ploys that have been used in them.

15. Haley, Jay: *Uncommon Therapy: The Psychiatric Techniques of Milton Erichson*. Toronto: Mcleod, 1973, pp. 258-273.
16. i.e., emotionally dependent upon others.
17. Martin, Harold P.: *The Abused Child. A Multi-disciplinary Approach to Developmental Issues and Treatment*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Ballinger, 1973, p. 13.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 17.
19. Perhaps companion is a misnomer. 'Subject' is a more appropriate description because a strong motivator for the behaviour that follows is a need for authority over others (or another) in mother.
20. Redl, Fritz and David Wineman: *Children Who Hate. The Disorganisation and Breakdown or Behaviour Controls*. New York: The Free Press, 1965, p. 50.
21. Burnand, Gordon. From an unfinalised manuscript which is yet to be published.
22. *Ibid.*
23. The process of rendering a subject supplicant is based upon the principles of isolation, stress, uncertainty, guilt, remorse, etc.
24. Control over the dissemination of information and the content of communication is of primary importance at all levels in social engineering. At a population level these functions are fulfilled by the institutions of propaganda and education amongst others.
25. i.e., building daughter's security needs.
26. Redl and Wineman, *op. cit.*, pp. 54-55.
27. Thereby exploiting daughter's security needs.
28. And subjection.
29. Machiavelli, Niccolo: *The Prince*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1967, p. 60.
30. i.e., suppressed, redirected. See p. 25, Example No 1.
31. Redl and Wineman, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

32. Watzlawick, Paul, J.H. Beavin and D.D. Jackson: *Pragmatics of Human Communication*. London: Faber & Faber, 1975, pp. 231-232.
33. Burnand, op. cit.
34. Haley, op. cit., pp. 229-257.
35. Redl and Wineman, op. cit., p. 51.
36. Burnand, op. cit.
37. Jessop, Robert: *Social Order, Reform and Revolution*. Exeter, Devon: Wheaton, 1972, p. 138.
38. Burnand, op. cit.
39. The longer she permits her subordination to her mother to continue the more firmly she becomes lodged there.
40. The appeal to mother's well-being serves the function (amongst others) of salvaging some part of her (daughter) pride.
41. Martin, op. cit., pp. 106-108.
42. Machiavelli, op. cit., P. 45.
43. Haley, op. cit., pp. 61-62.
44. Redl and Wineman, op. cit., p. 50.
45. One cannot shape this system conceptually until one can understand the dominant motives for creating and maintaining it. Martin, op. cit., p. 18.
46. Ibid., pp. 275-280.
47. Watzlawick, Beavin and Jackson, op. cit., pp. 211-217.
48. The more so because the abusing parent was very often himself an abused child. Therefore the parent is merely continuing a nurturing practice that he himself experienced. This is one factor in the situation. Another crucial element is the lack of development of object constancy. A concept which cannot be briefly summarised.
49. This may be seen as a reaction to earlier social systems especially the feudal order in which society was structured very largely according to

heredity or position at birth. This achieved its pinnacle in concepts such as 'the divine right of kings'; and later, in the twilight of the system, with the concept of 'blue blood' -- which might be seen as a crude forerunner of the genetic school of thought.

50. This is not intended to convey that any particular theory is pure fabrication. It is rather intended to suggest that current credo is a reaction to earlier credo, and that in the same way that earlier credo had been distorted, exaggerated, and used by a particular social group in its climb to ascendancy, so current theory has become exaggerated and distorted in order to compensate for the deficiencies of the former system. If this writer was to venture to predict the fate of present credo it could be said that it will fall from favour after having been exploited for political ends.
51. Inevitably so. Ibid.
52. The tremendous power of the mediaeval church was based upon the bible as the word of God which was held to be the complete and final system of things (which belief was closely related with Aristotilcan research methodology). This is the system which brought its full weight (in the form of the inquisition) to bear on such heretics as Galileo.
53. There are exceptions.
54. Could Adolf Hitler have avoided war in Europe until 1939 or indeed ever been permitted to rise to power at all if he had openly declared that it was his intention to turn the world island into a greater German empire and Russia into "... my (his) Africa"?
55. "They are on an authority trip." The author is indebted to drs. Gideon Dreyer, a clinical psychologist, currently undertaking research at the University of Leiden, for this insightful remark.
56. If the reader doubts this statement, it is recommended that he read The Hidden Persuaders, by Vance Packard.

CHAPTER 4

PHYSICAL ENGINEERING

Example No 3

THE CREATION OF A DAM

CHAPTER 4

Example No 3

THE CREATION OF A DAM

This chapter was written from data obtained in interviews with Professor R.K. Dutkiewicz of the Department of Mechanical Engineering of the University of Cape Town and Professor G. v R. Marais of the Department of Civil Engineering of the University of Cape Town.

It is not a simple transcript of these interviews because the interviews contained data of a technical nature which, while they are central to engineering¹ problems, would only have served to introduce a level of detail that would have obscured the broad framework of the overall process.

Both Professor Marais and Professor Dutkiewicz tended to deal at greater length with issues with which they were more personally involved and those issues which they thought would cause most problems.

The interviews with both persons have been reduced to a simple critical path analysis which is representative of the steps taken from inception to completion of project. It is not the account of any one dam² project.

If an engineer were to write up any specific project, a critical path such as this could only be used as an aide-memoire because the different stages of the project would most probably assume differential importance in accord with the difficulties encountered in completing them.

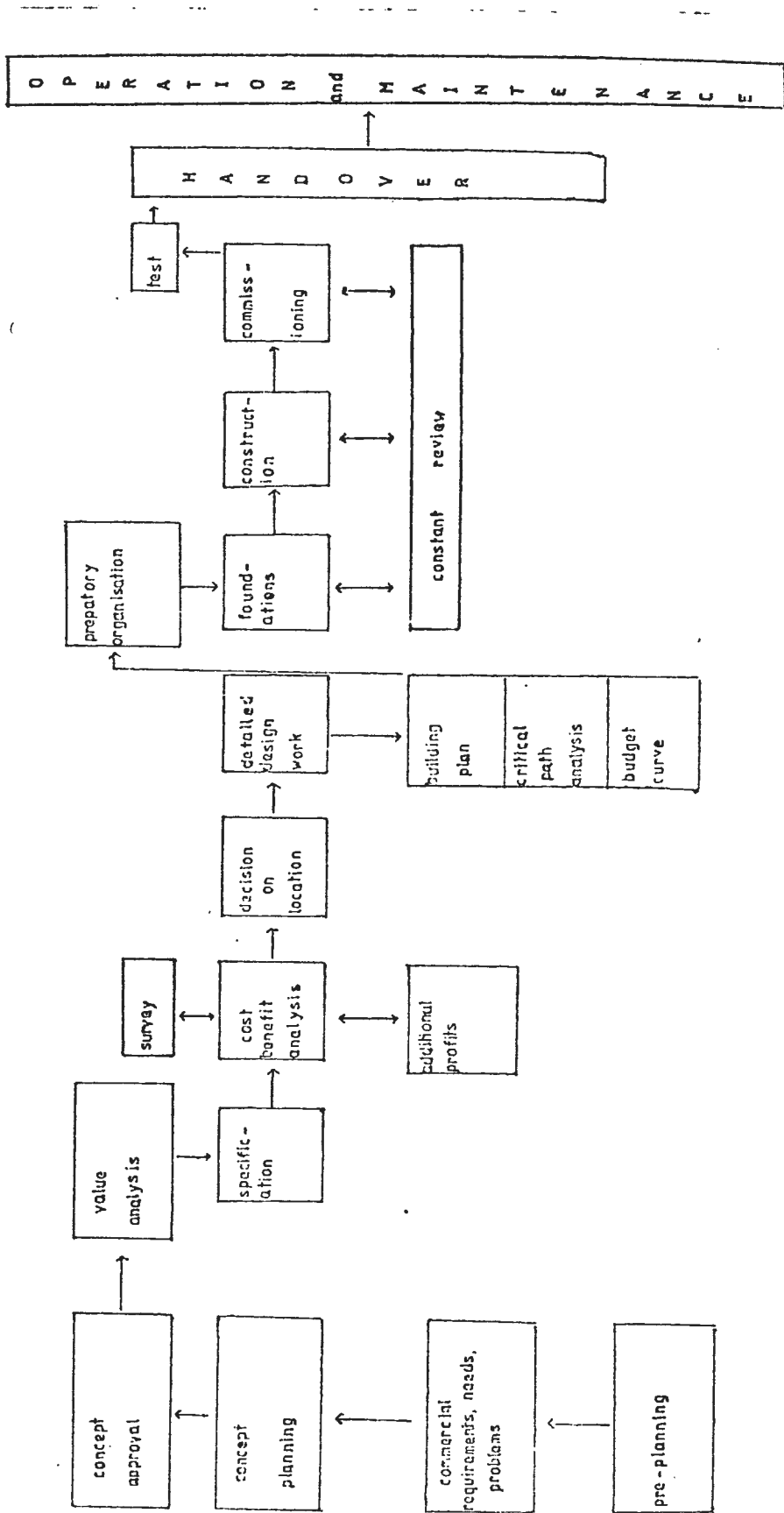
However, for the purpose of clearly and simply demonstrating first principles (which is all this thesis attempts to do³), the author has removed the variables of subjective and psychological time by presenting the process in the mode of an introductory lecture on the subject, namely an account in terms of a compendium of simple stages.

It will be found that the simplest way of understanding the process is to read the following chapter in close conjunction with the critical path diagram which precedes it. Comprehending this chapter is important because it provides an introduction to physical engineering principles and perspectives which will at a later stage serve to illuminate principles and perspectives in social engineering. Two of the more detailed examples, which will be found in the following chapters, are preceded by critical path diagrams, and these texts should also be read in close conjunction with the diagrams.⁴

The process which finally results in the construction of a dam is a multi-faceted one involving many

CRITICAL PATH ANALYSIS OF THE CREATION OF A DAM

Sub title: Critical Path Analysis of the Provision of Water to a Specific Location, from the Conception of the Problem to the Successful Provision of the Facility



different types of input from many different sources. It will only lead to confusion were we to attempt to theorise generally.⁵ So we will construct a hypothetical example of how a dam could be built.

Demographers predict that by a certain year there will be an increase in the population by X percent. This will result in an increased demand for food, power, and water. The appropriate government planning department will take a decision as to where it would like to locate the additional people.

There are two types of solution to this problem, i.e. either to expand the size of existing towns and cities or to create new ones, e.g. Atlantis⁶ represents a solution in the latter terms.

The cost accountants will express part of that problem, i.e. the provision of power, as a requirement, in structured terms, that is to say as a need for electrical power over time, e.g. so many kilowatts per quarter rising to a peak when the city is fully established and populated.

So now we have a concept -- that so much power will be required, starting at a certain date in the future, increasing over so many years until it reaches a relative peak, and from then on demand will remain comparatively constant except for seasonal fluctuations.

The cost accountants then approach the civil engineers who will decide to approve or disapprove the concept in principle. That is to say, they will decide whether or not to investigate its possibilities further⁷ or to reject it outright as being impossible because of the terrain, because it is technically impossible or logically impossible from that organisation's resources.

If concept approval is gained, the structured requirement and its timings will be forwarded to a group for value analysis. The purpose of this value analysis is to evaluate the different ways in which the requirement can be met. For example, electrical power can be generated in a number of ways, by a coal-firing process, by a nuclear process, by a hydro-electric process, etc. So the value analysis will decide on the most efficient means of solving the problem. This is an important step because all too often there is a temptation to think in terms of a solution rather than the problem. For example, when the problem is one of a requirement for water storage space, there is a tendency to think of a dam. But that may not be the ideal solution. Rather than erect one large dam, it might be more advantageous to build several, or it may be best to ignore dams altogether as a solution and store the water in holes in the ground. On the Witwatersrand for example, there are a number of deserted mine-shafts available and one or more of them may represent the best storage solution.

So the value analysis will take cognisance of the requirement and will decide by what method the requirement will be met. In our example the requirement was electrical power in specific quantities over time. We will assume that the value analysis decided that hydroelectric power generation is the best solution to this problem⁸ in this location, at the point in time at which it is envisaged. The value analysis will also specify how much water will be required over time in order to generate the required power -- for example, the volume to be stored, the flow rates, the feeder rates, and in what approximate locality.

The forwarding of the specification precipitates activity in a wide range of disciplines. One area of inquiry is the survey where simultaneously meteorologists and climatologists will examine records of rainfall over the designated area. They will isolate the main areas of precipitation and assess the changes, if any, for the future. Geographers will examine the water courses and run-offs for flow rates and durations, seasonal fluctuations, etc. Geologists will examine the earth's crust (in order to decide on the likelihood of construction), the water-table level, the porosity of rocks (to discover rates of seepage), etc. Civil engineers will examine possible sites, the ease or difficulty with which they can be approached, and how they will fit into the national grid system, etc.

From this survey will come data about the ground. These data will narrow down the range of options available for the fulfilment of the requirement. These options will be expressed as a decision table which will show the potential sites. The sites will then be examined and a decision matrix will be drawn up. This will show a number of alternative ways of achieving the same end, for example, building one large dam or several small ones or one medium sized one and two small ones, etc. These options will be evaluated in financial terms by means of a cost benefit analysis which will reduce each proposal to a simple equation, as an expression of costs per unit of power supplied against the price for that unit. That is to say, cost benefit analysis will evaluate each proposal in terms of its implications for supply (costs) and demand (price) to the consumer.⁹ Therefore, the calculations must take account of the transportation of power from the production area to the consumer. Obviously the greater the distance, the greater the cost.

Also at this stage additional sources of income will be evaluated which will be included in the expression of the unit cost of power. Additional income can be derived from water because after the water has been used to generate power, the physical substance is still present. That is, the water itself is still potentially available to be used for irrigation and/or domestic use

provided there is a user sufficiently close at hand to make it pay (it requires a considerable capital investment to transport water).

So from the cost benefit analysis will come a final decision on where the dam is to be located and what type of arrangement is to be used, e.g. several small dams or one large one. The location and the time span over which the dam will be operational¹⁰ will largely determine the materials to be used, e.g. earth or concrete. These decisions will then be passed on to a design team that will be made up of engineers, geologists, architects, etc.

The task of the design team is to calculate the force the water will impose upon that dam, the water height, and the length of dam. The team will obtain this information from knowing the volume of water that must be contained and the width of the gap that has to be walled. The geologist will conduct a detailed survey and will determine by means of a computer the necessary extent of the foundations. From these calculations further use will be made of the computer to discover the dam wall thickness, whether or not the crest needs to be curved, and, if so, to what extent.

The detailed design work is not a process of intuition. It is largely a mathematical process which contains within its constituent equations and formulae

the nature of the water that is to be contained, the character of the soil on which construction will take place, the strengths and weaknesses of the materials to be employed, and the nature of the design to be adopted. So the scope left to chance is minimised to the point of disappearing.¹¹ Experience with various materials in different situations is therefore taken into consideration through the mathematical equations that are used. Experience can also be directly employed. For example, a dam was built in Italy that was 70 percent of the thickness proposed and it fell over. So we have made our calculations to include water/safe thickness.

From the detailed design work will come the building plan which will show each stage of the development of the structure from first foundation to finished product. These will be read and used in close conjunction with the time table which will specify the time available for the overall construction and each job as part of it. A critical path analysis will also be drawn up.¹² This will demonstrate in which order jobs must be undertaken and completed in order to minimise delay and confusion, thereby reducing the costs and time of construction to an optimum minimum.¹³ A budget curve will also come from this work which will demonstrate the estimated costs from the beginning to the end of the project. Such a curve is usually S-shaped because expenditure is normally low to start with, and in the final tidying up stage, but it is

high in the middle of the project.

These documents are then given to a project leader whose task will be to get the dam built. He will also be given an estimated amount of materials, skilled labour, and money. He will then go and organise himself to undertake the task.

The river will be diverted and the actual task of construction will begin with a clearing of the site. The raising of the dam will take place in three phases, firstly the foundation stage, secondly the construction stage, and lastly the commissioning stage.

After site clearance, diversion of the flow of water, and (where necessary) road laying, to make the site accessible, the foundations are dug and laid and the process of raising the dam wall begins. The structures within which the power generating equipment will be housed, the spill-ways and by-passes, are also built. In the final stage of commissioning, tidying-up and testing takes place. Throughout these three stages feedback is constantly supplied by the project leader to his superordinate¹⁴ on how the time table, budget curve, and critical path estimates are being met. One of the most common problems now in the late 1970s is that project leaders find themselves overrunning their budget curve due to inflation. This necessitates the raising of additional capital with which to complete the work.

The commissioning test will be conducted by the builders during which gates, spill-ways, intakes, by-passes, etc., will all be checked for proper functioning. If the generators, substations, and grid systems have been installed these will be tested as well. When everything is functioning properly, the dam will be handed over to the user.

The builders may continue to be involved in the project if they have a hand in its maintenance. For example, they may draw up and occasionally revise maintenance schedules for the operator. They may actually undertake to do the maintenance for the user, although this is unlikely. They may lease operating equipment, or they may hire out personnel.

Thus a physical need has been met by the concentration of animate and inanimate resources which have been planned and guided by human agency.

NOTES
to Chapter 4

1. The Columbia Encyclopedia definition is, "in general, the design, construction, and operation, of the various engines, structures and machines used in industry and in everyday life".
2. En passant, this writer was interested to find while researching this subject that Pearson likens personality growth to the building of a dam. Is it possible that there is some instinctively felt comparison between the two processes?
3. It attempts to establish only first principles and these only in the simplest possible form.
4. See Part One, Chapter 2: Overview.
5. In a basic text such as this it would be impossible to both establish the principles of dam construction and qualify the description of the process in such a way as to account for all the qualitative and quantitative variables involved.
6. "Atlantis" is an overspill town which has been established in the Cape Province close to Cape Town near to the coast to the north of the Cape Peninsula. Its purpose is to relieve the urban congestion within Cape Town and on the Cape Flats. It is intended that it will provide jobs, residences and support services and facilities, i.e. that it will eventually become a self-contained city.
7. i.e. they can exercise a veto, if there should be any immediately apparent reason why the project would fail.
8. This is a pragmatic decision not an abstract one. It will be more on the basis of the present state of development of the region and the state of technology and it will give relatively little weight to future technological advances unless they can be seen to be economically viable though not at present in service.
9. There are overriding considerations such as national security, the provision of basic utilities and political factors.
10. That is the date by which it is expected that it will become obsolescent or surplus to requirement.

11. This is to be hoped for.
12. See page 43.
13. Optimum minimum and not an absolute minimum because safety margins must be maintained. It is always possible to further reduce costs by eroding these margins.
14. And subordinates.

CHAPTER 5

SOCIAL ENGINEERING 2 (SE2)

Example No 4

A FAMILY IN THERAPY

All those patients whose analyses must deal with the early stages of emotional development before and up to the establishment of the personality as an entity must be mainly 'managed' and not 'analysed'.

D.W. Winnicott

... The early literature of social work contains much evidence of the struggle to walk this way between the scylla of over-indulgence (based on guilt towards the deprived and out-cast) and the charybdis of self-righteous contempt for the 'undeserving' (based on paranoid anxieties about the danger of insatiable exploitation by these damaged clients).

E.E. Irvine

All human relationships cause those who take part in them to assume the characteristics of each other, and the counselling relationship has this nature too, which is enhanced by the therapeutic intentions of the counsellor. It is almost as if to restrain directiveness was incompatible with giving help, for the empathy and prompt sensitivity, as well as the support and initiative required of the counsellor will make the aspiration to non-directiveness unrealistic and perhaps even self-defeating.

Paul Halmos

CHAPTER 5

Example No 4

A FAMILY IN THERAPY

The following chapter is the writer's own reconstruction of an account provided as a tape recording by Mrs. M. Fridjhon (née Badenhorst), a practising family therapist who, at the time of the interview, was resident in Cape Town.

The writer experienced great reluctance in modifying Mrs. Fridjhon's original account which conveyed a sense of power and immediacy now largely lost in the reformulation. It captured much of the drama and sense of moment felt by the social engineer in the heat of action, and demonstrated the fact that she was often confronted with situations which struck emotional chords within her. Her choice of language conveyed the struggle she often felt within herself.

However, a simple transcript of her account of her involvement with the family would not have adequately demonstrated the underlying principles of the situation within which she operated. Thus the account has been rewritten in emotionally more neutral terms, thereby losing

the sense of struggle portrayed in the original account¹ (the sense of events) so as to gain a clearer picture of her techniques in action (a sense of strategy).

All names of clients contained in this account have been changed to preserve the anonymity of the people concerned.

Mrs. Fridjhon prefers to utilise the treatment mode of family therapy which entails treating the patient² in a family situation³ rather than dealing with the patient individually out of the underlying family context.⁴ She feels that this latter technique could lead to a patient being labelled as sick,⁵ and makes the patient vulnerable to being used as a scapegoat⁶ by the family, which practice exacerbates the patient's difficulties even prior to the commencement of treatment.

She employs the principles of structured therapy as well as utilising some strategies and principles derived from communication theory, both of which form an inherent part of structural family therapy.⁷

Family therapy is not as yet a well established field of therapy and theory is very largely derived from practice.⁸ It holds that in examining a family situation a number of perspectives⁹ must be considered. Firstly it is necessary to examine the family's stage of development, or its life phase. Secondly one must understand

the dysfunctions that are preventing either the successful completion of that phase or are preventing the family from moving on to the next phase. By means of an understanding of the ways in which the family is completing or failing to complete the tasks that confront it it is possible to estimate the strengths and weaknesses of its communication system in total.¹⁰ From this it is possible to estimate the constructiveness or destructiveness¹¹ of the system as it impinges upon the individual.

A task is a challenge that a given family system is required to solve (actualise) by means of the development of an appropriate family transaction.¹² The task and the way in which it is responded to provides a measure of the family's capabilities. If the task is fulfilled in an appropriate transaction then one can say that the transaction is equal to the task. For example, at a basic level a child that requires feeding is an example of a task which confronts a family, the child being successfully suckled, or otherwise satisfactorily fed, is an example of the transaction between the (appropriate) family (member) and the child.¹³

Alternatively if the transaction does not equal the task, a problematic situation arises in the family in which it becomes necessary to discover a means to return the family system to the original task and to enable the family to successfully complete it.

Important aspects of family structuring are the boundaries¹⁴ that delineate the different systems and subsystems that are operational within the family. A subsystem is defined by transaction boundaries¹⁵ which are rules defining who participates in what interactions and how they do so in given situations. They may be formed on the basis of identity, e.g. the female members of a family forming a group, or interests, e.g. a shared interest in some function or undertaking. They serve to protect the differentiated subsystem, e.g. the boundary around the parents will serve to differentiate them from the role and position of the children. Thus the parents can be viewed as an executive subsystem while the children can be viewed as a sibling subsystem. For the purposes of healthy family functioning the boundaries of subsystems must be clear and well defined. They must also allow contact between the various subsystems while protecting the differentiation of the various subsystems. Utilising these basic patterns it is then possible to examine the family as a system that operates through transactional patterns.¹⁶ Repeated transactions establish patterns of how, when, and whom the members and subsystems relate to in the family and these relationships underpin the system of any particular family.

Structural family therapy¹⁷ is thus a therapy of actions whereby the family's present experiences are modified. The tool¹⁸ is the therapist himself, who

engages in order to modify the present family situation.¹⁹ The target is the family system. The therapist joins²⁰ the system²¹ then uses himself to transform it.²² By changing the position of the subsystems and the position of the members within the overall system he will also change²³ their subjective experience.²⁴ Structural family therapy more than any other therapeutic intervention modality is prepared to utilise virtually any technique so as to engage²⁵ the family. The therapist will even apparently acquiesce to the family pathology²⁶ in order to be accepted by the family if that is the only way to get 'inside' the family,²⁷ because it is only once the therapist joins the family system that change can be brought about.²⁸ An outsider is beyond the family circle²⁹ and cannot in any way effectively bring about change of the first order, i.e. change that will improve the emotional experience³⁰ of family members. Thus, from the ethical point of view family therapy operates very differently from conventional therapy and the principle of patient self-determination is less adhered to. The therapist is more manipulative³¹ (if one chooses to call it that) than in any other therapy.

The following case study has been reformulated by this author but it is written in the first person so as to make it a graphic account. At all stages of the reformulation care has been taken to faithfully retain the original sense of meaning and style of presentation.

On 3 August 1977 I was called into a ward round of the therapeutic community in one of the mental hospitals in Cape Town. During the ward round I was requested to see the family of one of the patients. The reason for this was that a particular girl had been in the unit for the past eight months and the staff of the unit felt that there was nothing they could do -- that she was not suitable for the treatment that they were engaged in.³² According to them she was not motivated³³ and they refused to have her in the community for much longer. The suggestion then was that she would have to become a permanent resident in one of the locked wards in the hospital. However, before making this final decision my opinion was wanted and I was requested to see the family.

Dale Ryan, the patient, was a girl aged 15 and her presenting problems were numerous.³⁴ Going through the file,³⁵ I came across diagnoses including psychotic depression, personality disorder, personality disorder with psychopathic traits, and severe depression with suspected schizophrenia. At one stage she had been treated in the psychiatric ward of another mental hospital. As mentioned earlier, at the time of my seeing the family, Dale had been hospitalised for the past seven to eight months. In all, she had been absent from school for the past two years and had been effectively divorced from the community for two to two-and-a-half years. Most disconcerting of all, and the principal problem from the

hospital authorities' point of view, were her numerous suicide attempts. She was also in the habit of running away from hospital whenever the chance arose. When sent to school, no matter where she went, sooner or later Dale would disappear. Nobody would know where she was. The next thing that would happen would be an urgent phone call from her or from a friend telling of yet another suicide attempt. The last suicide attempt that preceded her admission to the hospital where she then was was a serious one involving a heavy overdose of drugs and an attempt to cut her wrists.

I agreed to see her family provided that Dale would remain hospitalised. I was not prepared to take the responsibility of bringing into therapy as a private patient somebody with a history of suicide attempts. I felt it was important that she remained within the hospital until such time that we³⁶ decide it could be appropriate and safe for her to return to the community. So I researched the family's situation as a whole³⁷ and set up an interview with them.

The basic structure of the family was as follows.³⁸ The patient was Dale Ryan, aged 15. She had an elder sister, Bernadette, aged 16. There was a mother, aged 41, and a stepfather, aged 42. The family had migrated to South Africa three years prior to my seeing them for the first time. The parents had married about five years

before. Mother was a divorcee. She was divorced when Dale was about seven years of age. Two years after her remarriage, the family moved to South Africa. Prior to their move to this country there were, according to both parents, no problems whatsoever. Both Dale and Bernadette were model children. I was told that there had been no behaviour problems, no difficulty with discipline, nothing whatsoever to cause concern. The only sad part of their life at that stage was the state of the marriage preceding the divorce. Mother related how the children were involved in or witnessed several of the very bad scenes between her and her previous husband. He used to take another woman home, he used to drink alcohol excessively, and the children were involved in some of the fights and beatings. Generally, there was a poor background and a bad experience in parenting. Mother had obviously been very worried about the children.³⁹ At that stage,⁴⁰ when they moved to South Africa, they were, according to both parents, beginning to mesh as a new family. Then suddenly, for no reason as far as they were concerned, behaviour problems commenced with both children. Bernadette and Dale became very involved in so-called 'bad company'. They went out with sailors, the parents did not know where they had gone, they would return late at night, and generally gave the parents a hard time.⁴¹

Bernadette (for some reason or other)'pulled right'.⁴²

She became very involved with religion, and things started going well for her. She started doing well at school again and generally became the model child, whilst Dale was the one that 'performed'.⁴³ She dropped out of school, she was using drugs, and she went round with sailors once again. Then she started running away. In addition to the trauma experienced as a result of the suicide attempts, the parents complained that they did not know what to do with Dale because there would come a time when she became difficult and tearful, would break down and cry, and would disappear. They felt there was no way they could make contact with her.

In the first interview⁴⁴ it was very difficult to get away from Dale as the patient.⁴⁵ Normally, in diagnostic interviews with a family, one would go through what is called the social stage in which one gets to know each member of the family. One finds out who they are, what their likes are, and what their hobbies are, etc. One then goes through the second phase in which one begins to find out what the things are that make each individual member of the family unhappy in the family situation. From there one would move to what it is that each individual member would like to see changed in the family, then to observe in the interview situation their difficulties and problems, and to have them act out some of the problems that they have discussed.⁴⁶ The fourth phase is to assign a task to the family to

begin to rectify some of the things that were discussed during the interview.

During the social stage of this interview⁴⁷ it became⁴⁸ clear that mother was very much a home body,⁴⁹ that she stayed at home, liked to do the cooking, and generally was a 'domestic' housewife. However, she held a part-time job at a chain store in Cape Town and provided additional income. Father was a professional man.⁵⁰ His one prevailing interest in life was religion, and his involvement in this was opposed by mother, who was agnostic.

One of the problems that became clear fairly early, although neither parent would admit to it, was that there was some discomfort concerning religion, and that it was thus one of the issues that we would have to look at. Bernadette, the model child, was involved in sport, was keen on her school work, not really eager to go out with other friends, liked to stay at home and liked to be a part of the situation. Dale, on the other hand, was very difficult to communicate with. She was very depressed, not particularly interested in anything, had very limited experience at that stage, could not really describe what she wanted, nor where she wanted to go,⁵¹ nor what she liked to do. When we (together) started looking, with each individual member of the family, at the kind of things that made them unhappy in the family,

there was one thing and one thing only -- Dale. Dale was the problem.⁵² If it were not for Dale, everything would be fine; there were no other problems within the family. I had to do a lot of teaching, a lot of educating⁵³ during that first interview, explaining that there must be things that upset them as family members over and above what might be wrong with Dale. I had to explain that I did not work with a 'sick' member of the family only.⁵⁴ I said that I believe that people were jointly unhappy in relationships and therefore I wanted to look at all of them together and not only at Dale.⁵⁵ Therefore I was interested in the kind of things that made them unhappy as individuals as well.⁵⁶ Well, it took a whole interview and nothing of the sort transpired; there was one thing wrong only, and that was Dale. If only Dale could be "fixed up" and could "come right", their lives would also change.

It was a difficult interview in that the focus was totally on Dale as the patient.⁵⁷ The pressure was on her, and I could see her disintegrate within the interview situation.⁵⁸ She became more and more depressed as the family bombarded her, and the family became stronger and stronger as a threefold unit with her as the outsider. My impression, in this interview, was not only of a depressed patient but a depressed family,⁵⁹ particularly a depressed and unhappy mother.

Bernadette, while appearing sympathetic towards Dale, was in fact very punitive in describing how she was doing well and how Dale could have been doing just as well if only she would apply herself.

Father was fairly ineffectual at that stage,⁶⁰ stating that Dale must "come right". Incidentally, one of the observations of the team in the therapeutic unit was that there was a peculiar relationship between Dale and her father. It became apparent in the interview that there was a lot of sexual undertone in the relationship between them.

The only task that I could settle on to get this family to undertake, and the only inroad that we could begin to make into this problem, was a fairly radical one.⁶¹ I asked the 'family' (the family then being father, mother and Bernadette) or, rather, I confronted them with the fact that for the last two years Dale had not been a member of the family and that at this moment in time the family consisted of only father, mother and Bernadette, with Dale as an outsider. I exposed this so as to make them come to grips with the fact that Dale was not at the moment part of the family. I therefore sent the family home with this task: to look at the three of them as a family;⁶² to find out what were the things that hurt, what were the things that were pressurising them as a family, forgetting about Dale.⁶³

Incidentally, that was the way the relationship was between the three of them in spatial terms.⁶⁴ They formed the line: mother, Bernadette, father, and then Dale. Bernadette was very firmly wedged in between the two parents with Dale right on the outside. That is also the way they seated themselves in the office and I think it was a true statement of the position of the different units within the family situation at that time.⁶⁵ The task then was for the three of them to go away as a family, think about and talk about the things they wanted to see changed in their little 'family' circle, forgetting about Dale.⁶⁶ Dale had stated in the interview that what she wanted was to be discharged from the hospital. I⁶⁷ contracted with her that if I thought it appropriate and if there was an improvement in the situation -- if we were convinced, together with her, that she was performing much better -- this would happen. Our task and our goal was thus for her to be discharged. I did not see her as a permanent member of, or a patient in, a mental hospital and we would together work at getting her out. She was quite happy with that.

I also contracted with the family to meet for six sessions during which we would be working on presented problems. In the sixth session we would evaluate and we would consider where we wanted to go from there. I explained that I did not believe in long-term therapy, that I liked to work briefly, and that that was the reason why

we would work for six sessions only.⁶⁸ They were quite impressed and happy with that and I left the family with the tasks as described.

During the second interview the situation was relatively unchanged. Dale was a little happier, and she seemed more at ease, more able to communicate and make contact with me, and desperately trying to make contact with the family who were however still very, very punitive and almost hostile in their approach to her. Mother was clearly very angry with Dale. The interview proceeded much the same way as the first interview, with the three of them clearly stating that they wanted Dale to "come right", that there was nothing that made them unhappy, that they were happy, that they were fine, that they were normal, they were healthy, that they had no problems and that we had to work with Dale.⁶⁹

At that stage I homed in⁷⁰ on what I perceived as depression in mother.⁷¹ When I focussed on her, she became tearful and explained that it was the worry and concern about Dale and what was going to happen next that was getting her down. She could not tolerate it any more and once again she focussed on Dale as the source and the cause of her depression. Remembering what has been said earlier on using any strategy in order to enter the family,⁷² I at that stage decided that the way to enter was to go along⁷³ with her in the

statement that Dale was the cause of her problems but to go along⁷⁴ in such a way that we would also pull pressure off Dale. I therefore discussed the situation that they found themselves in, which was that Dale was certified and the responsibility of the doctors and staff at the hospital. She was not living with them at home, she was not coming home for weekends, she was fully and totally the responsibility of the hospital. Therefore, I contracted with mother and gave a task to her which was that for the next week, regardless of what might happen, I would like her to forget about Dale,⁷⁵ not to be concerned about her, not to worry about her; if anything happened, if Dale phoned or if the hospital phoned,⁷⁶ if anything happened, she was not responsible in any way for what happened to Dale for the next week. It created a wave of shock in the family because they refused to think of it like this.⁷⁷ They had become so used to having Dale to worry about and having Dale as the outlet for whatever was causing their unhappiness that it was very difficult for father and Bernadette to allow mother to accept this task.⁷⁸ However, that was what we spent the whole interview on, and I could sense some relief in mother. Therefore there was some gain in doing this for her and I was convinced that she would eventually go along⁷⁹ with it. Also, I made it clear to Dale that for the next week she was free from her parents and from their worries and that they had nothing to do with her.

The motivation for this was my assessment that Dale's deeds, and Dale's running away, and Dale's suicide attempts were an effort to make a statement of herself as an individual, to break loose from the over-protection of mother.⁸⁰ The task that I assigned to mother and the family was such that Dale could do just that. It would enable mother to let go of Dale for a test-run to see what it felt like not to worry about her; hopefully it would give her some positive feedback,⁸¹ some positive experience which would make it easier in the future to let go of Dale. And formalising this would take away the need in Dale to bring about the break by force, by a suicide attempt, or by running away.⁸² So it would take pressure off Dale, it would take pressure off mother, and it would in effect bring about a fairly radical change in the family as a system.

I expected them to rebel against it. I anticipated that they would undergo a profound experience because of it, although I could see that they were not in touch with the impact of what I was asking them to do at that stage.⁸³ There was good rapport between the family and myself and they were happy to proceed and try this; in fact, father thought it was amusing. He is a very humorous man and he laughed about this and said: "Well, if that's what you believe and if my wife is happy with that, then let's do it." However, in mother I could sense real relief (I think because she trusted me,

because she trusted my judgment), that for one week (and because it was a limited period it was possible) she was going to stop worrying. She was looking forward to that.

My diagnostic assessment of the family at that stage was as follows.⁸⁴ Here was a family which could be described as newly formed, mother and father having married only a few years before the onset of the problem. Mother came from a previous marriage where the relationship had irretrievably broken down and she had found herself in a position where for years she was the sole comforter, the sole support, the sole saviour⁸⁵ of her two daughters, and that was the transaction that she had with the two children.⁸⁶ That was her role, and they all (the children and the mother) accepted the transaction.

Mother then re-married and, because of this transaction between her and her daughters, it was very difficult (in fact it was not possible) for the first task between her and her new husband to be successfully completed as a couple, which was to form a boundary around themselves as a couple.⁸⁷ She had a very clearly defined rigid boundary around herself and the two daughters, which left stepfather out in the cold. Stepfather he was in name, and stepfather he was in fact.⁸⁸ She took all responsibility, she was over-protective towards them.⁸⁹ In fact, she was scared that he would damage them, which was a residue of what had happened between her and her

first husband in her first marriage. So, in a way, the transaction that existed between her and him⁹⁰ in regard to the children was that he had to stay away, that he was dangerous, and that he was not allowed to have direct contact with them.⁹¹ These were hypothetical diagnostic impressions to be tested in future. What was clear was that there was not a clear boundary around the couple and that they did not derive the kind of comfort from one another that they should have had;⁹² in fact, mother was on the defensive. She was defending the children all the time. Stepfather was desperately trying to get⁹³ in to be useful in some way or another, but did not find it possible because mother was successfully acting as a buffer between him and the children. If we could, therefore, succeed in freeing mother from some of the burden of Dale, we would begin to pave the way for her to have closer contact with her husband, and for them to begin to complete themselves as a couple.⁹⁴ We would also pave the way for him to come in as an executive and to begin to take over some of the responsibility of the parenting role. We would also free Dale⁹⁵ so that she could become an individual in her own right, with our help, instead of having to bulldoze her way through as she had been doing until then.⁹⁶

One of the things that worried me at that stage was the relationship between Dale and her stepfather, because I was convinced, as I mentioned before, that sexual

undertones between the two of them existed. All I could think of at that stage was that if we could improve the relationship between him and his wife some of that would fall away. It was a cause of concern, though, because the relationship between him and his stepdaughter was one of the things holding Dale back. As a child and an immature child, as a mad child, it might be safe for her to be with him;⁹⁷ it would be much more dangerous to become an adult mature woman because then the sexual roles would become clearer and the relationship between him and her much more dangerous.⁹⁸ Therefore, from that point of view, it was safer for her to remain a 'child' and to remain 'sick'. Then she could come close to him in his parenting role. This she could not do when she was 'grown-up'. So this was one of the things we had to bear in mind and one of the reasons why I tried to separate Dale from the family.

At that time I was aware of the fact that Bernadette played an important role⁹⁹ in keeping the parents apart. She was playing the role of showing up Dale -- in a way she was the angel in the family and Dale was the devil.¹⁰⁰ So one of my objectives was to try to equalise these two children's positions a little, because Dale was definitely in the one-down position¹⁰¹ in the sibling subsystem with Bernadette in the one-up¹⁰² position. I encouraged Bernadette to become a little less 'holy', whilst encouraging Dale to become a little more 'holy'.

I tried to get them to borrow from one another and become more equal.¹⁰³

That then, more or less, was the course of the second interview. With four interviews to go to the end of our first contract, we would see what would happen next week.

The third interview presented us with a very different situation and proved once again that when one brings about the smallest change within a family it has major ramifications. When they walked in, mother was much more alive than in the previous two interviews. Father had become much stronger. He was more forceful and, for the first time, Dale was not depressed. There was a depression in Bernadette, which I could understand because things had suddenly changed dramatically for her. Mother reported that it was one of the most beautiful weeks that she had experienced for a long time; she had managed not to worry because she had pushed Dale out of her mind and found it a great relief. It was another clear example of what happens when people have transacted over many years¹⁰⁴ and when, while their transaction may have been appropriate at a specific point in time,¹⁰⁵ years later it is no longer so and it thus becomes a burden. Whereas it was appropriate at the time of the divorce and the bad time in their lives for mother to be over-protective towards the children, five or six years

later it was no longer appropriate; it was a burden to both parties.¹⁰⁶ We merely needed to help them to break free from those bonds for them to start experiencing some freedom, which was what mother had reported.

Dale became, for the first time, someone who would laugh in the interview and the parents, when they saw her, reported that that was very close to the Dale they knew before she "went wrong". Father reported that mother was much more relaxed during the week and Bernadette said that she was a little confused and that she did not quite know why;¹⁰⁷ she knew that something was different¹⁰⁸ but she was not quite sure what was different, and that she was not quite sure where she was. At that point I tried to allow some more contact between Bernadette and Dale, and Dale started telling Bernadette about what had happened in the hospital. Bernadette started sharing what had happened at school and quite a lot of communication occurred between the children. It was also interesting to note how the seating arrangement had changed. Mother and father were sitting next to one another, with Bernadette next to mother and Dale next to father. The parents had moved together, with the children moving out from between them. That in itself was significant.¹⁰⁹ So I started homing in on the parents as a couple. I used Bernadette in attempting to do this by asking her whether there was anything she wanted to see changed in the family. This is a principle that is

used early in the process of diagnostic interviewing, but here I was using it later in the process. To my amazement she started talking about the fact that the parents never went out together and that she would like to see them going to a dance or to the cinema or something. At this point, for the first time, Dale volunteered to enter into the interview as well and she endorsed Bernadette's evaluation. I then encouraged the girls to talk to the parents and between the two of them they formulated many suggestions about what mother and father could be doing together. Mother resisted continuously by saying "Well, I have to work," or she "would be tired" and many other excuses. I encouraged both Bernadette and Dale, and they provided mother and father with the solutions to all the problems.¹¹⁰ A very positive thing was beginning to happen within the family; we were beginning to delineate the boundaries and effectively strengthen them around the two girls. We were beginning to separate mother from them and the girls were beginning to become instrumental in forming a boundary around mother and father as a couple.¹¹¹ It was interesting to note that mother was the one who resisted this. The result of this interview was a simple task in which, between Dale, Bernadette, and myself, we had convinced mother that she and father should be going out together, and that they would go out the following Friday evening. That is to say, we insisted that they were to

go out to dinner together. Mother's first reaction was "But what about you, Bernadette?" Bernadette stated quite firmly that she could take good care of herself and that all would be well with her. We also extended the task of the previous week in that mother was not allowed to worry about Dale. Dale was quite happy with that. In fact, she felt it to be a relief. The next request from Dale was that she would like to go home for the weekend.

This would be the first time for Dale to leave the hospital for a long time. I checked this out with the parents, both of whom were quite happy to have Dale.¹¹² Bernadette was very keen to have Dale at home.

My assessment at that stage was that we had to try to begin to reintroduce Dale to the community and we had to find out what would happen. So I agreed, and we made arrangements for the parents to come and fetch Dale at a specific time on the forthcoming Friday, provided that I could obtain permission for this from the hospital. I regard this interview as a milestone because we had clearly moved away from Dale as a sick member of the family. In fact, we had clearly moved away from the concept of illness and we were looking at the functioning of the people within the family. We were looking at ways and means by which they could be more happy and at ease with one another in living together.

We began to prepare the ground for Dale to return to the family. She volunteered that she wanted to go back. The family volunteered that it was acceptable for her to come back. It then remained for us to work with Dale in that context with the small amount of feedback that we got from weekend visits. I cleared this with the hospital authorities who were quite prepared to go along with any suggestions I made. So it was decided that Dale would go home at the weekend, and that we would meet as usual the following Monday.

The next interview saw a relaxed and excited family -- excited about the progress they saw, less concerned about what Dale was doing, and, therefore, much more relaxed. Dale had gone home for the weekend. Mother and father allowed her to go out on Saturday night with friends to the disco. She returned home at the appropriate time set by them and they found her easy to get along with.

She communicated¹¹³ with them during the weekend and they took her back to the hospital on Sunday night having experienced positive communication and a good weekend with their daughter. Dale then requested permission from them to go home every weekend. With the consent of the parents we decided that that would be acceptable and I would obtain the hospital's permission. At that moment I started using a technique that we often use in family

therapy, that is, 'rehearsing the relapse'. I put it to the parents that they had experienced a good weekend but that I was suspicious because I was not sure that the transformation was permanent, so what would happen if things went wrong again? At first they refused to contemplate this. They believed that everything was fine and that Dale was now cured. I insisted on saying that maybe this was not so. What did they think? What did Dale think? What did Bernadette think? What would happen if things went wrong again? Could we think and talk about that now? In my communication during this interview and from this interview on, I started directing the questions and discussion principally at father. I started bringing him in as the resource person, the one with the answers. I started establishing him in the one-up position.¹¹⁴ I established him in an executive position and when mother demonstrated too much anxiety, I would get father to take the burden off her. I quite directly interpreted¹¹⁵ for her that she could rely on him, that I trusted him, and that she need worry much less, that she could rely on her husband. Eventually they, together with me, started looking at ways in which they could handle another crisis. We discussed with Dale what she would do when she started feeling the depression again, when she felt that things were not going right. Would she resort to the old method, i.e. running away, or cutting her wrists, or anything like that?

What were the alternative ways in which she could handle her problem? The family provided quite a number of alternatives, ranging from telephoning them when she started feeling that way, or telephoning the hospital, telephoning me, i.e. to make contact in an appropriate way before she resorted to anything desperate. Dale seemed to agree with this. She promised that that was what she would do. We then discussed what the family might do when confronted with something going wrong again. How would they respond to it? We decided on action in line with our decision, which was that Dale was not their responsibility. Even when she was home for the weekend, if anything went wrong Dale was still not a charge on the family. If she ran away, if she attempted suicide, whatever happened, there was and would be no sympathy on the part of the family. They would refer the matter directly back to the hospital. We decided on this because I thought that this would again free the family so that they could release Dale; it would also free Dale so that she would know, or could know, that she could break away from the family and that they would wash their hands of her. I still believed that this was the message that Dale was trying to communicate. She was trying to establish her own independence in a very inappropriate way and, provided we helped her to do so appropriately, some of the pathology would fall away.

I would like to point out at this stage that in

family therapy the answer to the question "why?" is not always important. Why was Dale the sick member of the family? How did it happen that it was Dale that was elected to play this role? Quite frankly, I do not know.¹¹⁶ All we could do if we really wanted to answer that question is to speculate. I do not think the answer is important. What is important is to deal with what one finds then and there, in the here and now situation. And that was what we were doing. I could see that the family elected to act out through Dale, and that was what we were trying to rectify. What we were attempting to do was to establish mother and father as a couple in the executive position. We were trying to free and delineate the boundaries around the children, and set them apart from the parents so that they could establish their own freedom and their own independence.¹¹⁷ Let me add that I was trying to free Bernadette from the parents (and from the mother particularly) as much as I was trying to free Dale. Because Bernadette was living up to the expectations of the parents without making her own stand she was, in a way, bonded just as much as Dale was. She was acting it out in a different way. So these were our goals and that was what I was working with. The first two interviews saw us consolidating these principles, which resulted in increased freedom for Dale. They also resulted in increased freedom from worry and concern for mother, and increased trust¹¹⁸ in father.

My approach was, for example, that when I telephoned the parents I would insist on speaking to father. When we negotiated ways of handling the situation within the family, I would go straight to him as the executive member, and only thereafter to mother, so that in my contact with them I established him as the leading figure.

In appearance both mother and Dale changed. Dale became less untidy in her appearance. She took greater care over what she looked like when she came for the interview. Mother started looking very well-groomed. She lost the tired look that surrounded not only her face but her whole body and she appeared to be a much freer woman. The contact between mother and father was different as well. She now picked up from my cues¹¹⁹ and she would consult with her husband rather than tell him what to do. He became very much stronger. In the interviews he asserted himself. He told the family what he thought was appropriate and then we negotiated around that. Thus, by the sixth interview when we considered where we wanted to go from that point on, we saw a very different family structure. From an ineffectual father, we now had an assertive husband who took the lead in decision-making. Mother became much more feminine and allowed husband to take over. She was no longer the worrier. Bernadette now came into the interviews in slacks and 'skinny' tops,¹²⁰ while Dale came to the interviews in long flowing dresses. The two girls had equalled out¹²¹

and both of them had become adolescents. These results were so staggering that I really was not only playing a game when I rehearsed relapses in my own mind. The improvement was just too great and I was really concerned about the prospects of a breakdown.¹²²

So we established a new contract which was that I would be seeing them for four more sessions and then we would reconsider the situation. At that moment Dale insisted that she wanted to go back to school. I had in all my contact with them not really stopped Dale from doing anything that was positive. So, when she started talking about going back to school, I immediately supported her and said that it would be a good thing if she would do that.¹²³ Then we handed the situation back to the parents again and gave them the responsibility (through father) to make contact with the school and to establish whether Dale could return, even though it was late in the year.

The next two sessions saw us working around this problem of Dale's return. I also had to negotiate with the hospital because, although I accepted that Dale would return to school, I was not happy for her to be discharged from the hospital yet. I negotiated with Dale, the family, the school, and the hospital that she would attend school whilst being a patient at the hospital. She would therefore still return to the hospital in the

afternoon. The attitude of those in charge at the hospital throughout these negotiations was very negative; they expected Dale to run away at any time. They expected a new suicide attempt, and they refused to adopt a positive attitude towards the venture.¹²⁴ We had long and very heavy sessions in which I was pleading with them to respond to the new Dale and get away from the image of the old Dale. The hospital wanted to arrange for her transport so that she would be delivered to school and fetched back again. I did not agree with that. I wanted Dale to take full responsibility for catching a train, a bus, or whatever was necessary to get herself to school by her own efforts. In this interview, right from the beginning, I saw her as somebody who could and should take responsibility for herself. I had treated her in this way and there was no way I was going to change my approach now, especially because this was also the way in which the parents had started to treat her. So finally it was decided with the headmistress and the hospital that she would find her own way there.

It was the second week after she had returned to school that I received a frantic telephone call to say that Dale had not arrived at school and everyone expected the worst.¹²⁵ I also had a phone call from mother. I explained that we had rehearsed this relapse and reminded her of what our approach was to be, that is, not to take

action by running around telephoning and trying to locate Dale. She should leave the matter because the hospital, Dale, and myself were the people responsible. Shortly after I spoke to mother, I received a phone call from Dale at the hospital and she explained that she had run away from school but that she had run away because she could not take the taunting of the other children any more. They were plaguing her because she was a patient in a mental hospital. They told her she was mad and called her all sorts of names. We all know that children can be very cruel and this is exactly what had happened. Dale had had a hard time at school which had pushed her to breaking point.¹²⁶ She responded in exactly the way we had rehearsed. When it became too much for her, she walked out of the school and found the first telephone box from which she phoned the hospital who sent out to fetch her. She was greeted with a lot of negative feedback from the hospital who would not give her a chance to explain. By the time she spoke to me she was in tears. She explained to me that she had not done anything wrong. After she had explained the precipitating events to the people at the hospital, she was allowed to give her own interpretation. She then telephoned the headmistress to whom she explained the situation. All in all, Dale handled things in a very mature way and was handled in a very sympathetic way by the headmistress. We thus had a good deal of material to

work with in the next interview.

Dale asked permission to stay away from school the next day so that she could have a break. I was unsure whether this was a good idea or not and reluctantly gave her permission by saying that it was her decision. If she decided to stay, she stayed; if she decided to go back to school the next day, she would go back the next day. This happened on a Tuesday and we were only going to be meeting the following Monday. I refused to call a special session and said that we would discuss the whole matter during our next scheduled family interview. I said I believed she had the resources to handle the situation until such time as we were to meet again.

The next interview provided us with a very vivid display of the exact situation within the family. When the crisis was precipitated, the family resorted -- or rather, the couple¹²⁷ resorted -- to the old method of handling, with mother panicking, worrying, and shielding Dale from stepfather. Stepfather was left outside, completely frustrated; he was not allowed to say anything. Mother was frustrated because she once again was carrying the whole burden. Bernadette was caught in the middle and once again moved between mother and father because she was in a way shielding and protecting both of them by distancing them. So she was neutralising the situation.¹²⁸ In that interview Dale became of secondary

importance. We did not look at what happened and why Dale ran away. We instead looked at what happened to the other three members of the family when Dale ran away. I used Dale almost as a co-therapist to look at and explain to them and discuss with them the situation as it happened (because she was the outsider who was not present). That was the interview in which mother gained insight. She was moved to tears, explaining how she was scared that when these children performed in a bad way her husband would not only reject them but he would reject her as a woman.¹²⁹ Therefore, she had the need to protect the children, fight him, and reject him before he could reject her. We looked at this. We stopped, and the children moved out of the analysis. I worked very hard with the two of them, especially with her, to explain this to him, to explain her pain and her need to him, and for him then to be allowed to fill this by allowing him to explain that he did care and no matter what the children did or what Dale did, he was not going to leave her or them. He would stay with them, because he wanted to be a part of the situation. He was prepared to work through it with them -- prepared, willing, and wanting to help carry the burden. It was a cathartic interview. It was an interview in which the dynamics showed very clearly and in which the people penetrated through the situations and incidents to the real emotions underlying them. That was what we worked with and a

great deal of insight was gained, not only by mother but also by Dale and by Bernadette.

We were then faced with a situation in which the family saw how they functioned and could move into the new roles that had been delineated for them, where father would be helping mother to carry the burden, where mother would rely on him, would use him, and would turn to him when things went wrong. Dale was established as an individual who was responsible for her own deeds and the parents should and would stop taking responsibility for her by recognising that she could take care of herself. The family saw that she handled a difficult situation in a very mature way, and Bernadette saw that it was not necessary for her to protect the two parents. So she could also move away and leave them to it. It was a long interview and it was an interview that brought to a climax the things which we had been working with and for over the last seven sessions.

They went away fairly weary, I felt, because they had worked very hard, and we looked forward in the next interview to consolidating the changes.

During the following interview we dealt with Dale's very real problem of having to attend school from the mental hospital. It was decided that the family and Dale would go away and think about the possibility of Dale returning home because I felt that she was ready for

that. I did not want to spring it on them¹³⁰ but I wanted them to go away and think about it because I thought it was appropriate. I may also add that Dale, after the incident of running away from school, opted the next day to return to school. From then on she had not missed a day.

During the next interview, the family stated quite clearly that they were ready for Dale to come home and Dale was very excited. She wanted to return home, she wanted to get back to the community. I agreed with the family that it was time for Dale to go home. Only when she was back home with the family again could we begin to look at some other problems which might emerge. We thus decided that Dale would return home and that I would make the necessary arrangement with the hospital.

After the very dramatic interview that had preceded this one, we never really suffered a serious setback.¹³¹ Dale was discharged from the hospital, the family bought themselves a new home, they moved into the house, and I saw them for three more sessions. We completed the ten sessions that we contracted for and we agreed that I would see them for four more, on a fortnightly basis, which we did. I did not move much further or much beyond what I have already described. I felt that the parents were not really ready to look at themselves as a couple, or to look at their sexual relationship. I felt that if

we could manage to establish them as a parenting couple the rest would come by itself in time.

Therefore, the last few sessions were spent working together as a family that had normal problems of discipline and normal problems of limit setting. We used incidents that happened during the week to help the parents establish themselves very clearly in an executive position so that they could make demands and establish rules. The children were placed very clearly in the sibling subsystem, on the one hand having to adhere to rules and regulations as set out in the house, on the other hand giving the children freedom within limits. For example, Dale's room was her own responsibility, as was Bernadette's. Mother need not worry about what happened in the confines of their bedrooms. If they were in a mess it was their responsibility. However, once out of their bedrooms the mother was enabled to, and in fact requested to, make the rules and to make demands on the children. In this kind of way we were dealing with normal family problems and we were working on the tasks that were appropriate to the life stage¹³² of the family.¹³³ Dale ceased to be the problem member of the family, pressures were removed from all of the members of the family, and they started functioning in a completely different way.

In conclusion, then, after our last contract

International Patterns of Pathologies and Paradoxes". Watzlawick, together with Weakland and Fisch, was also responsible for the work entitled "Change. Principles of Problem Formation and Problem Resolution", which discusses a number of the interventive strategies involved in bringing about change in the family as a system. Another appropriate book to look at is that of J. Haley, entitled "Uncommon Therapy: The Psychiatric Techniques of Milton Erickson".

8. Couch, op. cit., p. 52.
9. Ibid., p. 56.
10. In terms of making information available between individual members with which to solve their problems.
11. Couch, op. cit., pp. 56-58.
12. Minuchin, Salvador: Families and Family Therapy. London: Tavistock, 1974, pp. 140-143.
13. Haley, op. cit., pp. 24-46.
14. The most obvious boundary in the nuclear family is that drawn around the mother and the father. This is depicted by the term 'parents', which depicts them as a unit standing separately from, but in conjunction with, offspring who are bound by the term 'children'.
15. Minuchin, op. cit., pp. 143-147.
16. Ibid., pp. 210-211.
17. Ibid., pp. 1-15.
18. Ibid., p. 14.
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid., pp. 136-137.
21. Ibid., p. 119.
22. Ibid., p. 14.
23. Ibid., pp. 14-15.
24. i.e., the way they will feel about one another and themselves.
25. i.e., to establish open communication with.

26. i.e., the abnormal unhealthy functioning. Watzlawick, Paul, J.H. Beavin and D.D. Jackson: *Pragmatics of Human Communication*. London: Faber & Faber, 1968, passim.
27. To become a member of the system.
28. Minuchin, op. cit., p. 161. Watzlawick, Weakland and Fisch: *Change. Principles of Problem Formation and Problem Resolution*. New York: Norton, 1974, pp. 110-115.
29. Watzlawick, Beavin and Jackson, op. cit., pp. 133-148.
30. Boszormenyi, Nagi and James L. Framo: *Intensive Family Therapy*. New York/Evanston/San Francisco/London: Harper & Row, 1965, p. 19.
31. Minuchin, op. cit., p. 139.
32. Haley, op. cit., pp. 89-123.
33. Actively involved in, or desiring to bring about an improvement in her condition.
34. Couch, op. cit., p. 56. " ... It should be noted that these (advocates of total or almost exclusive use of family interviewing) come from settings in which problems of children or their mental illness are the dominant or presenting concern rather than marital difficulties, although the latter may have an important part to play in the former."
35. Ackerman, op. cit., p. 204.
36. This author's emphasis. Mrs. Fridjhon is preparing the family for eventual recovery and leading them toward the time when they will be able to undertake decision-making themselves. She is providing, demonstrating and advocating one method for overcoming their problems, and this is being done in her account prior to the commencement of official therapy sessions.
37. Ackerman, op. cit., p. 204.
38. Couch, op. cit., pp. 55-56.
39. Mother's contract, see below.
40. i.e., after mother had divorced and remarried.
41. i.e., the parents experienced considerable anguish

of mind due to the girls' behaviour.

42. i.e., ceased behaving in a rebellious manner.
43. Acted in a disruptive manner.
44. Minuchin, op. cit., p. 206.
45. Because this was the family's contract with Dale.
46. i.e., role play.
47. Minuchin, op. cit., pp. 89-90.
48. Couch, op. cit., pp. 54-55.
49. A lover of home life.
50. Profession deleted.
51. In life.
52. i.e., Dale's behaviour was the problem.
53. Ackerman, op. cit., p. 304. Minuchin, op. cit., pp. 156-157.
54. Ackerman, op. cit., p. 304.
55. Minuchin, op. cit., pp. 211-239.
56. Ackerman, op. cit., p. 304.
57. Ibid., p. 305.
58. Ibid.
59. Ibid.
60. Minuchin, op. cit., Chapter 5: "Therapeutic implications of a structural approach", pp. 89-109.
61. Ackerman, op. cit., p. 307.
62. Ibid.
63. The reader might find Mrs. Fridjhon's constant repetitions tiresome. However, he should bear in mind the great responsibility she carried in the situation. She had to effect change based upon her own judgement. It should also be borne in mind that Dale had a history of suicide attempts and also the fact that her therapeutic endeavours were viewed with a jaundiced eye by the therapeutic

community at the hospital. Her whole reputation was at stake in the case so in the family's interests and for her own sake she could not afford to make any mistakes. Mrs. Fridjhon was displaying great moral courage.

64. This is to say that the emotional relationships between them were demonstrated by the way in which they utilised physical space in relation to each other.
65. Ackerman, op. cit., p. 305.
66. Mrs. Fridjhon again repeats herself. She is re-living and again overcoming her own anxieties in the therapeutic situation. In recounting the events they are made to sound simple and self-evident. However, to the engineer in the thick of the action, the making of the smallest decision can be an enormous task in subjective emotional terms.
67. This move to the first person singular reflects the weight of responsibility carried by the therapist.
68. Minuchin, op. cit., pp. 132-133.
69. Ackerman, op. cit., p. 305.
70. Turned our attention onto.
71. Ackerman, op. cit., p. 305.
72. Ibid., p. 303.
73. Here the sense is 'to conspire'.
74. Watzlawick, Weakland and Fisch, op. cit., Change. Principles of Problem Formation and Problem Resolution, pp. 240-242.
75. Minuchin, op. cit., pp. 150-152.
76. If someone from the mental hospital were to contact her.
77. Ackerman, op. cit., p. 305. "Impairment of complementarity undermines the stability of emotional integration into family."
78. Watzlawick, Weakland and Fisch, op. cit., pp. 131-132.
79. Agree.

80. Minuchin, op. cit., pp. 152-155.
81. i.e., encouragement by means of positive results from reality testing.
82. Haley, op. cit., pp. 229-257.
83. Watzlawick, Weakland and Fisch, op. cit., pp. 123-126.
84. Minuchin, op. cit., pp. 129-132.
85. i.e., protector.
86. Ackerman, op. cit., p. 305. "It is important to appraise the extent to which family conflict is controlled.... In this connection complementarity in reciprocal family role relations is of special importance insofar as it assures mutual satisfaction of need, avenues for solution of conflict, support for a necessary self image, and crucial forms of defence against anxiety."
87. Couch, op. cit., p. 12.
88. Mrs. Fridjhon is referring to a folk image widespread in mythology, which is that step-parents are wicked persons in their interactions with their stepchildren. Most often they are depicted in fairy stories as cold, cruel, distant, etc.

So the sense here is that mother's husband bears the title of stepfather and therefore one tends to think of him as remote from the children and this was in fact the way the situation was.
89. Ackerman, op. cit., p. 275. "They (people) seek out unconsciously social relationships which they hope will delay anxiety, reduce tension, promote their emotional welfare, and further their development as persons."
90. Watzlawick, Weakland and Fisch, op. cit., pp. 96-99.
91. Ibid., p. 103.
92. Minuchin, op. cit., pp. 46-66.
93. To breach mother's defences. Action which only served to make mother more defensive, which in turn inspired father to greater efforts, and so on.
94. Haley, op. cit., p. 40 and pp. 24-46.
95. Couch, op. cit., p. 110.

96. Ackerman, op. cit., p. 275. "These processes (of growth) are inherent in the child's early experience of relations with mother, and after that with both parents and the family as a whole." And Haley, op. cit., pp. 60-63.
97. Ackerman, op. cit., p. 282. "They (the processes of transference, resistance, and defence) are structured and moulded in a selective manner by the dynamics of role participation in a given group."
98. Watzlawick, Weakland and Fisch, op. cit., pp. 107-117, 3.6.
99. Ibid., p. 90, 3.34.
100. It is interesting to note that a family can stabilise in a way which can be inimical to one or more of its members.
101. Sub-ordinate.
102. Super-ordinate.
103. Minuchin, op. cit., p. 89.
104. i.e., construct a relationship which is reinforced over time.
105. Watzlawick, Weakland and Fisch, op. cit., pp. 67-70. "Schismogenesis.... A process of differentiation in the norms of individual behaviour resulting from the cumulative interaction between individuals."
106. Ackerman, op. cit., p. 305. "The aim is to define the conflicts in which the patient is locked with individual family members, to assay the disturbances in the bond of individual and family identity and the interdependence of stability of individual personality with the balance of Role Relations in Family Pairs and the family as a whole." And Couch, op. cit., p. 13.
107. Watzlawick, Beavin and Jackson, op. cit., pp. 134-148. "The Family as a System".
108. Couch, op. cit., pp. 110-111.
109. Ibid., p. 111.
110. Haley, op. cit., pp. 229-257.
111. Ackerman, op. cit., p. 307. "Thus a pattern of procedure evolves that is a flexible combination of

individual psychotherapy and group psychotherapy, involving salient family pairs or threesomes, or the entire family group."

112. Come home.
113. Watzlawick, Beavin and Jackson, op. cit., p. 51. "To summarize, a metacommunicational axiom of the pragmatic of communication can be postulated: one cannot not communicate."
114. i.e., in the ascendant authoritative position.
115. Communicated this fact to her by means of the therapist's interpretation of events.
116. Watzlawick, Beavin and Jackson, op. cit., pp. 43-45. The "black box concept" and present versus past.
117. i.e., rebalance the family so as to provide a con-structive family environment for the individual and subsystem members.
118. Being placed.
119. i.e., leads as to how the family should be hierarchically structured.
120. e.g., a kind of form-fitting garment worn on the upper part of the torso, designed to set off the female figure to advantage.
121. i.e., personality balance came to exist within them as individuals instead of between the two of them. See above in the text.
122. Haley, op. cit., pp. 30-31. "Encouraging the Relapse".
123. Generally, any move towards a normalisation of lifestyle is therapeutically constructive provided that the patient/client can successfully withstand the pressures and meet the demands of the change.
124. i.e., so as to encourage her.
125. This is the height of the crisis for the engineer and the family.
126. Here the sense is ... "to the point of nervous breakdown".
127. i.e., mother and father.

128. Watzlawick, Beavin and Jackson, op. cit., pp. 232-236. "The Game without End".
129. Ackerman, op. cit., p. 307. "Working at this level through a process of reality testing, mediated by the participation of the therapist, one is able to dissolve away various irrational projections of one family member on another."
130. i.e., surprise them with it.
131. Minuchin, op. cit., pp. 138-157.
132. i.e., at that stage in the family's development.
133. Couch, op. cit., p. 263.
134. Dunn, S. Watson and Arnold M. Barban: Advertising. Its Role in Modern Marketing. Hinsdale, Illinois: Dryden Press, 1974, pp. 286-287.
135. Ackerman, op. cit., p. 282. Couch, op. cit., p. 13. Haley, op. cit., p. 17.
136. Ackerman, op. cit., p. 283.
137. i.e., the turning points of dysfunction.
138. Or 'by which' ... i.e., to demonstrate more appropriate systems of interaction.
139. Minuchin, op. cit., pp. 138-157.
140. i.e., the therapist.
141. Couch, op. cit., pp. 210-311. "In comparison with the complexity of the issues in the treatment of marital problems and the difficulty of the tasks ahead, the contribution that any study can hope to make is indeed small. This monograph has tried to articulate and view in an organized way the concepts implicit in workers' views regarding multiple-client interviews, but has not ventured to test or validate these ideas. If it has been able to clarify a few relevant concepts, to place them in some order and perspective, and to stimulate their systematic study and appraisal, it will have achieved its aim. Some of the areas highlighted may be ready now for rigorous testing and evaluation; others need further clarification before they can be examined systematically.

The use of multiple-client interviews represents a major break-through in casework practice. These modalities offer new avenues for understanding and

treating marital problems and for linking them conceptually to the problems of the family as a whole. They also promise some rapprochement between client expectations and agency services offered.

There can be little doubt that experiments with these modalities have been at once the result of the stimulus for intensive self-criticism and practical and conceptual retooling among caseworkers. The continuing ferment about them reveals a profession come of age, willing to expose its doubts and failures -- and even to question its apparent success -- in the interest of growth and increased competence. But eagerness for success in the daily struggle to aid suffering couples and families should not be allowed to obscure the fact that these modalities are likely to yield the richest benefits for service only if research and theory are widely used to probe, test, and evaluate them and their usefulness in conjunction with other approaches.

At times the advance of conceptual integration and research is bound to seem excessively slow or even wasteful in view of the urgent pressures of marital distress. Effort spent on service, however, even with the best intentions, is not invariably productive. It must sometimes be a groping in the dark on the basis of intuitive hunch and unverified theory. Multiple-client interviews offer a unique opportunity for establishing a more solid base of operations. Here theories about social interaction, social systems, and their treatment can be examined and revised in the light of directly observed interaction and system functioning. Practice can thus be adjusted and re-evaluated on the basis of clearer theoretical understanding. In the end, time spent on studies that can contribute to the mutual modification and enrichment of theory and practice should yield genuine benefit for client families. It should also enrich professional education and practice by delineating and illuminating more clearly the respective roles of intuitive art and scientific knowledge in casework practice.

The task ahead will not be easy. It is reminiscent of the anecdote about the plight of the driver who, setting out with new glasses, finds his accustomed road clogged with traffic and hazards he had not observed even the day before. It is not the traffic pattern that is new but the driver's direct experience of it. In a very real sense multiple-client interviews offer the caseworker new glasses with which he can see more clearly the intricacies and conflicting pressures with which his clients have been familiar all along. While these glasses are revealing to the caseworker greater complexity and

new problems, they also should increase the chances that he and the family will arrive at their common destination and that they will do so with all the passengers intact."

CHAPTER 6

SOCIAL ENGINEERING 3(SE3) AND 3A(SE3A)

Example No 5

AN ADVERTISING PROCESS

CHAPTER 6

Example No 5

AN ADVERTISING PROCESS

Chapter 6 is the result of a number of interviews and discussions with several people, including Ms Anne Christmas, Mr D. Strydom, Mr R. Divers, and Mr M. Cook.

The principal contributor was Mr Cook, who granted the writer formal interviews and informal sessions during which discussion on advertising theory and procedure was recorded. The writer is indebted to him for the cogent way in which he conveyed theory through a description of one of his own campaigns, and especially for supplying the necessary clues for the sub-theme of Social Engineering 3A(SE3A) which is dealt with in this chapter and also in Chapter 11 in Part Two of this work.

This present chapter, like the preceding one, has been condensed. Material not central to the main theme has been omitted, although it included fascinating information. However, it was superfluous to the central intention, which is to convey in comparatively simple terms the principles involved in the advertising process. Also for this latter reason the sequence of

stages in the processes described has been rearranged so as to render them as nearly as possible in chronological order.

The case material for understanding advertising concepts, problems, and action fields as seen by the company for which Mr Cook worked is contained in three simple charts which are used in all stages of work by the people involved in a campaign. Unfortunately, the company concerned (which does not wish to be named) refused to give permission to include the charts in the following account. Because of the absence of charts, the reader must rely solely on the text. Had it been possible to publish the charts, reference to them would have rendered the meaning much more readily apparent.

References to the charts have been retained in the script despite the fact that the charts have been deleted. This has been done in order to divide up the material dealt with, and to make it more assimilable. If all references to the charts were removed, material would as a result have been lumped together in such a way as to make it chaotic.¹

MR COOK ON THE ADVERTISING PROCESS

We use three charts as a basis for all our thinking and planning. Obviously the creative ideas cannot be formalised but it does give one a way in which one can

start to think.

The best way to demonstrate this is to use an example. Let us say that a client comes to us concerned about the beer he is marketing. We will receive from him a brief² stating that he has a brand of beer and that it is dropping in the market³ and he wants to know what we can do about it. The first thing we do is to get a creative team together which includes the account planners, the media people, copywriters, a creative director, etc., and we ask ourselves a series of inter-linked questions, in this order:⁴

1. Where are we?
2. Why are we there?
3. Where could we be?
4. How could we get there?
5. Are we getting there?

In the example of our beer we might find answers to these questions in the following way.

1. Where are we? -- We are a fairly successful brand of beer on the market but we seem to be losing brand share.⁶
2. Why are we there? -- Our share of the market has been determined by the advertising approach that we previously adopted.

3. Where could we be?⁷ -- (i) We could certainly get a lot more consumers;⁸ (ii) We could possibly diversify into the 'black' market.⁹
4. How could we get there? -- Why are we not where we feel we ought to be? Is this primarily an advertising problem or does the cause lie elsewhere -- for example with distribution?
5. Are we getting there?

This is a typical thought process that comprises a first analysis of a manufacturer's problems.

When we¹⁰ have acted in the market,¹¹ we review the brand position by means of these questions¹² to see what change has been brought about and to uncover further opportunities. So it is a never-ending process. Even with well established brands we take a look at them now and again and measure them against this very simple chart. We could do this even in the absence of any crisis with the brand. We might decide to examine the situation of even a high flying brand¹³ to see if anything is starting to happen underneath that will change the sales figures.¹⁴

This chart¹⁵ is used specifically for reviewing

brands that are already on the market and are dysfunctional.¹⁶ It breaks down the underlying variables which govern the product identity. An existent brand that has been on the market for some time is thought of by the consumer in a certain way. The whole range of consumer's responses to this product makes up the Product Identity or Image.

When we go into an existing brand,¹⁷ we examine the total produce situation¹⁸ as it influences the consumer.¹⁹ We will look at its name for emotive associations; its symbol for sensory value and associative power; its packaging for attractiveness; its product associations for desirability; the price for reasonableness; its promotional style for penetration; its display for impact; its public relations for appropriateness; the advertising for quality; the competition for alternatives; the performance for growth.²⁰ If we find weakness in any one area, it can be corrected; for example, the problems might lie in packaging or in the people involved with the product. The sales representatives might for instance not be the right kind of people. Perhaps the advertising is at fault or the shop fronts are poor. So we come to look at the whole situation.

This is not to say that we treat all consumers alike.²¹ We recognise that consumers are not homogeneous. We divide them into four categories.²² The first type

of consumer is absolutely prejudiced against the product. He will not consume it even if it is given to him. The fourth type is absolutely prejudiced in favour of the product. He will continue to consume it even if the price trebles or quadruples.²³ He second type leans towards disliking the product and the third type leans towards liking the product. Types two and three are susceptible to advertising if the right approach can be found. These kinds of people are those that we must try to capture and get onto or back onto our side.²⁴

This chart²⁵ is unique to - - -²⁶ worldwide; it is called a - ----.²⁷ We first of all decide on who comprises our target group.²⁸ We then research this group in order to discover what will appeal to them.²⁹ In terms of sensing rational and emotional material, this information is then used in the writing of a Chart 3. The chart serves two functions: it is used as a basis for the construction of an outline advertisement³⁰ which is then used to explain the proposed advertisement to the client.³¹

When he has given his consent to our approach,³² we go ahead and make the advertisement in perhaps four or five possible forms. For example, if we are making a television commercial, we would probably make four or five different versions of it, grouped around the same basic theme.

Tests are then conducted on groups of consumers selected especially from the target group³³ whereby the shorts are shown to them and their responses are used as feedback by the creative team. This feedback will then be used to modify our approach where necessary, so that we are hitting the nail right on the head.³⁴ A final form³⁵ will then be produced for release.

When the client first comes to us, he gives us a comprehensive brief³⁶ covering the history of the product and what competitors are doing. This is coupled with our own research on the consumer³⁷ and into other brands to assess the position in terms of negatives and positives.³⁸ Then an internal brief is written stating that 'these' problems exist and we should tackle them in 'this' way. Then the copywriter and myself sit down and work the material up from there, using this chart (Chart 2).³⁹

I worked on a wine trade account.

We were approached by - - -⁴⁰ who said that they wanted to extend their sales of wine. They were quite prepared to extend in any area. That is to say, they would make any kind of wine if there would be a market for it. They would even make a super de luxe red that would retail for R10,00 a bottle.⁴¹

So we conducted research⁴² into the wine market both

with our own research agency and through MRA (Market Research of Africa) in order to find a gap⁴³ where we could go in.⁴⁴

The gap was in the medium price range. Wines were being consumed in the inexpensive and expensive areas by people with relatively low and high incomes respectively.⁴⁵ The gap was representative of a large clump⁴⁶ of people who were very unsophisticated but not totally dim,⁴⁷ just dim about wine and scared as far as wine goes.⁴⁸ This group was typified by students and young people who had just left school, who had only a passing acquaintance with wine. They would drink it on birthdays and at Christmas so it was associated with 'high days and holidays'.⁴⁹ We found also that they believed that there was an etiquette surrounding wine that was a mystery to them, so they would not consider taking it to a picnic in case they were contravening conventions and thereby exposing themselves to ridicule. We found that this market was expanding annually.⁵⁰ It represented the biggest gap and it was untapped.⁵¹

So we went back to - - -⁵² and explained the situation to them in terms of a need for a range of medium-priced wine in both reds and whites. They were delighted because the process of manufacture of this kind of wine was relatively simple and short-term, while the volume of sales would be comparatively large, which all contrasted

favourably with the characteristics of an expensive wine. They made up some test wines, two whites and three reds, which eventually arrived on my desk for a taste-test which was favourable -- it was quite acceptable and a good wine for the price. We discussed our mutual ideas on price and settled for a launch price of 55 cents a bottle⁵³ as fitting the pocket of the potential consumer and providing sufficient profit margin for the producer.

The next job was to decide on a name. The way we do this is to sit down as a team, plus any interested parties, and brain-storm.⁵⁴

Someone will come up with a name and, by a process of free association, things will lead on and we will examine as many names as we can think of. They will be examined for their suitability and acceptability to the target group.⁵⁵ So we might start with a name like 'Tropical Islands' which might evoke 'Seychelles' and so on. Then we will review each name individually within the group and thereby build up a picture of what it is we are trying to suggest to the potential consumer,⁵⁶ and we will go on until we get it right.

In the case of the wine that I was working on, the brain-storming⁵⁷ came up with a short list of twenty names which we went through in more detail until we had limited it to only a few amongst which which were the names -----⁵⁸ and -----⁵⁹. So we combined the two and

found that it had a nice sound to it and it had the right focussing.⁶⁰ The name wasn't too 'high falutin!' and it had a nice honest look to it.

Then we moved to label and pack design. We wanted to maintain the no-nonsense look⁶¹ around the whole range of products because we knew that it was easily possible to lose consumers by either packaging the wrong way⁶² and/or pricing too high. We wanted to keep it natural and nice,⁶⁴ so we adopted the picture of the limited front of a Cape Dutch house for the bottle label which suited -----⁶⁴ as a product description.

So we got our packaging together⁶⁵ and that was finally approved⁶⁶ and we sorted out the campaign between the client and the agency.

Then we moved to testing.⁶⁷ We used for this purpose one hundred people each of whom had been carefully selected from the target market.⁶⁸ These hundred were then broken down into five groups of twenty. Each of these groups was then interviewed by a trained interviewer in a room fitted with concealed microphones, which are used to record the interviews. We watched the interviews through one-way mirrors.⁶⁹

The interviewer presented our design and also alternative designs, some of which were 'red herrings',⁷⁰ planted by us to test their reactions. In all five

discussions we got a free flow of consumers' reactions towards our name, label design, and packaging, all of which was positive. So we went ahead and got into print.

From here we started working on our advertising approach. We knew our target market and we had quite a lot of data about it from our research. We then went back to draw up a Chart 3 to be used to guide our advertising approach. We decided what we wanted them to sense, what we wanted them to rationalise, and what we wanted them to feel emotionally, and we wrote this up. This was then a statement of the responses that we wanted to evoke from this group by means of our advertising. Then we started writing and visualising advertisements around what we wanted them people to believe.

We constructed a number of campaign approaches, checked them against Chart 3, redrew them, added to them, deleted from them, until we were left with one that we were happy with. This was referred to research and group discussion again, using five exposures each with a different group of twenty people.⁷¹ From this we got positive feedback on two campaigns of the five tested. So we combined both the approaches into one and we tested again. This time we got positive feedback on only the campaign we had backed and so we knew we had a launch platform⁷² which was acceptable to the people we were trying to reach, so we launched on that with three white

and two red wines. The product just took off from there.⁷³

Approximately six months after launch we had a post-testing conducted by MRA to see where we stood⁷⁴ and they came back positive.⁷⁵ We have kept to the same platform since then and now, five years later, it is still doing well. We are on a semi-romantic platform: I don't know whether you are familiar with the advertising? One advertisement says -----⁷⁶ brings out the adventure in your every day.⁷⁷ We have gone for everyday situations -- mostly boy/girl, for example, taking the dog for a walk then sitting down and having a picnic and turning this Sunday afternoon excursion into quite an exciting little adventure. A little picnic for two, putting the wine in the water to chill it. Very romantic.

Another advertisement pictured a young couple making a jigsaw puzzle in a cottage environment on a wet Sunday afternoon, making the afternoon just that much more pleasant by drinking a bottle of wine.

What we are doing here is reassuring the hang-ups⁷⁸ that our research found our target group had around the area of wine consumption (for example, vague feelings that white wine ought to be drunk with fish and fowl, and red wine with red meat), and the feeling that the etiquette connected with ordering, opening, and tasting

was strictly prescribed. This resulted in a reluctance to experiment with wines and we found, for example, that a Transvaaler ordering wine in a restaurant would order Nederburg because he knew it was very safe.

We wanted to reassure people that there are no taboos.⁷⁹ It is not necessary to be sitting down to a red meat banquet to open a bottle of red wine. So the message we wanted to get to these kinds of people was that wine is a thing to be enjoyed just any time you fancy it. Our message did get through and now -----
-----⁸⁰ is even bigger than Nederburg; it is the biggest brand.

Obviously with a completely new brand this chart does not correspond. It would be used for an existing brand. For example suppose the manufacturer of ----⁸¹ beer came to us and said that he had a problem with falling sales in the Eastern Transvaal and that he would like to transfer his advertising contract to our agency so that we could have a look at his problem. In this instance this chart would come into play. We would start by saying "Okay, you⁸² have got a certain group of people who will stay with you forever unless you totally screw up⁸³ the brand taste-wise."⁸⁴ Another group will never take it even if he lowers the price to 2c a can. So this chart comes into play with an existing brand because obviously these things do not exist with a new brand.

So we can now use this chart with -----;⁸⁵
 in fact, we have done so. We have examined its situation
 and seen that it is going well. People know about it.⁸⁶
 The advertising is not bad, it is still communicating
 the right sort of things, but we could update it and say
 the things a little fresher now. From this word-of-mouth
 perspective we have really scored.⁸⁷ It has even got a
 nickname⁸⁸ which is always a healthy thing for a brand
 to have.⁸⁹ People are calling it '-----'.⁹⁰ We still
 think our name is pretty good. We are questioning our
 label design -- we would like to update it. Product
 association is good because the kind of people who are
 drinking the product are the people we aimed at. We are
 happy that these people are drinking it and are being
 seen by potential consumers to be doing so⁹¹ because they
 are the right kinds of people. Pricing is still good, so
 is promotional style; there are nice promotional things
 happening for -----.⁹² Display is pretty good.
 PR⁹³ is reasonable. That covers - - -⁹⁴ generally;
 they do a good job of work. Competition has climbed on
 the bandwagon.⁹⁵ For example, we first introduced wine
 in well-shaped two-and-a-half litre jugs.⁹⁶ Now many
 other brands of wine are being marketed in this way.
 Corporate stance is good and we are in the right phase
 of development. '-----'⁹⁷ has got a b-----y⁹⁸ good name
 but we do have a problem with distribution.

Once we got this mutual agreement between - - -⁹⁹

and ourselves, we drew up a Chart 3. Basically we know the target group now because we had found it already to be the 18-30 year-olds.¹⁰⁰ We personified this brand as Des and Dawn Lindberg. It is always an interesting exercise to hold a brand up as if that brand is a person, to see who it would be and how one sees them. So -----
 -----¹⁰¹ came across¹⁰² as Des and Dawn Lindberg, the slightly trendy folksy sort of people who tend to live in the northern suburbs of Johannesburg, play folk music and dress trendily,¹⁰³ but not over the top. So we wrote a Chart 3 to that sort of brand personification.¹⁰⁴ Another example of brand personification is -----.¹⁰⁵ We personify -----¹⁰⁶ as a youngish, adventurous beach boy (not beach bum) type, more ritzy than the -----¹⁰⁷ sort of person. So we form this mind's eye picture first and then formulate the target to see what kind of people we want to talk to.

We decided on sensory, emotional, and reason input to be comprehensively covered by the areas of:

a fine range of wines
 at a good price
 without the fear of being ripped off¹⁰⁸
 because the product comes from a reputable
 producer like - - -¹⁰⁹
 the product can be afforded by the target
 group who will not be embarrassed to

drink it at home with friends, or enjoy it any time or any place, without worrying about the etiquette of the matter.

Then we conducted group studies in the Cape Peninsula and Johannesburg to get samples of the kinds of people that we wanted to talk to.¹¹⁰ We then randomly selected from those groups and made up our own research groups. We were careful to select only from our target group. This is where some advertisers go wrong. They try to appeal to too broad a market.¹¹¹ It is necessary to home in¹¹² and talk only to the kinds of people comprising the target group.¹¹³ It is a mistake to try to include those people on either side of this group because they are going to be either more or less sophisticated and these people are undesirable as consumers, because their association with the product will repel the mass of the consumers in the target group. One must not try to be all things to all men.¹¹⁴

We use approximately five groups because we find that number adequate; also because this kind of research is expensive, which is an important consideration in this time of recession.

We included five campaigns in the first round of research, two of which we believed in and three that we thought were wrong. These were inserted to cross-check the accuracy of our own thinking.

The results were as we had anticipated and we picked up some useful advice as well. We incorporated this advice into our final campaign. However, we did not act on everything they told us to do; we used their comments rather as guidelines. Some of their advice was very useful. For example, one visual we tested portrayed a picnic scene around a girl wearing a long dress and a guy dressed smart casual. We used this dress because we wanted to suggest a romantic atmosphere. It was felt that we were over the top.¹¹⁵ They said that it was a lovely picture but that no-one would actually go on a picnic dressed like that. We took their reasoning back to think about it. They we changed the dress¹¹⁶ to half-way between long dresses and denims. The result was the kind of dress and positioning that was smart casual and relaxed, which divorced them from the rough types who wear levis.¹¹⁷ Also, it marked them off from those people more sophisticated than themselves who would make them feel uncomfortable. For the same reason we unplaited the girl's hair and let it hang down.

When we had made those adjustments they agreed whole-heartedly with the campaign.

So it is important to be guided by what they say at a general level and it is equally important to be wary of the detail in what they say¹¹⁸ unless, of course, there is unanimity. For example, if five people say

they cannot stand the blonde girl and we were to remake the ad with a redhead we would probably find five other people saying that they could not stand the redhead. Our groups were virtually unanimous in saying that the long dress was over the top.¹¹⁹

We marketed a range of wines from the really dry white to the full-bodied red, plus a rose, to provide a selection for everyone. Since then we have added a number of others to give an even wider range of permutations. So now we have a ruby, a cinsaut, a sweet white honeydew perlé, and a crackling wine for the girls. The expansion of the range followed in part from one of our six-monthly surveys which discovered that there was an unfulfilled demand for a sweet white wine. We saw our weakness and immediately rectified it.

The emotional approach in the -----¹²⁰ campaign was aimed at destroying the belief that there was an elaborate binding etiquette¹²¹ surrounding wine that had to be mastered before it was possible to drink wines without running the risk of being ridiculed. This we did by depicting in the visuals everyday situations in which wine was being consumed in a socially accepted manner by people of their type at their level of society, which enhanced consumer identification with the subjects in the advertisements. For the same reason we used actors and actresses who were in the same age group as

our target group and portrayed them in romantic situations because our target market was very involved with romantic relationships.

As far as competition goes, we have got quite a lot of challenge coming up from all sorts of sources. When one gets a successful brand everyone tries to climb into the method.¹²² -----¹²³ became the largest selling spirit in the country after our campaign went out and now -----¹²⁴ are trying to climb onto the same basic detail by using our approach -- escapism, adventure -- and they are all bumming-out¹²⁵ because they are just a 'me-too'.¹²⁶

If they were smart they would look for a 'hole'.¹²⁷ I think that it is possible to talk to the same type of market in two voices; it is not necessary to go on the same platform to reach the same people. Another 'cane'¹²⁸ could be launched quite successfully to the people who are drinking -----¹²⁹ without doing what -----¹³⁰ is doing. They could have another look at it and go round another way to get to the same people.¹³¹ There are always alternative ways for reaching the same people.¹³² What -----¹³³ have done is to copy our campaign approach so directly as to be identical. We ran tests by exposing these advertisements to test audiences. The people¹³⁴ thought that the advertisements were -----¹³⁵ unless we gave them a long time

to examine the advertisements. If we just gave them a thirty-second exposure, followed by the question "Who is this ad for?",¹³⁶ the answer was "Oh, -----, -----." ¹³⁷ So they¹³⁸ just spent a lot of money helping us along.

The Creative Process

At the beginning, the basic problem is going through these thought processes because when you put two creative people together they can dream up a million things, so discipline is required. I think that 'creativity' in advertising is a very much over-used word. The process nowadays is more scientific than creative. There is a lot of stimulus from areas like research, psychology, briefs and documents from clients, which can be used as raw material.

I suppose that creativity does come into it to see through the grey and home in on something that you really want to say and that you feel is meaningful and is going to get to the heart of the matter.

The Research Report¹³⁹

The Research Report is the result of an in-depth study of the market. It is a part of the stimulus that would be fed into the creative team. The writers who

were going to work on the campaign and myself would then work our way through the report and formulate our conceptions of what will attract and what will repel the consumer. These will be the positives and negatives of our approach. Then we see what else we can make positive. Then we formulate the Chart 3.

The In-depth Study

This is an examination of the extent of the consumption or proposed consumption, by consumers or potential consumers, of a product or planned product. It is usually designed to discover 'positives' and 'negatives'. That is its purpose -- to discover what motivates and what demotivates the (potential) consumer.¹⁴⁰

For example, toothpaste. It is possible to go into amazing depth studies of likes and dislikes and whys and wherefores of toothpaste because it is principally mother who buys it and she has a whole conscience thing¹⁴¹ about whether or not she is being a good mother. This applies especially to baby food. Mothers feel so guilty about not feeding their baby themselves that they hate to buy ready-made foods. But they don't really want to feed the baby themselves because they are too lazy, so they have huge troubles with their consciences.¹⁴² This really 'freaks them out'.¹⁴³ Knowing about this, we can draw some quick conclusions and it is not very

hard to see which way to go.¹⁴⁴ Without this background we would be quite lost. Probably it would be possible to do an ad and sell some product but we do need this sort of background,¹⁴⁵ these disciplines, to hit the bull's eye. It took me a long time to accept them because I just came into the business to create ads then I realised that I was in the business of selling products, not selling ads. Until then I had been trying to impress the Creative Directors of other agencies.

That is basically the gist of the thought processes involved -- it is not just a hit and miss affair, it is a semi-scientific business. This is not just - - -'s¹⁴⁶ approach; the whole trend in advertising is in this direction now. A few years ago it was a 'here you go'¹⁴⁷ approach. People¹⁴⁸ had a lot of money and if we blew ten grand,¹⁴⁹ what does¹⁵⁰ it matter? But now they want to know where every penny is going.

The Chart 3 is common sense and basic. It is a very good yardstick by which to measure advertising. We will do our own creative thing;¹⁵¹ then we will write up the advertisement. There is a danger as creative people that we will be dazzled by our own fancy foot-work¹⁵² so then we hold our campaign plan up against the Chart 3 and check on our work to make sure we are 'still on the rails'.¹⁵³

That is one area in which it is useful. Another is

explaining the advertisement to a client. We must obviously get the client to agree to what we are proposing because he is paying for it. A few years ago we just outlined the proposed campaign to him and answered his questions,¹⁵⁴ but this approach didn't often get a round of applause¹⁵⁵ because he was not on the same wavelength¹⁵⁶ as us.¹⁵⁷ So now we show him the research results on consumer profiles, and then brief him on how we want to go about solving the problem using Charts 2 or 3 as our reference point. Then we outline the campaign and demonstrate to him how it solves the problem by avoiding negatives and hitting¹⁵⁸ the positives.

So where we find it especially useful is "getting through to the guys who can't see".¹⁵⁹ It is b----y¹⁶⁰ useful in some presentations, used right. I used to hate it. I didn't understand it. I have been in this company about seven or eight years and for the first four years I just couldn't understand it at all. I found it a great hindrance. Now I find it a great aid in doing what I am doing and in selling my work.

The South African situation is a very interesting one from the advertising perspective because there are so many diverse groups. For example, the English-speakers, the Afrikaner, the English-speaking Afrikaner, and all their hang-ups.¹⁶¹ Then there is the 'black' market¹⁶² which is virtually untapped and no-one is even

coming to grips with it. We can't seem to talk to these guys,¹⁶³ it is purely by luck that we get brands in there and we score.¹⁶⁴

Like¹⁶⁵ -----¹⁶⁶ is very big now¹⁶⁷ but we don't really know what we have done right;¹⁶⁸ we have done nothing for them; we have just run our white ads.¹⁶⁹

NOTES
to Chapter 6

1. And obscure.
2. i.e., a briefing.
3. The sales levels over time are diminishing.
4. Chart 1.
5. Broadbent, Simon: Spending Advertising Money. London: Business Books, 1975, pp. 322-330.
6. The term 'Brand Share' refers to the percentage of the market occupied by a particular brand. This is to say if sales of beer in (e.g.) Johannesburg run to R100 000 000 per annum and the sales of the manufacturer's brand in our example (call it brand X) above accounts for R20 000 000 then he has a 20% share of the market or his brand share is 20%.
Brand share is quite distinct from sales revenues. It is possible for sales revenues to increase while brand share decreases. (For example) Let us assume that the sales of beer in Johannesburg in 1976 was R100 000 000, of which brand X accounted for R20 000 000 then X's brand share was 20% of revenues; but Johannesburg beer sales for 1977 climbed to R200 000 000 of which brand X accounted for R30 000 000; now brand X's brand share is 15%, i.e. it has slipped by 5% despite the increase in sales revenue of 50%.
7. Weinberg, C. and Others: Advertising Management. New York: Harper & Row, 1974, p. 7.
8. Aaker, David A. and John G. Myers: Advertising Management. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1975, p. 483.
9. Black market does not refer to the illicit sale of prohibited or restricted goods. It refers to the purchases, purchasing, and the purchasing power of the Bantu peoples.
10. As advertisers.
11. Situation.
12. Chart 2.
13. A brand that is selling well and whose market

position is continuing to climb.

14. To see if there are any shifts in trends as yet unapparent which will sooner or later, if left unattended, deteriorate that brand's sale position.
15. Chart 2.
16. Whose revenues and/or brand share is slipping downwards, sometimes even those whose growth rate is falling off.
17. When we become involved in the situation of a brand which is already selling prior to our involvement.
18. The total product situation refers to all aspects of the supply, demand, consumption and disposal of a product/brand.
19. Bogart, Leo: Strategy in Advertising. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1967, p. 17.
20. Aaker and Myers, op. cit., p. 87.
21. Here the sense is more that "we do not think of all consumers as having similar personalities".
22. Aaker and Myers, op. cit., pp. 331-332.
23. Weinberg and Others, op. cit., p. 29.
24. Aaker and Myers, op. cit., p. 354.
25. Chart 3.
26. Company's name deleted from the text on request. (J.W.T. - J. Walter Thompson).
27. Chart's name deleted from the text on request, hereafter referred to as Chart 3.
28. Income and gap, i.e., the target group is defined according to income, i.e. real available demand and market gaps.
29. Aaker and Myers, op. cit., p. 483.
30. Ibid, p. 506.
31. See page 128 for the difficulties entailed in this explanation.
32. Bishop, F.P.: The Economics of Advertising. London: Robert Hale, 1946, p. 162.

33. Crawford, John W.: Advertising. Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1965, pp. 109-111.
34. "Our approach will be refined by means of feedback until we are satisfied that we are doing the best we can."
35. e.g., a 'short'.
36. A documentary briefing.
37. Bogart, op. cit., pp. 70-76.
38. i.e., factors that are useful and factors that are not useful to an advertising approach. See Burton, Phillip Ward and J. Robert Miller: Advertising Fundamentals. Columbia, Ohio: Grid, 1976, pp. 128-133.
39. Burton and Miller, op. cit., pp. 31-32.
40. Name deleted from the text on request. (S.F.W. - Stellenbosch Farmers' Wineries).
41. Dunn, S. Watson and Arnold M. Barban: Advertising: Its Role in Modern Marketing. Hinsdale, Illinois: Dryden Press, 1974, p. 49; and Burton and Miller, op. cit., p. 102.
42. Dunn and Barban, op. cit., p. 216.
43. Group(s) of people in the market who at present do not consume the product but who can be helped to do so. See Burton and Miller, op. cit., p. 102; Bogart, op. cit., p. 195; and Crawford, op. cit., p. 118.
44. i.e., sell. See Crawford, *ibid.*, p. 246.
45. Burton and Miller, op. cit., pp. 117-120.
46. Used here as a noun, i.e. the sense is of a mass of people, not as a verb, i.e. not the act of massing.
47. Used in its colloquial context 'dimness' refers to a state of mind which lacks demonstrations of intelligence. Here the sense is more in keeping with 'unsophisticated'.
48. Intimidated by the thought of drinking wine.
49. Wine had special-occasion status in their lives.
50. Crawford, op. cit., p. 131.

51. There was no evidence to the effect that any manufacturer was attempting to sell a product similar to our client's in this area.
52. Stellenbosch Farmers' Wineries.
53. Dunn and Barban, op. cit., p. 48.
54. Think up and suggest possible solutions to a problem; the generally accepted connotation is one of a group process.
55. Crawford, op. cit., p. 212.
56. Ibid., p. 221.
57. Aaker and Myers, op. cit., p. 428.
58. Harvest.
59. Autumn.
60. This is an extremely difficult-to-define word as used in this context. The following is a crude approximate explanation. 'Focussing' refers to the creation of desired responses and the elimination of undesired responses through a process of zeroing in onto culturally homogeneous symbols, i.e. symbols that have similar or the same associations for all people (of the same culture) who are exposed to them. See Aaker and Myers, op. cit., p. 403.
61. Aaker and Myers, op. cit., pp. 100-103.
62. Ibid., pp. 132-133.
63. Burton and Miller, op. cit., p. 633.
64. Autumn Harvest.
65. Constructed our packaging programme.
66. Dunn and Barban, op. cit., p. 51.
67. The multitrait, multimethod matrix, Aaker and Myers, op. cit., p. 450.
68. Dunn and Barban, op. cit., pp. 270-272.
69. Burton and Miller, op. cit., pp. 135 and 137.
70. Here the sense is of introducing a deliberately unacceptable design in order to prompt a reaction.

71. Dunn and Barban, op. cit., pp. 271-273.
72. A fundamental conception and approach with which a sales campaign could be started.
73. The sales of the product increased greatly. See Dunn and Barban, op. cit., pp. 277-278; Bogart, op. cit., pp. 291-317; and Broadbent, pp. 209-230.
74. Dunn and Barban, op. cit., pp. 285-286.
75. Reported favourable research findings. See Aaker and Myers, op. cit., p. 55.
76. Autumn Harvest.
77. Dunn and Barban, op. cit., pp. 350-351.
78. Neuroses and phobias. See Aaker and Myers, op. cit., p. 43.
79. Burton and Miller, op. cit., pp. 129-130.
80. Autumn Harvest.
81. Lion.
82. The manufacturer.
83. Spoil.
84. From the aspect of taste.
85. Autumn Harvest.
86. Arndt, John: Word of Mouth Advertising. New York: Advertising Research Foundation, 1967, pp. 70-71.
87. From the aspect of taste.
88. Arndt, op. cit., pp. 6 and 24.
89. Ibid., p. 45.
90. 'Auties'.
91. Arndt, op. cit., p. 59.
92. Autumn Harvest.
93. Public relations.
94. Stellenbosch Farmers' Wineries.

95. Appeared in a virulent form.
96. Dunn and Barban, op. cit., pp. 55-56.
97. 'Auties'.
98. Bloody.
99. Stellenbosch Farmers' Wineries.
100. Burton and Miller, op. cit., pp. 117-119.
101. Autumn Harvest.
102. Communicated itself to us.
103. In describing a 'trendy dresser' it is easier to describe what they are not than what they are. They are not conservative in dress nor are they dressed in high fashion, nor would they wear the same style of clothes for long. Their clothing is of above average expensiveness but is beneath the cost of haute couture. Its themes are rustic and proletarian.
104. Neither too cheap nor too expensive; not too plebian nor too sophisticated; not too crumpled nor too newly valeted, etc.
105. Mainstay.
106. Mainstay.
107. Autumn Harvest.
108. Cheated, sold short measure.
109. Stellenbosch Farmers' Wineries.
110. Weinberg and Others, op. cit., p. 122.
111. Ibid., p. 102.
112. Concentrate.
113. Weinberg and Others, op. cit., p. 102.
114. Ibid.
115. Had gone too far.
116. Style.
117. A type of denim trousers of the 'jeans' variety.

118. Crawford, op. cit., p. 308.
119. Beyond the bounds of credibility.
120. Autumn Harvest.
121. Burton and Miller, op. cit., p. 129.
122. Attempts to copy the technique.
123. Mainstay.
124. Seven Seas.
125. Failing in their intentions.
126. An impersonation.
127. Gap.
128. A type of spirit drink.
129. Mainstay.
130. Mainstay.
131. By finding a different platform with equivalent appeal power.
132. Consumers.
133. Seven Seas.
134. Testees.
135. Mainstay.
136. Dunn and Barban, op. cit., p. 283.
137. Mainstay, Mainstay.
138. Our competitors.
139. Bogart, op. cit., p. 45, and Brewster, Arnold Judson and Herbert Hall Palmer: Introduction to Advertising. New York/London: McGraw-Hill, 1941, pp. 60-61.
140. Burton and Miller, op. cit., pp. 129-133.
141. Feelings of guilt and anxiety.
142. Dunn and Barban, op. cit., p. 197.

143. Makes them temporarily mad. See Weinberg and Others, op. cit., p. 17.
144. To know which approach to adopt. See Weinberg and Others, op. cit., p. 17.
145. Brewster and Palmer, op. cit., pp. 115-119.
146. J. Walter Thompson.
147. Ad hoc -- or 'being thrown in at the deep end'.
148. Clients.
149. Quickly spent ten thousand rand.
150. Did.
151. Drawing up a plan for the visual short by utilising the power of our own creative processes.
152. Over-impressed by our own efforts. Here the sense is of ideas.
153. Are maintaining the correct approach.
154. Burton and Miller, op. cit., p. 207.
155. Rarely resulted in his spontaneous wholehearted approval.
156. Because we were not approaching the problem from similar basic premises.
157. Burton and Miller, op. cit., p. 208.
158. Utilising.
159. Clarifying the problems to those who have difficulty with comprehending or who find it impossible to readily understand the situation.
160. Bloody.
161. Neuroses, phobias, etc.
162. Bantu market.
163. Chaps.
164. Succeed -- manage to sell to, or increase sales to, this group.
165. For example.

166. Mainstay.
167. Has gained greatly in popularity since our advertising campaign.
168. Burton and Miller, op. cit., p. 139.
169. We have not utilised a specialised approach for this population group.

CHAPTER 7

SOCIAL ENGINEERING 4

Example No 6

REVOLUTIONARY CHANGE AND ITS AFTERMATH

There is no higher art than that of destroying the enemy's resistance without a fight.

The direct tactic of war is necessary only on the battlefield; but only the indirect tactic can lead to a real and lasting victory.

Subvert anything of value in the enemy's country.¹

Implicate the emissaries of the major powers in criminal undertakings; undermine their position and destroy their reputation in other ways as well, and expose them to the public ridicule of their fellow citizens.

Do not shun the aid of even the lowest and most despicable people. Disrupt the work of their governments with every means you have.

Spread disunity and dispute among the citizens of the enemy's country. Turn the young against the old. Use every means to destroy their arms, their supplies and the discipline of the enemy's forces.² Debase old traditions and accepted ones. Be generous with promises³ and rewards to purchase intelligence and accomplices. Send out your secret agents in all directions. Do not skimp with money or with promises,⁴ for they yield a high⁵ return.

Sun Tzu⁶

For to win one hundred victories in one hundred battles is not the highest skill. To subdue the enemy without fighting is the highest skill.

Funakoshi Gichin⁷

CHAPTER 7

Example No 6

REVOLUTIONARY CHANGE AND ITS AFTERMATH

The account of revolution contained in this chapter is simplified. A great deal of literature has been written on the subject, but what this chapter presents is an account from the point of view of the revolutionary engineer. The process is here dealt with through the eyes of the man or men who attempt to create it.⁸ The account given is intended to be neither a proof of the writer's 'model' nor a disproof of the 'models' of others.⁹ An overall perspective is presented of what is a very complex subject with many themes.

The first requirement in the scheme of things which is designed to bring about revolutionary change is the existence of 'Men of Intent'.¹⁰ Their intentions are to overthrow the existing order and establish a new one overseen by themselves.¹¹ This will be easier for them when certain conditions prevail; for example, when they have outside support rallied to their cause and when the status quo is impotent and/or corrupt. In pursuit of their aims they may create discontent or they may exploit it where it already exists.¹² Usually they do both.

Outside support is a key criterion in their quest. However, their cause is not a hopeless one even in the absence of it. If they do not have outside support, that is, support from beyond their own borders,¹³ or inside support from powerful or influential interests that can be promised some gain from a successful change of order, they must set about obtaining such support; even to the extent of masking their real intentions or professing ideals¹⁴ and programmes that they have no intention¹⁵ of honouring.¹⁶ Hitler's¹⁷ wooing of the trade unions and Fidel Castro's posing merely on a social reformer during the early stages of their manoeuvrings for power are examples here.

Their intention is to win over, convince, frighten, dazzle,¹⁸ or otherwise realign¹⁹ the population to their own side,²⁰ and keep them there. To this end it is necessary for them to understand the people thoroughly. Most frequently the revolutionaries originate from the same population that they operate²¹ in, in which case they are more likely to have an intuitive feel for the people they seek to mould. If this is not the case, it is necessary for the revolutionary to study closely his chosen population. He must ideally understand everything about them²² -- from their eating habits, their language, and their modes of living, to their mystical beliefs, status structures, ambitions or lack of them, and their life expectations. Examples of this are T.E. Lawrence's

Arabic studies at Cambridge and his hitch-hiking holidays through Arabia where he lived with the people, spoke their language, and learned their way of life at first hand.²³ The most thorough way to learn about a society is to mix with its groups from the bottom of the social pyramid upwards, in this way becoming familiar with the prides and prejudices of everyone. This is essential knowledge later when support must be gained and when it becomes necessary to create new unions between differing groups. Without this local first-hand knowledge, the likelihood of making fatal blunders rises to the point of almost certainty.²⁴ This entire process of thoroughly familiarising oneself with the society is the undertaking of analysing the sentiment of the people,²⁵ as a unity, if that unity exists; or, in its absence, of the individuals that comprise the nation, group, etc.

The concept of sentiment does not necessarily refer to sentimentality, although it does not preclude it. An individual's sentiment is literally what he feels about, feels for, and believes in. For example, one reason for the failure of the agricultural extension programme in 'Third World' African countries is the belief that nature is bountiful, so there is no need to bother oneself with soil fertilisation. If land becomes infertile it is only necessary to clear a new strip of bush and abandon the old one.²⁶ It is of little use to explain rising population trends and the eventual need to conserve resources.

Attempts to mobilise the 'Third World' African by inculcating in him the profit motive and including him²⁷ in the cash economy have largely failed due to his almost exclusive tradition of tribal society where women do the menial work of producing and men undertake the fighting and hunting. Added to this is the rural tradition of hostility and suspicion expressed towards anyone who becomes too prominent and the convention that one's relatives are entitled to share in any extraordinary harvest that one may reap.²⁸ These factors, amongst others, serve to lock the man into a self-perpetuating pattern.²⁹ Until the parameters of the man's sentiment are known, attempts to modify his behaviour are likely to fail or rebound in an undesired direction.

The third stage in the engineering of revolution is the creation of a philosophy or credo whose purpose is to provide a focal point³⁰ around which disenchantment with the existing regime can turn. It is a medium for the generation of further grievance³¹ and for aligning existing grievance so as to throw blame upon the existing leadership. It must be simple to understand, easy to apply, and be flexible³² both in its incorporation of the existing structure and in accommodating likely shifts in policy by either the revolutionary engineers or the counter-revolutionary engineers³³ (in order to damn the latter). It must effectively damn the status quo in clear-cut simplistic terms and be capable of enlargement

into sophisticated argument for the intelligentsia. It does not have to conform to the truth.³⁴ But above all else it must be plausible,³⁵ inflammatory, and divisive. It must ultimately succeed in demoting the government's relation to the people down to the level of merely exploitative colonialists while promoting the revolutionaries' own relationship with the people to the stature of true representative leaders of the people.³⁶ It must also convince the radical group and its opponents that the radical group comprises the majority. One example of well-tailored propaganda was a rumour which spread quickly and did severe damage to the British cause in Imperial British India on the north-west frontier in 1857. This was the rumour that the new cartridge for the rifled Enfield musket just being introduced to native Hindi regiments was sealed with cow fat which is extremely polluting to middle- and high-caste Jati. In fact, the cartridge was not so sealed, but, once the rumour had taken hold, no amount of protestation and reasoning to the contrary by and on behalf of the British could undo the damage. The British officers' attempts to force the 3rd native light cavalry regiment to use the cartridge was the event which triggered the so-called Great Indian Mutiny.³⁷

The fourth stage in the process of revolution is the active subversion of the population.³⁸ During these preliminary stages the revolutionary engineers (hereinafter

referred to as REs) stay as much as possible out of sight, contenting themselves with mixing with the population to spread their message, winning converts where possible,³⁹ and undermining confidence in the status quo. They will promulgate their message wherever possible, attempting to ensure that everyone possible is at least familiarised with it, regardless of its acceptance. They will move from area to area paying particular attention at first to those provinces bordering a friendly or non-aligned neighbouring country that they intend to use ultimately as sanctuaries.⁴⁰

They will concentrate their efforts on the mass of the population, in accordance with Mao Tse-Tung's doctrine that "power comes from the people",⁴¹ and in order to create the essential supportive services⁴² for their future activities in accordance with Mao Tse-Tung's dictum that the revolutionary is a fish that swims in the sea of the people (see pages 165-166).

Their subversive endeavours at this stage will be relatively 'low profile' and they will actively attempt to suggest that the people's real grievances have political undertones. This is in keeping with the essential principles that there is but one enemy to blame for anything (the government) which must be systematically attacked in order to destroy its credibility and create (at first) a rift between government and people. This,

of course, is the 'thin end of the wedge' that will be progressively 'hammered home' to widen the gap and cause an eventual split.⁴³

The fifth stage is that of guerilla operations. These are nowadays initially conducted in the provinces furthest from the centre of government authority in the region adjacent to an accommodating border. These operations are directed against government institutions and personnel. Their aim is to demoralise the latter, undermine the former, and call forth a response from the forces of law and order that is costly in both manpower and ordnance. It is here that the economic onslaught properly begins, according to Von Clausewitz's⁴⁴ principle of attrition. The guerilla actions will be conducted at night and will take place when and where they can achieve overwhelming superiority of numbers. The targets will be isolated police and army posts⁴⁵ chosen in order to gain access to ordnance of war⁴⁶ and to draw maximum attention to themselves and their cause. At this point it will be virtually impossible to continue to keep their activities from the population at large. Any military reaction on the part of the government can be said to be to the advantage of the REs provided the terrain is difficult enough and the people of the region sufficiently well disposed towards the REs. If the government ignores the incident the round⁴⁷ goes entirely to the REs. If the government spreads its forces out on

the ground to cover a larger area,⁴⁸ it provides more targets for the REs and dilutes its effective retaliatory power. If the government concentrates its forces, it abandons ground to the REs. If the government steps up its presence in the area, the revolutionaries can be said to be draining government resources. If the pressure becomes too great, they (the REs) can shift to another area and start anew, waiting for the first area to 'cool down', i.e. for the government forces to be removed.⁴⁹

The REs' object here is to survive,⁵⁰ while maintaining continuous and increasing pressure⁵¹ on the government. The government's response is far too often one of merely attempting to relieve this pressure (instead of exerting a greater counter-pressure). Their (the REs) very existence demonstrates the government's impotence, while they (the REs), by judicious relations with the population, win them over further. They are living in part at least off the government by conducting raids on government institutions in order to fund themselves. If the government forces indulge in terror tactics it is likely that the population will become further alienated, thus playing into the REs' hands. The REs' principal and very real fear, at this stage, is of betrayal either for personal,⁵² political, or financial gain, and of hostile outside intervention.⁵³

The stage of large-scale hit and run revolutionary

operations in most cases spells the beginning of the end for one of the two contestants, revolutionaries or counter-revolutionaries (hereinafter referred to as CRs). However, this is not invariably the case as it takes no account of outside involvement.⁵⁴ If the REs flourish, it is at the expense of the CRs. If the CRs flourish, it is at the expense of the REs. Although both sides will suffer casualties in men and material in this stage, it can be seen as a zero-sum situation from the point of view that there can only be one winner. Either the government checks or reduces the scope and incidence of actions or the REs expand them.

Guerilla operations will be conducted against a number of targets for a number of purposes. For example, isolated armouries will be raided when supplies of war materials are in sufficiently short supply. Relatively weak or badly trained government troops will be attacked in order to demoralise the security forces, according to Lenin's dictum "ruthlessly oppress the weak; shamelessly flee from the strong". Attacks will take place against selected targets in the civilian population in order to demonstrate to the people the government's impotence to protect the people and in order to spread terror.

Headmen, school teachers, postmasters, etc., will be murdered to discourage association with the government⁵⁵ and to render the people leaderless in order to create a

power vacuum.⁵⁶

The RE will tighten his control over the relatively inaccessible provinces bordering a friendly⁵⁷ neighbouring territory.

The techniques that he will use to control these districts and their populations will include terror tactics, the continued dissemination of his ideology, and the extermination of those members of the population who support the government or who present a barrier to the REs insinuation. Often this tactic will be taken so far as to kill some members of the population who will not actively support him so as to serve as a motivator for the remainder of the people. The RE will also provide an alternative system of government⁵⁸ and will enforce his laws in order to maintain (his system of) law and order. To this end he will act as an adjudicator in selected civil disputes.⁵⁹ (For example, it would be most unlikely that a landlord would receive a judgement in his favour against one of his tenants were the landlord injudicious enough to approach the REs in the first instance). And if it is required or will make gains for the REs and can be undertaken without repercussions from world opinion, he will commit atrocities.⁶⁰ However, this is not to deny that the RE's presence is welcomed by certain elements of the population, while amongst other sections of the population he has to conduct little

more than a campaign of persuasion in order to win them over.

Whether or not atrocities are likely to be committed (for example the My Lai action in Vietnam where all the inhabitants of a village were killed in retaliation for their co-operation with the enemy) depends largely upon local circumstances. The object of RE and CR forces⁶¹ alike is to obtain the support of the people and to exert pressure on the opposition as a precursor to destroying them, and to deny that support to the adversary.

In order to win support from some people, it is necessary to demonstrate generosity; for others, a demonstration of ruthlessness is required; for others, cruelty. Not all people will be won over by kindness. Some can only respect and permit themselves to be befriended by the tyrant.⁶²

However, world opinion does not recognise this fact, preferring to subscribe to a so-called humanitarian view that everyone feels and responds according to internationally homogeneous character factors.⁶³ Coupled with this belief⁶⁴ is the situation that it is largely Western countries that are attempting to resist revolutionary overthrow. The Western Press has comparatively free access to whatever goes on within the boundaries of its governmental authority but very little access to and, therefore, knowledge about what happens elsewhere.⁶⁵ The

result is that a publicity spotlight perpetually illuminates Western governments' activities while leaving virtually unpublicised the activities of the pre-revolutionary and post-revolutionary groups⁶⁶ who anyway prefer to conduct their affairs in camera.

It is, therefore, the case in the world at present that Western security forces cannot enact one-tenth of the social enforcement/reinforcement that the revolutionary can enact on the civilian population. In this way the Western security forces inevitably find themselves at a disadvantage to their adversaries.⁶⁷

It is, however, not sufficient to point merely to structural determinants for an explanation of the disproportionate amount of censure that Western governments receive. One must also take into account the fashions of sympathy. Sympathy has swung towards minority groups and REs often purport to represent and seek actively to align themselves with such minorities.⁶⁸ Their behaviour is judged in terms of their minority status and not in terms of a universal behavioural expectation. Thus in the eyes of world opinion they are permitted more licence than the government forces.

The engineering of a suitable climate of public opinion in which to operate is largely conducted through the Western Press which is eager to publish sensational material.⁶⁹

While the subversion of receptive⁷⁰ areas continues, these areas become progressively more dangerous to the government forces due to their general inaccessibility, the drying up of information⁷¹ from them, and the continued indoctrination⁷² of their people by the revolutionaries. Government forces will find that they cannot venture into these areas after dark without suffering prohibitively high casualty rates. They therefore withdraw at night. The revolutionaries then expand their operation where possible in these areas until they have secure bases during daylight hours also.

The government forces can group and clear these areas. However, security forces cannot be everywhere at once, and when they concentrate for an operation, the well-informed REs⁷³ usually disperse and regroup elsewhere according to the dictum of the preservation of the forces of revolution.⁷⁴

When the RE has seized the initiative, he must ruthlessly maintain⁷⁵ it. He must maintain pressure on the forces of CR until they start suffering a failure in one or more of the areas of Will, Manpower and/or Ordnance, while keeping his own Will, Morale and Supply at a high level.⁷⁶ In the event that the government forces do not disintegrate, they will be swamped by the sheer weight of incidents that they are called on to respond to. The objects the revolutionary leader constantly holds in mind

and strives to create and maintain are: the support of the people;⁷⁷ external physical support;⁷⁸ the support of external public opinion; and the division of the forces of his adversary.

One crucial factor for the RE in the struggle is the battle to isolate the government from external support. If other governments external to the country under siege turn their backs, withdrawing support for the beleaguered country, the RE's task becomes very much easier.

If the RE fails in this 'external' task, then it is likely that he will fail altogether. The peculiar paralysis of appeasement that afflicts governments in the face of a neighbour's predicament has been summarised by Churchill as the hope that the crocodile will eat oneself only after eating everyone else first.⁷⁹

The stage of mobile operations⁸⁰ refers to revolutionary activities having progressed to a point where commensurately large numbers of the people have been armed⁸¹ physically and morally to either outnumber, out-gun, or out-will the security forces sufficiently to be able to move about the country en masse. At this stage there is little dispute over who has the initiative. What initiative that does remain to the government does so as a result of its superiority in ground mobility and its air power. However, it (the CR government) is not drowning in a rising sea of revolution. It is being

swamped by an army that it has permitted to be recruited from the people.

The military tactics of the RE at this point in the campaign are designed to put pressure on safe areas, thereby extending his spheres of influence. However, the most important consideration is still the destruction of the security forces' effective powers of action or the destruction of the security forces themselves. This is achieved by means of the drying up of transport, weapons, and ammunition through external isolation and/or emptying the governmental coffers through protracted economic warfare.

This works effectively in the modern world due to international technological industrial interdependence. Modern technology requires such a plethora of concrete inputs into it in the form of raw material, semi- and finished goods, that it is virtually impossible for any one country to be totally technologically independent, especially where international intercourse takes place based upon the profit motive. In this case foreign investment dries up as profit dries up and the security of capital investment becomes less certain due to the political situation.

The will of the government to resist, the willingness with which the people are prepared to fight in the ranks of the security forces, and the numbers of men

available for this purpose will all be undermined by the revolutionary who will attempt to exact the highest possible price from the people through their government.

If economic warfare is successful in continuously adjusting the standard of living in such a way that contrasts unfavourably with alternatives available to those people with higher standards of living, there will be a general move away from this degradation of their standard of living and increasing anxiety where possible.

The very presence of danger in the form of the possibility of death or injury repels more people than it attracts. This is especially the case when that injury is not only to oneself but to loved ones and friends.

These factors will only become positively operative for the RE where the international situation is stage-managed in such a way that attractive alternative residential locations are provided or maintained, i.e. the main thrust of revolutionary activity concentrates on one country at a time; or, where it concentrates on more than one country, then only on relatively few.⁸²

The revolutionary's theatrical propaganda tactics are the same simple ones as used throughout the campaign. Ideally a military victory is also exploited as a psychological one, e.g. the fall of Cambodia was ascribed not only to a failure of American arms but also used as an

example of the increasingly rapid moral disintegration of the United States of America due to its undemocratic form of government. It was not advertised by communistic sources as a failure of the will of the American people, which may have provoked a backlash in the form of indignation by the people and renewed support of the government in a "We'll show them" mood. Instead it was presented as a triumph of the will of the people in the vein of a metaphysic of the masses naturally in opposition to the government (colonialists). This is in keeping with the policy of the revolutionary of dividing government and people through the maintenance of political dialogue and the exploitation of every opportunity to create anxiety.

Where a revolutionary thrust into an area is a failure in military terms, i.e. due to an unacceptably high casualty rate in relation to equipment or manpower destroyed or territory gained, it can still be made into a psychological victory by concocting and widely publicising accusations of government atrocities against the population at large or even the revolutionaries themselves if such latter accounts will also evoke sympathy.

Where (rarely) neither military nor psychological victory can be gleaned (or also in addition to these advantages) it is possible to plant stay-behind forces in the population to remain after a withdrawal of the main

revolutionary fighting forces. The purposes of this 'fifth column' are principally subversion and intelligence gathering,⁸³ preparatory military training, organisation and arming⁸⁴ of the population in preparation for a new front in that area.⁸⁵

The opening of a new front is akin to the opening up of a country for revolutionary activity. It requires certain fundamentals that can be subsumed under the title of "a fertile soil for endeavour".

This fertile soil is not the mere existence of grievances upon which to work in order to divide the people from the government. That alone is insufficient because grievances exist everywhere and they do not all lead to revolutionary activity. It is rather the existence of unadjusted grievances.⁸⁶ This refers to situations in which grievances have existed unattended to, ignored, or suppressed for a sufficiently long time to establish a feeling of resignation or hopelessness about the possibility of legal changes, within a climate of opinion where change is recognised as possible.

Powerful forces must be evoked and potent appeals exhorted in order to encourage or even enable people to rise against any system under which they have lived for any length of time.⁸⁷

The key to stability can be conceived of in terms of

organisation. Where the people are organised right down to grass roots level in such a way that not only their grievances but their hopes and aspirations can find upward expression and be taken account of in government policy towards these people,⁸⁸ then this kind of system can be thought of as being self-perpetuatingly stable.

The very existence of this organisation prevents the revolutionary activists from gaining a foothold in the area; provided that that organisation is both sufficiently intensive, and because it closes possible avenues of approach to the revolutionary. The latter must first cause a breakdown in government organisation in order to prepare the way for influencing the people. This is doubly difficult where the people are organised, firstly (because where he is operating against a tried and proven system in which an investment has been made by the people) he is opposing many vested interests and, secondly, this system is⁸⁹ constantly providing feedback up to the administrative structure and in to government -- feedback which should be used effectively to monitor and rectify dissidence before it can develop. It should also clearly and quickly indicate any attempts at outside interference.

The aim during mobile operations is the destruction of governmental forces, and thereby the destruction of governmental power and credibility. It may or may not

aim at gaining converts from the government ranks.

Stage seven is the take-over and consolidation of power. The revolutionary organisation that triumphs is principally a militaristic one at core. It has grown from small clandestine units of tough independent individuals bound together by common aims and hopes for the future and fears of the past into larger units operating against a technologically superior opposition. Their ranks comprise those of strong character and high determination. It is inevitable with such an army that, when it achieves final power, it will, despite the best intentions, perpetrate a series of excesses as it 'sets its house in order'.

However, the mood of victory, coupled with the overflow of pent-up emotions guided by shrewd political minds, usually results in purges justified in terms of punishing enemies of the revolution.⁹⁰ Recent events in Cambodia⁹¹ are an example of the elimination of factions involved in resisting the revolution.⁹²

When the move to rid the country of those 'criminals' previously actively involved in resisting the revolution⁹³ is nearing completion, the category 'criminal' is extended to class enemies of the people, thereby including in a new wave of purges those people who were seen to be sympathetic to the counter-revolution who yet remained uninvolved actively.⁹⁴ When sympathisers are

dealt with, the term 'criminal' is again re-interpreted to include deviationists from the party line. These groups, too, are eliminated.⁹⁵

This process serves three main purposes. Firstly, it creates a reign of terror⁹⁶ which results in the suppression of the people and, secondly, it isolates each individual from another. No-one can confide in anyone for fear of denouncement. This renders the people more pliable to control. Thirdly, it effectively removes by death, suppression, or flight leaders who have provided an opposition and who might provide one in future. Thus the body of the people (the mass) has the option of only one head (leadership).⁹⁷

An example of this policy is the Katyn massacre where the communist victors in Poland exterminated the Polish officer corps.⁹⁸

The eighth and final and endless stage is the suppression of the reaction.

Here a spectre is raised before the people of continuous threat from outside and inside the borders, i.e. enemies everywhere, in order to create anxiety, thereby diverting hostility away from the leadership and providing a scapegoat for any failures by that leadership. This form of social administration is totalitarian with near closed control over travel and information which

will, if properly managed, ultimately prevent the masses from even thinking in terms of alternatives. Heroes of the revolution are created around which the revolutionary struggle can be popularly idealistically recounted in terms of atrocity and bloodshed, thus maintaining at a personal and individual level a high degree of mobilisation and emotionalism amongst the masses which is to them a reward in itself in terms of stimulation and involvement. Also a near watertight system of social organisation extending right down to grass roots levels is created, leaving the individual little time to think and providing readymade ideas, systems of belief, and opinion. The whole system is justified in terms of the 'will of the people' or 'the good of the people' which expression is made through the party of the people, e.g. in Hitler's Germany the National Socialist Party purported to be "the organised will of the people".

Thus control is rendered effective. Dissidents⁹⁹ are labelled 'anti-social' and can be dealt with either through psychiatric institutions or the courts. Provided the leadership can maintain the vigour and cohesiveness of its rule, some economic contact with the outside world, and an effective extermination or suppression of all opposition inside the country, there is every reason to expect it to continue in power for a very long time.¹⁰⁰

The term 'counter revolution' is a misnomer for two

main reasons. Firstly, the adjective 'counter' when attached to a noun (for example, 'culture') implies a reaction to something. It points to either a force which stands opposed to another force in a relationship of confrontation, e.g. 'counter culture', or it refers to a new trend which has emerged as a reaction to a previous one. In this case the new trend supercedes the original in time and space, i.e. it is chronologically postcedent, e.g. impressionistic painting as a reaction to the landscapers. Thus the adjective 'counter' implies a reaction, it implies confrontation, and it implies contact.

Secondly, counter revolution usually only becomes recognised as desirable after the outbreak of actual hostilities. (Until relatively recently, governments have accepted a policy of 'letting sleeping dogs lie' in dealing with their masses). As has been pointed out, due to the revolutionary engineer adopting a low profile during the first three stages of his operation, it is entirely wrong to measure the onset of revolutionary activity by the first outbreak of violence. In fact, by the time the first shot is fired, mine is detonated, rocket launched, grenade thrown, or knife finds a home between some government functionary's ribs, the revolution has been under way for a long time.

The term counter revolution, then, implies measures that are to be adopted in response to an outbreak of

revolutionary activity. If this approach is to be effective, these corrective measures must be wide ranging in extent and they must plumb the absolute social, psychological, economic, military, etc., depths in intensiveness and extensiveness, i.e. they will be expensive in finance, manpower, and in terms of the emotional resources of the population, and in terms of opportunities foregone. They must represent a co-ordinated total effort.¹⁰¹

However, what is most frequently practised in fact is a piecemeal, ad hoc response initiated as military corrective measures in geographic regions specific to outbreaks of revolutionary activity. This is in fact nothing more than to attempt a suppression of symptoms. It will buy time and eventually even that only at a prohibitively high cost.¹⁰²

It is necessary to "grasp the problem firmly" in Mao Tse-tung's words,¹⁰³ and this cannot be done by yielding the initiative to the revolutionary.¹⁰⁴

The counter revolutionary¹⁰⁵ finds it desirable to forestall the revolution¹⁰⁶ by killing the revolutionary leaders, by drying up the "sea" of the people around the "revolutionary fish", by regroupment, by cutting weapons supply routes, by counter organisation of the population,¹⁰⁷ by the creation of cordons sanitaires,¹⁰⁸ by "hearts and minds campaigns", by concessions to the people, by the creation of a mobile nomadised security

force (with as near machine-like efficiency as possible in order both to deter the population from involvement in revolutionary violence and to hunt down and kill those who do not so engage) and by a number of other means short of actually invading and pacifying the territory that harbours the revolutionary.

The invasion of (a) neighbouring country(ies) as a first step to the solution of attempted revolution can only be successful where one's own forces are sufficiently numerous to hold down the population of the invaded country until they can be pacified (where they are initially hostile to the invader) or until they can be driven off or ideally (from the point of view of long-term occupation) until they can be exterminated. The security forces¹⁰⁹ must be sufficiently numerous and trustworthy also to prevent uprisings at home while war is being waged beyond the borders.¹¹⁰

The problem of resisting revolution is in large part a problem of preventing it.¹¹¹

For the purpose of understanding the problems faced by the revolutionary and in order to provide a ready-made rule of thumb to guide him in his activities, Mao Tse-tung created the analogy of the fish in its natural watery element.¹¹² Mao Tse-tung said that the revolutionary is a fish that swims in the sea of the people (the masses). By this he meant that the revolutionary

is dependent upon the people for moral support, food, information, recruits, etc. He held that the revolutionary who neglects to cultivate this essential relationship must eventually fail because if the people do not identify with the revolutionary they are likely to identify with forces hostile to the revolutionary and this will make it impossible for the revolutionary to hide from the forces of counter-revolution. It is noteworthy that the communist/nationalist attempt to bring about revolution in Malaya foundered on this principle. One of General Templar's counter-revolutionary principles in the Malayan campaign (1948-1960) was to dry up the sea of the people by means of regroupment of the Chinese squatter population (who gave succour to the revolutionaries). This action seriously damaged the Malayan revolutionaries' ability to wage war.

For the purpose of understanding the problems faced by the counter revolutionary ('counter' in its broadest sense), on the other hand, it is useful to invoke an alternative analogy which is to consider the people as a soil in which the seed of revolution must be sown for it to grow and multiply. If this soil is fertile and left unattended there will spring up an irregular tangled proliferation of vegetation.

The seeds of weeds can find sustenance there and grow. By the time they manifest themselves, they will

have taken firm root and become relatively proliferate. The task of cutting them out will be difficult due to the tangle of the undergrowth which prevents their discovery and impedes access to them. (If they are to be destroyed, they must first be found. This in itself is a painstaking job. Then, if they are to be destroyed, further problems arise because of the difficulty of killing weeds only, without damaging the plants that are in close proximity to them.)

However, if a gardener, instead of merely permitting¹¹³ haphazard growth in his soil, cultivates it by choosing what is to grow there, and arranges those plants in some regular pattern, he will be in a position to locate and destroy weeds with relative ease in the event of them taking root. The weeds will find it additionally difficult to take root if every square inch of soil is already cultivated.

The analogy with society is readily apparent. If all the people are organised down to individual level in ways acceptable¹¹⁴ and beneficial¹¹⁵ to them, the opportunity for the RE to enter and gain support will be drastically reduced. Where he does gain a hold, he will quickly reveal himself and can be relatively easily dealt with.¹¹⁶

This preventive approach entails continuous government effort (cultivation) rather than sporadic strenuous

efforts fraught with uncertainty in times of emergency. The relative benefits of this preventive approach considerably outweigh others.¹¹⁷

NOTESto Chapter 7

1. Robertson, Wilmot: *The Dispossessed Majority*. Cape Canaveral, Florida: Howard Allen, 1974, pp. 300-301.
2. Clausewitz, Karl Von: *On War*. Harmondsworth: Anatol Rapaport, 1968, Vol. 1, p. 253.
3. Machiavelli, Niccolo: *The Prince*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1967, p. 99.
4. The sense here is of false promises.
5. Machiavelli, op. cit., p. 100.
6. Tzu, Sun: *The Art of War*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1976.
7. Gichin, Funakoshi: *The Way of the Empty Hand*. New York/San Francisco: Kodansha International, 1973.
8. i.e., revolution.
9. Because it is a sterile undertaking to attempt to prove or disprove any theory (in this topic area) which is divorced from a specific situation. See below. See also Welch, Claud Emerson, Jnr, and Mavis B. Taintor: *Revolution and Political Change*. Mass.: Duxbury Press, 1972, p. 67.
10. Machiavelli, op. cit., pp. 562-563. Robertson, op. cit., p. 301. Boggs, James and Grace Boggs: *Revolution and Evolution in the Twentieth Century*. New York/London: Monthly Review Press, 1979, pp. 130-131. Cohan, A.S.: *Theories of Revolution*. New York: Wiley, 1975, p. 80 and p. 110. Wertheim, W.F.: *Evolution and Revolution. The Rising Waves of Emancipation*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1974, p. 115.
11. Robertson, op. cit., p. 322.
12. The eventual aim of this discontent is to create a state of chaos and destruction.
13. McCuen, John J.: *The Art of Counter Revolutionary War*. London: Faber & Faber, 1966, p. 37.
14. Wertheim, op. cit., p. 128.
15. Machiavelli, op. cit., p. 100.

16. Robertson, op. cit., p. 353.
17. Ibid.
18. Machiavelli, op. cit., pp. 58 and 109.
19. Kornhauser, W.: The Politics of Mass Society. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1960, p. 33.
20. Mobilising the masses. Boggs, op. cit., p. 61.
21. Kumar, Krishnan: Revolution. London: Cox & Wyman, 1971, p. 113.
22. Lawrence, T.E.: Seven Pillars of Wisdom: A Triumph. New York: Doubleday, 1938, p. 346.
23. Ibid., pp. 33-48.
24. It is interesting to note that all successful revolutionaries have fulfilled this condition.
25. Boggs, op. cit., p. 193.
26. From an interview with Brigadier John Lewis, Director Special Services, Rhodesian Department of Information and Tourism.
27. As above.
28. As above.
29. As above.
30. Robertson, op. cit., p. 343.
31. Machiavelli, op. cit., p. 116.
32. McCuen, op. cit., p. 323. Machiavelli, op. cit., p. 101.
33. McCuen, *ibid.* Kumar, op. cit., p. 139.
34. Robertson, op. cit., p. 295.
35. Ibid., p. 297.
36. Ibid., p. 322.
37. Winteringham, T.H.: Mutiny: Being a Survey of Mutinies from Spartacus to Invergordon. London: Nott, 1963, pp. 115-116 and pp. 119-121.
38. Boggs, op. cit., pp. 67-68.

39. Boggs, *ibid.*, p. 127.
40. Tse-tung, Mao: "Strategic problems in the anti-Japanese guerilla war." Vol II of Selected Works. New York: International Publishers, 1954, p. 135.
41. Tse-tung: "Take care of the living conditions of the masses and attend to the methods of work." Vol I, *op. cit.*, pp. 147-148.
42. Tse-tung: "On the protracted war." Vol II, *ibid.*, pp. 204-205.
43. *i.e.*, from this beginning the situation will be progressively exploited.
44. Clausewitz, *op. cit.*, Vol II, p. 111.
45. Marchand, Jean: "Indochina at War." Paris: Modern Press, 1954, pp. 205-206.
46. Where the revolutionaries' supply situation is inadequate for their needs.
47. See Appendix II.
48. Giap, Vo Nguyen, as quoted by R. Starobin: *Eyewitness in Indochina*. New York: Cameron & Kahn, 1954, pp. 69-70.
49. Liao, Kai-Lung: *From Yenan to Peking*. Peking: Foreign Language Press, 1954, pp. 48-49.
50. Tse-tung, from the chapter "On the protracted war" Vol II, Selected Works, *op. cit.*, pp. 206-207.
51. Machiavelli, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-40.
52. *Ibid.*, passim.
53. *i.e.*, foreign intervention.
54. Machiavelli, *op. cit.*, p. 103. Giap, Vo Nguyen, as quoted by Bernard Fall: *Street Without Joy*. New York: Doubleday, 1967, p. 30. McCuen, *op. cit.*, p. 259.
55. Thompson, Robert: *Defeating Communist Insurgency: Experiences in Malaya and Vietnam*. New York: Chatto, 1976, pp. 24-25.
56. Robinson, J.B. Perry: *Transformation in Malaya*. London: Secker & Warburg, 1956, pp. 118-119.

57. i.e., friendly to the revolutionary engineer.
58. Servan-Schriber, Jean Jaques: Lieutenant in Algeria. New York: Knopf, 1957, pp. 32-33.
59. Robertson, op. cit., p. 300. He will adjudicate only in selected civil disputes because his primary intention is not to bring a form of justice based upon equal rights of all people before the law, nor can he be expected to enforce property rights, rather his intention is to use adjudication as a tool in the continued aim of politicising the population.
60. Servan-Schriber, op. cit., pp. 32-33. The word atrocious and its underlying concepts presents considerable problems because what one group considers to be an atrocity will not be considered so by others. For example, the practice of harakiri was considered atrocious by many Americans but it was considered to be an honourable mode of departure from this world and an honourable entry to the next by many members of the ruling military class of Imperial Japan. However, the concept of atrocity is usually applied to the infliction of pain, suffering and/or death upon someone else.
- Again the Imperial Japanese provide an illuminating example of differences of thinking. The habit of the Japanese forces of occupation between 1941 and 1945 of working prisoners-of-war to death by means of progressive starvation and hard manual labour was not generally considered as an atrocity by the Japanese. In fact, such treatment was often considered to be preferential. The reason for this can be found amongst the beliefs of the Japanese warrior class that the most humiliating shame accrues to a soldier who allows himself to be taken prisoner. In fact, this climate of opinion dictated the death penalty to Japanese soldiers who allowed themselves to be captured alive and who were subsequently recaptured by their own forces.
61. Machiavelli, op. cit., p. 66.
62. Ibid., pp. 65-66. i.e., tyranny.
63. i.e., moral anthropomorphism.
64. Machiavelli, op. cit., p. 95.
65. Wertheim, op. cit., p. 101.
66. Due to their rigid censorship.

67. Machiavelli, op. cit., p. 98.
68. Robertson, op. cit., p. 298.
69. See Appendix I.
70. Politically receptive areas.
71. From the population.
72. And military training.
73. It is necessary that 10% of the population support the RE as a basic minimum for REs to be able to survive in a given zone, provided that the remaining 90% of the population are not hostile.
74. Tse-tung, op. cit., "Protracted war", pp. 206-207.
75. Central Political Bureau of the Malayan Communist Party: "Supplementary views of the Central Bureau on strategic problems of the Malayan revolutionary war" (first issued November 12, 1949), Assault Press N.P. December 15, 1950, as recorded by Gene Z. Hanrahan, *The Communist Struggle in Malaya*. New York: International Secretariat Institute of Pacific Relations, 1954, pp. 115-116. Quoted by McCuen, op. cit. Giap, Vo Nguyen: *People's War, People's Army*. New York/London: Monthly Review Press, 1971, pp. 198-199.
76. Clausewitz, op. cit., Vol I, p. 253.
77. Machiavelli, op. cit., pp. 69, 72, and 105.
78. i.e., goods and services; this usually implies some degree of moral support.
79. Machiavelli, op. cit., p. 40.
80. Sullivan, David S. and Martin J. Sattler: *Revolutionary War, Western Response*. New York/London: Columbia University Press, 1971, p. 127.
81. McCuen, op. cit., p. 258.
82. Machiavelli, op. cit., 142-143.
83. Marchand, op. cit., p. 181. Baclagon, Uldaricos S.: *Lessons from the Huk Campaign in the Philippines*. Manila: Colcol, 1960, p. 17.
84. Tse-tung, "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun", *Selected Works, Vol II*, op. cit., p. 272.

- Machiavelli, op. cit., p. 114.
85. Giap, People's War, People's Army, op. cit., pp. 77-78.
 86. Sullivan and Sattler, op. cit., p. 13.
 87. Kumar, op. cit., p. 44.
 88. Fidel Castro: "The people are a mine of information", from a B.B.C. documentary film entitled "Fidel Castro".
 89. Machiavelli, op. cit., pp. 70 and 104.
 90. Robertson, op. cit., pp. 346-347.
 91. Time Magazine, April 26, 1976, pp. 16-19. Virgilius, Maro Publius: The Aeneid. Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1976, p. 51. Machiavelli, op. cit., p. 96.
 92. Machiavelli, *ibid.*, p. 48.
 93. Kumar, op. cit., p. 235.
 94. Robertson, op. cit., p. 297.
 95. Welch and Taintor, op. cit., p. 32.
 96. Arendt, Hannah: On Revolution. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1965, pp. 99, 105 and 108.
 97. Machiavelli, op. cit., pp. 46-48, 59-60 and 62.
 98. *Ibid.*, p. 58.
 99. *Ibid.*, p. 119.
 100. *Ibid.*, pp. 46-48 and 109.
 101. *Ibid.*, p. 122. McCuen, op. cit., pp. 182-192. Templer, as quoted by McCuen, *ibid.*, p. 204. "Any idea that the business of normal civil government and business of the emergency are two separate entities must be killed for good and all. The two activities are completely and utterly inter-related."
 102. Machiavelli, op. cit., pp. 40 and 66.
 103. Selected Works, op. cit., passim.
 104. Machiavelli, op. cit., p. 123.

105. Jessop, Bob: *Social Order, Reforms and Revolutions*. Exeter: Wheaton, 1972, pp. 126-127.
106. Souyris, André: "An effective counter guerilla procedure." Reprinted in *Military Review* XXXVI (12, March), 1957, pp. 86-90.
107. McCuen, op. cit., pp. 152-166.
108. Ibid., pp. 245-252.
109. Machiavelli, op. cit., p. 48.
110. Ibid., pp. 62-63.
111. Ibid., p. 39.
112. Sullivan and Sattler, op. cit., p. 76.
113. Machiavelli, op. cit., p. 130.
114. Wertheim, op. cit., p. 250.
115. Machiavelli, op. cit., pp. 68-69, 72 and 105.
116. Ibid., pp. 86 and 103. Marchand, op. cit., p. 181. Baclagon, op. cit., p. 17. Souyris, "Offensive and defensive operations in revolutionary war." *Review Militaire d'Information* 281. Clark, op. cit., p. 9.
117. Machiavelli, op. cit., pp. 52, 70, 90 and 129.